

GO BACK TO THE EARLIER YEARS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

QUAKERISM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LATER 19TH CENTURY¹

...The fiery reformer embodies his aspiration in some rite or covenant, and he and his friends cleave to the form, and lose the aspiration. The Quaker has established Quakerism, the Shaker has established his monastery and his dance; and, although each prates of spirit, there is no spirit, but repetition, which is anti-spiritual....

– from [Waldo Emerson](#)'s "REPRESENTATIVE MAN"

1. Read about the 1st part of the century:

THE EARLY 19TH CENT.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

If there was a [Quaker](#) context in the life of [Henry David Thoreau](#), as exemplified by the material fact that **the slipcover for Thoreau's flute, now in the storeroom of a museum in Concord, happens to have been made from a piece of one of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)'s old gray Quaker dresses**, Quaker historians have no knowledge of such a context. Here, as an illustration, is the utterly inaccurate manner in which Thoreau has been presented to [Quakers](#) in a book of Quaker history, by a scholar relying primarily upon secondary sources such as the Canby biography for the background of Thoreau's life.

What appears on the following page is verbatim, with my underlining for emphasis on egregious inaccuracies, from pages 100-1 of George A. Sellick's QUAKERS IN BOSTON 1656-1964: THREE CENTURIES OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, published in Cambridge, Massachusetts by the Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, and printed in Boston by the Thomas Todd Company in 1979:

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

HOW MANY QUAKERS HAVE STUDIED SEWEL'S HISTORY AND READ FOX'S JOURNALS AS THOREAU AND EMERSON DID?

RICKETSON WAS A WELL-TO-DO QUAKER WHO BECAME QUITE SPIRITUAL IN 1861 WHILE THOREAU WAS IN MINNESOTA

NO, HE WAS HELPING THE COLONY DURING ITS STAGE OF DISINTEGRATION

Henry Thoreau ... had read little about the early Quakers, and knew Friends mainly through a few modern representatives. Although he admired some of those he met, his impressions of Quakerism in general were not favorable. In 1843, he was much impressed by hearing an address in the Hester Street meeting house in New York by the great Quaker reformer, Lucretia Mott. It was in his account of this meeting that he commented on the Quaker women as "looking all like sisters or so many chickadees." Lucretia Mott's point of view appealed to him; he described it as "transcendentalism in its mildest form." When Thoreau gave his nature lectures in New Bedford he usually stayed with Friend Daniel Ricketson, a well-to-do Quaker who had read WALDEN and was one of Thoreau's admirers. Although Ricketson was a Friend, he was "plain and unspiritual," and apparently had little Quaker influence upon Thoreau. He loved nature and was occasionally chosen by Thoreau as a companion in his rambles over the countryside. On one of their trips near Fairhaven in the summer of 1856 they came upon an elderly Quaker minister who made a very unfavorable impression upon Thoreau. Thoreau thought the old man spoke "with a sanctified air" and was conceited and narrow-minded. He had earlier commented that "even the quietness and perhaps unworldliness of an aged Quaker has something ghostly and saddening about it, as it were a preparation for the grave." Thoreau had one more encounter with Quakers, which again left him unimpressed. In the autumn of 1856 he was employed as a surveyor to help lay out an educational colony called Eagleswood, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Not all the members of the colony were Quakers but Quaker influence was strong. There he attended the Friends meeting for worship, which he described in a letter to a friend as follows: "Sunday forenoon I attended a sort of Quaker meeting ... where it was expected that the Spirit would move me ... and it or something else, did - an inch or so. I said just enough to set them a little by the ears and make it lively." But Quakerism, as he saw it, seemed too mild and too encrusted with tradition to suit his taste. Emerson, on the other hand, openly acknowledged his interest in Quakers and even his debt to them. From his earliest years Emerson seems to have been influenced by Quaker ideas.

MY SISTER, MY FRIEND!

* This is from pages 100-1 of George A. Sellick's QUAKERS IN BOSTON 1656-1964: THREE CENTURIES OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, published in Cambridge MA by the Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge MA 02138; printed Boston MA by the Thomas Todd Company, in 1979. My underlining is for emphasis on the inaccuracies.



GO BACK TO THE BEGINNINGS OF QUAKERISM

1826

 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his cousin Friend [Edward Hicks](#) the painter visited the Friends meetings of New York, preaching.²

It is a dreadful crisis, the spiritual Jerusalem seems to be invested from every side.... If there were less tattling and scribbling, and more praying, there would be happiness among us.

In this year occurred the first recorded public use of the sarcastic phrase “get religion” in America. –And the chasm within [Quakerism](#) which would lead to the Great Split was widening as more and more people “just weren’t getting it” (to employ an idiom new to the 1990s).

Here is an example of the “tattling and scribbling” that was being preached against by Friend Elias. In this year an anonymous 16-page pamphlet was being issued in Philadelphia, entitled AN EXPOSE OF SOME OF THE MISREPRESENTATIONS CONTAINED IN A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED A LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN AMERICA TO LUKE HOWARD, OF TOTTENHAM, NEAR LONDON. This pamphlet is attributed to “a [Friend](#) in America” and describes itself as a response to the pamphlet by “Luke Howard, of Tottenham, near London,” LETTER TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA ... UPON A TREATISE WRITTEN BY JOB SCOTT, ENTITLED “SALVATION BY CHRIST.” (In this year Friend [Luke Howard](#) was preparing for publication in London by W. Phillips a volume entitled GLEANINGS, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS, FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS / BY JOHN KENDALL [1726-1815], by selecting and arranging passages from that author’s manuscript collections.)

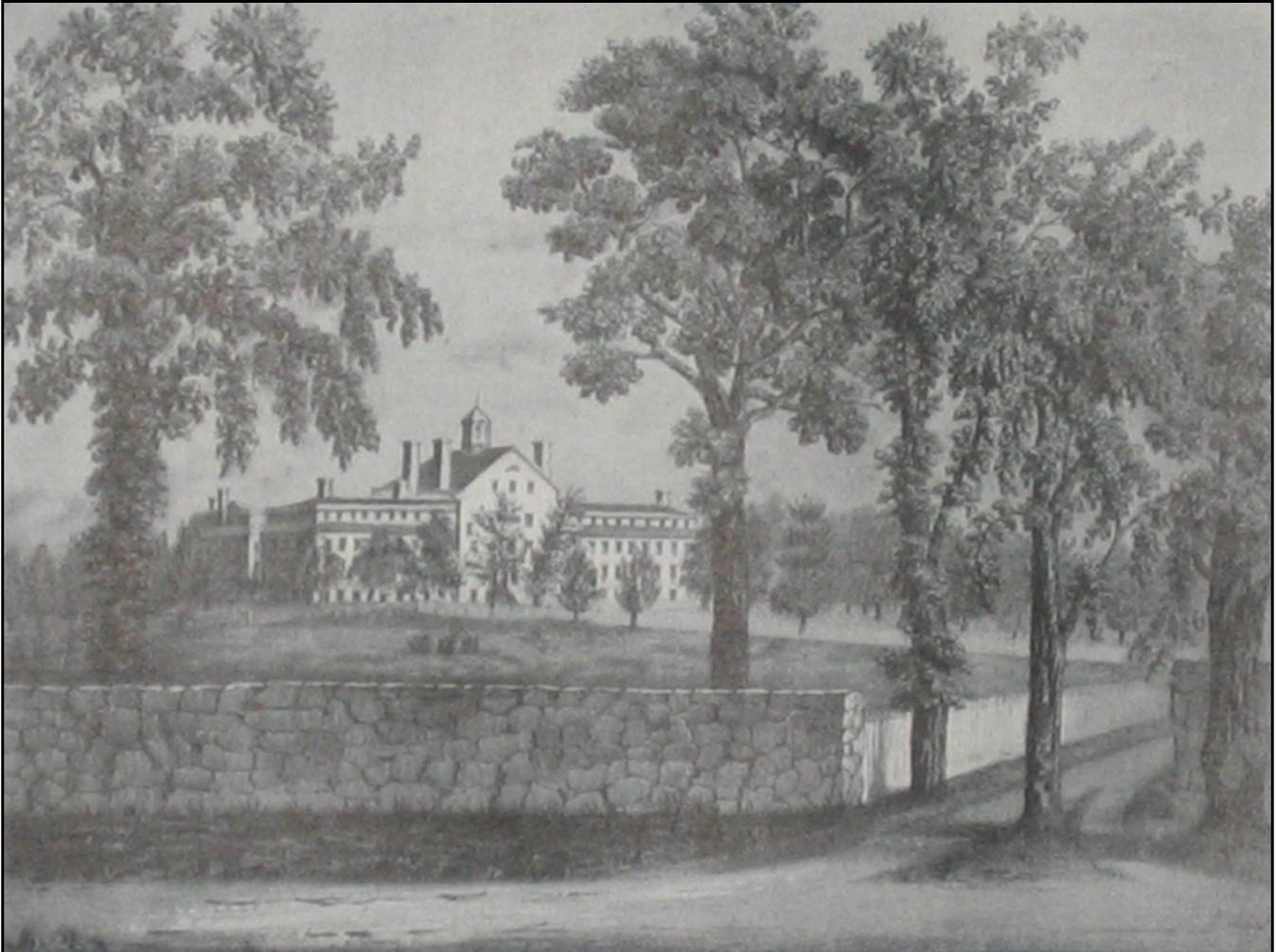
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

2. SERMON DELIVERED BY ELIAS HICKS AND EDWARD HICKS IN FRIENDS MEETINGS IN NEW YORK. New York, 1825, pages 50-51.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 At this point the original building of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was being expanded, by the addition of wings at each end.



[Prudence Crandall](#), from a [Baptist](#) family that has no recorded connection with Quakerism, matriculated at this New England Boarding School of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Being a girl, she would of course have been in “Girls School,” in no classroom in which there were boys, going for no walks on which she might encounter a boy scholar, and making use of a gender-segregated grove and playground and dining area. There is nothing on record to indicate that she ever had anything to do with [Quakerism](#), or ever once attended a meeting for worship, but it seems plausible that while at this boarding school, probably she knew [Friend Abby Kelley](#).

In this year Friend Pliny Earle of the English Department prepared transcripts of Friend John Gummere’s PLANE TRIGONOMETRY and PROBLEMS IN SURVEYING. (These transcripts have been preserved at the school.)

 January 1, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 1st of 1st M 1826 / Our Meeting this morning was large solid & good - our frd H Dennis engaged in a very lively testimony - In the Afternoon small silent & poor. — Brother Isaac & wife spent the day at Uncle Stantons & bring account

*that Mother is poorly having hurt her side, by a slight fall, which appears to have excited a tumor she has long had partly on her breast & side
I feel thankful to record this as a day of some favour. —³*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



➡ January 5, Thursday: Franz Liszt gave the 1st of four performances this month at the Grand Theatre, Bordeaux.

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

5th day 5 of 1 M / The year so far begins with some little advances in good – Our Meeting tho' not to me a very lively one, was pretty well attended by members – & this eveng my mind has experienced some arisings of life for which I do sincerely desire to be thankful –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 8, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 8 of 1 M / Our Morning Meeting was pretty well attended but the seats of three of our Ancient Brothers was vacant – which left the weight of breaking the Meeting on those who were younger
In the Afternoon small & poor. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 12, Thursday: Rastlose Liebe D.138, a song by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was performed for the initial time, in the Vienna Musikverein.

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

5th day 12th of 1 M / Our meeting was a season of some favour but not of abounding – The Select Meeting held after the first a very low time to me. – It was the first meeting of the kind

3. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7

at home I ever set in that Our Frd D Buffum was not present who is confined with a sore leg - Our frd Abigail Robinson was there, & most of the other members who usually attend -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 15, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15 of 1st M / The Morning Meeting was silent - In the Afternoon Father Rodman was engaged in a lively & to my feelings a Sweet little testimony - & both meetings were seasons of rather uncommon favour to me for which I desire & trust I am in measure thankful. -

We have had two very acceptable letters four[?] John today, one by John Mitchell & the other by Eleazer Treveth[?]

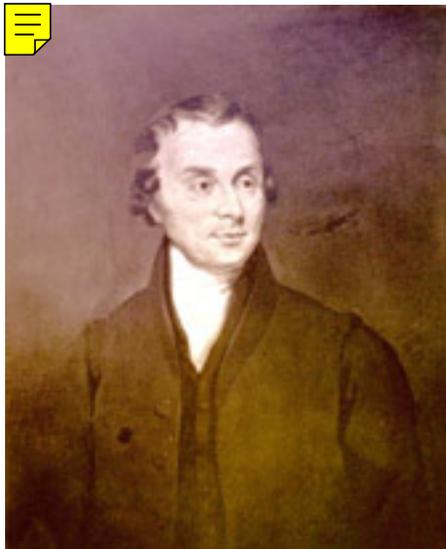
It is very comforting to my feelings that he is favoured to be at the Yearly Meeting School, & in the way of learning

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

WEATHER

➡ January 16, Monday: [Friend Luke Howard](#) described the smog above London:

At one o'clock yesterday afternoon the fog in the city was as dense as we ever recollect to have known it. Lamps and candles were lighted in all shops and offices, and the carriages in the street dared not exceed a foot pace. At the same time, five miles from town the atmosphere was clear and unclouded with a brilliant sun.



ENGLISH EVENTS OF 1826

➡ January 19, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 1st M 1826 / Meeting pretty well attended & a pretty solid good one - No buisness of importance om the Preparative Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 January 22, Sunday: Birth, in [Concord](#), Massachusetts, of [Gorham Bartlett](#), 3d child of Josiah Bartlett (1796-1878) with Martha Tilden Bradford Bartlett (1799-1860).⁴

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

1st day 22nd of 1st M / Our Meetings were both pretty well attended, but Our high seats thin - D Buffum, Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis absent - & in the Afternoon none there but a Poor man how do we feel striped when we find the seats vacant of those on whom we have been used to lean - Set the forepart of the evening at Abigail Robinsons examining & correcting Testimonies concerning our friends Elizabeth Mott & Samuel Thurston deceased, which we are in hopes of presenting to our next Moy [Monthly] Meeting - The latter part called at Cousin Henry Goulds for my wife who spent the evening there -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 26, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 1 M / Moy [Monthly] Meeting silent & well attended & a solemn sitting in the first Meeting I do not recollect when my mind has been more Solemnized, - perhaps the more so from feeling the absence of some who have stood in the foremost ranks -several of whom are confined by sickness & others absent from home - In the last meeting the buisness was conducted in brotherly harmony - Testimonys concerning our deceased friends Elizabeth Mott & Samuel Thurston were presented & excited much feeling in remembrance of those dear friends, & both were cordially adopted & forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting - The Appointment of Wait Lawton to the station of an Elder was also approved. - We had at dinner Jno Weeden A Weeden. Geo Dennis & Adam Anthony.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal that he took the packet boat from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Providence](#) in order to attend the Quarterly Meeting of the [Quakers](#):

1st day 29th of 1 M / Desirous of Attending the Approching Quarterly Meeting at [Providence](#), With Hannah Dennis set out this morning in the Packet & did not arrive there till sunset - took a dish of tea at Welcome Congdons & walked out to the [School House](#) & lodged where I found John well & very glad to see me as I was him

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 30, Monday: The Menai Bridge opened connecting Anglesey with the mainland of Wales (this was the largest suspension bridge to date, with a suspended span of 176 meters and a clearance of 30 meters).

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

2nd day Walked into [Providence](#) Town & called on a few friends &

4. Gorham would be a student at the [Concord Academy](#) under [the Thoreau brothers](#). He would die on June 17, 1854.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

returned to the [School House](#) to dinner & spent the Afternoon –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 31, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day - a violent Storm of Wind, the Snow which fell last night blew tho' the sky was clear & the [illegible] te fell to 8 degrees below Cypher. – It being the Meeting of the Sub-committee a few met, & among them our Aged friend [Moses Brown](#) - we made a report to the General committee & spent the day in visiting the Schools, much to our satisfaction & Comfort, finding things in good order & the children generally well behaved - lodged at the [School House](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 1, Wednesday: String Quartet “Tod und das Madchen” D.810 by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, at the home of Josef Barth in Vienna.

The [pirate](#) Charles Colson was [hanged](#) in the jailyard on Leverett Street in [Boston](#) — but his partner in crime Charles Marchant had cheated the hangman by offing himself the day before.

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

4th day – Attended Select Meeting, & Meeting for Sufferings, Dined at David Anthonys - took tea & lodged at [Moses Browns](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day our Public Meeting a favord season the chief & most important labourers were Mary Batty & Alice Rathbone of [Smithfield](#) – In the meeting we had an unusual portion of buisness which occasioned [many long smudges for the rest of the entry, but they appear accidental.] us to hold late & put by our Trustees Meeting. – Dined at Wm Jenkins's – took tea at Jons Congdons & returned to the [School House](#) & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 3, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Spent this day in various Services whether [School House](#)–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ February 4, Saturday: Georgiana Leigh, Augusta's eldest daughter, married her cousin Henry Trevanion.

George Henry Billings was born to Caleb Callender Billings and Betsey Brown Hammond Billings. He would die still a toddler, on April 15, 1828.

[James Fenimore Cooper's THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS; A NARRATIVE OF 1757. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE PIONEERS \(Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea. 2 Volumes\).](#)



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

7th day came to town & took breakfast at Jos Anthonys then took the Stages for home & arrived before sunset

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ February 5, Sunday: Buffalo, New York attorney Millard Fillmore got married with Abigail Powers.

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

1st day 5 of 2 M 1826 / Meetings pretty well attended solid &

CHAPTER VII.

"They do not sleep.
On yonder cliffs, a grisly band,
I see them sit."—*Gray.*

"'TWOULD be neglecting a warning that is given for our good, to lie hid any longer," said Hawk-eye, "when such sounds are raised in the forest! These gentle ones may keep close, but the Mohicans and I will watch upon the rock, where I suppose a major of the 60th would wish to keep us company."

"Is then our danger so pressing?" asked Cora.

"He who makes strange sounds, and gives them out for man's information, alone knows our danger. I should think myself wicked unto rebellion against his will, was I to burrow with such warnings in the air! Even the weak soul, who passes his days in singing, is stirred by the cry, and, as he says, is 'ready to go forth to the battle.' If 'twere only a battle, it would be a thing understood by us all, and easily managed; but I have heard that when such shrieks are atween heaven and 'arth, it betokens another sort of warfare!"

"If all our reasons for fear, my friend, are confined to such as proceed from supernatural causes, we have

but little occasion to be alarmed," continued the undisturbed maiden; "are you certain that our enemies have not invented some new and ingenious method to strike us with terror, that their conquest may become more easy?"

"Lady," returned the scout, solemnly, "I have listened to all the sounds of the woods for thirty years, as a man will listen, whose life and death depend so often on the quickness of his ears. There is no whine of the panther; no whistle of the catbird; nor any invention of the devilish Mingoos, that can cheat me! I have heard the forest moan like mortal men, in their affliction; often, and again, have I listened to the wind playing its music in the branches of the girdled trees; and I have heard the lightning cracking in the air, like the snapping of blazing brush, as it spitted forth sparks and forked flames; but never have I thought that I heard more than the pleasure of him, who sported with the things of his hand. But neither the Mohicans, nor I, who am a white man without a cross, can explain the cry just heard. We, therefore, believe it a sign given for our good."

"It is extraordinary!" exclaimed Heyward, taking his pistols from the place where he had laid them, on entering; "be it a sign of peace, or a signal of war, it must be looked to. Lead the way, my friend; I follow."

On issuing from their place of confinement, the whole party instantly experienced a grateful renovation of their spirits, by exchanging the pent air of their hiding place, for the cool and invigorating atmosphere, which played around the whirlpools and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

silent David Buffum & Father Rodman yet confined - their presence we miss on our Meetings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Monday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Appropriation — Slave Trade: Report of the Committee of Ways and Means on the subject of the estimate of appropriations for the service of the year 1826.”—HOUSE REPORTS, 19 Cong. 1 sess. I. No. 65. (Contains report of the Secretary of the Navy and account of expenditures for the African station.)

Nathaniel Gordon was born, almost certainly in Portland, Maine (although, as part of the effort to save him from being hanged as an American slavetrader, his attorney would try to make out that he had been born in England and was not, therefore, subject to US law). He was a descendant of white people who had arrived at Plymouth aboard the *Fortune* in 1621.

 February 9, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 9 of 2 M / Meetings again Silent & solid - Father Rodman at Meeting, for which I desire to be thankful. -
I am weak & low every way - even to depression -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 12, Sunday: [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) received a cure for swollen lymph glands: application of leeches to the neck.

 February 16, Thursday: Against the advice of his wife and friends, Carl Maria von Weber, ill with [tuberculosis](#), departed from Dresden for London to direct the premiere of *Oberon*. Upon his departure, his wife considered she would never again see him alive.

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

5th day 16th of 2nd M 1826 / Our Meeting was rather small & to me a solid & measurably favoured time towards the close short testimonys were delivered by Jonathon & Hannah Dennis -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 19, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 19th of 2nd M / Meetings pretty well attended for the season, both Silent & the morning was a season of favour to me for which I desire to be thankful in this time of dearth & Poverty. -
After meeting in the Afternoon visited our aged friend David Buffum, who I thought was better in health & seemed very bright & cheerful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 February 23, Thursday: Charles Jarvis died in [Concord](#) at the age of 25.

CHARLES JARVIS [of [Concord](#)], son of Deacon Francis Jarvis, was born November 27, 1800 and graduated at [Harvard College](#) in 1821. He studied medicine with Doctors Hurd and Bartlett of [Concord](#), and Shattuck of [Boston](#), and received his medical degree in 1825. He settled in South Bridgewater where he soon obtained a respectable practice. But in the following July he was attacked with a fatal disease, removed to his father's house and died February 23, 1826 aged 25.⁵

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

5th day 23rd of 2 M / At home all day & not at [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting which was this day held there - I feel as if I might have gone with a little more exertion, but so it is, & tho' I do not feel exactly right about it, yet I have been somewhat favour'd in retirement -

[The next twelve lines are heavily crossed out, date included, and the rest of the page left blank.]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 24, Friday: The Treaty of Yandabo ended the 1st war between Great Britain and Burma. The Burmese would be forced to pay an indemnity. Arakan, Tenasserim, Manipur, Assam, and the Burmese coastline would be annexed to British India. Pegu would be returned to Burma.

When he got back home to [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would write in his journal:

6th day 24th of 2 M 1826 / Went this PM to Conanicut to attend some business - was occupied on 7th day & on first day attended their Meeting there- on 2nd day [Monday] came home -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 25, Saturday: On the way to London, Carl Maria von Weber arrived in Paris. During his stay in the city he would meet Luigi Cherubini, Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber, Gioacchino Rossini, Ferdinando Paer, and Charles-Simon Catel. [Hector Berlioz](#), who idolized Weber, sought out the German but was unable to find him. Rossini, observing Weber's terrible health, tried to talk him out of going on to London.

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Spring: William Lloyd Garrison having satisfactorily completed his 7-year apprenticeship as a printer, his employer loaned him funds with which to purchase the Essex Courant, a Newburyport MA newspaper that had been founded a few years earlier by the Democratic-Republicans in opposition to the High Federalist stance of the Herald. Garrison changed the name of the paper to the Free Press and changed its politics to High Federalist. Its new slogan was “Our Country, Our Whole Country and Nothing But Our Country.” (At the age of 21, Garrison began encouraging John Greenleaf Whittier, a local 19-year-old Quaker farm boy, to submit poems for publication in his Free Press.) The 1st of Friend John’s early efforts to see publication was “The Exile’s Departure,” a poem that had been sent to the press not by him but on his behalf by his sister Mary.

At some point during this year, William Lloyd Garrison and several friends would hike in from Newburyport to Boston to see the sights. This was a two-day excursion each way, and the first day out, the group managed 24 miles.



When I was fourteen years old my first school-master, Joshua Coffin, the able, eccentric historian of Newbury, brought with him to our house a volume of Burns' poems, from which he read, greatly to my delight. I begged him to leave the book with me; and set myself at once to the task of mastering the glossary of the Scottish dialect at its close. This was about the first poetry I had ever read, (with the exception of that of the Bible, of which I had been a close student,) and it had a lasting influence upon me I began to make rhymes myself, and to imagine stories and adventures. In fact I lived a sort of dual life, and in a world of fancy, as well as in the world of plain matter-of-fact about me. My father always had a weekly newspaper, and when young Garrison started his "Free Press" at Newburyport, he took it in the place of the "Haverhill Gazette." My sister, who was two years older than myself, sent one of my poetical attempts to the editor. Some weeks afterwards the news-carrier came along on horse-back and threw the paper out from his saddle-bags. My uncle and I were mending fences. I took up the sheet, and was surprised and overjoyed to see my lines in the "Poet's Corner." I stood gazing at them in wonder, and my uncle had to call me several times to my work before I could recover myself. Soon after, Garrison came to our farm-house, and I was called in from hoeing in the corn-field to see him. He encouraged me, and urged my father to send me to school. I longed for education, but the means to procure it were wanting. Luckily, the young man who worked for us on the farm in summer, eked out his small income by making ladies' shoes and slippers in the winter; and I learned enough of him to earn a sum sufficient to carry me through a term of six months in the Haverhill Academy. The next winter I ventured upon another expedient for raising money, and kept a district school in the adjoining town of Amesbury, thereby enabling me to have another academy term. The next winter I spent in Boston, writing for a paper. Returning in the spring, while at work on the farm, I was surprised by an invitation to take charge of the Hartford (Ct.) "Review," in the place of the famous George D. Prentice, who had removed to Kentucky. I had sent him some of my school "compositions," which he had received favorably. I was unwilling to lose the chance of doing something more in accordance with my taste, and, though I felt my unfitness for the place, I accepted it, and remained nearly two years, when I was called home by the illness of my father, who died soon after. I then took charge of the farm, and worked hard to "make both ends meet;" and, aided by my mother's and sister's thrift and economy, in some measure succeeded.



April 2, Sunday: A concert to benefit Valentin Alkan took place in the Pape showroom, Paris. This was his debut as pianist and composer.

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

1st day 2 of 4 M 1826 / Silent meetings excepting a few words



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

from Father Rodman in the Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 16: On orders of Sultan Mahmud II, the [Janissaries](#), the elite of the Ottoman army, were killed in their barracks by Spahis (cavalry).

EGYPTIANS

Great Britain recognized the independence of Mexico.

ENGLISH EVENTS OF 1826

The captain of the American ship *Silas Richards* off Nova Scotia, at St. George's Bank, and one of the passengers, an Englishman named William Warburton, witnessed an enormous, many-humped snakelike creature, slowly approaching the ship.

 June 17, Saturday: Twelve days after the death of Carl Maria von Weber, Heinrich August Marschner applied to the King of Saxony for his position (he would not get it).

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

*7th day A large collection at Tower Hill Meeting House where our friend Elizabeth Robson had much to communicate to the people much to the satisfaction of all present – after Meeting I visited the grave of my cousin Lewis L Clarke who lays buried in the ground on which that Meeting House stands - a remembrance of the Interest he took in such Meetings which we had just attended was fresh in my feelings. –
We dined at Rowland Hazards & then rode to the Ferry & crossed over to Connanicut & from thence to [Newport](#) by sunsett. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 18, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18th of 6 M 1826 / This forenoon Our frd E Robson attended our Meeting in [Newport](#), was large & favoured in testimony & afterward had an opportunity with the Members of the Meeting. –Not feeling her mind clear of Connanicut as [s]he crossed it yesterday, [s]he had a Meeting appointed there at 4 OC this Afternoon. I with several others went over with her & got there in season to hold the Meeting & return before Dark to Newport. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 19, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 19th of 6th M / This morning I went over to Abigail Robinsons on the Point to see & be with our dear Friend E Robson



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

a little while before she left us. -After they got ready I rode with them as far as D Buffum's, from whence they set out for [New Bedford](#), with Jona Dennis & wife for guide - we parted in much love & I trust shall remember each other when far separated. - She is a neighbour & intimate friend of my dear frd Thos Thompson of Liverpool. --

In the course of this Yearly Meeting I have been favoured many ways, & had renewed cause to thank the Father of Mercies, that with all my imperfections, & grievous short comings, I am yet cared for, & believe that however low & gloomy things may appear either in the inward or outward, as there is an abiding in the Faith & patience, light will arise, help will be afforded, at seasons when it may appear as if all before us was darkness & dismay - but oh for an increase of this faith in my heart which can & does remove mountains. - Among other things which has comforted my heart, is a prospect which has opened of keeping my son at the Yearly Meeting School for sometime longer - from a quarter & in a way where I did not expect -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 20, Tuesday: A treaty was signed between Siam and the United Kingdom. Polak and Selangor districts were declared independent, Kedah was awarded to Siam, and the island of Pangkor and the Sembilan Islands went to Britain.



June 21, Wednesday: A funeral procession for Carl Maria von Weber wound through London. All important singers in London offered their services. The remains were placed in Moorfields Chapel.



June 22, Thursday: A decree by Tsar Nikolai set up a Supreme Censorship Committee over a nationwide system of censorship and guidelines for their oversight of literature and the arts.

The 1st Pan-American Congress meets in Panama called by [Simón Bolívar](#) to create a union of Spanish speaking America. After three weeks of discussions, the congress would disband with little accomplished.

Adina o Il califfo di Bagdad, a farsa by Gioachino Rossini to words of Bevilacqua-Aldobrandini, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Sao Carlos, Lisbon. This was the only premiere of a Rossini opera at which the composer was not present.

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

5th day 22nd of 6th M 1826 / Our Meeting seemed small in comparison with some we have sat in of late. - & to me it was but a poor time. - there was no buisness in the Preparative Meeting - This Afternoon Solomon Lukins who has travelled in company with Elizabth Robson most of the time since she has been in America, returned from [New Bedford](#) to [Newport](#) on his return into Pennsylvania where he lives - he called at our house & put up with us till an opportunity presents for a passage to NYork.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



June 23, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 23rd of 6 M / Solomon Lukens found an opportunity to go to NYork this morning in a Packet with the Wind North East & as fair as it could be which will facilitate his progress, a little sooner than if he had waited till tomorrow to take the Steam Boat. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 24, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 24th of 6th M / Attended the funeral of Anthony Dixon with whom I have been about 11 Years associated as an Assessor of taxes - he was a valuable man to the community at large for many years he did not attend any place of public worship, till about 1819, since which he has regularly attended Friends Meeting on first day & brought his grandchildren with him. - Friends have visited him in his sickness & were satisfied he was near the Kingdom, particularly our friend Anna Braithwaite went to see him & had an opportunity with him much to his comfort & consolation -he died on the 21st about half past one OC in the Morning- & was buried after the plain manner of Friends this Afternoon in the burying ground near his house at the South end of the town partly in the Neck & formerly the property of his father in law Robt Taylor

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25th of 6th M 1826 / Our Morning Meeting was pretty large, perhaps some come in expectation that Anna Braithwaite was there Susanna Vigneron, David Buffum, Hannah Dennis & Clarke Rodman all bore short testimonys. - Silent in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 29, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 29th of 6th M / Rose early this Morning & walked to Uncle Stantons by early breakfast time - took his Wagon & with John rode to Meeting - The First sitting was silent & a favoured one to me - In the last we had but little buisness, but it took us considerable time to do that little, & things were resulted in harmony & good brotherhood - Josiah Chase & Elizabeth Freeborn proposed their intentions of Marriage. - Returned after Meeting to Uncle Stantons dined spent the Afternoon & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 30, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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6th day Morning he sent his Wagon in & John & I returned home in it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 1, Saturday: The [Quakers](#) began taking up the bodies from their burial ground on Congress Street in [Boston](#), and relocating them in the burial ground adjoining the meetinghouse on Silsbee Street in Lynn.

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

7th day 1st of 7th M 1826 / This Afternoon our dear Son John whom we love very tenderly has again left us for [Providence](#), to be at the [Yearly Meeting School](#), he has been at home just four weeks - & to our comfort & consolation find his being their last Year has been of great service to him. - we pray for his wellfare & are very thankful he cane have the priviledge of being at the School -

We went in the Steam Boat Babcock David Buffum in company, who is going up to attend to the final settlement of the Fund left to the School by [Obadiah Brown](#) & the part of it which now falls due at the decease of his widow [Dorcas Brown](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 2, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2 of 7 M / Rather heavy & small meeting, tho' we had some public exercise forenoon & Afternoon. We took tea & set the evening at Father Rodmans. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 3, Monday: Heinrich August Marschner got married for a 3d time, with Marianne Wohlbruck, a well-known opera singer, in Dresden.



 Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Tuesday: Construction was initiated at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on the [Main Line Canal](#).

The cornerstone was laid for the first lock of the [Oswego Canal](#).

About noon, Stephen Collins Foster was born in Lawrenceville (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, the 9th child of William Barclay Foster, a businessman, and Eliza Clayland Tomlinson, daughter of a fairly well-off farmer.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) and Eugene Scribe met in Paris to discuss Robert le diable for perhaps the 1st time.

English newspapers picked up and translated, word for word, the hoax or invention that had appeared in the *Journal du Commerce de Lyon* about an Englishman, one [Roger Dodsworth](#), who had apparently been frozen

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in a Mount Saint Gothard glacier since an avalanche in 1654, and had on July 4th been recovered and reanimated “by the usual remedies” by a Dr. Hotham of Northumberland. [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) read this newspaper account and by October would produce her THE REANIMATED MAN.



Isabella (Sojourner Truth), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly lost a finger while working for him — so he figured she still owed him

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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some work. Fair's fair, right? No freedom, no log cabin, not yet, work some more. (But maybe later I'll be able to keep my promise.)



The newspapers of 1826 abounded with descriptions of solemn odes, processions, orations, toasts, and other such commemoratives of July 4th, the 50th anniversary of the [Declaration of Independence](#). One reflection of the public conception of the Declaration was Royall Tyler's "Country Song for the Fourth of July," a poem that describes a New England celebration of the [Brother Jonathan](#) type, where neighbors gather for food, fun, and festivities. A clear view of just how the political ideals of the Declaration were received by the masses shines through Tyler's rhymed directions for the country dance. Here is how his dance appeared in an 1841 publication (although Tyler, who would die on August 26, 1826 from cancer of the face, could only have composed this in a considerably earlier timeframe).

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day is come!!
Let the roasting pig be bled,
Quick twist off the cockere!'s head.
Quickly rub the pewter platter.
Heap the nutcakes, fried in butter.
Set the cups, and beaker glass,
The Pumpkin and the apple sauce.

Send the keg to shop for brandy;
Maple sugar we have handy,
Independent, staggering Dick,
A noggin mix of swingeing thick,
Sal, put on your russet skirt,
Jotham, get your **boughten** shirt,
To-day we dance to tiddle diddle.
—Here comes Sambo with his fiddle;

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey,
And play up Yankee doodle frisky.
Moll, come leave your witched tricks,
And let us have a reel of six;
Father and mother shall make two;
Sal, Moll, and I, stand all a-row,
Sambo, play and dance with quality;
This is the day of blest equality,

Father and **mother** are but **men**,
And Sambo — is a citizen.
Come foot it, Sal, — Moll, figure in.
And, mother, you dance up to him;
Now saw fast as e'er you can do
And father, you cross o'er to Sambo,



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—Thus we dance, and thus we play,
On glorious Independence Day. —

[2 more verses in like manner]

In Salem, Massachusetts, 4th-of-July orator the Reverend [Henry Root Colman](#) delivered the necessary holiday oration. This would be printed by the town as AN ORATION DELIVERED IN SALEM, JULY 4, 1826, AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN, ON THE COMPLETION OF A HALF CENTURY SINCE THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. Meanwhile, elsewhere, 4th-of-July orator [George Bancroft](#) was alerting an audience to the fact that his attitudes about government were coming to tend toward the democratic.

On this 50th anniversary of our American independence, which at the time we were referring to as our “Jubilee of Freedom” event, on the 22d birthday of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), both former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) and former President John Adams died.⁶ This was taken at the time to constitute a sign of national favor from Heaven, although why death ought to be regarded as a sign of favor remains untheorized — perhaps once again we Americans were “pushing the envelope” of what it is to be a human being. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: [Jefferson](#): “Is it the 4th?” —Ah.” John Adams: “Thomas Jefferson still survives” (actually Jefferson had died at 12:50PM and then Adams died at 5:30PM.)

Even before news of Jefferson’s demise had reached Washington DC, Mayor Roger C. Weightman was having his final letter read aloud at that city’s Independence Day national-birthday festivities. The most stirring words in that former president’s missive —his assertion that the mass of mankind had not been born “with saddles on their backs” nor a favored few “booted and spurred” to “ride” them— had of course originated in the speech delivered by the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold on the scaffold moments before his execution for treason against the English monarchy, at the conclusion of the English Civil War, in the Year of Our Lord 1685.⁷ Those who noticed that the former President had intentionally or unknowingly been borrowing sentiments did not see fit to record that fact in writing.⁸

Former president Jefferson’s death at [Monticello](#) (“All my wishes and where I hope my days will end — at

6. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic. Refer to L. H. Butterfield, “The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), pages 135-38; Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (NY, 1993), pages 210-16; Robert P. Hay, “The Glorious Departure of the American Patriarchs: Contemporary Reactions to the Deaths of Jefferson and Adams,” *Journal of Southern History*, XXXV (1969), pages 543-55; Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, 1960, pages 3-14.
7. Macaulay’s HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. “Rumbold’s Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson’s Last Words on Democracy, 1826,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, IX (1952): pages 526, 530:

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

Rumbold was not merely being [hanged](#) but being hanged, drawn, and quartered — the penalty for an attempt upon the monarch. This trope about horses, saddles, boots, and spurs was taken at the time to have been originated by Jefferson, in John A. Shaw’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 and in Henry Potter’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA, JULY 20TH, 1826 and in John Tyler’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, JULY 11, 1826 in A SELECTION OF EULOGIES, PRONOUNCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES, IN HONOR OF THOSE ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN, JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON (Hartford CT: 1826). See also THE LAST LETTER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: BEING HIS ANSWER TO AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON IN CELEBRATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: MONTICELLO, JUNE 24, 1826 (Washington DC: 1826).

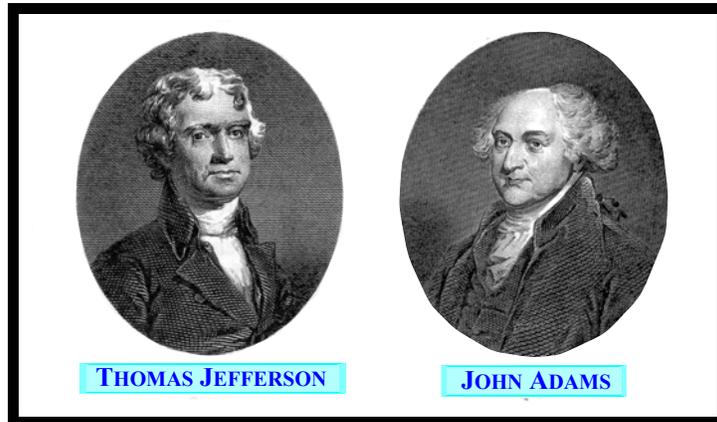
That 17th-Century incident was not the first one in our history to conform to the dictum “there must be none higher than us, though of course there must always be some lower than us,” for in the 14th Century the Reverend John Ball had been [hanged](#) for preaching against public toleration of privileged classes:

*“When Adam dalf [digged] and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?”*

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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Monticello.”) would be followed shortly by the auction of his 90 black slaves over 12 years of age –along with his 12 black slaves between 9-12 years of age, his 73 cows of unknown coloration, and his 27 horses also of unknown coloration– for he had been living quite beyond his means, bringing back with him for instance from France no fewer than 86 large crates of civilized goodies. Jefferson did, however, set free his mulatto blood relatives. Jefferson, one might say, in allowing that after a certain number of crosses with white daddys, an infant ought to be considered to be white, had “pushed the envelope” of what it meant to be a human being. Yeah, right.



Stephen Foster, who would compose “Oh, Susanna,” was born on the 4th of July.

Mary Moody Emerson entered into her Almanack a comment that this was the day on which her Country had thrown the gage (thrown down the gauntlet, issued a challenge to a duel of honor):

*tho' the revolution gave me to slavery of poverty
& ignorance & long orphanship, – yet it gave my*

8. Note that we have here an American author who is establishing his claim to fame upon his being the author of the memorable phrases of our foundational document, and who is attempting incautiously to do so by appropriating phrases originated by someone else. Also, we have here an American public so stupid or so patriotic that it lets him get away with it. Witness John A. Shaw, EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 in A Selection of Eulogies, Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of Those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Hartford, Conn., 1826), 163; Henry Potter, “Eulogy, Pronounced in Fayetteville, North-Carolina, July 20th, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies....., 130; John Tyler, “Eulogy, Pronounced at Richmond, Virginia, July 11, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies....., 7-8; National Intelligencer, July 4, 1826; Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, July 12, 1826; Philadelphia Gazette, July 5, 1826; Commercial Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser, July 11, 1826; The last letter of the illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Esq. author of the Declaration of Independence: Being his answer to an invitation to join the citizens of Washington in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence: Monticello, June 24, 1826 (Washington, D.C., 1826).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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fellow men liberty



Isabella (Sojourner Truth), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly chopped off one of her fingers while working for him –so he figured she couldn’t work as productively with only nine fingers as she had with ten, and so –he figured she must still owe him some work. Fair’s fair, right? No freedom, no cabin, not yet, instead work some more for nothing. (But don’t lose heart, as maybe later I’ll be able to keep my solemn promise.)

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

In New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Dale Owen gave a speech he called his “Declaration of Mental Independence.”

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), four of those who had participated in the capture of the British armed schooner *Gaspe* during the Revolutionary War rode in a parade.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Major John Handy read the [Declaration of Independence](#) “on the identical spot which he did 50 years ago,” in the presence of Isaac Barker of [Middletown](#), “who was at his side in the same place fifty years before.” Patriotic fun and games! Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) protested to his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7th M 1826 / This is what is called Independence Day - & an exceeding troublesome one it is to all sober Minded people - The expence of this day given to the poor or appropriated to public school would school all the poor children in town for some time. - Last night, we were the whole night greatly troubled & kept Awake, by the firing of squibs & crackers, great Bonfire in the middle of the Parade & tar Barrells, with various noises which were kept up all night & consequently kept us & many others awake, to our great discomfiture - in addition to which is the bitter reflection of the discipation & corruption of habits & morals to which our youth are exposed. - & today we have had numerous scenes of



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*drunkness both among the Aged & Youth, & many act of wickedness
-besides the pomp & vain show apparant in all parts of the Town
-This evening again we are troubled with noise & tumult & what
kind of a night we are to have cannot be told. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In New-York, 4 gold medals had been ordered to be struck by the Common Council: 3 were for surviving signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#), and the 4th was given to the son of Robert Fulton as a memorial of “genius in the application of steam.”

In a celebration at Lynchburg, Virginia, among the “aged patriots of ’76” were General John Smith and Captain George Blakenmore.

At the South Meeting House of Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas stood on the spot from which he had read the [Declaration of Independence](#) in 1776.

The [Frederick-Town Herald](#) of Frederick, [Maryland](#) announced that it would no longer be publishing the usual round of “generally dull, insipid” dinner toasts, “about which few feel any interest.”

In Salem, [North Carolina](#), the Moravian Male Academy was dedicated.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, Miss Caroline Whitney delivered an address on the occasion of the presentation of a flag to the Quincy Light Infantry.

In Arlington, Virginia, General Washington’s tent, the very same tent that the General had been using at the heights of Dorchester in 1775, was re-erected near the banks of the Potomac River for purposes of celebration.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 3, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal about having on the previous day been present at Faneuil Hall to hear [Daniel Webster](#)'s eulogy for the deceased [Thomas Jefferson](#) and John Adams:

Yesterday I attended the funeral solemnities in Faneuil Hall in honor of John Adams & Thomas Jefferson. The Oration of Mr Webster was worthy of his fame & what is much more was worthy of the august occasion.



[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) traveled to Bad Reinerz in Lower Silesia accompanied by his sisters Emilia and Ludwika and his mother. They were there for treatment, especially for Emilia, who was showing symptoms of [tuberculosis](#) and was probably contagious. Fryderyk, although ill himself, possibly contracted the disease from her. They would remain there for five weeks.

The family of Samuel Ringgold Ward arrived in New-York, and lodged for the first night with their relatives, the parents of the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet:

We lived several years at Waldron's Landing, in the neighbourhood of the Reeves, Woods, Bacons, and Lippineutts, who were among my father's very best friends, and whose children were among my schoolfellows. However, in the spring and summer of 1826, so numerous and alarming were the depredations of kidnapping and slave-catching in the neighbourhood, that my parents, after keeping the house armed night after night, determined to remove to a place of greater distance and greater safety. Being accommodated with horses and a waggon by kind friends, they set out with my brother in their arms for New York City, where they arrived on the 3rd day of August, 1826, and lodged the first night with relations, the parents of the Rev. H.H. Garnett, now of Westmoreland, Jamaica. Here we found some 20,000 coloured people. The State had just emancipated all its slaves - viz., on the fourth day of the preceding month - and it was deemed safer to live in such a city than in a more open country place, such as we had just left. Subsequent events, such as the ease with which my two relatives were taken back in 1828 - the truckling of the mercantile and the political classes to the slave system - the large amount of slaveholding property



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owned by residents of New York – and, worst, basest, most diabolical of all, the cringing, canting, hypocritical friendship and subserviency of the religious classes to slavery – have entirely dissipated that idea.

I look upon Greenwich, New Jersey, the place of my earliest recollections, very much as most persons remember their native place. There I followed my dear father up and down his garden, with fond childish delight; the plants, shrubs, flowers, &c., I looked upon as of his creation. There he first taught me some valuable lessons – the use of the hoe, to spell in three syllables, and to read the first chapter of John's Gospel, and my figures; then, having exhausted his literary stock upon me, he sent me to school. There I first read the BIBLE to my beloved mother, and read in her countenance (what I then could not read in the book) what that BIBLE was to her. Were my native country free, I could part with any possession to become the owner of that, to me, most sacred spot of earth, my father's old garden. Had I clung to the use of the hoe, instead of aspiring to a love of books, I might by this time have been somebody, and the reader of this volume would not have been solicited by this means to consider the lot of the oppressed American Negro.

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

5th day – Our public Meeting was large & favoured Our frd Wm Almy was alone in service & was large acceptable & edifying – in the last the appointment of Hannah Almy from our Moy [Monthly] Meeting & Jos Metcalf & Lydia Smith from [Providence](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting to the Station of Elders was confirmed. – After Meeting & dined at B Freeborns, & went on to [Providence](#) in the Waggon with Nicholas Congdon to attend the [School Committee](#), & arrived at the School House about dark – found John well & spent the evening pleasantly with him & friends there & there lodged –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 4, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Attended the School committee, some labour & exercise attended the setting for buisness, but we found much encouragement to think well of the Institution, & our visits to the School were attended with that precious sense of love & precious spirit which indeed constrained the acknowledgement that it was good for us to be there, – that it was good for our society that the School existed & furnished a strengthened hope that a Succession of standard bearers would be raised up to fill the places of us who were then Acting as caretakers of those before us in the School – – I lodged at my dear aged friend [Moses Browns](#) & on 7th day Morning returned to the School & spent the founnoon & dined – then went to Town & at 3 OClock came home in the Steam Boat.–

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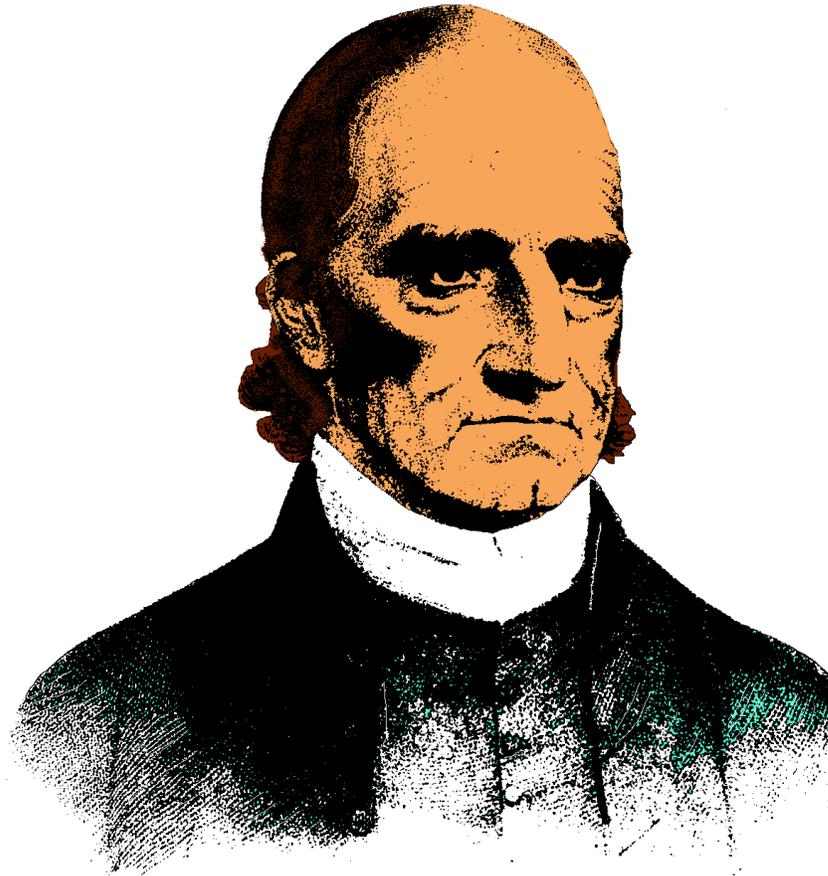
 September 9, Saturday: This was the beginning of the great [Quaker](#) schism between [Hicksites](#) or integrationists and Evangelicals or Traditional Friends or apartheidists or segregationists. Thomas Shillitoe, a British Friend who had been minuted to come to the United States to express the concerns of the keepers of the faith in England, had just landed, and rose in Hester Street Meeting in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* “Long Island,” to declare that Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was “unchristian.” Although during his visit he several times passed the door of the Hicks home, and once was seen passing and personally entreated by Friend Elias to come inside, he believed

*“It was safest for me
not to comply with his request.”*

A contemporary biographer of this Quaker worthy declined to specify what it was that had gotten the English Quakers so exercised, explaining that

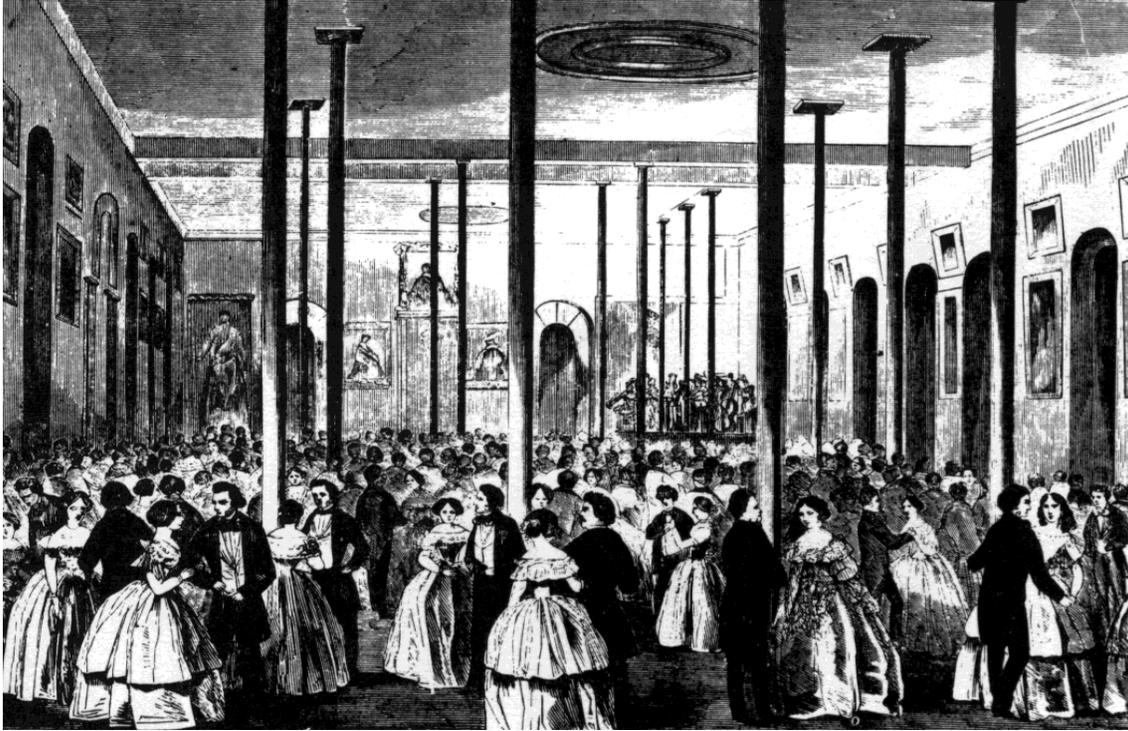
*“Many of Elias Hicks’s assertions are
too blasphemous for quotation.”*

But for many American Quakers, English Quakerism was regarded as not only the originator of the faith but also as the defender of the faith against a great falling away.

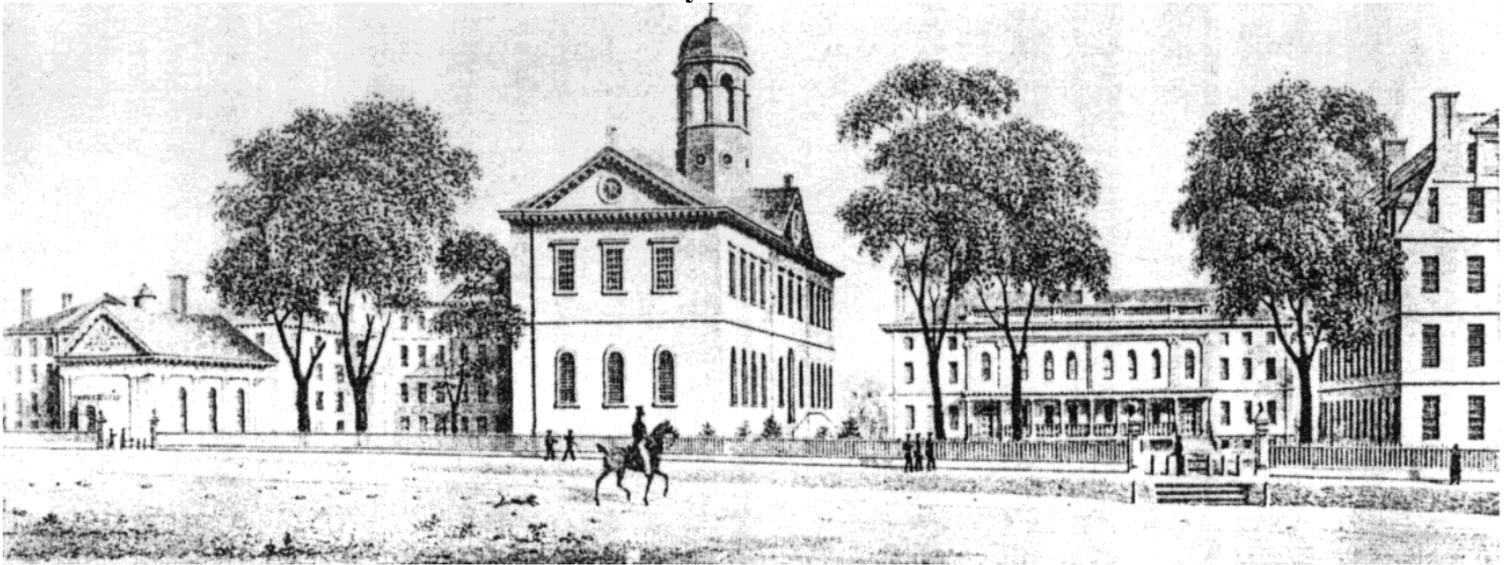


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

[Waldo Emerson](#) graduated from [Harvard Divinity School](#) at the age of 23.



Class Day in Harvard Hall

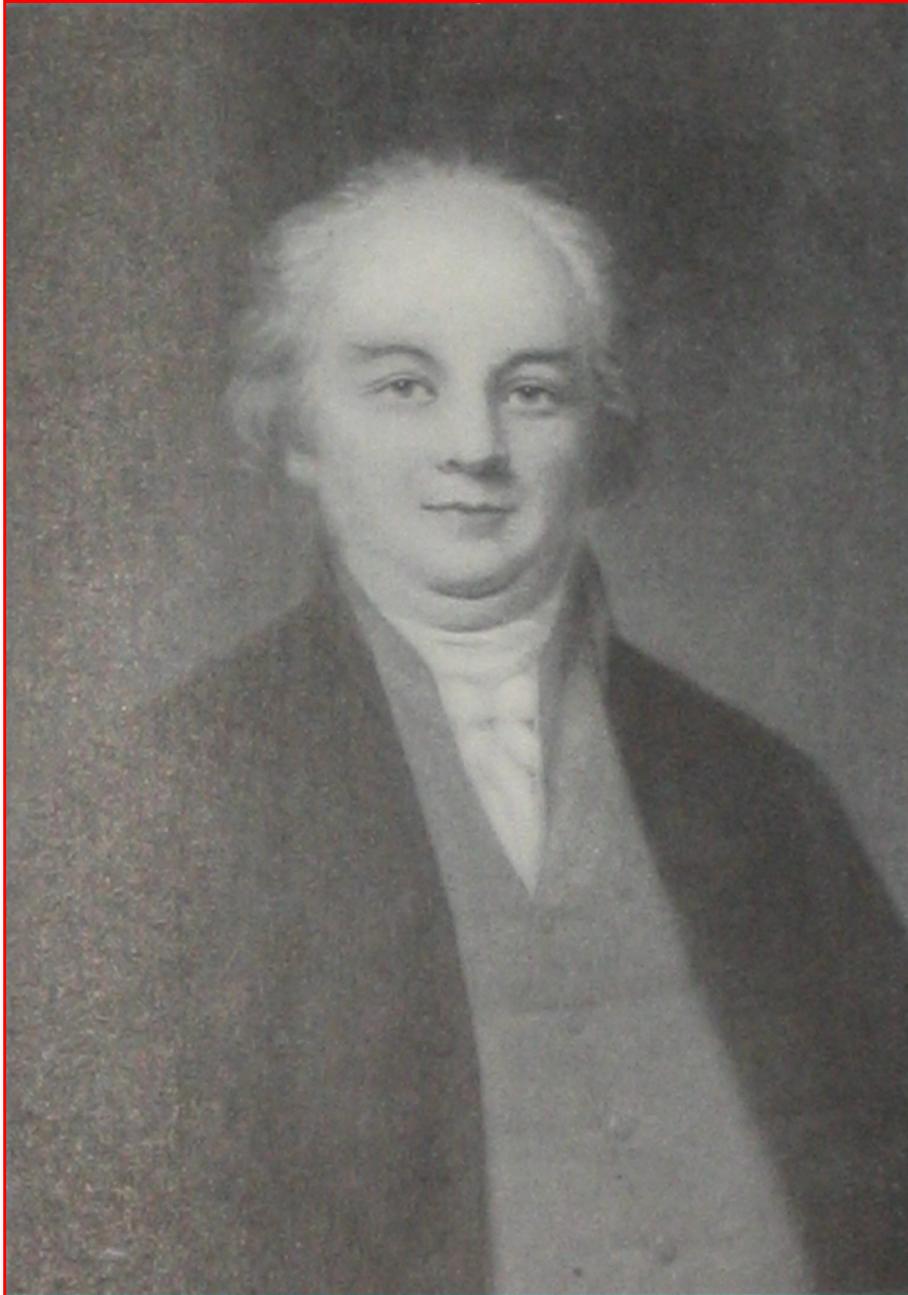


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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September 17: [Friend Moses Brown](#) wrote to Josiah Forster, describing the Friends School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and the Obadiah Brown Fund.



Friend Obadiah M. Brown



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



September 26: [Friend Israel Morris](#) proposed to [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) — who, although she was in love with him, would not accept the married condition.

Back in 1814 and 1819, [Friend Moses Brown](#) had committed himself to donating 43 acres of his farm on [Providence Neck](#) in [Rhode Island](#) for use as a [Quaker](#) school. In 1819 the school had begun operation. On this date the details of the transaction were completed. A certified clerk's copy is to be inspected in Book 54, on pages 455-456, of the bound copies of historical title transactions kept just under the mansard roof of our Providence City Hall. (Providence Neck is now referred to as "the hoighty-toighty East Side.") The land deeded as of this date was along what is now referred to as Olney Street, but at the time this road was being referred to as "Neck Road." (Neck Road ran directly up the hill along what is now Olney Street, turned at the top of the hill to follow what is now Morris Avenue, then turned again along what is now Sessions Street and Cole Street and Rochambeau Avenue, and plunged through what is now the entrance to Butler Hospital, to Swan Point and then to the Pawtucket Line. This was the track that one would follow if one wanted to, say, for some reason, journey to Boston.) The land deeded as of this date was also along what was then being referred to as "Ferry lane," which roughly approximated what is now Hope Street except that it came to an end into Olney at a point somewhat to the west of the present Hope/Olney intersection. Neither the leaky city water reservoir nor the Hope High School on the west side of the street had as yet been constructed (nor even the High School building which had preceded this current High School building, on the east side of the street where there are now doctors' offices). The 43 acres of the Moses Brown farm being granted in this deed of gift actually extended a number of feet to the west of what is now the intersection of Hope Street and Olney Street, passing underneath where the current Hope High School building now stands. Also, a portion of this Moses Brown farm being so granted and deeded was actually north of the present course of Olney Street. Also, to the east, the Moses Brown farm being so granted and deeded then extended all the way down the hill to what is now the midline of Arlington Avenue. What you see now as the Moses Brown property, therefore, is truncated, for it had in the beginning extended to include the land of the row of house lots now along the west side of the campus, the land under the two rows of house lots now along the north side of the campus, and the land under the two rows of house lots now along the east side of the campus.

The salient portions of this deed of gift of 1826 are to be found in the following phrases:

"for and in consideration of his regard and affection for the principals of truth, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People called Quakers and Known among themselves by the name of Friends, and from a desire that the children and rising generations may be educated in a guarded manner, both as to their moral and religious principals, as professed by the said People and practiced by the faithful among them," and "and their successors and assigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends or Quakers, of the yearly meeting for New-England to erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House or Houses for the use, intent and purpose of instruction and of a guarded, religious, moral and literary education, of the rising generation of Friends, and such others as they may think best to admit in a Boarding Schoole or Schools, according to the original minutes of the intentions of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land so conveyed to us as aforesaid was by the provisions of said Deed, to be at the sole disposal and under the direction of the said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always in such as manner, as, that the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, and use of the same should be applied at all times forever to and for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and maintaining thereon a Boarding School or Schools for the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, and to and for no other use or purpose whatever," and "To have and to hold, the said granted premesis with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their fuccefsors forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings for a School House or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, and of keeping up and maintaining a Boarding School or Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, and Literary Education of the rising generation of Friends and such others as the present Grantees may think best, from time to time to admit into the said School or Schools. And the said granted premeses and the property, rents, income and profits thereof, are at all times hereafter, to be at the disposal and



under the direction and management of the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England and their successors forever; to be applied by them for the sole use and purpose of educating the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, and for no other use or purpose whatever. And the said Incorporated Society, and their successors forever as aforesaid, are hereby authorized and empowered, directed and required, at all times forever hereafter, fully effectually and faithfully to fulfil, perform, and execute all and singular the uses, trusts and purposes, as set forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had as aforesaid, and also, as the same are in this present Deed set forth, expressed and declared according to the true interest and a meaning thereof.” These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people, including Friend Moses Brown, who had close familiarity with the ways of the world, “the way the world works,” and in particular had a close familiarity with the ways in which decent intentions may be subvertible over the course of time in the pursuit of expediency.⁹ These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people who were intent upon preventing, if at all possible, their decent intentions from being, in the distant future, subverted. Their voices cry out to us now:

*To all People to whom these Presents shall come. /
Know ye, Whereas Moses
Brown of Providence by his deed bearing date /
on the twenty sixth day
of the ninth month AD 1826, and recorded in the /
Town Clerks office in
said Town in book N^o 42 pages 400, 401, /
and 402, for and in consid-
eration of his regard and affection for the /
principals [sic] of truth, as recorded
in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People /
called Quakers and
Known among themselves by the name of Friends, /
and from a desire
that the children and rising generations may be /
educated in a
guarded manner, both as to their moral and /
religious principals [sic], as
professed by the said People and practiced by the /
faithful among
them, gave, granted, conveyed and confirmed, a certain /
lot of land
being the north west part of the farm, whereupon the /
said Moses dwells
containing by estimation about forty three acres, /
be the same more or
less and is bounded as follows, beginning at the south /
west corner of the
granted premises, and at the north west corner of land /
late belonging
to Knight Dexter, at the road formerly called Ferry /
lane, thence
along the dividing line as the wall now stands, /*

9. As an instance of this type of subversion, I will cite that after meeting for silent worship one first day at the Providence meetinghouse, Friend Carl T. Bogus, a person who had attended the Moses Brown School during a time period in which he admits that there was no Quaker presence whatever in the daily life of the school, declared to me: “I have not read anything that you have written but I have seen the origination document by Friend Moses Brown. Its requirements have been fully met whenever there is a school –any school, regardless of the extent to which it is Quaker or not Quaker– on the premises.” (Friend Carl is a professor of law.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

about thirty eight rods
to a turn in the wall [the following inserted between /
the lines with a ^ mark] /
{then along the same about forty one rods to /
another turn in the wall} thence /
about twenty one rods, to the road at the
north east corner, of land late belonging to said Dexter, /
in said Providence
neck, thence north about sixteen degrees west seventy /
five rods along
the said road as the Wall now stands, to a corner of /
the Stone Wall opposite the Land
belonging to the children of Daniel Brown deceased, /
then turning and running Westward, by the
Stone Wall and ^the Road twenty eight Rods then turning /
at another corner of the Wall, at ^the junction
of an other Road, and turning and running South /
about twelve degrees West about eight and a half
Rods, along the said Road leading from Providence /
through the Neck to Pawtucket, then
running Westerly about thirty seven rods towards said /
Town till it meets Thomas L. Halseys
Wall, then turning and running South about two degrees /
West along said Halseys and said Moses line
as the wall stands about Forty seven Rods, the turning /
West about seventeen degrees South about
twenty Rods, along the dividing line aforesaid, to /
the first mentioned highway, then South about
twenty seven degrees East along the said highway as /
the Wall stands about thirty four Rods to the first
mentioned corner, to his for Obadiah Brown, /
Sylvester Wickes, and Micajah Collins, /
all since deceased,
and also to us William Almy, William Buffum, /
Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman
and William Rotch junior and their succefsors and /
afsigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and
purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends /
or Quakers, of the yearly Meeting for /
New-England to
erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House /
or Houses for the use, intent and purpose /
of instruct-
-ion and of a guarded, religious, moral and /
literary education, of the rising generation /
of Friends, and such others
as they may think best to admit in a Boarding /
Schoole [sic] or Schools, /
according to the original minutes of the intentions
of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land /
so conveyed to us ^as aforesaid was /
by the provisions of said Deed, to be at



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*the sole disposal and under the direction of the /
said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always /
in such a manner, as, that
the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, /
and use of the same should be applied /
at all times forever to and
for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and /
maintaining thereon a Boarding School /
or Schools for
the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, /
and to and for no other use or purpose whatever, /
as is
fully set forth expressed and declared, in the said /
Deed, of said Moses Brown, reference thereto /
being had.
And whereas the said Yearly Meeting of /
Friends have since the execution of said /
Deed become an
Incorporated Society by the name of the Yearly meeting /
of Friends for New-England by virtue of /
an
Act of the General Assembly of this State passed /
at their October Fefsion One thousand
eight hundred and Twenty three, entitled /
"An Act to authorise [sic] and enable the /
Yearly Meeting of
Friends for New-England to receive, hold, /
manage, appropriate and dispose of property /
for
charitable and benevolent and for other /
purposes" reference to said Act being had. /
And whereas it is
believed by all the parties interested in said tract /
of Land, and in the Trusts expressed and declared /
in
said Deed, the Trusts and purposes aforesaid would /
be better performed, and the intentions of /
said Moses
Brown more fully executed carried into effect /
by a conveyance of said Trust property /
to said Incorpo
rated Society and the same being conformable /
to the provisions of said Deed and having /
been required
by the School committee of the Yearly Meeting of /
Friends for New-England, by their minutes /
bearing date
the second day of the eleventh month one thousand /
eight hundred and twenty seven, reference /
thereto being
had, it is deemed prudent, expedient and advisable, /
to convey the said Trust property, /*



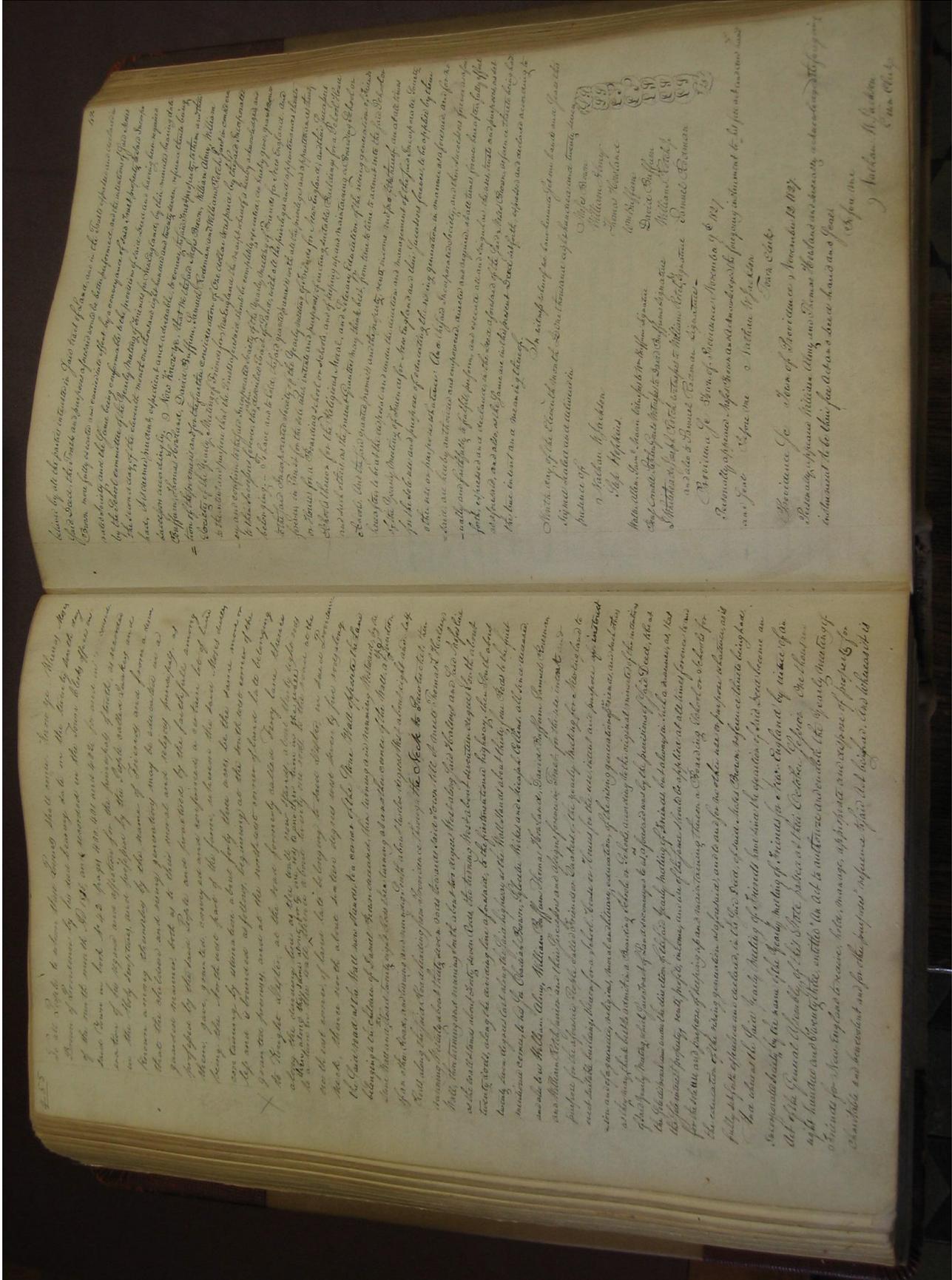
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to them and their
Succesfsors accordingly. Now Know ye, that We the /
said Moses Brown, William Almy, William
Buffum, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman /
and William Rotch Jun^r in considera
-tion of the premesis and for the further consideration /
of One Dollar to us paid by the said Incorporated
Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
New-England the receipt whereof /
is hereby acknowledged, and
to the intent and purpose that the Trusts aforesaid /
should be completely executed, do hereby /
give, grant, conv
-ey and confirm to the said Incorporated Society /
of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
New England, and
to their Succesfsors forever, the ^afore described /
Tract of Land, with all the privileges /
and appurtenances thereto
belonging. ~ To have and to hold, the said granted /
premesis with all the privileges and /
appurtenances thereof
to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting /
of Friends for New-England, and their fuccefsors
forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents /
and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings /
for a School House
or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, /
and of keeping up and maintaining a /
Boarding School or
Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, /
and Literary Education of the rising generation /
of Friends
and such others as the present Grantees may think /
best, from time to time to admit into the /
said School or
Schools. And the said granted premeses and the /
property, rents, income and profits thereof, /
are at all times
hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the /
direction and management of the said /
Incorporated Society
of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England /
and their fuccessors forever, to be applied /
by them
for the sole use and purpose of educating /
the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, /
and for no
other use or purpose whatever. And the said /
Incorporated Society, and their successors /
forever as afore
-said, are hereby authorized and empowered, /

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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1436
 believed by all the parties interested in said tract of Land, and in the Trusts expressed and declared in
 said Deed, the Trusts and purposes aforesaid would be better performed, and the intentions of said Moses
 Brown more fully executed and carried into effect by a conveyance of said Trust property to said Incorporated
 Society and the same being conformable to the provisions of said Deed and having been required
 by the School committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, by their minutes bearing date
 the second day of the eleventh month one thousand eight hundred and twenty seven, reference thereto being
 had, it deemed prudent, expedient and advisable, to convey the said Trust property, to them and their
 successors accordingly. Now know ye, that We the said Moses Brown, William Almy, William
 Buffum, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman and William Patch just in considera-
 tion of the premises and for the further consideration of One William Howland by the said Incorporated
 Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and
 to the intent and purpose that the Trusts aforesaid should be completely executed, do hereby give, grant, con-
 firm and confirm to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and
 to their successors forever, the above described tract of Land, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto
 belonging. To have and to hold, the said granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto
 to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their successors
 forever, in Trust for the sole use, intents and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings for a School House
 or House for a Boarding School or Schools, and of keeping up and maintaining a Boarding School or
 Schools thereon for the Religious Moral, and Literary Education of the rising generation of Friends
 and such others, as the present Trustees may think best, from time to time to admit into the said School or
 Schools. And the said granted premises and the property, rents, income and profits thereof, as at all times
 hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the direction and management of the said Incorporated Society
 of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England and their successors forever, to be applied by them
 for the sole use and purpose of educating the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, and for no
 other use or purpose whatever: And the said Incorporated Society, and their successors forever as aforesaid,
 are hereby authorized and empowered, directed and required, at all times forever hereafter, fully effect-
 ually and faithfully, to fulfill, perform, and execute all and singular, the uses, trusts and purposes, as set
 forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had
 as aforesaid, and also, as the same are in this present Deed set forth, expressed and declared according to
 the true intent and meaning thereof.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this
 Ninth day of the Eleventh month One thousand eight hundred and twenty seven,
 Signed Sealed and delivered in
 presence of
 Nathan W Jackson
 Jeph Hopkins.
 Walter Allen, Sam^l Mann witnesses to W^m Buffum signature
 Gens Conell, Stephen Paine witnesses to David Buffum's signature
 Sth Wadsworth, Joseph Clotch witnesses to William Patch's signature
 and also to Samuel Rodman signature -
 Providence J^c Town of Providence, November 9th 1827
 Personally appeared Moses Brown and did acknowledge the foregoing instrument to his free act and deed and
 and seal before me Nathan W Jackson
 Town Clerk

Providence J^c Town of Providence, November 12 1827.
 Personally appeared William Almy and Thomas Howland and severally acknowledged the foregoing
 instrument to be their free act and deed and seal
 before me
 Nathan W Jackson
 Town Clerk



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



November 16, Thursday: The great Quaker Schism had been initiated earlier in this month. Thus when Friend [Elias Hicks](#) presented a sermon at Chester, Pennsylvania, certain other Quakers were primed to discover it patently offensive:

Now my whole drift is, to gather the minds of the people to the light within, which is the same as the grace of God, the manifestation of the Spirit that reproves for evil. It was this that Jesus recommended to his disciples, it was this light which George Fox preached – it is an emanation from God in the soul of man, by his power and Spirit; and he is every where, for in him we live, move, and have our being [Acts 17:28] ... how reasonable and plain a case it is. Because as God has all power and comprehends all knowledge; so he is in our souls and ready to open all knowledge that will do us good; for he has all knowledge of good and evil. Man never brought into the world any knowledge; and he has no power to decide correctly. It is only through the efficiency of the divine light and life or grace of God, that he can decide. And this is given to every one to profit with. Now it is called Light, especially by us of this Society, who profess to be Christians. This is the foundation which George Fox came out upon – he directed them to "mind the light."

GEORGE FOX

At the conclusion of Friend Elias's sermon, first Friend Jonathan Evans, and following him Friend Isaac Lloyd, elders of the Pine Street Meeting in Philadelphia, rose in opposition and expressed evangelical sentiments about the atonement, mediation, and intercession of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, accusing the traveling minister of supposing that this King of kings and Lord of lords before whose judgment seat every soul shall be arraigned **was a mere man who had perhaps come for Jews only:**

We do not conceive him to be a mere man; and we therefore desire, that people may not suppose that we hold any such doctrines – or that we have any unity with them.

JESUS

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

5th day 16th of 11 M / Our Meeting was silent & a season of leanness to mee, as many have been of late. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



Late in the year: Isabella (Sojourner Truth) had walked away from John Dumont, and after being helped by the Roe family of [Quakers](#) about a hundred miles away in the town of Hurley in Ulster County NY, found refuge with some "small-f" friends of these Friends, the Van Wagenen family of Wagondale (now Bloomington). In order to avoid the possible legal consequences of plagiarism (slave stealing) Isaac Van Wagenen paid John Dumont \$20.⁰⁰ for Isabella's services and \$5.⁰⁰ for her baby Sophia's services, and she became technically the slave of that 6th and final white man, and her baby became technically this man's indentured servant. –Never mind, as this time the enslavement and indenture was only technical and nominal.¹⁰



1827

→ [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) enrolled at the Haverhill Academy.

→ [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE VISITING, SUPERINTENDENCE, AND GOVERNMENT, OF FEMALE PRISONERS:

No person will deny the importance attached to the character and conduct of a woman in all her domestic and social relations, when she is filling the station of a daughter, a sister, a wife, a mother or a mistress of a family. But it is dangerous error to suppose that the duties of females end here. During the last ten years much attention has been successfully bestowed by women on the female inmates of our prisons. But a similar care is evidently needed for our hospitals, our lunatic asylums and our workhouses. Were ladies to make a practice of regularly visiting them, a most important check would be obtained on a variety of abuses, which are far too apt to creep into the management of these establishments.

FRY'S OBSERVATIONS

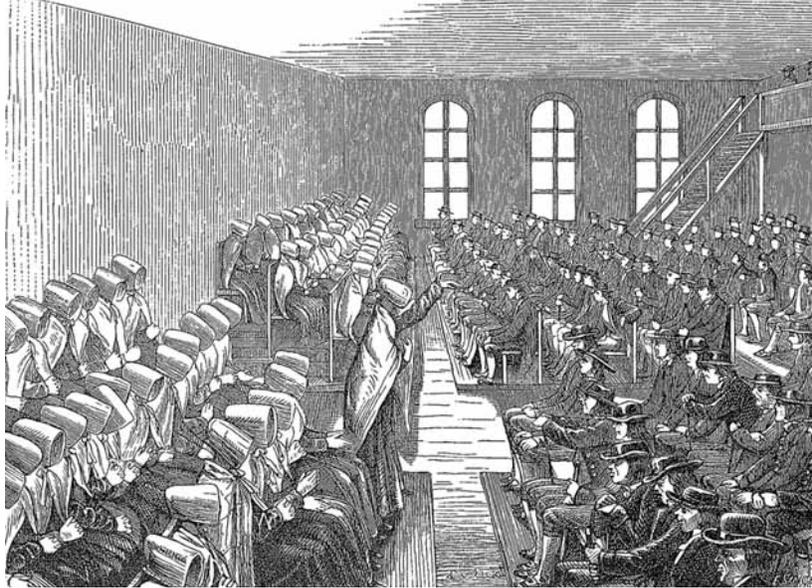
10. Later, in 1863, Harriet Beecher Stowe would create out of whole cloth a story according to which Isaac and Maria Van Wagenen of Wagondale, members of the Klyn Esopus Dutch Reformed Church, had been willing to help Isabella in her hour of need **because they were Quakers**. That family had certainly been willing to help — but not because they were [Quakers](#). Evidently Stowe (who loved a good story but who does not now enjoy all that fine a reputation as a truthful person) considered that the good rep added by this Friendly touch would add an element of verisimilitude to her narrative.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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The site of the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Boston](#) was sold, and the bodies were disinterred from the cemetery along Quaker Lane (a twisting street, 29 State Street and 46 Devonshire Street to 15 Congress Street and 25 Congress Street) and reburied in Lynn MA.



In [Rhode Island](#), by an act of the General Assembly, the meetinghouses of the [Quakers](#) were to be considered to be held by officers termed “Overseers of Society.”

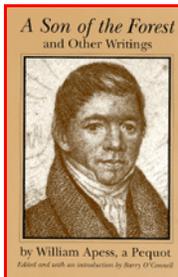


[Harrison Gray Dyar](#) erected an experimental telegraph wire at a Paumanok Long Island racetrack. He proposed to string a wire between New-York and Philadelphia, across New Jersey, and ran into skepticism from members of the New Jersey legislature who feared Dyar as some sort of “wizard” of deception like the figure that would later appear in the “The Wonderful Wizard of Oz” story by L. Frank Baum. They feared that behind this project there might be some sort of dangerous agenda to send secret communications in advance of the mail.

“Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain!”

When one of Dyar’s financial backers threatened to accuse him of “conspiracy to send secret communications in advance of the mail” as part of an attempt to get his money back, Dyar fled the country. For many years he would live in Paris where, apparently, he was able to make good money as a chemist.

For the next two or three years William Apess would be an itinerant Methodist exhorter on Paumanok Long Island, in the valley of the Hudson River, on [Martha’s Vineyard](#) and [Nantucket Island](#), and in the cities of [Boston](#) and [New Bedford](#). Much of the work he would be doing, of course, since he was not a white man, would need to be with mixed groups of African-Americans and native Americans. In this timeframe, on [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend Maria Mitchell](#) would have been attending Cyrus Peirce’s School for Young Ladies. (Other than that, and her own self-education, she was mainly being educated by her father, whom she assisted in the checking of chronometers for the local whaling fleet.)





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 [Friend Luke Howard](#)'s LIBER ECCLESIASTICUS, THE BOOK OF THE CHURCH, OR ECCLESIASTICUS, TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VULGATE BY LUKE HOWARD and his LIBER SAPIENTIAE, THE BOOK OF WISDOM, COMMONLY CALLED, THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON, TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VULGATE. BY LUKE HOWARD. (London, Printed for the translator, sold by J. and A. Arch, etc., 1827).¹¹

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

11. [Friend Luke Howard](#) was editing a series of volumes from this year into 1829, entitled TRANSLATIONS FROM THE VULGATE LATIN OF FOUR BOOKS OF THE APOCRYPHA; ECCLESIASTICUS, WISDOM, TOBIT, AND PART OF DANIEL (London, printed for the translator, sold by J. and A. Arch, etc., etc., 1827-29).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ The increasing schism among Friends, between [Hicksite](#) and Orthodox, began to have a deleterious impact upon [Quaker](#) educational institutions. The secondary education that was available inside the city of Philadelphia was under the control of the Orthodox body. Hicksite Friends, therefore, in the country, had begun to have a problem in securing an appropriate secondary education for their young people. Since 1799 they had for instance been sending their young people to the Westtown School in Chester County, but in this year this school also came under the control of Orthodox Friends.

QUAKER EDUCATION



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

We may note in passing that the school sponsored by the New England Yearly Meeting, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the school now known as “[Moses Brown School](#),” was firmly under the control of the Orthodox side of the schism. Hicksite Friends were not welcome, not even to visit, not even to worship. The reason for that was Friend [Moses Brown](#) himself. Moses was rich, Moses was used to throwing his weight around, and Moses had decided that abolitionism, the abolition of race [slavery](#), meant segregation, the separation of the races — but the Hicksites had decided that instead what abolitionism meant was integration into a “Peaceable Kingdom” of the races: amalgamation. The two sides, Jim Crow segregationism versus liberal race mingling, had become anathema to one another.

(It is an irony of history that this pioneer in antebellum Jim Crow racial segregationism, Friend Moses Brown, is now considered to be among the Quaker saints — merely because, after he had calculated that his black slaves had paid him back through their labors the cash price he had paid for their bodies and souls, he did grant them manumission papers.)

➡ Matters came to a head, between [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) serving as a Public Friend, and the elders of her home meeting:

At twenty-five years of age, surrounded with a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty, and engaged in the ministry in our Society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority, until a separation



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among us, in 1827, when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority, rather than "taking authority for truth." The popular doctrine of human depravity never commended itself to my reason or conscience. I "searched the Scriptures daily," finding a construction of the text wholly different from that which was pressed upon our acceptance. The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of the Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of our age than in any theological discussion. The temperance reform early engaged my attention, and for more than twenty years I have practised total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. The cause of peace has had a share of my efforts, leading to the ultra nonresistance ground – that no Christian can consistently uphold, and actively engage in and support a government based on the sword, or relying on that as an ultimate resort. The oppression of the working-classes by existing monopolies, and the lowness of wages, often engaged my attention; and I have held many meetings with them, and heard their appeals with compassion, and a great desire for a radical change in the system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. The various associations and communities tending to greater quality of condition have had from me a hearty God-speed. But the millions of down-trodden slaves in our land being the greatest sufferers, the most oppressed class, I have felt bound to plead their cause, in season and out of season, to endeavor to put my soul in their souls' stead, and to aid, all in my power, in every right effort for their immediate emancipation. This duty was impressed upon me at the time I consecrated myself to that gospel which anoints "to preach deliverance to the captive," "to set at liberty them that are bruised." From that time the duty of abstinence as far as possible from slave-grown products was so clear, that I resolved to make the effort "to provide things honest" in this respect. Since then our family has been supplied with free-labor groceries, and, to some extent, with cotton goods unstained by slavery. The labors of the devoted Benjamin Lundy, and his "Genius of Universal [Emancipation](#)" published in [Baltimore](#), added to the extra exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others in England, including Elizabeth Heyrick, whose work on slavery aroused them to a change in their mode of action, and of William Lloyd Garrison, in Boston, prepared the way for a convention in Philadelphia, in 1833, to take the ground of immediate, not gradual, emancipation, and to impress the duty of unconditional liberty, without expatriation. In 1834 the Philadelphia A.S. [Anti-Slavery] Society was formed, and, being actively associated in the efforts for the slaves' redemption, I have travelled thousands of miles in this country, holding meetings in some of the slave states, have been in the midst of mobs and violence, and have shared abundantly in the odium attached to the name of an uncompromising **modern** abolitionist, as well as partaken richly of the sweet return of peace attendant on those who would "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and break

every yoke.”



Meanwhile the state supreme court of North Carolina was declaring illegal the local [Friends](#) tactic, of transferring ownership of the [slaves](#) of individual Quakers to their monthly meeting and then paying wages to these erstwhile slaves in order to avoid the illegality of [manumission](#), and the Quakers were needing to seek out some other coping mechanism:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an [early point](#), the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to



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act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500



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in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Carolina Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "met with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A "fringe" of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends' efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African



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American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends "well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites."¹²

 January 1, Monday: A contract was signed by Gioachino Rossini making him Premier Compositeur du Roi and Inspecteur General du Chant en France, honorary positions. This would allow him to give up his duties at the Theatre-Italien and spend more time composing for the Opera.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

*2nd day 1st of 1st M 1827 / This day in the Stage our dear Son John returned from the Yearly Meeting School at [Providence](#) where he has been about seventeen [smudged] 17 Months — We were heartily glad to see him. - but the rejoicing is mingled with fear & anxiety about his future welfare as his return is for a preparation for another perhaps longer separation. — his present prospect is to go to Hudson to enter a Factory there belonging to Benj Marshall to learn the Art of Making Calico & other cotton goods. —
We enter the New year & I feel under solemn impressions, which perhaps may as well be felt as expressed. —¹³*



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 11, Thursday: An schwager Kronos D.369, a song by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

5th day 11th of 1st M 1827 / This day was our Select Meeting,

12. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Juley's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

13. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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held as usual at the close of the public Meeting. – It was a season of some Searching, & I trust profit. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 13, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 13th of 1 M / This PM John returned from Fall River where he went to get information at a Factory there. – while there he had an invitation to ride with a Friend of his to [Providence](#) which he did & had another opportunity of seeing his friends at the [School](#), who all seem'd rejoiced to see him he passed one night & part of two days at the Insitution much to his satisfaction. – on his way home stoped at [Portsmouth](#) to visit his grandmother Gould Uncle & Aunt Stanton & too leave of them–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14th of 1 M / Our meetings were incommonly solid good ones In the morning Father Rodman & in the Afternoon Hannah Dennis preached. – John took tea at his Uncle Johns & we at home.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 1, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day Attended the Quarterly Meeting & an adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Friday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) underwent a 3d operation to remove excess abdominal fluid.

A cantata for the birthday of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was performed for the initial time.

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

6th day Attended the [School committee](#) & went into [Town](#) & lodged at Wm Jenkins. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 3, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day came home in the Stage. – My visit to [Providence](#) has been an unusual time of favour to me, & the visit will be memorable, as a time of parting with our dear John [at the [Quaker school](#)]. – Our meetings were seasons of life, & the good cause promoted according to our abillity – I know of no circumstance to cause pain, but on the contrary feel encouraged to hope our Society in these parts is improving.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 February 4, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 4th of 2nd M / Our Morning Meeting was a time of favour
Father Rodman, D Buffum & H Dennis were very lively in testimony.
– In the Afternoon Father again had a small offering – Joseph
Tillinghast from [New Bedford](#) was there & in the eveng he called
to see us & we with him called at Father Rodmans & Br John
Rodmans.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 8, Thursday: Franz Schubert's Lied des gefangenen Jagers D.843 to words of Scott translated by Storck was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

*5th day 8 of 2 M / Good solid Meeting. – Father Rodman bore a
short testimony. – We begin to feel anxious to hear from John.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 11, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 11th of 2 M / In the morning Father Rodman & Hannah
Dennis in testimony & the former in supplication. – Silent in
the Afternoon. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 12, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 12th of 2 M / This evening we recd our first letter from
John since his arrival in Hudson, which was very satisfactory &
encouraging as he appeard to have got there safe without
accident, or much suffering, except one day from cold. –found
there, all things to answer his expectations as near as he could
ascertain on short acquaintance -. – This letter is a great
relief to our minds as we had begun to feel very anxious to hear
how he had got along. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 15, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 15 of 2 M / Our Meeting was a solid good one to me. –
Father Rodman was engaged in testimony – In the last which was
Preparative Meeting we had no buisness. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 18, Sunday: Dr. Peter Goodnow of Acton became a merchant in [Boston](#).

Dr. Peter Goodnow was from Bolton, commenced practice in Acton,



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12th of October, 1812, left 18th of February, 1827, and is now [1835] a merchant in [Boston](#).¹⁴

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

1st day 18th of 2 M / Our mornng meeting was a season of exercise on acct of an offering in the ministry & also of Prayer. – In the afternoon a good meeting, the same friend was engaged in a few words acceptably. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 22, Thursday: The Reverend John Barrett of [Concord](#) was ordained at Mesopotamia in Trumbell County, Ohio.

JOHN BARRETT, son of John Barrett, Jr., was born September 30, 1781, and graduated at Williams College in 1810. After obtaining a theological education he was employed by the Evangelical Society, and went to Ohio. He was ordained at Mesopotamia, Trumbell County, Ohio, February 22, 1827.¹⁵

ALL CONCORD COLLEGE GRADS

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

5th day 22nd of 2nd M 1827 / This morning our Frd D Buffum came in to town & took me in his carriage to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting – The first Meeting was a solid favoured time our above mentioned friend was engaged in a lively public testimony "Mind your calling brethren." he mentioned the necessity of minding the calling whereunto we have been called, that our society was raised up, he had no doubt for singular benefit to it in many particulars. – Our testimony against War, had no doubt been the means of preventing much bloodshed in the World & our exercions on behalf of injured Africa had also done much good, & well as a difusion of genuine christian principles, & of a purer Kind than had been generally practiced previous to the institution of Society. – That our worthy predecessors had suffered much in establishing those principles, & it behoved us to mind our calling & maintain the Warfare – This is but a feeble outline of his offering & retains but very little of the life & spirit in which it was delivered. – but for future remembrance I have thought best to insert the forgoing. –

We had but little buisness, but sat in harmony – We dined at Richd Mitchells & came home finding the travelling worse than when going, which we had previously anticipated as very bad, but proved better than we expected. –

Aunt Stanton was at Meeting but I could not go home with her. –

14. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)
15. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
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a circumstance I regretted not having seen my Mother whi is at her house in about two Months. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25 of 2 M / A Short testimony from Father Rodman in the morning & in the Afternoon Abigail Robinson was favourd in a short testimony, which to my understanding came in the quiet Stream of the Gospel. – In the evening I went over to Abigail Robinsons, she read to me Several letters recd from her Sister Mary Morton, by which it appears the troubles among friends are lessening there & a prospect of the Truths gaining the Assendency over the heads of gainsayers. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 1, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3th M 1st 1827 / Silent but solid good meeting, for which I desire to be thankful, to the Giver of all good. – I am the more thankful for this favour, it being a time of depression with me in various ways. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 4, Sunday: [Charles John Andersson](#) (Karl Johan Andersson) was born in Värmland in Sweden, an illegitimate child of the English bear hunter Llewellyn Lloyd and a Swedish servant. He would grow up in Sweden with his father.

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

1st day 4th of 3rd M / Our Morning Meeting was a very solid one, D Buffums preaching was good & I dont know what to say of the rest, but it certainly did not seem to me whooly clear of mixture. – In the Afternoon again we had a pretty good meeting. – I must suspend my judgement of what was offered. – Avis Mumford & Avis C Howland set the evening with us.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 8, Thursday: A day after arriving in Vienna on a concert tour, [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) visited the home of his close friend [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) and found him on his deathbed.

Two works by Franz Schubert were performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna: Gott in der Natur D.757, a vocal quartet to words of von Kleist, and Normans Gesang D.846, a song to words of Scott translated by Storck.

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

5th day 8th of 3 M / Silent but quiet [quite?] solid meeting –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 11, Sunday: The introduction of **slaves** into Texas was prohibited. Hereditary and race slavery was rejected. (Clearly, the good white people of Texas were going to need to revolt against Mexico and link up with the United States of America!)

Constitution of the State of Coahuila and Texas. Preliminary Provisions: –
 Art. 13. "From and after the promulgation of the constitution in the capital of each district, no one shall be born a slave in the state, and after six months the introduction of slaves under any pretext shall not be permitted." LAWS AND DECREES OF COAHUILA AND TEXAS (Houston, 1839), page 314.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Maria Szymanowska performed at the City Theater in Riga on her way to St. Petersburg.

Friend **Stephen Wanton Gould** wrote in his journal:

1st day 11th 3 M / Both Meeting was solid good ones. – The minds of the People are much affected & their countenances sad on acct of a poor Black Woman who last evening was found guilty of murder & sentenced to death on the 18th of 5 M next

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 15, Thursday: The Rochester, New York High School opened.

Friend **Stephen Wanton Gould** wrote in his journal:

5th day 15 of 3 M / Silent & pretty good meeting - the gathering was about as large as usual. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 18, Sunday: Friend **Stephen Wanton Gould** wrote in his journal:

*1st day 18th of 3 M / A Short good testimony from Father Rodman in the forenoon. – Silent in the Afternoon – good meetings to me – Some trials in the course of the week, but favoured with quiet, & some strength to persue the course I believe best. – I desire to be found in the discharge of every duty & desire preeminently to be a good man.
 Between Meetings recd a letter from B Marshall accompanying a parcell from Thos Thompson containing a letter from him & the Annual Monotor for the present Year.
 Benjamins letter mentions that John was well at Hudson on the 12th inst*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 22, Thursday: Friend **Stephen Wanton Gould** wrote in his journal:

5th day 22nd of 3rd M / Silent but good meetings – In the last (Preparative) Nathan Bowen renewed his request for membership, which was forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting for their disposal

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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 March 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 25th of 3rd M 1827 / Silent solid Meeting in the Mornng
In the Afternoon a few words spoken. – Set part of the evening
with A Robinson*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 28, Wednesday: The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) sailed from St. Augustine in Florida for Charleston.

That night, in [New Bedford](#), Nathan Johnson and four other named men of color, plus fully 20 other persons whose names we do not have, were raiding a dwelling. Shattering the windows and breaking in the door with clubs and stones, they assaulted one John Howard.¹⁶ We are unable to determine from the Taunton court records what had provoked this action as Johnson and all other defendants would be very promptly and summarily found not guilty and released, but according to the diary of New Bedford merchant Samuel Rodman, Jr., this had been “an alleged riot occasioned by a visit of a coloured man from New York or farther south whose object it was to get information of runaway slaves.”

(It was during this year that a New Bedford High School was being organized!)

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

*4th day 28th of 3 M / By Joseph Tillinghast we rec'd this PM a
very comfortable letter from John - Joseph visited him at his
home there & went to the Factory where he works & gave us a good
account of him - he is the first person that we have seen, who
has seen John since he left us - JT set the eveng with us. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 29, Thursday: There were so many citizens around the Schwarzspanierhaus in Vienna, where the body of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) lay in state attended by nine priests—some 15,000-20,000 in total—that soldiers were called in to provide crowd control. School had been canceled for the day and among the spectators were many children. After a chorale had been sung, at 3:00PM, the procession to the church began. [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#), Carl Czerny, and Franz Schubert were among the mourners. In the procession was a military band, playing an arrangement of Beethoven's funeral march from the Piano Sonata op.26. It took the procession an hour and a half to get to the Trinity Church of the Minorities despite the fact that this destination was little more than a block away. From the church a carriage conveyed the coffin to Wahrung Cemetery, where a funeral oration by Franz Grillparzer was read by Heinrich Anschutz.

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

*5th day 29th of 3 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in Town
which was a time of favour - Abigail Robinson twice engaged in
testimony in the first Meeting - In the last there were two
requests for Membership, but there was also something on the
other hand to ballance it. – Isaac Almy & wife dined with us. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

16. This is the man of color who had, in 1822, applied for acceptance as a [Quaker](#), and had been stonewalled by the white Quakers of the [New Bedford MA](#) meeting.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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 April 1, Sunday: According to BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE TOWN OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS (Groton, 1894), Ira Brown of Concord & Frances Eaton of Groton filed an intention to marry.

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

*1st day 1st of 4 M / Short testimonies Morning & Afternoon from
Father Rodman - & pretty good Meetings -
Francis Carr took tea & set the eveng with us*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 5, Thursday: There was a 2d memorial service for [Ludwig van Beethoven](#), in St. Charles' Church of Vienna, at which the Requiem of Luigi Cherubini was performed.

Vincenzo Bellini departed from Naples, for Milan and the Teatro alla Scala.

Adam and Franz Liszt departed from Paris, for another trip to Britain.

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

*5th day 5th of 4 M / A Good solid Meeting - & my mind favord
with the feeling of life, for which I feel thankful -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 8, Sunday: Richard Geyer (Wagner) was confirmed in the Kreuzkirche, Dresden.

Adam Liszt and Franz Liszt arrived in London.

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

*1st day 8th of 4 M / Our meeting this morning was larger than
usual & was a solid favourd opportunity - Silent & favourd in
the Afternoon - It is no small consolation to my feelings to be
able to record a favourd season, as my feelings have been low
for a long time - but it has of late seemed like a renewal of
favour with me & I hope to be watchful & faithful - Sister Ruth
dined with us & we took tea at Father Rodmans & spent the
evening. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 12, Thursday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) and Eugene Scribe submitted the libretto to Robert le diable to the French censors. It would take four days to get past them.

Vincenzo Bellini arrived in Milan from Naples with a contract to produce an opera.

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

*5th day 12th of 4th M 1827 / To day was our Select Meeting which
was a time of mental searching - The public meeting preceeding
it was silent - After the Queries were Answered, Our Aged friend
David Buffum disclosed a prospect he had of attending the
Approaching Yearly Meeting at New York, which was fully united
with & he encouraged to lay it before the Moy [Monthly] Meeting.*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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—having felt my mind united in the concern, I gave in my name to accompany him, which was also approved. — It looks like no small undertaking in many respects, & indeed when looking at the subject, I have felt no small discouragement about going, but leave it, in hopes of best direction & best support —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 13: [Hugh Clapperton](#) died near Sokoto in Africa, of dysentery, without having been allowed to get any farther into the interior (his servant [Richard Lemon Lander](#) would carry out his journal, for later publication).

In France, a “National Guard,” a kind of citizen militia, had been formed in Paris by the Committee of Public Safety during July 1789. Command of this force had been offered to Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796 but had been declined. The body had been reorganized in 1805, in 1813, and in 1814, and at this point was disbanded by King Charles X (it would be reconstituted under the Constitution of 1830 and the defection of this body would be one of the principal causes of the overthrow of King Louis Philippe in 1848).

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

6th day 13 of 4 M / I might have added to yesterdays insertion that in the eveng we had an unexpected call from Isaac Bassett Jr & Micajah Pratt of Lynn who are detained here in the Steam Boat for NYork. The Fog & Wind preventing her from going out. — By the Steam Boat this morning from New York frd Isaac returned & brought us an argreeable letter from Benjamin Marshall, containing renewed proofs of his kind attention to John at Hudson —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 15, Easter Sunday: Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

We only stopped one night at Brighton. Rooms had been prepared for us at a house close to the Pavilion, which the King keeps for his guests. We were received by his Majesty, who was lying on a divan — he could hardly hold himself up. Lady Conyngham was present at first, but at a nod from the King, retired. She looks as if she had something of a temper. The King spoke on several political subjects, and for a wonder with great lucidity. He said suddenly, "Canning is a damned old woman." We were bid to sup with the Royal circle. I could see that father could hardly dissemble his disgust. The conversation was boisterous and indecent. Cards after supper, and on a plea of being very fatigued father begged leave to retire. He and I went for a walk by the sea. The only remark he made was, "And that is a King." We left in the morning without seeing His Majesty.

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

1st day 15th of 4 N / Our Morning Meeting was pretty well attended & was a solid favourd meeting to me. — D Buffum deliverd a very solemn testimony on the Subject of divine Worship & while he was speaking a gust of thunder & lightening & rain came up which with his slow & solemn pronounciation & the grave appearance of his person. — added an impressive feeling, which



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*I trust will not be forgotten by some present - he dwelt on the text "Woman believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father- But the hour cometh & now is when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit & in truth"-
We were small & silent in the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 4th M 1827 / Our Meeting was rather larger than usual particularly on the womens side. - In the preparative Meetg we had no buisness to report to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, excepting the Answers to all the Queries. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 22, Sunday: String Quartet op.130 by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) was performed for the initial time with its new ending, in Vienna.

Nachtgesang im Walde D.913 for male vocal quartet and four horns by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

1st day 22nd of 4th M / Meetings both silent - the forenoon was larger - both solid opportunities. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 4th M / Yesterday Afternoon went to [Portsmouth](#) to visit Nathan Dennis on a committee from the Moy [Monthly] Meeting -found him very unwilling to give us a solid opportunity with him - but he at length consented, & we were remarkably favourd to reach the witness for Truth in his heart, but I fear not yet effectually. - Lodged at Uncle Stantons & found my dear Mother very feeble, & very glad to see me. - Today went to Meeting, it being our Moy [Monthly] Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) - It was a favourd time Mary Hicks, A Sherman, H Dennis & R Freeborn were engaged in testimony. -I Wilthan Hall was recd into membership - Our frd David Buffum disclosed a prospect he has had for some Months of attending the approaching Yearly Meeting at New York, which as feelingly united with & a copy of a Minute granted him for the purpose & also one to me to accompany him - the prospect has been weightily on my mind for some time & my desire very fervcantly is to do no hurt My H went out this Morning with her Br David we dined at Uncle Peters - he brought me as far as G Hathaways in his waggon & I walked the rest of the Distance home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



April 29, Sunday: King Charles X of France dissolved the National Guard.

Die Hochzeit des Camacho, a singspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Klingemann after Cervantes, was performed for the initial time, in the Royal Theater, Berlin. Although the press reaction was encouraging, the work was not a success and the composer left the theater before the final curtain. He would not be authoring any more operas.

Georg Simon Ohm, a physics and mathematics teacher in Cologne, dated the foreword to his book *DIE GALVANISCHE KETTE MATHEMATISCH BEARBEITET*. In it he describes his discovery that the amount of electricity transmitted through a conductor was directly proportional to the potential difference, and inversely proportional to the resistance. This would hereafter be known as “Ohm’s Law” and would be the beginning of understanding of electrical resistance.

Maria Szymanowska took part in a performance at the palace of Countess Daria A. Dierzhavina in St. Petersburg.

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

1st day 29th of 4 M / Silent Meetings & small in consequence of Much rain Yesterday David Gould returned from the Y Meeting School to refit for the Summer - we think him much improved by his opportunity at the School both in person & mind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 30, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 30th of 4 M / Recd this morning a very pleasant letter from Sister Eliza & one this Afternoon from John at Hudson - Johns was truly consoling for which I desire to be humbly thankful both on his & our own acct. - this is our 4th letter from him. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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May 1, Tuesday: A negrero flying the US flag (!), the *Ceylon*, master J. West, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Costa da Mina sailing on March 24, 1827, arrived at Bahia, Brazil.



We will use this painting to illustrate the ship, despite the fact that the vessel in the painting is flying the Spanish *colores de sangre y oro* rather than the red, white, and blue of our Stars and Stripes:



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



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

3rd day 1st of 5th M 1827 / In company with a number of Friends We went on board the [Greenwich](#) Packet (Howland Greene) expecting to sail immediately, but found the Wind so high that we concluded it unsafe to venture. - so we all came on shore & are now waiting for a more favourable time, which we hope will be tomorrow Morning in season to get there to the Select Meeting Uncle Peter Lawton has passed the day & will lodge with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 2, Wednesday: The Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung published a report that Johann Nepomuk Hummel would be succeeding Carl Maria von Weber as Kapellmeister in Dresden. The report would get spread around but had been in error.

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

4th day 2nd of 5th M / It is now after dinner & yet at home - we expect to go to Wickford this Afternoon - I feel exceedingly



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tried at missing the Select Meeting & Meeting for Sufferings, as well as the Trustees Meeting all of which are held today. - The Greewich Boat not going, the Women who had thought of going to Ql [Quarterly] Meeting & gave over - so Peter Lawton David Rodman his son Caleb & myself set out for Wickford at 4 OC this Afternoon, arrived there a little after sunset & got a man to carry us in a couple of Chaises & reached [Greenwich](#) by 9 OC in the evening. - We lodged at Updikes & next mornng I took breakfast at Abigail Prouds - Our meeting was large. Wm Almy engaged in public labours in sound good testimony. - then Arnold Buffum in a few words, - then Lydia Breed in supplication, & at the close of the Meeting a short testimony from Hannah Robinson. The Meeting was solemn & good. - In the Meeting for buisness we got along well. there was but little buisness to occupy our time but excellent caution & counsel was droped by a number of Friends on the Answers to the Queries. - Dined at A Prouds & then went on towards [Providence](#) with John Wilbour & got to Wm Almys in Cranston by sunset. - the eveng passed in pleasant conversation at Williams. - 6th day monring after Breakfast rode with J Wibour to the School House in [Providence](#) here I met our frd D Buffum who came up from [Newport](#) yesterday to join with us in the labours of the day - which lasted from 10 OC in the Morning till 10 OC at night, including the sittineg of the Trustees. - We lodged at M Browns & today ar 12 OC came homeward in the Steam Boat. - During the sittings of the committee and also of the Trustees my mind labourd under much exercise, in the various concerns that came before us. - Some things did not result as would have left the most pleasant savour, but I desire to leave it, & in all things do the best I can. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 6, Sunday: A Turkish (mostly Albanian) force defeated the final Greek army in the field at Phalerum (Palaion Faliron) near Athens, forcing the Greek government to fall and resulting in general chaos.

Im Freien D.880, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Seidl, was performed for the initial time, in the Festsaal of Vienna University.

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

1st day 6th of 5th M 1827 / In the mornng Meeting D Buffum was engaged in a lively solid testimony - the Meeting was a solid good time. - Silent in the Afternoon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 10, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 10th of 5 M / Silent solid Meeting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17 of 5 M / Silent good meeting. - The prospect of NYork is weighty. My desires is for preservation, & an increase in divine help. - how I need this! -



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Went this evening to A Robinsons who read a letter from her sister [Mary] Morton giving an acct of the conduct of the Ranterers in Philadelphia, which was deplorable indeed - It is an Awful time in our society, & what the final result well be I am unable to foresee. There is however a little faith remaining, that tho' reproach has fallen on our heritage in some places, that it well be supported & survive the severe tempest that assails it

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 20 of 5 M / A large solid Meeting in the forenoon, in which D Buffum, Father Rodman & Hanah Dennis bore lively testimonies - In the Afternoon H Dennis was engaged in a lively testimony & a pretty solid Meeting - I went home with Jonathon Dennis to Took tea at his House. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 22, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 22nd of 5 M / This Afternoon with our friend David Buffum, I went on Board the Steam Boat Washington for N York - & After a very rough passage we arrived there the next Morning about 9 OClock we were Kindly recd by our friends. - many of them expressing much satisfaction at seeing us. -We went to attend the approaching yearly Meeting - & it was my intention to have kept a Journal of every days proceeding, but find my time so much engaged, obliged to rise early & lay down late that I find it quite out of my power. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

***Now this 6th day of the 6th M** having this mornng reached home feel under the necessity to insert that we spent fourteen days in the City, & saw as much confusion both in the outward & inward as I ever saw any where - tho' our Yearly Meeting was in some degree favourd. - it was nevertheless a season of great affliction, oppression & depression were our daily experience. - Such is the prevalence of unsound principles, & a ranterous spirit among many of the Members there, that I know not to what extent it will run. - it seems as if violence is marked in all their movements & the pure seed of the kingdom is constantly under oppression among them. - I thought we had seen trouble in our own Yearly Meeting - but it was nothing compared with what the faithful brothers & sisters have to undergo there. - Thomas Howland of [East Greenwich](#) was also there, & we laboured in the Ability afforded & believe our presence was in some degree useful - We saw many dear friends who we encouraged to hold on their way, & do all they could to sustain the Ark & the testimony. - I also had the satisfaction of being in company with Our dear & well beloved son John Stanton Gould, who attended the latter part of the Yearly Meeting & I was comforted to find he is yet*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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in the good old way. - & even more plain in appearance than when he left us -

I also saw many friends whose countenances were pleasant that I had known before, as Henry Hull, Isaac Thorn Jr & His wife Anne, Caleb Macomber, Richd Mott & many others not forgetting Elizabeth Robson

I staid at Benj Marshalls where I formed an acquaintnace with Jos Walker & Jacob Harvey who are his inmates & were very kind & obliging. - on 2nd day [Monday, June 4th] last our dear friends Isaac & Anne Braithwaite arrived in the city -I went immediately to see them & was comforted in meeting them, - The next day I called again on them & found they were expected here to attend our Y Meeting - We came on Board the Boat with friends at 3 OC & reached home the next morning & am glad to find myself in the Quiet. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 7, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 6th M 1827 / Our Meeting was solid quiet & silent - & my mind was rejoicing to be at home with my friends again. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 8, Friday: Manuel Francisco de Barros de Sousa da Mesquita de Macedo Leitao e Carvalhosa, visconde de Santarem replaced Francisco Alexandro Lobo, Bisop de Viseu as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

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

6th day 8th of 6 M / This forenoon Arrived in the Steam Boat from NYork Our Friends Thomas Shillitoe, George & Ann Jones Isaac & Anna Braithwaite of England - Saml Parsons & his wife of Long Island Phila Griffin of Mamaranock with several others to attend our Y Meeting Thoms Shillitow came & took lodging with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 9, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 9th of 6 M / We are going this morning to Select Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) - We feel under some discouragement about the Prospect of Y Meeting as my wife is quite unwell & some disappointed about help. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 10, Sunday: Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

Matters are going on very well, and father has great hopes of a speedy settlement. A splendid banquet at the Duke of Wellington's last night. A wonderful display of gold plate. A rout at Lady Lansdowne's. It took me exactly one hour to get from the top to the bottom of the stairs. I was wedged between Charles Greville and an immensely fat Dowager. We all three



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moved step by step together – and this is called pleasure. Dinner at Devonshire House to-night. The Court is at Buckingham House, but no entertaining.

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

*1st day 10 of 6 M / Today commenced our large public Yearly Meeting - In the morning Our friend Anna Braithwaite was engaged in a living & powerful gospel testimony followed by a short but good one by Elizabeth Coggeshall
The Meeting concluded under a most solemn covering after a prayer by Anna Braithwaite. -
In the Afternoon, the Meeting was very large & Anna again concerned in a living gospel testimony then Thos Shillitoe made an addition at three different standings & our friends Wm Almy concluded [in a] solemn reverend Supplication – perhaps these meeting were rarely ever excelled for solemn quiet. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 11, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day Soon after the Meeting gathered, a solemn covering spread over it & Thomas Shillitoe & Geo Jones bore short but sweet testimonies, & the Meeting was moved to buisness by D Buffum - the usual course of buisness was taken up & proceeded in with unusual solemnity. -
Afternoon at 4 OC the meeting again met under the same feeling of sweetness, but before we proceeded far in the buisness - we recd a visit from our dear Sister Anna Braithwaite - on standing up she gave us a short acct of the Motives of her returning to her native land last Year & her concern continuing, she returned to accomplish the remaining part of her visit to this country - from which she went on & preached the Gospel in a very lively & striking manner - the rest of the Meeting was conducted with much solemnity & concluded under the same covering. -*

[Gould left a space of two lines.]

*It was my intention as in times past to have kept a regular Diary of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting but of all the Yearly Meetings I have ever attended, I have never been so fully occupied. I have rose early, generally by 5 OC in the Morning & not been able to get to bed much before 12 OC at night The constant round of company - & the buisness of the Meeting, together with some other concerns which I had unavoidably to attend too, was about as much as I was able to get thro' with - & no time was left for journalizing. - The Meeting held till 5th day Afternoon, which is longer than I ever remember of its sitting before - all of them were Seasons of favour, & the Gospel labours of our dear friends Thomas Shillitoe, George & Ann Jones & Anna Braithwaite with others of our own & from other Yearly Meetings were truly edifying, strengthening & encouraging - The buisness was conducted in great unanimity & love, & I trust few there were who attened it but will say. - They were instructed by the opportunities
The School committee met on 6th day Mornng which detained many*



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friends till Afternoon - & our Greenwich friends were detained till after dinner today - which is 7th of the Week & 16th of the Month. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17th of 6 M / This Mornng accompanied our friends Isaac & Anna Braithwaite to [Portsmouth](#) to attend Meeting there which was large & favourd - Anna being enabled to declare the Word in a living & powerful manner - We dined at Asa Shermans where she had a sitting with the family. After which we went to Uncle Stantons & took tea - then returned to [Newport](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 18, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 18 of 6 M / Our friend Anna Braithwaite had an appointed Meeting this Afternoon, to which the Inhabitants of the Town were invited & many attended, particularly women. - She was favourd to be remarkably clear & powerful in her ministry, & the Audience very attentive, & I believe Truth reigned over the assembly & the people well satisfied & Friends comforted to feel the predominance of live & Truth over all -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 19, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 19 of 6 M / This Mornng at 8 OC took the Steam Boat Babcock with our friends Isaac & Anna Braithwaite & arrived in [Providence](#) at 12 OC - we went to Wm Jenkins where I had an opportunity of seeing my dear friends, particularly [Moses Brown](#) -at 2 OC - I came on board the Steam Boat again & was home before Sunset.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 20, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 20 of 6th M 1827 / Been very buisy all day in attending to my old friend & acquaintance [Moses Lopez](#) who has been here on a visit to his old friends in [Newport](#) & departed this Afternoon in the Steam Boat for his home in NYork.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 21, Thursday: In a general revision of the criminal code, “benefit of clergy” was abolished in England (it would be abolished as well in Ireland, on July 15, 1828). A bit of background: The exemption of the clergy from secular jurisdiction was one of the privileges claimed by the Roman Catholic church. Beginning with the Norman Conquest, there was no way that any secular authority could exercise discipline over even those of the lowliest ecclesiastical rank. Eventually the practice of excusing officials of the church from punishment even for crimes such as robbery and homicide came to be extended not only to the clergy, but also to clerks and all members of the laity who could read. On the introduction of this custom, the claim was not allowed unless the prisoner appeared in his clerical habit and tonsure, but as the ability to read became the test, this requirement as to attire began to be disregarded. The accused was merely required to read, before the judge, from a psalter or some other book. In 1489 the use of this exemption came to be allowed only once by a person not in orders. In 1512 an exemption to clergy was no longer allowed for murderers and felons. In 1536 the plea of benefit of clergy was abolished in cases of treason. In 1706 the practice of requiring the prisoner to read from a book was discontinued.

In this general revision of the criminal code, the “black act,” so called, passed in 1722, was repealed. This law had been an attempt to put an end to the wanton destruction of deer, game, and plantations, by persons called “blacks” because they blackened their faces and adopted attire that would enable them to avoid detection at night. Such an offense had been punished as a felony with the accused being put to death without benefit of clergy.

Also, in this revision of the criminal code, the stealing of oysters, or oyster brood, from their beds along the saltwater coast, such as by fishing vessels carrying dredges, came to be classified as larceny (British oysters had been prized since the days of the Roman presence, with Juvenal, in his 4th satire, commemorating above all those that were dredged at Richborough in Kent).

As of this year in England, a distinction would no longer be made between petty theft not above twelve pence in value, the penalty for which had been whipping and imprisonment, and grand theft, which until 1717 had been punished by hanging. In the future the punishment in both cases was to be transportation to a penal colony.

A person breaking or destroying any machine employed in any manufacture in England (which is to say, an active “Luddite”) would be liable to transportation for 7 years, or imprisonment for any term not to exceed 2 years (in the case of a male such punishment might also include flogging, either publicly or privately).

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

5th day 21st of 6 M / Our Meeting was small & silent but to me a pretty good one. -& this Afternoon in particular my mind has been favour'd with some precious feelings - in the remembrance of our late Yearly Meeting & the many good friends we have had the company of I desire to be thankful for past favours & blessings & tho' I may see low times both inwardly & outwardly, may I never loose my confidence in that power which has hitherto wonderfully supported me

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 24, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 24th of 6 M / Silent meetings - Took tea at Father Rodmans. - **Our cousins Benjamin Gould & Eliza Gould are here from Albany. They are children of my cousin Thomas Gould dec'd.***

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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 June 25, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 25 of 6 M / This Afternoon Aunt Stanton came to town & carried my wife out to spend a few Days
Benj & Eliza Gould spent the Afternoon at Brother Isaacs & were to be with us tomorrow, but for Hannahs going to [Portsmouth](#). -
In the course of the Afternoon Benjamin has been at the shop & I have shown him some of my ancient family writings & other curiosities in my possession. I have also endeavoured to guard his mind against the prevailing new notions that are among friends, & was glad to find an open ear & apparantly an open heart to receive what I said to him on the subject.-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 27, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 27th if 6 M 1827 / This eveng went to [Portsmouth](#) & lodged at Uncle Stantons where my wife had been for days previous on a visit. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 28, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day We Attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - In the first meeting Abigail Robinson Hannah Dennis & Abigail Sherman bore testimonies. - & to me it was a sensible precious meeting to me, my mind being expanded in a way I have seldom experienced. -
In the last we had one trying case, but I trust all things will work well at last
I returned to the Meeting the copy of a minute which they gave me in the 4th M for the purpose of attending the Yearly Meeting of NYork. - & tho' such is the defective state of things there, I had no endorsement from that meeting to show that we attended, yet I could not restrain from giving a little acct of the State of things among them - we were not without evidence of our company being very acceptable to sound friends a number of whom expressed in Meeting & out their thankfulness at our being with them, & in refference to D Buffum they said it felt to them like the coming of Titus to the brethren formerly. -
I returned to Uncle Stantons, dined & staid all night -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 29, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Morning Uncle brought me home leaving my wife there to finish her visit. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 1, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 1st if 7th M 1827 / In our forenoon Meetings Father Rodman & D Buffum were engaged in short testimonies - & in the Afternoon Father was engaged in a few words. --
Brother John Rodman & his daughter Ann were in Fall River & attended meeting there with Anna Braithwaite, who was much*

favourd in testimony both [to?] declared the truth & understand the States of the people

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 2, Monday: Thomas Cooper gave the speech in which he used the phrase “calculate the value of the union.”

In England, the law of debt was amended so that the lowest sum that could be recovered by imprisonment of a debtor would be £20, rather than £15.

In New Hampshire, Londonderry was divided and a town of Derry NH was incorporated in the eastern part.

→ July 5, Thursday, New York Emancipation Day: [Slavery](#) had been “abolished” at midnight, in the state of New York. Austin Steward gave Rochester’s New York Emancipation Day Speech.



Actually, only those born before 1799 were manumitted — those born between 1799 and 1827 would be required to continue with their slave labor for a few more years. However, since James McCune Smith had at this point attained the age of 14, his lot fell among those freed rather than among those forced to continue under the category of indentured servant.

But the Emancipation Bill had been passed, and the colored people felt it to be a time fit for rejoicing. They met in different places and determined to evince their gratitude by a general celebration. In Rochester they convened in large numbers, and resolved to celebrate the glorious day of freedom at Johnson’s Square, on the **fifth** day of July. This arrangement was made so as not to interfere with the white population who were everywhere celebrating the day of their independence – “the Glorious Fourth,” – for amid the general and joyous shout of liberty, prejudice had sneeringly raised the finger of scorn at the poor African, whose iron bands were loosed, not only from English oppression, but the more cruel and oppressive power of Slavery.

They met according to previous appointment, Mr. A.H----, having



been chosen president, Mr. H.E----, marshal, and Mr. H.D----, reader of the "Act of Emancipation," and "The [Declaration of Independence](#)." A large audience of both white and colored people assembled, and the day which had been ushered in by the booming cannon, passed by in the joyous realization that we were indeed free men. To the music of the band the large procession marched from the square to the hotel, where ample provision was made for dinner, after listening to the following oration, which I had been requested to deliver.

I must not omit to mention that on the morning of that happy day, a committee of colored men waited upon the Hon. Matthew Brown, and in behalf of the citizens of Monroe County, presented their thanks for his noble exertions in the Legislature, in favor of the Act by which thousands were made free men.

Here is how the events of the day would be presented by the Rochester [Daily Advertiser](#):

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The extinction of that curse by the laws of our State, was marked with appropriate rejoicings on the part of the African race in this neighborhood. A procession of considerable length and respectable appearance, preceded by a band of music, moved from Brown's Island through the principal streets to the public square, yesterday forenoon, where a stage and seats were erected, for the speakers and audience. The throne of Grace was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Allen, a colored clergyman. The act declaring all slaves free in this State, on the fourth day of July, 1827, was read, which was succeeded by the reading of the [Declaration of Independence](#) and delivery of an oration by Mr. Steward. We have heard but one opinion from several gentlemen who were present, and that was highly complimentary to the composition and delivery of the same.

The exercises were concluded by a short discourse from the Rev. Mr. Allen, and the procession moved off to partake of an entertainment prepared for the occasion. The thing was got up in good order, and passed off remarkably well. The conduct of the emancipated race was exemplary throughout, and if their future enjoyment of freedom be tintured with the prudence that characterised their celebration of its attainment, the country will have no reason to mourn the philanthropy that set them free.

— And here, then, is Austin Steward's New York Emancipation Day Speech in Rochester, at least as he later remembered and chose to make record of it:

The age in which we live is characterised in no ordinary degree, by a certain boldness and rapidity in the march of intellectual and political improvements. Inventions the most surprising; revolutions the most extraordinary, are springing forth, and passing in quick succession before us, — all tending most clearly to the advancement of mankind towards that state of earthly perfection and happiness, from which they are yet so far distant, but of which their nature and that of the world they inhabit, are most certainly capable. It is at all times pleasing



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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and instructive to look backward by the light of history, and forward by the light of analogical reasoning, to behold the gradual advancement of man from barbarism to civilization, from civilization toward the higher perfections of his nature; and to hope – nay, confidently believe, that the time is not far distant when liberty and equal rights being everywhere established, morality and the religion of the gospel everywhere diffused, – man shall no longer lift his hand for the oppression of his fellow man; but all, mutually assisting and assisted, shall move onward throughout the journey of human life, like the peaceful caravan across the burning sands of Arabia. And never, on this glorious anniversary, so often and so deservedly celebrated by millions of free men, but which we are to-day for the first time called to celebrate – never before, has the eye been able to survey the past with so much satisfaction, or the future with hopes and expectations so brilliant and so flattering; it is to us a day of two-fold joy. We are men, though the strong hand of prejudice and oppression is upon us; we can, and we will rejoice in the advancement of the rapidly increasing happiness of mankind, and especially of our own race. We can, and we will rejoice in the growing power and glory of the country we inhabit. Although Almighty God has not permitted us to remain in the land of our forefathers and our own, the glories of national independence, and the sweets of civil and religious liberty, to their full extent; but the strong hand of the spoiler has borne us into a strange land, yet has He of His great goodness given us to behold those best and noblest of his gifts to man, in their fairest and loveliest forms; and not only have we beheld them, but we have already felt much of their benignant influence. Most of us have hitherto enjoyed many, very many of the dearest rights of freemen. Our lives and personal liberties have been held as sacred and inviolable; the rights of property have been extended to us, in this land of freedom; our industry has been, and still is, liberally rewarded; and so long as we live under a free and happy government which denies us not the protection of its laws, why should we fret and vex ourselves because we have had no part in framing them, nor anything to do with their administration. When the fruits of the earth are fully afforded us, we do not wantonly refuse them, nor ungratefully repine because we have done nothing towards the cultivation of the tree which produces them. No, we accept them with lively gratitude; and their sweetness is not embittered by reflecting upon the manner in which they were obtained. It is the dictate of sound wisdom, then, to enjoy without repining, the freedom, privileges, and immunities which wise and equal laws have awarded us – nay, proudly to rejoice and glory in their production, and stand ready at all times to defend them at the hazard of our lives, and of all that is most dear to us.

But are we alone shut out and excluded from any share in the administration of government? Are not the clergy, a class of men equally ineligible to office? A class of men almost idolized by their countrymen, ineligible to office! And are we alone excluded from what the world chooses to denominate polite society? And are not a vast majority of the polar race excluded? I know not why, but mankind of every age, nation, and complexion have had lower classes; and, as a distinction, they have chosen to arrange themselves in the grand spectacle of human life, like



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seats in a theater – rank above rank, with intervals between them. But if any suppose that happiness or contentment is confined to any single class, or that the high or more splendid order possesses any substantial advantage in those respects over their more lowly brethren, they must be wholly ignorant of all rational enjoyment. For what though the more humble orders cannot mingle with the higher on terms of equality. This, if rightly considered, is not a curse but a blessing. Look around you, my friends: what rational enjoyment is not within your reach? Your homes are in the noblest country in the world, and all of that country which your real happiness requires, may at any time be yours. Your industry can purchase it; and its righteous laws will secure you in its possession. But, to what, my friends, do you owe all these blessings? Let not the truth be concealed. You owe them to that curse, that bitter scourge of Africa, whose partial abolishment you are this day convened to celebrate. Slavery has been your curse, but it shall become your rejoicing. Like the people of God in Egypt, you have been afflicted; but like them too, you have been redeemed. You are henceforth free as the mountain winds. Why should we, on this day of congratulation and joy, turn our view upon the origin of African Slavery? Why should we harrow up our minds by dwelling on the deceit, the forcible fraud and treachery that have been so long practised on your hospitable and unsuspecting countrymen? Why speak of fathers torn from the bosom of their families, wives from the embraces of their husbands, children from the protection of their parents; in fine, of all the tender and endearing relations of life dissolved and trampled under foot, by the accursed traffic in human flesh? Why should we remember, in joy and exultation, the thousands of our countrymen who are to-day, in this land of gospel light, this boasted land of civil and religious liberty, writhing under the lash and groaning beneath the grinding weight of Slavery's chain? I ask, Almighty God, are they who do such things thy chosen and favorite people? But, away with such thoughts as these; we will rejoice, though sobs interrupt the songs of our rejoicing, and tears mingle in the cup we pledge to Freedom; our harps though they have long hung neglected upon the willows, shall this day be strung full high to the notes of gladness. On this day, in one member at least of this mighty Republic, the Slavery of our race has ceased forever! No more shall the insolent voice of a master be the main-spring of our actions, the sole guide of our conduct; no more shall their hands labor in degrading and profitless servitude. Their toils will henceforth be voluntary, and be crowned with the never failing reward of industry. Honors and dignities may perhaps never be ours; but wealth, virtue, and happiness are all within the compass of our moderate exertions. And how shall we employ a few moments better than in reflecting upon the means by which these are to be obtained. For what can be more proper and more profitable to one who has just gained an invaluable treasure, than to consider how he may use it to the best possible advantage? And here I need not tell you that a strict observance to all the precepts of the gospel ought to be your first and highest aim; for small will be the value of all that the present world can bestow, if the interests of the world to come are neglected and despised. None of you can be ignorant of what the gospel teaches. Bibles may easily be



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obtained; nor can there be a greater disgrace, or a more shameful neglect of duty than for a person of mature age, and much more, for any father of a family to be without that most precious of all books – the BIBLE. If, therefore, any of you are destitute of a BIBLE, hasten to procure one. Will any of you say that it can be of no use to you, or that you cannot read it? Look then to that noblest of all remedies for this evil, the Sunday School – that most useful of all institutions. There you may learn without loss of time or money, that of which none should be ignorant – to read.

Let me exhort you with earnestness to give your most sincere attention to this matter. It is of the utmost importance to every one of you. Let your next object be to obtain as soon as may be, a competency of the good things of this world; immense wealth is not necessary for you, and would but diminish your real happiness. Abject poverty is and ought to be regarded as the greatest, most terrible of all possible evils. It should be shunned as a most deadly and damning sin. What then are the means by which so dreadful a calamity may be avoided? I will tell you, my friends, in these simple words – hear and ponder on them; write them upon the tablets of your memory; they are worthy to be inscribed in letters of gold upon every door-post – “industry, prudence, and economy.” Oh! they are words of power to guide you to respectability and happiness. Attend, then, to some of the laws which industry impose, while you have health and strength. Let not the rising sun behold you sleeping or indolently lying upon your beds. Rise ever with the morning light; and, till sun-set, give not an hour to idleness. Say not human nature cannot endure it. It can – it almost requires it. Sober, diligent, and moderate labor does not diminish it, but on the contrary, greatly adds to the health, vigor, and duration of the human frame. Thousands of the human race have died prematurely of disease engendered by indolence and inactivity. Few, very few indeed, have suffered by the too long continuance of bodily exertion. As you give the day to labor, so devote the night to rest; for who that has drunk and reveled all night at a tippling shop, or wandered about in search of impious and stolen pleasures, has not by so doing not only committed a most heinous and damning sin in the sight of Heaven, but rendered himself wholly unfit for the proper discharge of the duties of the coming day. Nor think that industry or true happiness do not go hand in hand; and to him who is engaged in some useful avocation, time flies delightfully and rapidly away. He does not, like the idle and indolent man, number the slow hours with sighs – cursing both himself and them for the tardiness of their flight. Ah, my friends, it is utterly impossible for him who wastes time in idleness, ever to know anything of true happiness. Indolence, poverty, wretchedness, are inseparable companions, – fly them, shun idleness, as from eminent and inevitable destruction. In vain will you labor unless prudence and economy preside over and direct all your exertions. Remember at all times that money even in your own hands, is power; with it you may direct as you will the actions of your pale, proud brethren. Seek after and amass it then, by just and honorable means; and once in your hand never part with it but for a full and fair equivalent; nor let that equivalent be something which you do not want, and for which you cannot obtain more than it



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cost you. Be watchful and diligent and let your mind be fruitful in devises for the honest advancement of your worldly interest. So shall you continually rise in respectability, in rank and standing in this so late and so long the land of your captivity. Above all things refrain from the excessive use of ardent spirits. There is no evil whose progress is so imperceptible; and at the same time so sure and deadly, as that of intemperance; and by slow degrees it undermines health, wealth, and happiness, till all at length tumble into one dreadful mass of ruin. If God has given you children, he has in so doing imposed upon you a most fearful responsibility; believe me, friends, you will answer to God for every misfortune suffered, and every crime committed by them which right education and example could have taught them to avoid. Teach them reverence and obedience to the laws both of God and man. Teach them sobriety, temperance, justice, and truth. Let their minds be rightly instructed – imbued with kindness and brotherly love, charity, and benevolence. Let them possess at least so much learning as is to be acquired in the common schools of the country. In short, let their welfare be dearer to you than any earthly enjoyment; so shall they be the richest of earthly blessings. My countrymen, let us henceforth remember that we are men. Let us as one man, on this day resolve that henceforth, by continual endeavors to do good to all mankind, we will claim for ourselves the attention and respect which as men we should possess. So shall every good that can be the portion of man, be ours – this life shall be happy, and the life to come, glorious.

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

5th day 5th of 7 M 1827 / Our Meeting small & hevy to me, & I am quite inclined to believe there was but very little life among us. – Yet as Wm Flanner on[c]e said in our Meeting "My not being able to feel the life doses [does] not prove that none of the rest are favoured with it. – Had a comfortable letter from John this Morning. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 8, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 7 M / In the Mornng Meeting our frd Abigail Robinson & Hannah Dennis were engaged in testimony, & in the Afternoon Father Rodman. – With my wife took tea & set the eveng at D Buffums. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12 of 7 M / Silent Meeting. – which was rather small on the womens side of the house, several of our members from various circumstances were absent – it was a time of some search & I trust proffitable exercises.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 15, Sunday, dawn: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 7 M / In our Morning Meeting D Buffum, preached in rather more lively manner than usual, tho' he always Does well We were Silent in the Afternoon. - during the meeting a violent tempst of thunder lighthening & rain come up - the Meeting however Sat quietly with the exception of one woman who left the Meeting. - We took tea at father Rodmans, who has been so unwell as not to have been at Meeting today

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 7 M / Our Meeting was very small, owing to a very unusual number of our members being sick - Several are very low, vizt Geo. Hathaway, John Mitchells wife & daughter & several others complaining. - No buisness in the Preparative Meeting but the Queries to answer. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22nd of 7 M / Small Meetings & nearly silent - I find our Meetings are not as large in the extream hot & cold weather as in the Spring & Fall - but in addition to that cause - there are many now complaining & some very sick who usually attend our meetings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 7th M 1827 / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was small in consequence of much Rain - In the first Job Chalinor was engaged in a good solid testimony & Hannah Dennis in supplication - In the last we had some exercising buisness particularly the case of Ruth Chase who having married out of the order of society, sent an acknowledgement, about the acceptance of which, there was a difference of sentiment among friends. -- David Buffum returned his copy of a Minute obtained in the 4th M to attend the NYork Yearly Meeting - he gave some acct of his exercise while there & cautioned friends against a spirit of inovation either in the discipline or the Doctrines of the Gospel as held by our Ancient friends. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 28, Saturday: [Hector Berlioz](#) and three other Prix de Rome candidates received their examination poem, The Death of Orpheus, and were directed to their loges.

The University of Marburg conferred an honorary doctorate on Louis Spohr.

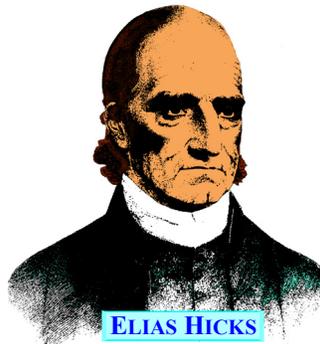
 July 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 29th of 7 M / In our Mornng Meeting Hannah Dennis was

first in a good solid testimony on the power of truth & the necessity of yealding to its dictates. – then David Buffum was singularly favoured in a very impressive testimony on Faith in God - in which he cautioned us against the danger of adopting the sentiments which is so prevalent among mankind "That we are not under obligation to believe anything we cannot account for or that we cannot comprehend" in which he fully discountenanced the new Ideas of Hixism & other vague ideas now floating among friends. –

*After which Hannah made an addition with which I did fully unite.
- as a good appendix to the foregoing
We were Silent in the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



ELIAS HICKS



July 30, Monday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 30 of 7 M / On 7th day last Died our fr George Hathaway of Middletown, he has been long sick of a disaese which was supposed to be a cancer on the liver. – His funeral was this Afternoon at One OClock at the House, which I attended. – it was a very solid opportunity & many met on the Solemn occasion – & weighty & impressive testimony were bourne by our friends Job Chaliner, Hannah Dennis & David Buffum. – I walked out to the House took a pleasant circuitous rout, calling first at D Buffums, then at Jonathons Dennis's, thence walked across the Beach at Coddingtons [-] & there took a Sea bathing - then called at James Chases & from thence went a cross to George Goulds, from thence to the funeral - After which I walked up to the old Gould burying ground & went to the widow Molly Goulds & took tea - & on my way home Stopped at Elijah Anthonys & then came home – this was a pleasant walk & one I had long intended to make for the purpose of calling on my relations & friends –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 1, Wednesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 8th M 1827 / This Morning My wife & I rode to Portsmouth to attend our Select Meeting - Stopped on the way at Uncle Peter Lawtons, where we found several of our friends, from diferent parts of the Quarterly Meeting - Our Meeting was rather small but favoured & divers solid weighty testimonies were bourne - particularly by our fr Thos Shillitoe, – We dined at Saml Dennis's & in the latter part of the Afternoon went to Uncle



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Stantons & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 2, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day Our Meeting was large & Thos Shillitoe large in testimony. – In the last Meeting we had considerable buisness & amonst it was a certificate for our fr John Wilbur to visit the Western Quarterly Meetings in the State of NYork, which was united with by the Quarterly Meeting, & he set at liberty to proceed in his prospect as truth might open the way. – We dined at My exteemed cousin Shadrach Chases & then rode home.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 3, Friday: [Friend Joseph Ricketson](#), Senior wrote a letter to his sons Daniel and Joseph, Junior.

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

6th day feeling an engagement of mind to attend the School committee & Meeting for Sufferings at [Providence](#) I went on board the Steam Boat Babcock at 8 OC & arrived at the School House while the committee were at dinner. – & in season to their Second setting & to visit the Schools. – In the Boys School T Shillitoe imparted much excellent advice in a solid impressive manner. – In the Girls School he also had much to say & Alice Rathbone appeard in a very baptizing supplication on behalf of all present & the various classes of Society – I lodged at my dear friend [Moses Browns](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 4, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the [School House](#) & had two labourious sittings which resulted to Satisfaction. – The long tedious concern of the Boston Meeting House, was closed or Settled. so far as respects the Yearly Meeting, if Salem Moy [Monthly] Meeting agrees to it, which there is a prospect of & a hope is entertained that we shall not be tried with the question in the manner we have Done. I lodged at the School House –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Attended the Meetings for worship at the [Institution](#) – In the Morning Obadiah Davis was there favourd in testimony. – In the Afternoon Lydia Wicks bore a good testimony. -- After spending the day in a very satisfactory manner to myself with the superintendents, teachers & Schollars...I went down in the eveng & to [Moses Brown](#) & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 August 6, Monday: Three songs by Franz Schubert were published by Pennauer as his op.84 (later corrected to op.87): Der Unglückliche to words of Pichler, the 2d setting of Hoffnung and the 3d setting of Der Jungling am Bache, both to words of Schiller.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain stipulated a joint occupation of the Oregon territory.

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

2nd day Morning I again for on board the Babcock & came home - My mind during this visit has been almost constantly exercised with the Strong & fervant desires for the wellfare of the School & of Society at large, & for my own right advancement in particular. - I had the comfrtable evidence of love in my heart for the brethren, & was encouraged to believe I was beloved by them. - Yet under all this - how depressed do I feel on acct of my own getting along in various respects. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 8, Wednesday: British Prime Minister George Canning died at his house in Chiswick.

 August 9, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9th of 8 M / Obadiah Davis & Ruth his wife attended our Meeting today & had very acceptable service. - both of them were engaged in testimony & Ruth rather more extensively than I now recollect to have heard her. - In the Afternoon Obadiah made us a very pleasant social visit. - Eliza Stephens a young woman who lives with O & R also came in & set a while with us - she was a child at the Charity school some years ago in this town & as my wife was engaged in it had knowledge of acquaintance with her - she is now a plain friend & member of society, & apparantly under good exercise of mind & very tender in spirit. - her company was very pleasant to us, as it furnished ground of encouragement to try to reclaim those who are affar off. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 19, Sunday: Il borgomastro di Saardam, a melodramma giocoso by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Gilardoni after Melesville, Merle and Boirie, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Nuovo, Naples. The audience was enthusiastic.

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

1st day 19th of 8th M 1827 / Our hearts were gladdened last eveng with a Letter from our Son John at Hudson. - Our Morning Meeting was a season of favour Hannah Dennis was largely engaged in testimony, chiefly addressed to the Youth. Father Rodman also bore a short testimony. - After meeting in the Afternoon I rode home with D Buffum & took tea. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 21, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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3rd day 21st of 8th M / An humbling evidence of divine regard in a little space of silence after reading the Scripture at our breakfast table - But Oh how unworthy I feel. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 8 M / Our Meeting was small & silent - a committee met at the close on acct of a trying case in the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, which as far as respects what we had to do with it was pretty satisfactorily resulted. - but the end is not yet-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 25, Saturday: During the performance of [Hector Berlioz](#)'s Prix de Rome cantata entry on "The Death of Orpheus," the accompanist, Rifaud, broke down and the music needed to be abandoned. The jury decided that the work was unplayable and the matter was closed — in the awarding of prizes, it would not even be mentioned.

 August 26, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 26th of 8 M / In our mornng Meeting Hannah Dennis was much favoured in testimony. - She truly preached Christ & enforced the solid reading of the Scriptures in families We were silent in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 28, Tuesday: While Franz Liszt and his father were in Boulogne for the sea baths, the elder man died suddenly of typhoid fever. Liszt agreed to pay all his debts and begin life on his own.

 August 30, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

8 M 30th - 5th day / It is our Monthly Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) & my wife & I not there - I am sorry it is so but so it is, & I cannot attribute it to a want of desire & even concern to meet with our brethren - She is quite unwell, & so was I last night -tho pretty Smart this Morning. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 31, Friday: Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich became Prime Minister the United Kingdom, replacing George Canning (who had died at his home on September 8th).

 September 2, Sunday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka and three others organized a serenade on the Little Chernaya River near St. Petersburg from 9PM until midnight. Aboard a launch in the river, Glinka directed a chorus and accompanied them on piano. Military musicians played from the launch while, in the breaks in the performance, fireworks were sent up from another launch. Crowds of people lined the banks of the stream and a good time was had by all.

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



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*1st day 2nd of 9 M 1827 / Our Meetings were as large as usual
& solid seasons - Father engaged in a few words in both of them -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 4, Tuesday: Franz Schubert and Johann Baptist Jenger arrived in Graz from Vienna.

 September 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 6 of 9 M / Our Meeting was small & quiet & some favour
in my own particular - This Afternoon in Abraham Tuckers chaise
took a ride over Eastons Beach & went a cross to Sescawest Beach
& rode quite across that - & to our surprise we found at
Purgatory Jonas Minturn & wife with Abigail Robinson who
I suppose has not been across the Beaches in many years before
Since writing the above I have been informed Abigail has not
made a similar excursion in 30 Years. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 7, Friday: Tsar Nikolai I decreed that [Jews](#) were obligated to the Russian military service, and at a higher rate than [Gentiles](#).

Principe Miguel de Braganca became "Governor of the Kingdom" replacing Manuel Francisco de Barros de Sousa da Mesquita de Macedo Leitao e Carvalhosa, visconde de Santarem as head of government of Portugal.

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

*6th day 7th of 9 M 1827 / This evening Richard Rodman left us
for Philadelphia in the NYork Packet - Capt Bennett - thus our
young men are leaving us & our Meeting growing smaller -
Three youths J Dennis Jr our John & Richard together with
Thos Rodman all left town within one year - My mind is affected
with a consideration & feel striped by all that goes -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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➡ September 9, Sunday: “I labored all day under the pressure of a heavy, stupefying cold.” The [Reverend Convers Francis](#) of Watertown exchanged pulpits for the day with the [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) of Concord. His prooftext for the Concord morning service was “1st Corinthians 13:11 and his topic was “The Difference between the Present and Future State Illustrated by the Difference between Childhood and Manhood.” His prooftext for the first of his afternoon sermons was 1st Kings 20:11 and his topic was “The Danger of Premature Confidence and Exaltation Illustrated.” His prooftext for the second of his afternoon sermons was Mark 4:26-28 and his topic was “Religion like Seed Cast into the Ground.”



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

1st day 9th of 9 M / In the morning Meeting D B was very lively & pertinent in testimony - grounded in the 1st Psalm. - In the afternoon we were Silent - - In the eveng with my wife & Sr Ruth took a walk to the lower end of the Town & stoped a while at Wm Lee's -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ September 11, Tuesday: On his 1st trip to see a production of Shakespeare, [Hector Berlioz](#) first laid eyes on Harriet Smithson, playing Ophelia in Hamlet at the Theatre de l'Odeon. The composer later remembered that this was the beginning of “the supreme drama of my life ... The impression made on my heart and mind by her extraordinary talent, nay her dramatic genius, was equalled only by the havoc wrought in me by the poet she so nobly interpreted.” As for Ms. Smithson, it was her initial performance in France. She was an overnight sensation.

Clara Wieck played a concerto for the 1st time in public, at an orchestral rehearsal before a small invited audience in Leipzig. She played a concerto by [Mozart](#) in E flat.

➡ September 12, Wednesday: Three Italian Songs for bass voice by Franz Schubert to words of Metastasio were published by Haslinger as his op.83.

➡ September 13, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13th of 9 M Our Meeting today was very small, owing the Absence [?] number of our members & the indisposition of a considerable number of others. - it was however a precious season of favour to me for which I desire to be thankful. - John Mitchells family are very sick, himself seems to be coming down with a fever - Dorcas Earl is very low, my wife Watched with her last night & unable to attend Meeting today - several of our numbers are also complaining of indisposition & unable to be at



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Meeting –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 16, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 9 m 16 / Our morning Meeting was a solid good one. Father Rodman bore a good testimony & to me it was a season I felt thankful for - We were Silent in the Afternoon - After I was glad of the opportunity of reading a letter from Richd Rodman to his Father, mentioning his safe arrival in Philadelphia & comfortable reception at new place of abode for a considerable time to come. --In the eveng went over [to] see Abigail Robinson & set till 8 OClock —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 19, Wednesday: Ferdinand Herold's ballet La somnambule to a scenario by Scribe and Aumer was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opera.

 September 20, Thursday: Music publisher Carl Friedrich Peters died in Sonnenstein at the age of 48. He left his firm to his daughter Anna, who was only 11 years of age.

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

5th day 20 of 9 M / The day was very stormy, Wind & Rain, & Meeting very small - it was however to me a sweet little opportunity - my mind being much turned to the primitive days of our fathers who [?] sounded & settled The Society, formed the discipline & preached about [?] Jesus & him crucified, & raised up a noble band who followed in their path. - Things now look discouraging as to numbers, in [our?] Moy [Monthly] Meeting - we are small - yet in the reflection, that Arm is not shortened, nor the Power weakened, that caused the dry [bones] to live, Streams to break forth in dry places, & barran fields [?] & fruitful. we have consolation & ground of hope that Zion may arise & shine in her Ancient splendor.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 21, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 21st of 9 M 1827 / My heart was deeply affected this morning with the news of the death of Sarah C Greene wife of my cousin Joseph Greene of Connanicut - She had been complaining the last summer, but was so as to be over to [Newport](#) at meeting a number of times. - a bout two weeks ago she went on a visit to her Fathers in Hopkinton, where she was taken ill, her husband was sent for & the next we hear, is, that she is removed from time, & this is the day fixed on for her funeral. - Her husband will looses a valuable wife, & society an exemplary member & Elder, careful in the discharge of every duty, & unoffending in all the walks of life - I believe there are few whose garments were more unspotted by the things of time. - I have no doubt she is now in White Robes, enjoying the presence of her God & Saviour



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

with the ransomed & redeemed of All ages. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23rd of 9 M / Our Morning meeting was pretty well attended & Father Rodman engaged in testimony - Henry Channing was there who was once a Presbyterian Minister in New London & attentive to friends when they happened to be there & several times loaned his Meeting House for them to have Meetings in In the Afternoon Father was again engaged in a few words - Wm & Caleb Rodman with a young man from Yarmouth who is here erecting a Salt Works on Robins's lot at the South end of Thames street took tea with us. his name os Leonard Underwood. – In the eveng cousin Henry & Abigail Gould joined us in company, & in the latter part of it we had an unexpected call from Joseph Tillinghast of Bedford, who has come to see his father now very sick. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 25, Tuesday: Der blinde Knabe D.833, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Cibber translated by Craigher, was published in the Zeitschrift fur Kunst, Vienna.

 September 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27 of 9 M / Our first Meeting was unusually favoured, before any thing was spoken, I was sensible divine help & goodness was near – Anne Greene was engaged in a testimony in which Gospel power was remarkably displayed, perhaps as much so as I ever saw it thro' her - She was followed by Ruth Freeborn & Father Rodman - The buisness of the Meeting was well conducted & on the whole it was a comfortable Meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 29, Saturday: Great Britain and the United States agreed to submit their Canadian-boundary issue to international arbitration.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



September 30, Sunday: [Sam Patch](#) had relocated to Paterson, New Jersey, where the industrialist Tim Crane had bought up some land at the side of Passaic Falls that had been used by working-class people for their picnics and on it had been creating a hoity-toity pleasure garden, building over the falls a bridge to this garden, on which a toll was being charged in order to keep out the riff-raff:



The working-class locals, enraged at this exclusionary toll, began to beat up the children he employed as toll takers. When Crane staged a celebration of his “improvements,” Patch participated in the working-class protest by jumping 70 feet off the bridge in front of a large crowd. He jumped wearing the marching uniform of his craft guild, which must have been a political statement of sorts. Then during a class-based dispute over the town’s 4th-of-July celebration, he would make the jump again. Then during the town’s first labor walkout, he would make the jump again. This of course began to attract media attention. Having shaken the dust of [Rhode Island](#) from off his sandals, he was coming to be termed “The Jersey Leaper.”

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

1st day 29th [sic] of 9 M / Father Rodman in Supplication in the Mornng & in testimony in the afternoon Meeting - both pretty good meetings -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➔ Fall: The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) was preaching in various [Unitarian](#) churches in various Massachusetts towns. He would be serving as what was known as a “supply” preacher into 1829. He would be delivering his supply, which amounted to about 26 different sermons in all, almost 200 times. In November he would substitute for his cousin, the Reverend Orville Dewey, at the [New Bedford](#) Unitarian Church make up largely of [disowned](#) (non-Hicksite) Quakers. He would note that Miss [Mary Rotch](#), one of the prominent former [Quakers](#), had during the rite of the Last Supper quietly absented herself from the church service.¹⁷



➔ October 1, Monday: Russian troops occupied Yerevan.

Sam Houston was inaugurated as governor of Tennessee, replacing two-term Governor William Carroll.

Riga’s schoolhouse opened.

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

2nd day 1st of 10th M 1827 / This Afternoon I crossed both Ferrys & went to Narragansett to Clean James Robinsons clock, when I got on the Narragansett side I found an oxx cart there in which I rode as far as Tower Hill Meeting House & then got out & went over across to James Robinsons on foot & reached his house a little after candle light. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➔ October 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day was very Rainy & I in the house attending to my buisness - the time passed pleasantly & interstingly –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➔ October 3, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day after Breakfast James Robinson Brought me in his Chaise to the ferry - I crossed to Connanicut & went to cousin Joseph Greenes & dined - spent a little time with him in sympathy for his late affliction & then came home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➔ October 4, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 4th of 10 M / Our frd Abigail Robinson was remarkably favourd in testimony & Father Rodman made an acceptable addition - it was an excellent meeting to me for which I believe I am

17. The precedent for this sort of religious observance was of course the Deist father of our country, George Washington.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

thankful –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 7, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 7th of 10th M / I may acknowledge another pretty favour'd meeting [this] Morning in which Father Rodman was very lively & accepably engaged in testimony. – Recd last eveng a pleasant letter from [Moses Brown](#) giving some acct of Ohio Y Meeting [?] given him by our friend Elisha bates. – This Afternoon our Frd D Buffum was singularly lively in testimony he began with saying "Take heed to the light. this is necessary for us all – But my mind has been especially turned [to the] young & rising generation that you be careful to mind the light & whatsoever makes manifest is light. it justifies for good & reproves for evil, & quallifies us to fill our Stations in the civil & religious society with propriety – for on you the important concerns of both civil & religious society must soon devolve – he then went on in a very lively strain of exhortation for some time & said it was his concern to see the youth come up in the paths of virtue, now in his old age, not expecting to have much more opportunity to stir up our minds by way of remembrance, to those things which make for our present & everlasting peace & which if obeyed would qualify us to sing triumphant songs of praise in the world to come – I went home with him After meeting & took tea & set the eveng. – I might have added that Father Rodman followed him in a very lively pertinent & edifying short testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 11, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 11th of 10 M 1827 / Today was our Select Meeting After which, in the Afternoon Aunt Stanton being in Town I went to [Portsmouth](#) to See my dear Aged Mother who was very glad to see me, as I was her. – I staid all night & 6th day Morning Walked home.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 13, Saturday: Pietro von Abano, a romantic opera by Louis Spohr to words of Pfeiffer after Tieck, was performed for the initial time, in the Kassel Hoftheater.



October 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14th of 10th M / Not at meeting all day – – finding myself quite unwell this morning I thought best to take some medicine that rendered it necessary to stay at home – This eveng by Brother Isaacs return from NYork we had a very comfortable letter & accounts from John at Hudson – it was longer than usual since we heard from him & had become very anxious –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



October 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21st of 10th M / In both Meetings Father Rodman bore lively testimonys. – In the eveng we had calls from J Sherman Wm Potter & Leonard Underwood, the latter set most of the evening. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 22, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 22nd of 10th M / Attended the funeral of John Tillinghast tho' the Afternoon was Stormy, high wind & some rain, yet there was a considerable number attended & the sitting, which friends conducted, was solid & quiet & lively testimonys were borne by Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis. – He died last 7th day the 20th inst about 3 OC in the morning, after a long & painful illness aged about 57 Years – -In his last illness he was favour'd with much quietude & patience & manifested as well as at other seasons of his life, much love for friends, & for many years was a regular attender of our Meeting on first Days. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 23, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 23rd of 10 M / Joseph Tillinghast son of John called to see me. I was glad of the visit as he is one I love & esteem for his honest sincere heart, as well as for his love for Truth & friends

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 25, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25th of 10th M 1827 / Various causes conspire to keep me from Moy [Monthly] Meeting this Day held at [Portsmouth](#) – I am informed by those who did go, that they had a good meeting & that Mary Hicks & Ruth Freeborn bore good acceptable testimonies. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 26, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 26 of 10 M / Hannah Jackson, Ruth Dennis & Sister Mary passed the Afternoon & evening with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 28, Sunday: Lowell Mason conducted a performance of the [Boston](#) Handel and Haydn Society for the 1st time.

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

1st day 28th of 10 M / Our Meetings were seasons of some favour but attended with trial – a good deal of preaching & some of it



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

(at least) of doubtful Authority –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 29, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 29 of 10 M / At tea time we had Wm Brown son of Smith Brown - he is a young Physician settled now at Falmouth –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 31, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 31 of 10 M / Friends have a pleasant Day to hold their Select Quarterly Meeting at Swansea. Eleanor Lawton & Sister Mary set the Afternoon & took tea with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November: Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) visited Charleston, South Carolina and attempted to convert her little sister [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) from Presbyterianism to [Quakerism](#).

 November 1, Thursday: The contract on Riga's schoolhouse was paid off — \$157.50.

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

5th day 1st of 11 M 1827 / Set out this Morning in the Steam Boat Babcock for [Providence](#) but the Wind was so heavy & ahead that we put back after sailing up as far as Gould Island. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 2, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 2 of 11 M / Set out again for [Providence](#) in the Babcock & reached there about half after 2 O'clock & went immediately to the School House, where I found the committee in the Girls School. - After examining the Books & hearing the children read - After which we set in Silence & good appropriate & feeling communications were made by David Clapp Rowland Greene & Abigail Robinson. - we then went to the Boys School & after looking over their books, we sat in Silence with them. Stephen A Chase first addressed the Schollars on the subject of their education, in an appropriate manner Daniel Clapp then delivered a short testimony which was honest & well ment & in good degree impressive then Rowland Greene addressed them very appropriately - he was followed by [Moses Brown](#) on the Subject of Pride, which he endeavoured to guard them against, & encouraged humility as a beautiful ornament & adorning. - David Buffum then in a very affectionate manner said he had been favoured once more to visit the school, in which he had been often interested, & as he had advanced very far in life & felt the infirmities of body & mind, it was quite within probability that it might be the last time he might sit with them, he encouraged them to practice every virtue, & bid them affectionately fare well, reminding them that the way to fare well is to do well both here & hereafter - Mary



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*B Allen then followed in a lively, sweet & pertinent testimony, alluding to the favour we experienced in the company of the beloved Ancients present, & closed in a manner which left much solemnity over the gathering -
The committee retired from the School room & met again in a committee capacity - after transacting the buisness necessary we separated & I went home & lodged at the house of my dear friend Moses Brown -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 3, Saturday: Le roi et le batelier, an opera comique by Fromental Halevy and Rifaut to words of Saint-Georges, was performed for the initial time, by the Opera-Comique, Paris. It would receive only 13 performances.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day Spent this day at the School House attending the School Committee & Trustees Meeting exceptibly [acceptably], we went into Town to attend the funeral of Caleb Wheaton, an old acquaintance of mine which was a season of favour - the corpse was carried to the Meeting house & several good testimonials were delivered the last & most expressive was by Mary B Allen. - went to my old Quarters at Night

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 4, Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day attended Meetings at the School House in the Morning Deborah Otis, Royal Southwick Abigail Robinson, were all very lively & solemn in testimony & to me it was one of the most Watering Seasons I have experienced in a long time my mind travelled with the Ministers & favoured with the incomes of love & life in a manner which raised in my heart gratitude & humble admiration of continued love mercy & goodness vouchsafed in time of need. - I was also at the School Meeting in the Afternoon wherein Deborah Otis prayed & preached & Lydia Breed also offered an instructive testimony - lodged again at Moses Browns-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 5, Monday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day The Meeting for Sufferings having adjourned to the Meeting house in Providence, we met there at 9 OC & set till late dinner time when we closed - Dined at Wm Jenkins, where also a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings had agreed to meet in the Afternoon to inspect the Memorials of dead Friends - it was an interesting interview, & rendered peculiarly so from the circumstance of knowing two ancient friends present Vizt Moses Brown & David Buffum, who remembered most of the Subjects of the memorials & particularly, signed the Memorial

of one friend & watched with him the night he died over 50 [?] years ago. - the additional anecdotes which they stated of some were very interesting to us that had the opportunity of hearing them - we did not finish the reading the testimonies till 9 OC in the evening when I went home with Moses Brown & set an hour very interestingly & Memorably to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 7, Wednesday: The Reverend Elijah Demond was installed as minister at Lincoln.

A notice appeared in the London Times that Greenwood's Map of London was finally, after a couple of years of surveying, available for distribution to its subscribers.

<http://www.bathspa.ac.uk/greenwood/imagemap.html>



CARTOGRAPHY

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*In the Morning I rose early to come into town in order to return home, but found my Kind & affectionate friend had left word with his family to tackle the Chaise & carry me in, if I was in a hurry to go before breakfast - mentioning to them that he wished to continue his attention to me as this might be the last opportunity we might have together. -
I set out with D Buffum & Abigail Robinson in his carriage & arrived in Newport at little before Dark at night & was glad to find myself at home. -
At no time of my visiting the School have I felt more Satisfaction - & found more solid well concerned young men & girls at the Institution*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 8, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 11 M / A good meeting to me & a little preaching - there are many trying things afloat in the World, & some trials attend me - but we were greatly comforted in our late visit to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Providence, under a consideration of the general good state of the *School* &c.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 9, Friday: In Carlisle, Massachusetts, the funeral of the Reverend [Paul Litchfield](#).

THE SERVANT OF CHRIST

[Nicolò Paganini](#) performed at the Teatro del Falcone of Genoa, before the king and queen.

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

6th day 11th M 9th / Isaac Austin took tea & set the evening with us – he was my youthful associate, & I was glad to see him – This evening we had a very gratifying letter from our Dear J S Gould. – which really did our hearts good. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 11, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 11th of 11th M 1827 / Hannah Dennis & Father Rodman in testimony in the Morning & Father in a few words in the Afternoon. – Both were to me seasons of some favour, for which I desire to be thankful. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 15, Thursday: The Creeks ceded all their remaining territory in Georgia to the United States of America.

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

5th day 16th [sic] of 11th M / A good Meeting to me, a few words by Father Rodman – Several friends absent from meeting to attend the funeral of Nathan Chase at [Tiverton](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 18, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18th of 11th M / In the Morning Father Rodman & Jona Dennis broke the silence. D Buffum was engaged in an acceptable testimony. – Silent Meeting in the Afternoon – Our Meetings were both well attended & to me they were seasons of some favour. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 November 22, Thursday: Maria Szymanowska met the poet Adam Mickiewicz in St. Petersburg. She would set four of his poems to music. After her death, Mickiewicz would get married with her daughter Celina.

[Hector Berlioz](#) conducted in public for the 1st time in a performance of his 1825 mass in St. Eustache, Paris.

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

5th day 22nd of 11th M / Silent Meeting, & no buisness in the Preparative Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 12th M 1827 / In the mornng Meeting D BUffum was unusally lively & pertinent in testimony. - & father Rodman said a little after him - Silent in the Afternoon - We set the evening with Abigail Robinson. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 9, Sunday: From the journal of the [Reverend Convers Francis](#) of Watertown:

This day [Mr. Emerson from Cambridge](#) preached for me, though I performed the other services. His sermons were from 1 Timothy V, 4 - "let them learn," & from II Chronicles XX, 20, "believe in the L. your G.", &c - These sermons were distinguished by great felicity of thought & style, by rich moral eloquence, & by a fresh & fervent earnestness. It is delightful to see & hear such as young man as Mr. E. -



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

1st day 9th of 12 M / Silent & poor wandering meetings to me, was however led to make some effort for a settlement & to feel a little of the rise of life - Last eveng we recd a very pleasant letter from John & in the evening I finished one to him. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 December 12, Wednesday: Four songs by Franz Schubert were published by Weigl as his op.88: Abendlied fur die Entfernte to words of von Schlegel, Thekla: eine Geisterstimme to words of Schiller, An die Musik to words of Schober, and Um Mitternacht to words of Schulze.

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

12th M 12th 1827 4th day / This Forenoon Bathesheba Searing went to the House of Wm Ennis to dine & spend the day & soon after she got in, & was seated in the Chair she died immediately - this is an Awful instance of the slender tenure by which we hold life. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 13, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13 of 12 M / Our Meeting was small but to my mind a solid quiet time, mingled with distress - but I was never more sensible that "Jerusalem was a quiet habitation to them that seek it, a refuge to which we may flee & be safe, amid all the storms, tempests, temptations & besetments that can assail us. - It is however hard under some dispensations to attain to it, yet I am also renewedly confirmed, nothing will be required of us that we shall not be able to perform - no temptations will be permitted to assail us, but that there will be a way be made for escape, as we cleave with the power given us, to the Almighty helper who never failed Israel in their hardest seasons, & his Arm is not Shortened under the Christian dispensation, but is mercifully lengthened out for the help of all who put their trust in him, Above all other powers, for against it, divination nor enchantment nor the powers of Satan cannot prevail, but deliverance will be experienced thro' faith & patience to our humbling Admiration. - Father Rodman was engaged in a short but I have no doubt fervant prayer

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 16, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 16th of 12 M / Meetings solemn & Silent - between Meetings was the funeral of Br John Rodman.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



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

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

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

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23 of 12 M / In the Morning Meeting D Buffum & H. Dennis were engaged in testimony - & in the Afternoon the Meeting was silent - Both were seasons of some trial to me - Divine help has since been afforded, & the arisings of life sweetly spring up in my heart - I believe I am thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27 of 12th M 1827 / This Morning about 10 OC Died Our friend Dorcas Earl - she had long stood in the Station of Elder in this Moy [Monthly] Meeting & from my first recollection of Meetings 'till she left off attending them from Age & infirmity, she sat at the head of the Meeting on the Womens side. - She was in the 88th Year of her Age. - It is also our Moy [Monthly] Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) & partly from indisposition of body, the State of the Weather (a Snow Storm) & some other considerations & did not attend. - it is always unpleasant to have to omit attending a Meeting that I have a right & ought to attend. - but it is not always best to go when we can - I desire my love for the Truth & the Assembling ourselves together, for which & the transaction of our concerns in the Church. may continue, & I believe it does - Society is very precious to me.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 30, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30 of 12th M 1827 / I recognize this day as the same of the month & Week, that I was born 46 Years ago - I am never willing to let it pass without taking note of it - I feel that it is probable much the greater half of my days are passed & perhaps they may be nearly closed - of this however I have no Knowledge - Many events have taken place since last Year this



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

time, which pass in review before my mind - I am thankful under a present sense of some divine favour - Our Meeting this morning was large Silent solid & solemn to my feelings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 31, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 31 of 12 M / With this day ends the Year, it has been a favourable Year to me & I trust many occurrences of 1827 will not soon be forgotten - some of a trying nature, & some very pleasant & encouraging - On the whole I think there is much to be grateful & thankful for, & the ballance is on the pleasant side of the scale - Oh Lord preserve us in thy [love?] & enable us to be thankful for thy Mercys & favours

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1828

 In a novel RACHEL DYER, a failed Quaker from Maine named John Neal, who had sought [disownment](#) from the [Religious Society of Friends](#), reworked the [Mary Dyer/Anne Hutchinson](#) stories in the context of Salem [witchcraft](#), initially for [Blackwood's Magazine](#).

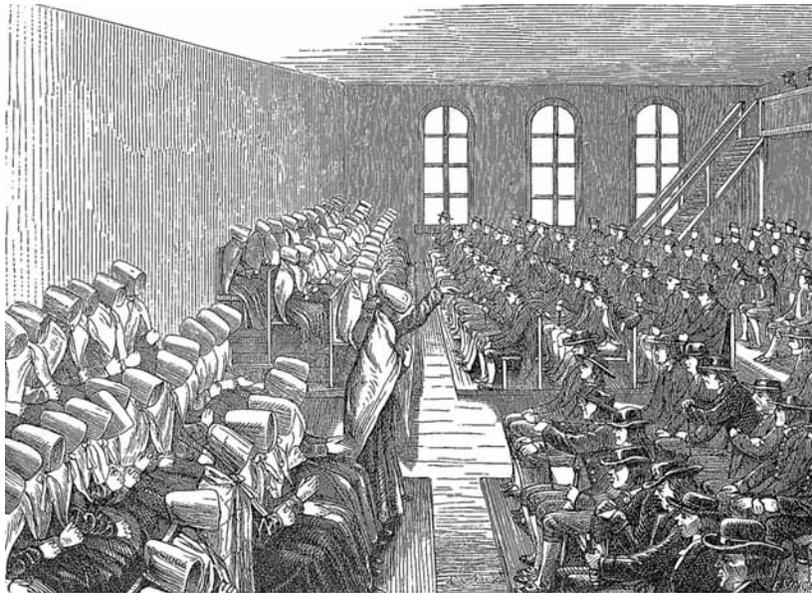
 Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) became editor of a pro-Clay gazette in [Boston](#), the [American Manufacturer](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



The [Religious Society of Friends](#) began to experience a deep doctrinal schism which split the society into two factions. The detrimental effect of this schism on the Society was profound. Flushing Meeting on Paumanok Long Island was no exception. The “[Hicksite](#)” faction, being the majority at Flushing, retained the meetinghouse, but part of the property was given to the “Orthodox” faction and they built their own meetinghouse next door. (That Pietistic apartheidist meeting house would later be torn down, but the Religious Society of Friends would not heal its internal division until 1955.)



Friend [Elias Hicks](#) went out on the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he went in a one-horse carriage from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant) to visit and give testimony in meetings in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, returning to his home and farm near Jericho, Long Island in 1829.



The form of Quakerism terming itself “Orthodox” had been becoming more and more evangelical,

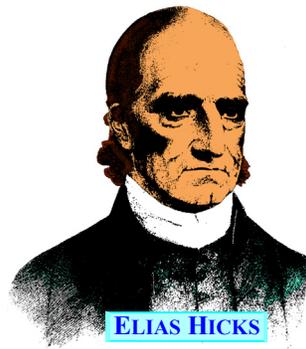
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in the sense that it had come to center itself upon a belief in a Jesus figure who granted to those who “believed” in him a sort of easy grace that made good works quite irrelevant and instantaneously forgave all personal shortcomings. This was in contrast with the so-called “New Light” Friends, more conservative, led by Friend Hannah Jenkins Barnard of the Hudson Monthly Meeting, followers of the tradition of Friend Elias of Long Island who were insisting that the path to grace led through a life lived according to the Discipline of Friends. This was also in contrast with the followers of the way of the mystic antimaterialist Friend Job Scott. In Ohio, there was something of a riot between the Hicksites and the Orthodox, which led one Friend to inquire “What kind of a religion is this?” Friend William Rotch, Jr. of New Bedford, who had for a long period been the clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, was disciplined for “expressions of disunity” on account of his having categorized the evangelicism of the Orthodox branch as nontraditional.

➡ When the Reverend William Adam was challenged in his direction of the educational effort at Rammohan Roy’s school in Calcutta by those who experienced his teaching as dry, stilted, and boring (which, clearly, it was), he did the same thing he would do in April 1843 ➡ when he would be in charge of the educational branch of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#): he withdrew totally. This man had a thin skin — if you didn’t want him he didn’t want you.

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and Rammohan Roy (who was at this time becoming an advocate of trial by jury, and was founding the reforming Hindu society *Brahma Sabha*) were in contact with each other by letter. The two leaders, one [Quaker](#) and the other Hindu, had much impressed each other with their writings and works. The attitude of Friend Elias was that religion was not an opinion at all, it was a relationship or a study. The attitude of the rajah would not be so readily summarized, but was utterly congruent with this.



“To be a Christian is to be Christ-like.”



“Oh, I quite agree.”

Which is to say, Rammohan Roy did not any more accept Hindu scriptures as authoritative, than did [Elias Hicks](#) accept the BIBLE as superior to the inspiration with which it was read and studied — he discarded many ritual practices as distractions from the life of the spirit. He neither dwelled on reincarnation, *karman*, nor the effect of deeds done in previous lives. His movement would go through many rebirths, first as the *Brahmo Samaj* of [India](#) of 1866, then as the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* of 1878, and as the *Naba Bidhan* “Church of the New Dispensation,” and by now it has been quite absorbed into the general context of liberal Hindu society (an Indian name that might be familiar to you: Rabindranath Tagore would be a product of this tradition).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

Formation, in England, of the Society for the Diffusion of Information on the Subject of [Capital Punishment](#), led (of course) by [Quakers](#).



Originally, in 1696, the solemn affirmation of Quakers in court had been accepted instead of an oath, which Quakers refused to take because it was contrary to Scripture and because it implied a specially stringent standard of truth-telling for witness testimony in court; however, in 1749 Quakers had been prohibited from testifying in such manner during criminal proceedings. At this point that 1749 restriction was lifted.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➔ Friend [Sarah Helen Power](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) married with the wellborn poet and writer John Winslow Whitman, co-editor of the Boston [Spectator](#) and [Ladies' Album](#), and moved to Boston. There she would be introduced to Mrs. Sarah Josepha Buell Hale and the Transcendentalists, and would write essays defending Romantic and Transcendentalist writers including [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#), and [Waldo Emerson](#). She became involved in the “causes” of progressive education, woman’s rights, universal manhood suffrage, Fourierism, and [Unitarianism](#).

SARAH HELEN POWER WHITMAN



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

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

➔ Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) bore her last child. (Five of her six children would survive into adulthood.)



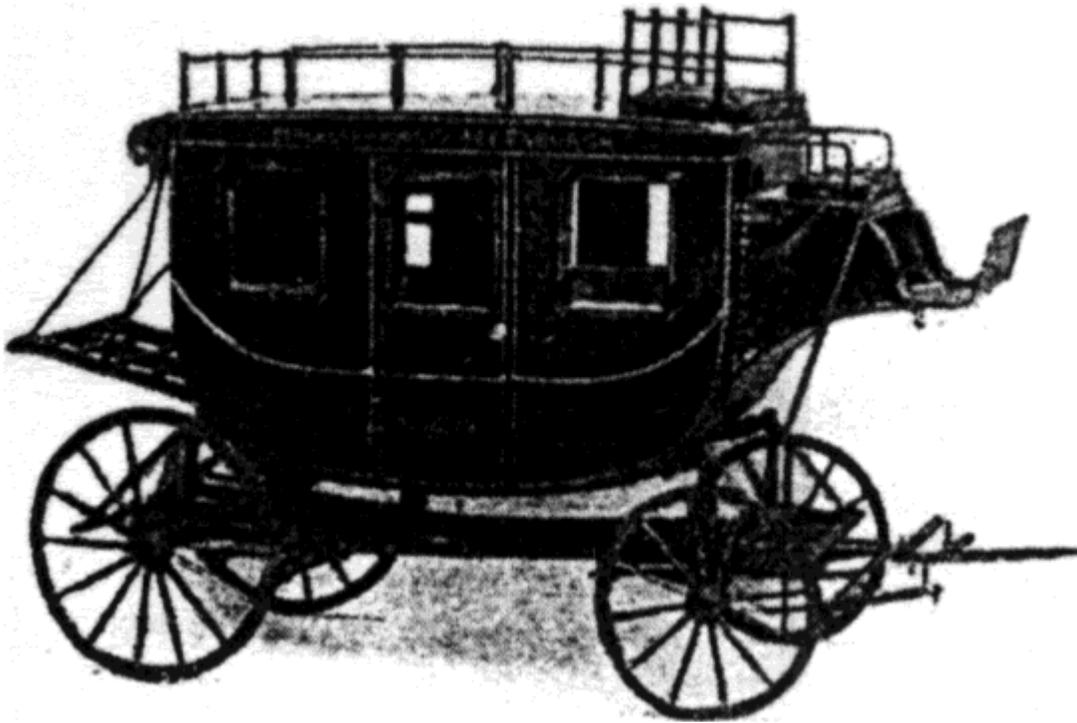
AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



January 1, Tuesday: J. Stephens Abbot became a partner of Lewis Downing, Senior in Concord, New Hampshire in the manufacture of the Concord Coach, which was basically an English-model carriage modified for rough American roads, with its body suspended well above its axles upon leather straps which converted much of the up-and-down jarring into a less unsettling side-to-side swaying. There would be models of this that would seat 6, 8, 10, or 12.



While other carriages were undergoing an infinite variety of changes in style, this design was so excellent so early that it would scarcely require any modification at all.

L'esule di Roma ossia Il proscritto, a melodramma eroico by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Gilardoni after Marchionni, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, Naples. The audience granted it an enthusiastic reception.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about a stagecoach ride out to visit his mom in [Portsmouth](#), and then a pleasant walk home:

3rd day 1st of 1st M 1828 / This morning when I awoke my mind



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*was lead to reflect on the New Year, & among other thoughts it seemed to me it would be best for me to go to [Portsmouth](#) to visit my aged Mother who I have not seen in some weeks. She passes the Winter at Uncle Stanton's being pleasant company to Aunt Patty Stanton - Accordingly I got into the Stage & rode out, found them all comfortable, & very glad to have me to dine with them the first day of the Year
About 3 O'clock Uncle Stanton had his Waggon tackled & sent me on the way as far as Christopher Sweets, the rest of the distance I walked. It was just a pleasant exercise. —¹⁸*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 3, Thursday: Franz Schubert's vocal quintet *Mondenschein* D.875 to words of Schober was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

5th day 3rd of 1st M / Our Meeting was small, but a good solid little opportunity. Father Rodman had a few words to offer very satisfactorily. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 4, Friday: Jean Baptiste Silvere Gaye, Vicomte de Martignac replaced Jean Baptiste Seraphin Joseph, comte de Villele as prime minister of France.

 January 6, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 6th of 1 M / In the Morning we had an unusual solid Meeting. D Buffum Rose with the text "Mind your calling brethren" - he exhorted us to faithfulness as he did not believe our society was raised up for a day but designed to stand. We had been of great use in the world in abolishing Slavery & enlightening mankind respecting Priest crafts - & notwithstanding the many discouraging prospects from revoltings in various parts, he believed our society would stand -he was followed in short testimonials by Father RODman & Hannah Dennis. - Silent Meeting in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 10, Thursday: *Gute Nacht*, the 1st in Franz Schubert's song cycle *Die Winterreise* D.911 to words of Muller, was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

Charleston's Courier carried the intelligence that the "Papyrotomia" with "cuttings" by William James Hubard and Hanks was being shown. At this point, although Hubard's famous name was being mentioned, all the silhouettes were being cut by some other child prodigy by the name of Hanks.

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

18. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*5th day 10th of 1 M / A Short testimony by Father Rodman -
the walking bad & the gathering small & poor to me -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 12, Saturday: A treaty between the USA and Mejico reaffirmed the border between the two nations (the Sabine River) that had been established in the US's treaty with Spain of 1819.

A 2d rupture to the tunnel being excavated beneath the Thames River at London resulted in the deaths of six additional laborers (there would be a total of five such incidents, and the tunnel would open for passenger traffic until 1843).

 January 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 13th of 1st M / We had a little preaching & to me they
were dull Seasons - Meetings vary in my feelings sometimes
the[y] afford me some good degree of satisfaction & at others
Oh the Poverty that I set in. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 14, Monday: The 1st part of Franz Schubert's Die Winterreise D.911 was published by Haslinger.

 January 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 17th of 1st M 1828 / Our Select Meeting was attended by
nearly all the Members who are able to attend - it was a season
of some exercise, but on the whole things moved on pretty well.
- Uncle B Freeborn & Aunt Ruth dined with us*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 18, Friday: Bavaria and Wurttemberg entered into a customs union.

 January 20, Sunday: Abraham Lincoln's married sister Sarah died while giving birth.

The Fantasy in C D.934 for violin and piano by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, in the County Hall, Vienna. The response was mixed and, programmed at the end of a long noon concert, many in the audience had already departed.

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

*1st day 20th of 1st M / Our Morning Meeting was well attended &
a solemn impressive one - Our frd D Buffum was engaged in lively
good testimony "Boast not thyself of tomorrow for you know not
what a day may bring fourth" his communication was remarkably
impressive & I dont know when have seen more impression made on
the countenances in audience. - Abigail Sherman followed him in
short & well approved testimony. -*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*In the Afternoon Father Rodman was engaged in a good testimony & both were favoured Meetings to me
Our young frd Francis Lawton took tea & spent the evening with us, his company was pleasant & interesting & I do strongly desire he may make a good useful man in society & the community at large*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 24, Thursday: Franz Schubert's Standchen D.921 for alto, female chorus, and piano to words of [Franz Grillparzer](#) was performed publicly for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

5th day 24th of 1st M / Silent meeting - In the last we had a request from Hannah Brayton for Membership - It is of a doubtful nature & a committee in both meetings were appointed to consider the propriety of forwarding it to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting. - she has been under derangement of mind, tho' now quite calm & quiet but whether enough so as to render it prudent to receive her into membership is at least questionable. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 25, Friday: [Robert Schumann](#) played the last of several performances at the Gymnasium in Zwickau — a d minor piano concerto by Friedrich Kalkbrenner.

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

6th day 25th of 1st M / Went to [Portsmouth](#) on buisness this Afternoon lodged at Uncle Stantons - 7th day walked up to the rode & waited at Dr Richardsons for the Stages & then rode home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 27, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 27th of 1st M / Both meetings were Silent & rather low times, but was favoured at the close of the Afternoon Meeting in company with David Rodman, in an Opportunity with F Carr, on account of his neglect of the attendance of our Meetings. - The poor Man seems quite confused in his Ideas, about our principles, & tho' we were favoured with clearness & a good degree of ability in speaking with him, yet it did not appear that we made much favourable impression. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 30, Wednesday: The South Carolina legislature chartered the S.C. Railroad, from Hamburg to Charleston (work would begin in this year and be completed in 1833).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 January 31, Thursday: On Franz Schubert's 31st birthday, his song Ellens Gesang III D.839 to words of Scott translated by Storck was performed for the initial time, in the Vienna Musikvereinsaal.

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

*5th day 31st of 1st M 1828 / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was a time of unusual favour, solid, quiet & - Daniel Clapp accompanied by Amos Aldrich from [Smithfield](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting attended & Daniel preached in the simplicity & sweetness, very much to the comfort of Friends. his visit was very acceptable. -
In the last Meeting, buisness went on in a comfortable satisfactory way & we had reason to believe the Lord was yet with his Church & people & to trust that he would remain with them, as they keep to the Law & testimony. -
Daniel & Amos Dined with us, & My wife set the evening at Sister Rebecca's -
After Meeting I recd a comfortable letter from my friend Wm Almy & also one from my frd Abraham Sherman Jr, the latter gave an account of the decease of our dear friend Elizabeth Rotch wife of Wm Rotch Jr after a short Illness. - she died on the Morning of the 30th inst. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 1, Friday: Ali, Pascha von Janina, oder Die Franzosen in Albanien, an Oper by Albert Lortzing to his own words, was performed for the initial time, in Munster.

 February 2, Saturday: Romanze des Richard Lowenherz D.907, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Scott translated by Muller, was performed for the initial time, in the Landhaussaal, Vienna.

There was a severe earthquake in Ischia.

 February 3, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 2nd M 1828 / The walking was very muddy & Meetings Small - but remarkably solid good ones to me - silent in the Morning & in the Afternoon Father Rodman was engaged in a solid & I believe living testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 4, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 2nd M 1828 / Contrary to previous prospects for some time past, I set out by land this morning by land to [Providence](#) with the view of attending the Quarterly Meeting & the School committee & to attend to some other buisness & appointments there. - My journey was a long one, the roads exceedingly muddy & we did not reach [Providence](#) till 8 OC in the eveng - lodged at Joseph Anthonys - on third day attended the Sub-School committee - & lodged at [Moses Browns](#) - on 4th day our

Select Qtly Meeting was a season of favour mingled with a little sufferings – on 5th day our Meeting at large was held, it was large & a number of savory & seasonable offerings were made – & our friend Rowland Greene was set at liberty to perform a religious visit to the Quarterly Meeting of Purchase in the State of NYork & also to attend the ensuing Yearly Meeting in the City of NYork in the 5th M next – After a Meeting of the Trustees of O Brown I went home with my Aged kind friend Moses Brown & spent 6th day in the School House attending the School committee on 7th day our Meeting for Sufferings was held at the School House & we had two long sittings. I staid that night at the School House & attended the Meeting there on 1st day [Sunday] which were solemn & to the feelings of many if not all present, were very interesting. – Rowland Greene in the Morning & in the Afternoon Rowland Greene & Ruth Freeborn were engaged in lively & powerful testimonys -towards night I walked into town, visited Nancy Pickering & lodged at Wm Jenkins & 2nd day [Monday] Morning came home by Water. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 7, Thursday: Civil War officer Ely Parker, author of the terms of surrender at Appomattox, was born on the Tonawanda Reservation in Indian Falls, New-York.

The Leonore Overture no.1 by Ludwig van Beethoven, that had apparently been intended for a Prague production of Fidelio, but coming to light only after the composer's death, was performed for the initial time.

Henry Neele, still a relatively young man, committed suicide by slitting his own throat.



To Despair.

I.

It was Despair,
 He roll'd his large red eye around,
 And laid his wither'd hand upon the lyre;
 Then woke that strain so wildly terrible,
 That Madness
 Ceas'd for awhile her idiot grin, and Fear
 Call'd Disappointment from his iron cell,
 To pause and listen while his own pale cheek



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Grew paler.

II.

It was Despair:
The man of dark imaginings,
Who sits sullen on some blasted heath,
Which the pale moon-beam saddens, not relieves;
There raving,
Fashioning shapes huge, strange, and horrible,
And starting wild, he points at vacancy,
And to the spirits of the night-blast tells
His sorrows.

III.

He asks not aid,
Nor does the big sigh heave his breast,
Nor does the sorrowful tear suffuse his eyes,
For sighs and tears bespeak a spirit worn,
Not withered;
Bended, not broken: they are like the rains
That bless the plains they deluge, when the flow'rs
E'en while they bend beneath their weight, are seen
Reviving.

IV.

There was a light,
That us'd to flit across his path,
Lonely, yet lovely, and it cheer'd his soul,
And he would cherish it, and call it Hope:
That vanish'd—
And he must wander now despairingly,
Where never taper lends its little ray,
Where never moon must soothe, and never sun
Shall gladden.

V.

Despair is Death:
And though he come not in the storm
That blasts the roses, yet he lurks unseen,
Eating their core away, and o'er them sheds
His mildew:
While of such sad, sad change, the cause and cure
Alike unknown, we can but mourn the flow'rs
That look less beautiful and count the leaves
That wither.

VI.

Thou Sun of heaven!
Tho' thou art cheerful, and he dull
As blackest night, Despair resembles thee;
Fierce as thou art, and lasting as thou seem'st,
His sorrows
Thy setting sees the same pale marble cheeks,
Thy rising radiance vainly strove to gild;
The same dull eye's fix'd glare, the same wild steps,
Still wand'ring.

VII.

Yet he can smile
With seeming careless jollity,
And o'er the goblet gay will join the laugh,
And strive to play the courtier deftly.
But vainly—
The worm that fattens in the dead man's socket,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Looks not less like the life that glitter'd there,
Than that faint smile, the heart-exulting mirth
It mimics.

VIII.

O saddest lot!
Thus barely doom'd to breathe and be,
To wander up and down this care-bound sphere,
And only know we live, because we feel
Life's sorrows;
And only shrink from death because we fear
The grave itself may hold some dream like life,
And even that dark slumber may not be
Unbroken.

 February 14, Thursday: [Edmond François Valentin About](#) was born at Dieuze, in the Lorraine region of France.

[William John Broderip](#) was elected a member of the Royal Society.

The initial of several customs treaties in the [German](#) Confederation was signed between Prussia and Hesse-Darmstadt, providing a basis for greater [German](#) unity.

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

*5th day 14th of 2 M 1828 / Meeting nearly silent & I apprehend
had better been entirely so. - it however was generally a good
Meeting to me*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 15, Friday: The Societe des Concerts (Conservatoire concerts) was created by a decree of the French government, and Luigi Cherubini was named as president of the society.

 February 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 17th of 2 M / Our Meeting was pretty well attended,
Father Rodman made a small acceptable offering - he was followed
by our Ancient frd David Buffum Rose & observed, that he had
apprehended it to be his duty, occasionally to say a few words
for many years in our solemn Meetings, to stir up the Minds of
his fellow candidates for immortality, to a closer attention to
those things which would make for their peace - he said he had
seldom thought it his place to enter much on nice disputed
doctrines or go much into metaphysical reasoning, but had been
generally lead to speak on those subjects which were plain & on
which most agree - while he had been sitting he had felt the
language to revolve in his mind, "Mind the light - take heed to
the light, for it is the Light which makes manifest & does teach,
& will teach more abundantly all those who yealds to its sacred
influence - he made a solemn appeal to all present, if they could
not say, they had felt this inward light of Christ in their
hearts to operate, by reprovng them for evil & justifying them
for good, & observed if there were any that could say they had
not - he should be willing they should at proper time inform him
of it. - as he had uniformly believed the divine light of Christ*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

in the soul was as difusive & universal as the rays of the outward sun. - he observed that he was concerned for his friends present that they be faithful to its dictates, not expecting to stand among them much longer in that capacity. - he closed his testimony in a very feeling manner, which left a remarkable solemn covering over the Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 21, Thursday: A printing press arrived at the headquarters of the Cherokee council in Echota, Georgia.

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

5th day 21st of 2nd M / Very Rainy, small Meeting & silent - no buisness in the Preparative Meeting, tho' the womens side a request from Hannah Brayton for membership was forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - Put a letter & several pamphlets on board the Packet for John S Gould. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 22, Friday: In the peace treaty of Turkmenchay between Russia and Persia, Russia annexed Nakhichevan and obtained control over Eastern Armenia.

Dom Miguel, King Pedro IV's brother, arrived in Portugal after exile in Vienna. From Brazil, the monarch had requested that he serve as his "lieutenant-general" in Portugal.

Friedrich Wöhler (1800-1882), a chemistry professor at the University of Göttingen, reported to chemical authority Jakob Berzelius that he had succeeded in artificially synthesizing in the laboratory a compound naturally produced by living creatures, urea (this was the 1st time this sort of thing had been accomplished, and it was important because previously supposed impossible due to a "[vital force](#)" posited to be an ingredient in any and all organic substances).

 February 24, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 2nd M / Meetings both silent & to me not very lively Meetings. - Nor have I thro' the day experienced Much of the arisings of divine life. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 28, Thursday: Fryderyk Chopin's Rondo a la Mazur was published by Andrea Brzezina, Warsaw as op. 5.

The initial issue of the [Cherokee Phoenix](#) appeared in the Cherokee Republic in the present state of Georgia, the 1st newspaper ever to be printed in a native American language.

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

5th day 28th of 2 M / Rode in the Stage to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, which was a good encouraging time Mary Hix preached a little very sweet & lively then a few words by Anne Dennis, then a few by a daughter of Nathan Chase of [Tiverton](#), followed by Ruth Freeborn The Meetings public & private were very satisfactory seasons to me. - I dined at Asa



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Shermans & then Walked home, with the exception of a bout two miles which a man on the road gave me a ride in his Wagon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

An Act to Incorporate the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England (as copied from the official document by Friend Margery S. Walker, Recording Clerk in about 1972 and 1973 of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)).¹⁹

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in the General Court Assembled, and by authority of the same, That [Moses Brown](#), David Buffam, William Rotch, Jun. Rowland Green, William Almy, Estaes Newhall, Daniel Johnson, John Osborne, James Hoag, Abraham Wilkinson, William Buffam, Jr., Enoch Breed, Samuel F. Hussey, Abraham Sherman, Jun. Daniel Howland, Abijah Chase, Thomas Howland, William Jenkins, Isaac Bassett, Jun. And Stephen A. Chase, together with the other members of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their successors, be, and they hereby are made a body politic in this Commonwealth, by the name of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, with power to take and hold, in their corporate capacity, in the City of Boston, and other places within this Commonwealth, real or personal estate, for religious and charitable purposes, provide the net income thereof shall not exceed, in any one year, the sum of three thousand dollars.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That the said Yearly Meeting may, from time to time, convey to any person or persons, any of their said real estate; and a deed executed by their Committee, called the meeting for sufferings, or a majority of them, under their hands and seals, and acknowledged and recorded according to law, shall be sufficient to pass the title of said Yearly Meeting thereto.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That this act may at any time, be altered or repealed at the pleasure of the Legislature.

YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL

 Spring: [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) began to attend [Quaker](#) meeting for worship in Charleston, South Carolina.

 March 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 3 M / Silent meetings & neither of them were very lively with me, tho' not wholly destitute of good -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 3, Monday: King Pedro IV of Portugal (Emperor Pedro I of Brazil) abdicated his Portuguese throne and was succeeded by 9-year-old Maria II.

19. The New England Yearly Meeting is incorporated, not only in Rhode Island, but as well in several other of the states of New England.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 March 5, Wednesday: The Thames River flooded at London (during this year Sir Frederick Trench would propose a plan for embankments, but no action would be taken).

 March 6, Thursday: Hongi Hika, Ngapuhi War Chief of New Zealand, died.

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

5th day 6th of 3rd M 1828 / Silent meeting & to me a season of poverty. How poor & weak I am, but amidst it all I have much to be thankful for, in that I am sometimes favoured with an evidence of continued favour from the divine hand. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 9, Sunday: The initial performance of the new Societe des Concerts du Conservatoire took place at the Paris Conservatory. The group had been formed to promote modern symphonic music, particularly that of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#). This day marked the first performance of the “Eroica” Symphony in France. It would be these performances during this Spring season which would introduce [Hector Berlioz](#) to Beethoven –to the expressive power of his music– and solidify for him the symphony as a dramatic form, capable of extra-musical associations.

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

1st day 9th of 3rd M / In our morning Meeting Anne Dennis said a few words & in the Afternoon Meeting Father Rodman bore a short testimony - In the forepart of the Meeting we were disturbed by a man who appeared to be deranged, he rose up & asked us if we knew Arther Howell or Wm Savery, by which I concluded he knew something about friends & had live in Phila as both those names were familiar to a number present - after a time at the request of Father Rodman & Benj Cornell he withdrew. – Yesterday we had a pleasant letter from John, he appears to be making satisfactory progress in his buisness in Hudson & expects to attend our next Y Meeting in the 6th M -- My Brother James W Gould who had been on a Whaling voyage out of [New Bedford](#) came into this harbour last night & on short this morning - he looks better than he did when he was at home in the 6th M 1825. – he went with Isaac to [Portsmouth](#) to see Uncle & Aunt Stanton & Mother - & will sail for Bedford in the ship he came in, (called the Persia), tomorrow morning

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 11, Tuesday: The *General Geddes* brought to St. Augustine, for safekeeping, 117 of the 121 [slaves](#) rescued from the wrecked Spanish [negrero](#) *Guerrero* and landed at Key West, Florida (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 20th Congress, 1st session VI, No. 262). 

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 March 12, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Recaptured Africans: Letter from the Secretary of the Navy ... in relation to ... Recaptured Africans.” –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 20 Cong. 1 sess. V. No. 193; cf. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 20 Cong. 2 sess. I. No. 2, pp. 114, 127-8; also AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, III. No. 357.

 March 13, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13 of 3 M / At meeting poor & barran, but our frd Hannah Dennis had a few words in the Sweetness towards the close, which did me good. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 14, Friday: Three songs by Franz Schubert to words of Scott were published by Diabelli, Vienna: Lied der Anne Lyle and Gesang der Norna as his op. 85 and Romanze des Richard Lowenherz as his op. 86.

 March 15, Saturday: [Robert Schumann](#) received a diploma “with honor” from Zwickau Gymnasium.

 March 16, Sunday: This year [Nicolò Paganini](#) was beginning an extended performance tour that would not end until a performance in Paris in September 1834! On this day he arrived in Vienna from Italy for his 1st concertizing in Vienna. Antonia Bianchi would be singing alongside him.

WALDEN: Near at hand, upon the topmost spray of a birch, sings the brown-thrasher –or red mavis, as some love to call him– all the morning, glad of your society, that would find out another farmer’s field if yours were not here. While you are planting the seed, he cries, –“Drop it, drop it, –cover it up, cover it up, – pull it up, pull it up, pull it up.” But this was not corn, and so it was safe from such enemies as he. You may wonder what his rigmarole, his amateur Paganini performances on one string or on twenty, have to do with your planting, and yet prefer it to leached ashes or plaster. It was a cheap sort of top dressing in which I had entire faith.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

NICOLÒ PAGANINI



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

1st day 3rd M 16 1828 / In consequence of much Snow which fell on 7th day the walking was such that only about 4 women got to meeting in the morning & as many in the Afternoon – both were silent & very lifeless seasons to me. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 26, Thursday: The first concert consisting entirely of the works of Franz Schubert took place in Vienna. Originally planned for March 21st, it was changed to coincide with the first anniversary of the death of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#). Songs performed for the initial time were Auf dem Strom D.943 to words of Rellstab, Fischerweise D.881 to words of Schlecht, Der Kreuzzug D.932 to words of Leitner, and Die Sterne to words of Leitner. Other premieres included the Schlachtlied D.912 for double male chorus to words of Klopstock and the first movement of the String Quartet D.887.

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

5th day 26 of 3 Mo// Wm Almy was at Meeting & was concern'd in public testimony to the edification & comfort of Many minds present.– In the last for discipline there was two requests for membership Vizt Job Watson & [blank] Slocum – Benj Anthony & Catherine Almy published their intentions of Marriage with each other. & a committee apt to treat with E W Lawton. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 30, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 3 M 1818 / This morning we unexpectedly found our friend William Almy at meeting, the gathering was about as large as usual – Wm was engaged in a truly Orthodox sermon, which



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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

was remarkably attended with life & power - his supplication was far exceeded any thing I ever heard from him & indeed do not know the time when I have felt the Divine life, solemnity & power so evidently over a meeting as it evidently was particularly at the close of his prayer. - The Afternoon Meeting was silent - the hearts of many brethren were made glad to rejoicing for this days favour - a first token that divine help is near. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 31, Monday: On this night [Robert Schumann](#) met the Wieck family, probably for the 1st time, at a musical evening at the home of Dr. Ernst August Carus in Leipzig. Clara Wieck, 8 years of age, trained by her father, was playing the piano. Schumann requested that Clara's father provide him with piano lessons as well.

 April 3, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3rd of 4 M 1828 / Our Meeting was small & silent but a good degree of favour. - Yesterday I went to the steam Boat as she came in from NYork & unexpectedly met my frd Saml B Tobey just returned from Philad- where he has passed the Winter in completing his studies of Medicine. -[He is the Dr. Tobey who wrote the memorial for Anna Jenkins who started the [Providence Shelter for Colored Children](#); refer to A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PROVIDENCE SHELTER FOR COLORED CHILDREN, page 4]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 6, Easter Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 6th of 4th M / Our Mornng Meeting was larger than usual and our frd D Buffum was engaged in a very lively & earnest testimony, & of greater length than he has usually appeared of late - he began with a commendation of the Scriptures & recommending the reading of them, & then observed a small portion of which had occured to his mind in a lively manner Vizt "Righteousness exalteth a Nation but sin is a reproach to any people" - he shewed in a clear & animated manner the hideousness of Sin & beauty of Excellency of righteousness to Nations & individuals & from that exhorted us to the ground work of Christianity & repeated the text "There was a man sent from God to bear Witness of the light, but he was not that light, but sent to bear witness of it &c. - Hannah Dennis then had a short acceptable testimony
The Meeting was silent in the Afternoon In the evening we went to Cousin Henry Goulds & passed a little time pleasantly with them. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 April 7, Monday: Gaetano Donizetti's *Inno reale* to words of Romani was performed for the initial time, for the inauguration of Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa. The 1st production in the new theater was the premiere of *Bianca e Fernando* (2d version), a melodramma by Vincenzo Bellini also to words of Romani after Gilardoni after Roti.

 April 9, Wednesday: In New-York, the Albany Female Seminary was incorporated.

 April 10, Thursday: Incidental music to Ozaneaux' play *Le dernier jour de Missolonghi* by Ferdinand Herold was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre de l'Odeon, Paris.

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

5th day 10th of 4th M 1828 / Our Meeting was silent after it was our Select Meeting, which was a season of some distress but on the whole ended well, in that I trust no hurt was done taking things as they were. Sarah Fowler [Towles] ? dined with us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 11, Friday: The founding of [Bahia Blanca](#).

 April 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 4th M / A little preaching in both Meetings. – but rather barren seasons to me. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 14, Monday: At Newgate prison in London a healthy 24-year-old woman, Catherine Walsh, was [hanged](#) because she had killed her 6-week-old infant. This would be a treasure for the Royal College of Surgeons — a fit young female body to dissect (they would make the most careful drawings, and these still exist).

OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1828

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
17/03	Mary Magrath	60	Dundalk	Murder
22/03	Jane Scott	22	Lancaster Castle	Murder
08/08	Elizabeth Commins	22	Bodmin	Murder of child
16/08	Ann Harris		Shrewsbury	Murder
22/10	Isabella Mc Menamy	22	Glasgow	Robbery & assault

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

2nd day 14th of 4 M / Today we had a friendly call from Job Otis



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of [New Bedford](#) on his way to NYork. – our interview was pleasant & to me interesting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 15, Tuesday: The New-York town of Moira, named for the Earl of Moira, was formed from Dickinson.

 April 16, Wednesday: [Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes](#) (Francisco Goya) died.

 April 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 4th M / Silent meeting & Preparative in which all the Queries were Answered. – I felt under the necessity of recommending the more frequent reading the Scriptures, believing a blessing would attend the daily reading of them in our families when quietly convened. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 18, Friday: Grosse Festmusik zum Durerfest, a cantata for solo voices, chorus and orchestra by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Berlin, to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the death of Albrecht Durer.

 April 20, Sunday: French explorer Rene-Auguste Caillie became the 2d European to reach Timbuktu (unlike his predecessor Alexander Gordon Laing, he would live to tell the tale).

[Nicolò Paganini](#) performed before the Empress of Austria and her children in the Redoutensaal, Vienna.

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

1st day 20th of 4th M / A very Stormy day of high wind Rain & Hail Meetings very small, silent & poor. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 27, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 27th of 4th M / Our Meeting were rather small & to me not of the most lively Kind. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 28, Monday: Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts that kept non-Anglicans (Catholics and Dissenters) from holding public office, and deprived them of other rights.

 April 29, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th M 29th – 3rd day / This Mornng in company with other friends on board & David Buffum in comapny we set out for [Greenwich](#) to



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attend the Quarterly Meeting & were seven hours on board the boat, but had a very pleasant passage. – on our arrival we went immediately in to Daniel Howlands where we were kindly recd

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 30, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Africans at Key West: Message from the President ... relative to the Disposition of the Africans Landed at Key West.” –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 20 Cong. 1 sess. VI. No. 262.

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

4th day - Our Select Meeting was a season of some favour & some labour. - I dined at Mary Spencers & My wife returned to D Howlands. - I spent the Afternoon in attending to some concerns of moment & then returned to D Howlands -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 31, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

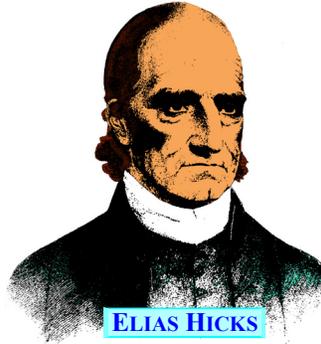
5th day Our Meeting at large was Much favour'd under the Ministry of Our frd Wm Almy & the buisness was well conducted - We dined at our friend Abigail Prouds, after which we went with Wm Almy to his House & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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➡ May: At the First Day worship of the New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend [Elias Hicks](#) sat in the morning at the Rose Street meetinghouse and in the afternoon at the Hester Street meetinghouse, while the English visitor, the evangelical Thomas Shillitoe, did the opposite. Then, on Monday at the meeting for business, the two religious leaders confronted each other. Samuel Mott was elected Clerk but, due to the passion of the event, the only way he could be gotten up to the Clerk's table was by passing him over the heads of the crowd. (Those of us who have been to a rock concert will be able to imagine this scene.) Friend Elias, "that poor deluded old man," leaned down from the gallery to lend Friend Samuel a hand in the struggle to get him up to where he could touch the Clerk's table — but Elias's hand slipped.



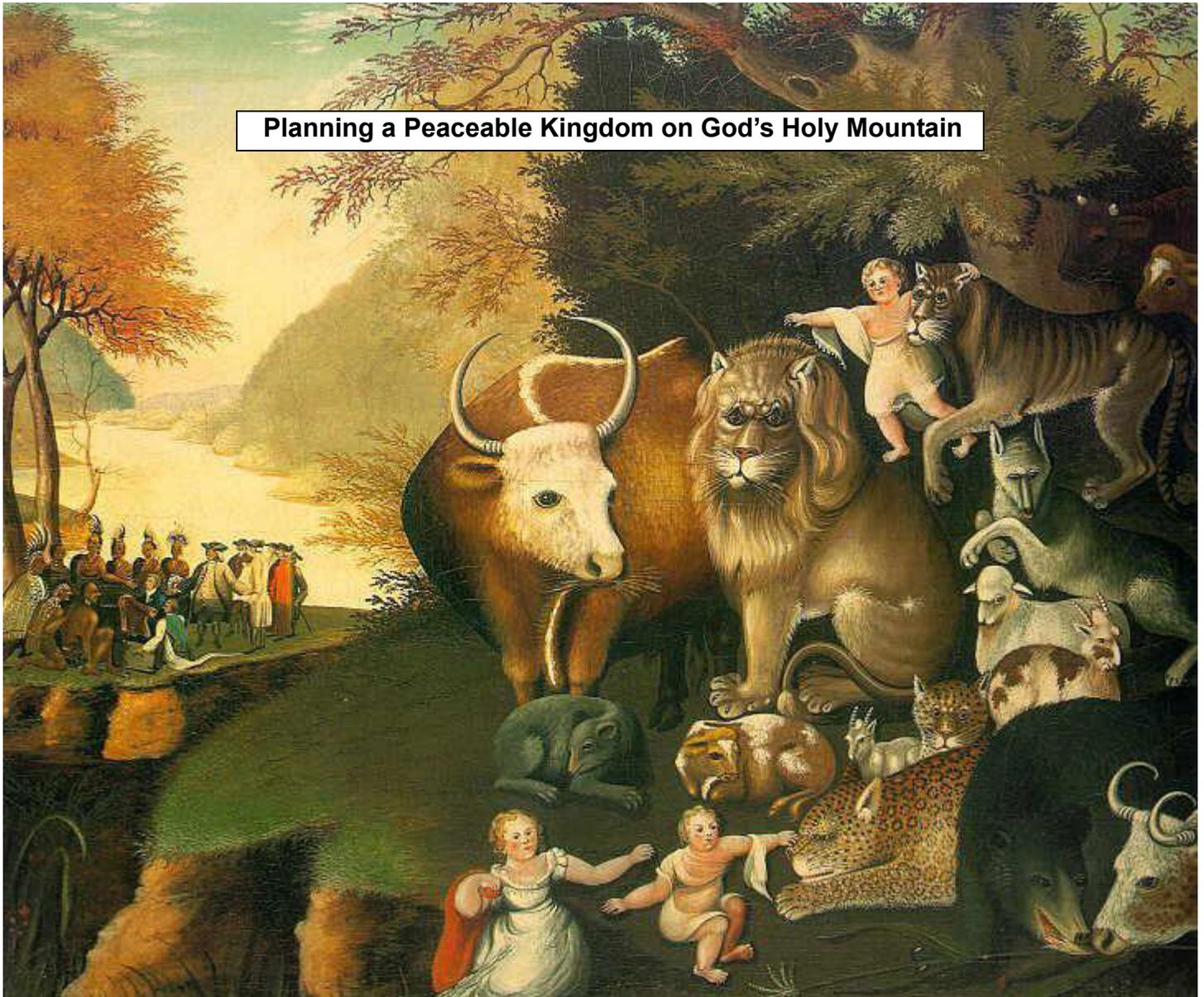
When the table had been torn to pieces, Friend Thomas and the evangelicals walked out and formed a new meeting. The great split had occurred.

In the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, it turned out after the clerk's table had been repaired, there were 14,768 [Hicksites](#), 5,351 Evangelicals, and 743 Refusers. Meanwhile, Elias's cousin, Friend [Edward Hicks](#), another Quaker minister, was painting the perhaps one hundred versions of his "Peaceable Kingdom" of Isaiah 65:25, which he distributed to various meeting houses in conciliation. These

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paintings all showed the famous peaceful interaction between white founding fathers and “Chief Tammany.”²⁰



Planning a Peaceable Kingdom on God's Holy Mountain

20. Or *Tamanend*, after whom Tammany Hall in New York City, and the bully boys of Boss Tweed, were named. In 1681 King Charles II of England had granted a charter to William Penn, Quaker, for a “Holy Experiment” in a land to be called “Pennsylvania.” Having received royal permissions for what they were worth, Penn immediately sought the permission and cooperation of the actual owners and inhabitants of this New Land. “Well,” you might say, “so did the founding fathers of Concord, Massachusetts!” But you’d be wrong, there was quite a difference. What was offered in Concord was things like a jack-knife and a jacket, followed soon after by an imperative “I thought I told you to make yourself scarce.” Penn was after a continuing relationship among equals. He was planning something that the grasping fathers of Concord never imagined, to wit, a peaceable kingdom on God’s holy mountain.

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Isaiah 65:25: The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust [shall be] the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.



 May 2, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day went to the [Y Meeting School](#) & spent the day there in the committee & went to [Moses Browns](#) to lodge. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 4, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about the events of the weekend:

7th day Spent the day again at the [School House](#) attending the Meeting for Sufferings. - we lodged at Wm Jenkins & 1st day [Sunday] Morning we went on board the Steam Boat Babcock & got home by Noon & attended our Afternoon Meeting. - & took tea at Father Rodmans. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 5, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 5th of 5th M 1828 / This forenoon Uncle Peter Lawton was in town & called to see me perhaps for the last time before he becomes an inhabitant of Dutchess or some other county in the State of NYork, for whence he expects to set out tomorrow. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 7, Wednesday: Russian armies, led by Tsar Nikolai I, crossed the River Pruth (Prut) into Ottoman territory.

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



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4th day 7th of 5 M / Uncle Peter Lawton did not set out for Nine Partners till this Morning. – May his removal be peaceful & prosperous in every sense. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 8, Thursday: [Jean Henri Dunant](#) was born.

[Sharbel Makhluf](#) was born.

[Mauro Giuseppe Sergio Pantaleo Giuliani](#) died.

[Robert Schumann](#) and fellow law student Gisbert Rosen went to visit [Heinrich Heine](#) in München. Contrary to their expectations, they found him charming and spend several hours with him touring the city.

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

5th day 8th of 5 M / Our Meeting was Silent, solid & better attended than usual. – to me it was a pretty good meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 9, Friday: The British Test and Corporation Act was repealed. Henceforward, Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists would be allowed to hold public office in England.

At this point the law of England set the duty on dice at 20 shillings the pair.²¹

 May 10, Saturday: Franz Schubert and Franz Lachner performed Schubert's Great Fantasia D.940 in f minor for 4-handed piano, for Eduard Bauernfeld, in Vienna.

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

7th day 10th of 5 M / This Afternoon in the Steam Boat Chancellor Livingston Hannah Ann, Catherine & Obadiah Lawton set out for NYork on their way to Nine Partners where they expect to settle with their Father Peter Lawton, who set our by land a few days ago. – he had sold his home-stead at [Portsmouth](#) in hopes of bettering his circumstances Which were not poor before he left R I I wish them All well & hope they may realize what he expects – but I cannot but regret the circumstance of their leaving this Island with so little necessity, a spot of land to go out of the family where Friends have so long resorted & lived, together with a promising family to leave the Monthly Meeting is no small

21. Dice were being considered to have been invented by Palamedes at the siege of Troy, about 1183BCE, though some authorities ascribed their origin to the Lydians, 600BCE (dice had not yet been archaeologically excavated from ancient tombs in the valley of the Indus river of India, nor had a 5,000-year-old backgammon set yet been excavated from an archeological site in southeastern Iran). They were known to have been used by the Romans especially during the annual *Saturnalia*, and they were known to have referred to them as *tesseræ* and sets had been recovered that had been “cogged” for purposes of cheating (the *talus* or “nucklebone,” a similar sort of thingie, had had 4 rather than 6 resting positions). In 305CE the council of Eliberis had passed a general cannon forbidding the laity to play at dice under the penalty of suspension of communion for an entire year. In 691CE the council of Constantinople had prohibited the use of dice not only to laity but also to clergy, and had set the penalty for laity as deprivation, but for the clergy as excommunication. Dice were known to have been introduced to the British isles at a very early date, and it was understood that by the period of the 1066CE Conquest, people had been playing at dice in a most extravagant manner.



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*trial to us that remain, but there is no alternative but to do the best we can. –
I hope Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting will not be left distitute of helpers, hower [however] discouraging it may appear in some respects –
I trust there is a few exercised for the prosperity of Truth & engaged to promote its cause - but the burden of active labour falls beavy on a few. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 11, Sunday: Capriccio on “La ci darem la mano” from Mozart’s Don Giovanni by [Nicolò Paganini](#) was performed by the composer in Vienna.

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

1st day 11th of 5 M / Silent & low meetings. – Elizabeth Huntington Died about 10 OClock this morning in he 80th [?] year of her Age

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 12, Monday: Gaetano Donizetti’s melodramma Alina, regina di Golconda to words of Romani after Sedaine was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa.

[Dante Gabriel Rossetti](#) was born.

 May 13, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 13th of 5th M 1828 / This Afternoon Attended the funeral of our friend Elizabeth Huntington who was a woman well exsteemed in society & for some years was acceptably engaged in the Appointment of overseer. – The funeral went to the Meeting House. The Sitting was silent excepting a few words offered towards the close by Father Rodman. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 May 15, Thursday: Passage of the bill commonly termed the “Tariff of Abominations.”

The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell’s REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:
Occupants of the State Prison in Greenwich Street were removed to the newly constructed building at Sing Sing, the construction of which had been commenced in 1825.... The city stages (omnibuses) had so increased at this time (twenty in number) that there were five routes in operation, viz.: Greenwich, Broadway, Manhattanville, Grand, and Dry Dock (via Water and Cherry streets, etc.).



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

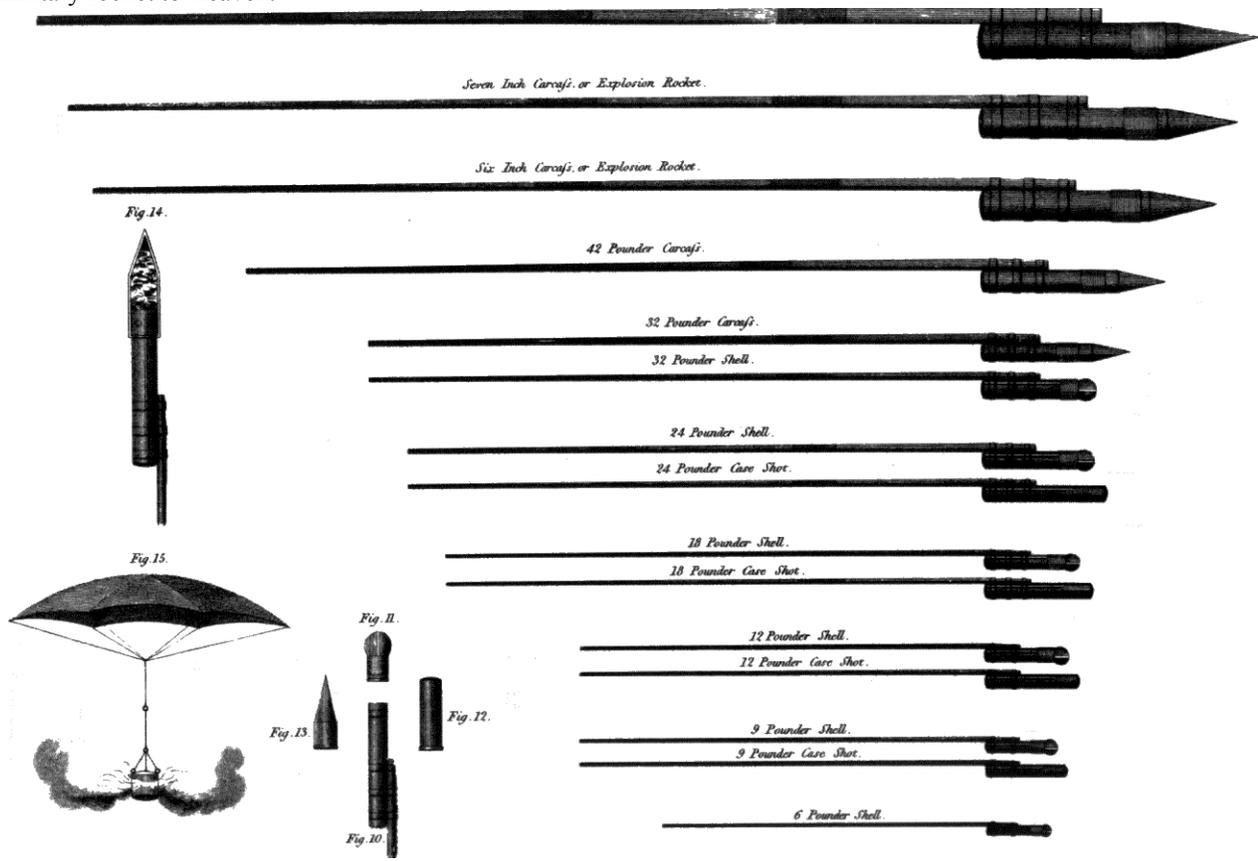
5th day 15th of 5th M / Our Meeting was silent, very solid & to me a season of favour - & tho' it was rainy it was better attended than on more pleasant days. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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➡ May 16, Friday: [William Congreve](#) died in Toulouse, France, from which location his soul ascended by deadly military rocket to Heaven.



➡ May 18, Sunday: The garrison of Oporto declared allegiance to King Pedro, Maria de Gloria and the constitution (others would follow).

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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 May 19, Monday: William Ladd founds the American Peace Society, in New-York.

To protect northern industry from European goods, the US Congress forwarded and President John Quincy Adams signed the “Tariff of Abominations,” supported both by [Daniel Webster](#) and Henry Clay. Tariffs on imports would be increased as a result of this bill, and prices of goods, both raw materials and manufactured items, would quickly rise, to the dismay of the southern states.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about the events of the previous few days:

7th day 17th of 5 M / Went to Connanicut on buisness - lodged at John Weedens - 1st day [Sunday] Attended Meeting on the Island & lodged at Joseph Greenes - & staid there all night - 2nd day [Monday] returned home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 24, Saturday: United States Statute: “An Act making an appropriation for the suppression of the [slave trade](#)” (STATUTES AT LARGE, IV. 302; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress, 1st session, House Bill No. 190).

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

7th day 24th of 5 M / Being under appointment from the Select Quarterly to visit the Select Monthly Meeting of South Kingston I went this Afternoon to Narragansett & lodged at cousin Hannah Gardiners - where I found her & cousin Patty Hazard comfortable but very lame & both of them Much bent with the infermity of advancing age & the rheumatism - it was pleasant to meet these aged connections of mine, as I have not had an opportunity of being much in their company for some years.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 25, Sunday: The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)’s 25th birthday.



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

1st day Clarke Collins carryed me to South Kingston Meeting, where I found Hannah Dennis & Lydia Breed with their Husbands -



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Hannah & Lydia were both much favour'd in testimony & I considerd it a season of favour to many as well as myself. --I dined at Rowland Hazards, after dinner I went to James Robinsons at Point Judith, spent the remainder of the Afternoon & lodged -In the Afternoon we were joined by Walter & Mary B Allen & Wm Reynolds & his wife, who was a very comfortable & interesting addition to our company -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 May 26, Whit Monday morning: The police in Nürnberg found a small youth, of approximately 16 years of



age, wearing old and somewhat bedraggled peasant clothing, apparently dazed and either incoherent or entirely unable to articulate, standing in the public square. He carried notes, or fragments of notes, or something was pinned to his clothing, explaining that his name was Kaspar Hauser and telling something about his birth and with whom he has been living for 16 years. Although rumors circulated that he was the son of a noble, and the rightful prince of Baden, most of these rumors were quickly seen to be [false](#).²²

22. Refer to Verlaine's and Trakl's poems, Jakob Wassermann's novel, Peter Handke's play, Werner Herzog's movie, and a more recent movie playing on the fantasy that this boy might have been the legitimate pretender to the throne. Also refer to Masson, Jeffrey Moussaieff, translator. *LOST PRINCE: THE UNSOLVED MYSTERY OF KASPAR HAUSER (ILLUSTRATED)*. NY: The Free Press, 1996.



: And here be it submitted that apparently going to corroborate the doctrine of man's fall, a doctrine now popularly ignored, it is observable that where certain virtues pristine and unadulterate peculiarly characterize anybody in the external uniform of civilization, they will upon scrutiny seem not to be derived from custom or convention, but rather to be out of keeping with these, as if indeed exceptionally transmitted from a period prior to Cain's city and civilized man. The character marked by such qualities has to an unvitiated taste an untampered-with flavor like that of berries, while the man thoroughly civilized, even in a fair specimen of the breed, has to the same moral palate a questionable smack as of a compounded wine. To any stray inheritor of these primitive qualities found, like Caspar Hauser, wandering dazed in any Christian capital of our time, the good-natured poet's famous invocation, near two thousand years ago, of the good rustic out of his latitude in the Rome of the Cesars, still appropriately holds:-

"Honest and poor, faithful in word and thought,
What has thee, Fabian, to the city brought?"

Though our Handsome Sailor had as much of masculine beauty as one can expect anywhere to see; nevertheless, like the beautiful woman in one of Hawthorne's minor tales, there was just one thing amiss in him.

No visible blemish, indeed, as with the lady; no, but an occasional liability to a vocal defect. Though in the hour of elemental uproar or peril he was everything that a sailor should be, yet under sudden provocation of strong heart-feeling, his voice otherwise singularly musical, as if expressive of the harmony within, was apt to develop an organic hesitancy, in fact, more or less of a stutter or even worse. In this particular Billy was a striking instance that the arch interferer, the envious marplot of Eden, still has more or less to do with every human consignment to this planet of earth. In every case, one way or another he is sure to slip in his little card, as much as to remind us - I too have a hand here.

After much politicking and despite the opposition of Luigi Cherubini, [Hector Berlioz](#) mounted the initial concert in his career of concert-giving, at the Paris Conservatory. Included on the program were 1st performances of his *La révolution grecque*, *scène héroïque* for vocal soloists, chorus and orchestra to words of Ferrand, the *Waverly Overture*, *Marche religieuse des mages*, and the overture to the opera *Les francs-juges*. The audience was not large — mostly musical luminaries and personal friends of Berlioz. The performance was mostly good, although there were a few flaws. He lost money but generally pleased the critics, and made a name for himself.

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

2nd day We set out for the Western Meeting House where the Monthly Meeting was held & arrived there at 9 OC & had an opportunity with the Select Members of that Moy [Monthly] Meeting which resulted to a good degree of satisfaction, & I am lead to hope, good will result from our labours - after which came on the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - the public part of it was



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an eminently favoured time Hannah Dennis & Lydia Breed were favoured in public testimony but our frd Mary B Allen was deep powerful & reaching to the state of the Meeting & her testimony was skillfully [sic] managed - & it seemed to me the minds of Many were greatly reached. - The buisness of the Meeting was well conducted & a good degree of weight attended- Jamed Robinson carried me to Hezekiah Babcocks to dine & then I returned to his house & Lodged.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 27, Tuesday: [Robert Schumann](#) described in his diary his initial bout with mental illness. "I was agitated, but I don't know by what. It seems to me that I will go mad one day." He went on to describe an anxiety attack.

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

3rd day morning his son Sylvester carried me to the ferry & I came over the ferrys home.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 28, Wednesday: A SERMON DELIVERED BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY LEVI LINCOLN, GOVERNOR: HIS HONOR THOMAS L. WINTHROP, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, THE HON. COUNCIL, THE SENATE, AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, ON THE DAY OF GENERAL ELECTION, MAY 28, 1828, by James Walker (Dutton and Wentworth, printers to the state).

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

4th day 28th of 5 M 1828 / My Brother Isaac returned from NYork this Mornng - bringing the intelligence that a division has taken place in the Yearly Meeting of NYork on 2nd day [Monday] last - I dare not to give & hardly to feel a sentiment on this great & momentous event, but I can truly say my heart is filled with fear & Alarm, at the accounts I hear - perhaps further information may make it more easy to my feelings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 29, Thursday: [Robert Schumann](#) again described an episode of mental illness. "But on the way back to Leipzig I seemed to be losing my mind: I did have my mind, yet I thought I had lost it. I had actually gone mad."

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

5th day 29th of 5th M / Today was our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in Town. It was about as large as usual - In the first we had a solid good time David Buffum rose with an excellent, lively & precious testimony beginning with the Text "What more shall I do for my Vineyard that I have not done in it." - after a little opening the subject & expressing his own feelings as being hardly able to rise & very feeble in mind, he began with the 5th of Isaiah & went on to the end of the 6th verse "My well beloved had a Vineyard in a very fruitful hill, and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones therof, and planted it with the choicest



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, & also make a wine press therin: & when he looked that it should bring forth grapes, it brought it forth wild grapes? - And now go to, I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge therof, and it shall be trodden down, And I will lay it to waste. it shall not be pruned nor digged, but it shall come up briers & thorns. I will also command the Clouds they rain no rain upon it." - He then applied it to individual states & desired that such might be the individual care so to dress the vineyards, of our hearts that when fruit was expected by the great husbandman that he may not be disappointed. -

Sarah Fowler rose & said the words of our blessed Saviour had been so impressive on her mind that she thought it would contribute most to her peace just to express them "If ye believe not that I am He & die in your sins, whither I go ye cannot come." -

A few words were then expressed by Mary Weaver & the Meeting closed. -

The Buisness of the last meeting was pretty well conducted - The request of our dear tried sister Rebecca Rodman was received & a committee appointed in both meetings to take a solid opportunity with her, & I can feel no doubt they will report in favour of her being recd into membership -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 30, Friday: Two songs by Franz Schubert to words of Schulze were published by Kienreich in Graz as op. 90 (later corrected to op. 93): Im Walde and Auf der Brucke.

 June 1, Sunday: Gaetano Donizetti got married with Virginia Vasselli in the church of Santa Maria a Via (she was the daughter of a respected Vatican lawyer).

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

1st day 1st of 6th M 1828 / In our Morning & Afternoon Meetings Hannah Dennis was favourd in public testimony - Our meetings were, seasons of some favour to me, for which I desire to be thankful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 5, Thursday?: The Reverend Lyman Beecher preached in [Concord](#) at the formal opening of the Trinitarian Congregational Church on Walden Street (this body had split away from the First Parish Church as it had begun its slide toward Unitarianism, and its edifice was already a year and a half old).

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

5th day 5th of 6th M 1828 / This Morning in the Steam Boat Washington our only & dear Son John S Gould arrived home from Hudson after an absence of one Year & four Months It is nearly three years since he left us & enter'd as a Schollar at the Yearly Meeting School in [Providence](#). - we feel thankful for the priviledge of again seeing him for a little while. - Our meeting which he attended was small, but solid, & a short acceptable



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

testimony from Father Rodman. - We Drank tea with John at Father Rodmans

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 6, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 6th of 5th [sic] M / Accounts recd from NYork Yearly Meeting, while they are distressing - they are also relieving, to find that Friends, holding the Ancient & true principles of our dear predecessors in the Faith were favour'd to hold solid quiet meeting in which they were evidently owned by the Great Head of the Church Christ Jesus our Lord & Saviour - & tho' compelled to leave the Meeting House & Assemble in a public Seminary of learning which was Kindly loaned for their accommodation, there were favourd with quiet & the Arm of divine help, which was over all & above all, tho' the wicked Seemed to triumph for a season. - yet I have no doubt their partial & seeming prosperity will prove their ultimate overthrow & defeat After Dinner John left us for [Providence](#) intending to visit his old friends there & the Institution at which he long resided, & loved sincerely & also to attend to some buisness for Benj Marshall at some of the Factorys at Lowel Massachusetts - expecting to be gone from us about a week - This Afternoon Our frd D Buffum called at the shop, he seemed feeble, & in many respects very unwell, particularly with a humor on his hand which he thinks is of a cancerous kind & which he had this Afternoon applied caustic for an hour. - he seemed pleasant & cheerful observing that it had been his desire to enjoy the passing moment pleasantly & virtuously. he remarked that he did not expect to remain long with us, that he had a desire to live & be able to attend the approaching Yearly Meeting - This Afternoon we heard of the Sudden removal of our aged respectable cousin Martha Hazard - it appears that she died last night of a fit of which she was taken yesterday morning. - She rose in the morning & ate her breakfast in usual health, which was in general of late was feeble tho' chiefly rheumatic & very lame - She sat down to sewing & soon the work fell from her hands - she observing that she believed, that had come upon her, which she had feard for years - was helped to bed, & very soon became speechless & died the night following. - She was first cousin to my mother & an intimate & much loved cousin too - She was on a visit to her sister Hannah Gardiner in Boston Neck -where I saw he about two weeks ago in a pleasant & tranquil state of mind. - little then thinking it would be the last time I should behold her in mutability tho' I dont know but it might have had a passing thought in my mind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12th of 6th M / Father Rodman was engaged in a lively sound & I thought pertinent testimony - The Meeting small as it generally is the 5th day previous to Yearly Meeting - many have other cencerns which they cannot leave. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 June 13, Friday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka left his civil service post in the office of the Council of Communications (he would spend the following 3 years in Italy in an attempt to restore his health).

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

6th day 13th of 6 M / Yearly Meeting has now commenced. -Arrived in the Steam Boat this Morning our friends Isaac & Anna Braithwaite, Elizabeth Robson & her companions - our frd Anna Mott of NYork & Hannah Hartshorn of Pennsylvania. - with several other friends. - Daniel & Thos Howland & Thos Anthony & wife, our guests arrived from [Greenwich](#) in season to dine with us. - At tea time John S Gould returned in the Stage from his eastern tour having been to Boston Salem & Lowell

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 14, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 14th of 6 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with my wife to attend the Select Yearly Meeting - Stopped a few moments at Asa Shermans then went to the Meeting house, where we had a solid & solemn sitting - Our dear venerable fathers in the Church David Buffum & [Moses Brown](#) were Absent which is the first Select Yearly Meeting they have been absent since I have sat in them - the first appearance was a most baptizing supplication from dear Anna Braithwaite - followed in a short pertinent & Solid communication from Wm Almy - then Danl Howland then followed Elizabeth Robson in a truly acceptable testimony attended with life & power, in no common degree - Afterwhich the buisness of the Meeting was enterd on & gone through, when several short communications were made & prayer by hannah Hartshorn. - Dined at Isaac Almays, & I returned to attend the Meeting for Sufferings & after that to Isaac Almays took tea & rode home & found a goodly company of folks at our house. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 15, Sunday: [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#)'s 1st child died shortly after birth, leaving Emma Hale Smith seriously ill. Sometime after this Joseph would journey to his parents' home to retrieve his 116-page manuscript from his scribe Martin Harris, only to be informed that the manuscript had gone missing.

Grand Duke Carl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach died on his way back home from Berlin (he would be succeeded by Carl Friedrich).

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

1st day 15th of 6 M 1828 / Rose early & filled up my tour of duty & buisness of various kinds & had a little time of rest before meeting. - Our Meetings were large as usual - In the morning Elizabeth Robson first appeared in Supplication & then A Braithwaite in Testimony - sound & in great gospel Authority -The Meeting was



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

unusually quiet & solemn – In the Afternoon Elizabeth Robson in testimony & Anna in Supplication It was a remarkably still meeting for the Afternoon & Truth seemed to bear the victory – Our friends A Braithwaite & E Robson took tea with us – & in the eveng a large circle or room folks came in & the time passed in pleasant & inetersting conversation. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 16, Monday: King Charles X of France, at the urging of Prime Minister Jean Baptiste Silvere Gaye, Vicomte de Martignac, signed ordinances attacking the Jesuits. Henceforward, all religious teachers would need to obtain the approval of the state.

In spite of offers from Turin, Venice, and Naples, Vincenzo Bellini signed a contract with Teatro alla Scala, Milan to produce an opera during the following Carnival.

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

2nd day Meetings opened under a solemn covering –& we had offerings from several dear brethren. – Here I intended to have kept a minute Diary of the proceedings from Day to Day during the course of the Yearly Meeting, but in addition to the usually buisness of the family & an unusual round of company I had to take my share in the transaction of the Meetings – & seldom able to get to bed before past 11 OClock & frequently up by 5 OC in the morning which render'd it quite out of the question for me to write from day to day. – It now remains for me to add to my Journal that the Several sittings of the Yearly Meeting were seasons of much divine favour – The hearts of the brethren were never more in unison & love, & the various important concerns of society were well conducted. –A Clear declaration of the Faith & present agitated State of Friends in America was drawn up & directed to be printed, & much other important buisness was done, & the meeting concluded in harmony. – As respects ourselves we have had much to be thankful for, in a partial enumeration of these [illegible word] favours I may mention that the company of our friend Jonathon Taylor & his companion as lodgers at our house – & twice that of our friends E Robson & Anna Braithwaite, once at tea & once at dinner. – together with many other friends whom we have long known & loved. – The company of our dear son John Stanton Gould who had been absent from us about sixteen months at Hudson, was here & attended the Yearly Meeting, I trust to his great comfort & help in religious understanding, & certainly his being with us was greatly to our comfort & consolation. – The Meeting held till 6th day evening, which is longer than I ever remember of its holding before. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 June 21, Saturday: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) and [William Wordsworth](#) with his daughter Dora went on a tour of the Netherlands and the Rhine.

[Ferdinand André Fouqué](#) was born.

The initial steps for the foundation of King's College in London were taken at a meeting over which the Duke of Wellington presided.

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

7th day 21st of 6 M 1828 / Our friends have mostly left us today, for their homes & different services & my time has been wholly devoted to them & unable to attend the School committee which met at 7 O'clock at the Meeting house. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22 of 6 M / In our Meeting this morning Father Rodman had a Short testimony & also a short lively testimony from David Buffum - Silent in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 6 M / It is our Monthly Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) - Tho' our minds were drawn thither we did not think best to go as our dear & only son was here & needed some preparation made for him previous to his setting out for Hudson, which he expects to do tomorrow if nothing happens to prevent. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 28, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 28th of 6 M / At Three O'clock this Afternoon, In the Steam Boat Washington, Our Son John Stanton Gould left us for NYork on his way to Hudson, his company has been truly consoling & comfortable to us. - Our hearts are glad, thankful & Humble to find him in good measure preserved on the right foundation, & desire for him an establishment in the everlasting & unchangeable Truth. - He occupies a large space in our feelings & thoughts & is very near & precious to us, yet I think we have been favoured to give him up, to be separated from us with a freedom that we could hardly have expected. - As he parted with me at the head of the Wharf - Our frd Mary B Allen came out of the boat & came home with me. - after setting a while she went up to Sarah Perrys to see a Niece of hers on whose acct she came to [Newport](#). She returned & lodged with us & we were glad of her company. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 29th of 5th M 1828 / Our frd Mary B Allen being determined to return to Providence this morning, she went early to the Store on the long Wharf to wait for the Steam Boat that was expected to arrive from NYork. – but it was very foggy & she was disappointed of Attending Meeting as well as myself, as I did not feel free to leave her in waiting alone in the Store. – She went up this Afternoon at Four OC in the Babcock Our Afternoon Meeting which I attended was rather larger than usual & silent. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July-November: [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) was for the first time visiting her sister, [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#), in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. From Sarah's diary:



13th. My beloved Angelina arrived yesterday. Peace has, I believe, been the covering of our minds; and in thinking of her to-day, and trying to feel whether I should advise her not to adopt immediately the garb of a Quaker, the language presented itself, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." So I dared not meddle with her.

When members of the Religious Society of Friends were disturbed the manner in which Angelina customarily addressed her elder sister Sarah as "Mother," the two sisters discontinued that practice.

 July 2, Wednesday: Lydie, a ballet by Ferdinand Herold to a scenario by Aumer, was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Opera.

After [Sam Patch](#) had made his famous leap at the Passaic Falls in September of the previous year, an explanation for his conduct had begun to be offered. Patch, unlucky in love, had been drunk and had attempted to put an end to his miseries. It had been nothing but a failed suicide leap. On this day Patch was interviewed by the local newspaper, and attempted to explain — that that simply wasn't it:

I am perfectly sober and in possession of my proper faculties, and [leaping waterfalls] is nothing more than an art which I have knowledge of and courage to perform, an art which I have

practiced from my youth.



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

4th day 2nd of 7th M 1828 / Understanding this forenoon that my dear long beloved cousin Bathsheba Gould had fell & hurt her hip & lay in a manner that it was likely she could continue long I went up this evening with my wife to see her - I found her very low, & tho' from her Advanced age & feebleness of body she had been for sometimes very weak & childish in mind & at times a little Shattered in her intellects, yet this evening She was entirely sensible & very sweet in spirit - This she always was, for I have seldom known a person in all situations in life more uniformly concientious & desirous to live in the life of the spirit of Truth - When she was told that I was in the room, she said Oh is it Stephen, I always loved Stephen, & when he was a little child his Aunt Patty Gould brought him to our house & laid him on my bed to sleep, so she did - She repeated this over twice & then after laying quiet a while she said - I cant remain so long, I am a very poor weak creature - I am glad thou hast come to be with me a little while. - When I got up to go away she bid me very affectionately farewell & repeated her professions of love & wished me to come again - When my wife went to the bed she recognized her & expressed her love to her saying Oh yes it is Hannah I always loved thee, I have one son & his name is John, he has gone away & and I hope he will live,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

she spoke of my wifes Services to Friends & said considerable besides evincing her love for friends. - all in childlike simplicity

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 3, Thursday: The father of Clara Wieck, Friedrich Wieck, got married for a 2d time, with Clementine Fechner.

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

5th day 3rd of 7th M 1828 / Our meeting was small & to me a season of some favour - Father Rodman bore a short but good little testimony, to states afflicted. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 6, Sunday: The [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) made a notation in the records of his 1st Parish Church in [Concord](#), that "Our sister [Cynthia Thoreau](#) changed her mind, and did not offer herself for communion with the Trinitarian Church, and is still a member of this church."

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

1st day 6th of 7 M / Our Meetings were well attended & both nearly silent. - The Afternoon was an uncommonly dull one to me.- Before I went to meeting this morning I met with a plain looking man at the door, who I took to be a man from Lynn & from his open & familiar look it seemed as if I had seen him & as he advanced I gave him my hand - he told me he was from Phila & after a little familiar conversation I asked him in to the house On conversing further I found he was not a member of our society, but had been in his youth & was disowned for his outgoings, but had become (as he called it) convinced, but had not joined any society & was now travelling on truths account - I told him as he was not a member we could not consent to his preaching in our meeting, he said he did not attend any Meeting, but went round chiefly conversing in families - said he had been to [New Bedford](#) & Staid at S Rodmans. - well I said didst thou feel Saml & his wife to be friends in the life of truth. - he replied, he did not feel free to speak on that subject, but he could say thus much that "while he was there he felt free" - finding what he was, I felt but little openness [the word is crossed out] with him & we frequently fell into long pauses. - I however told him that I had no unity with discenters from friends such as followed [Elias Hicks](#) - after a little dissultory conversation he got up to go away saying that he was going to NYork in the Steam Boat this Afternoon - I expected him at meeting but found he did not come. -

Just as I rose from dinner he knocked at the door, came in & set down to wait for the boat - I asked him some leading questions on doctrinal subjects, particularly of his belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ, whether he believed in his character as God & man, & whether he considered him as a meer prophet & good man - he expressed an unwillingness to give his opinion on these points of doctrine, & engaged[?] the necessity of attending to the inward Light - said he was a friend to all good folks of any denomination & that he did not meddle with



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

particular doctrines, especially the points on which Friends are divided -but still where ever I found him he was associated with those of the separatists or new order. - I told him he could not get along so, that I knew as well as he knew any thing that there were points which they held to that were not christian & took away their claim to the name, that I wanted him to acknowledge the true principle & give his strength to Orthodox Friends & not to carry out two [?] but to come out on the right side, thus he would openly & show himself subserve the good cause &c. He told me that very soon after he came in in the Morning that he perceived I was under bondage & oppression from a sense of feeling. - I told him as to bondage, I acknowledged more of that than I wished, & as to oppression, he was correct for I did silently set up Lamentation over him, from an apprehension that he had known something of the purifying power of truth in his heart & been in some measure enlightened by it, but from a want of properly embracing the Doctrines of the Gospel, he had not attained to that clearness which he ought to have done - he should bring what I had said to judgement & if it was for him he should take it & if not it would pass off. - & urged the necessity of Love &c & wished me to examine & see if my own words did not apply to myself &c This is a very imperfect outline of all that passed between us.- but as the opportunity was a little remarkable I thought best to insert something of it here - - we parted kindly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 7, Monday: Supported by absolutists, Dom Miguel, regent for the 9-year-old Queen Maria II, crowned himself King of Portugal. Civil unrest began between absolutists (Dom Miguel) and liberals (Pedro IV of Brazil for his daughter Maria II).

 July 8, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

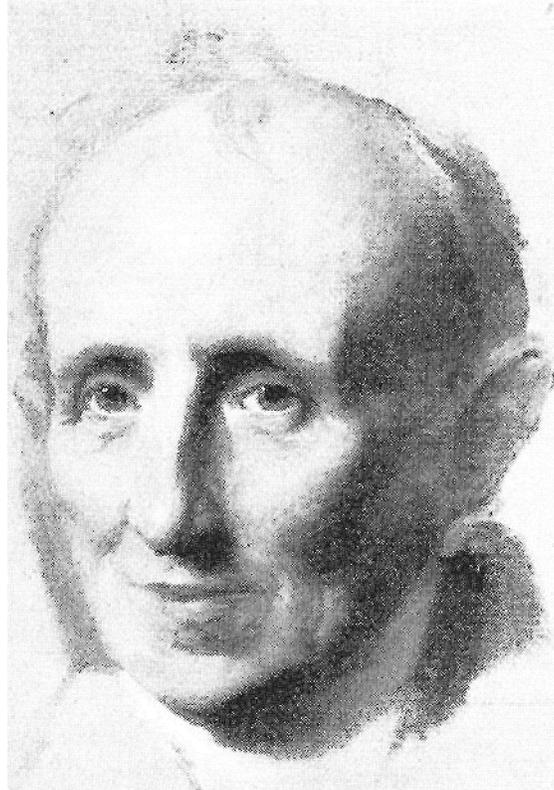
3rd day 8 of 7 M 1828 / Nancy & Eliza Pickering, & Thos P Rodman took tea with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

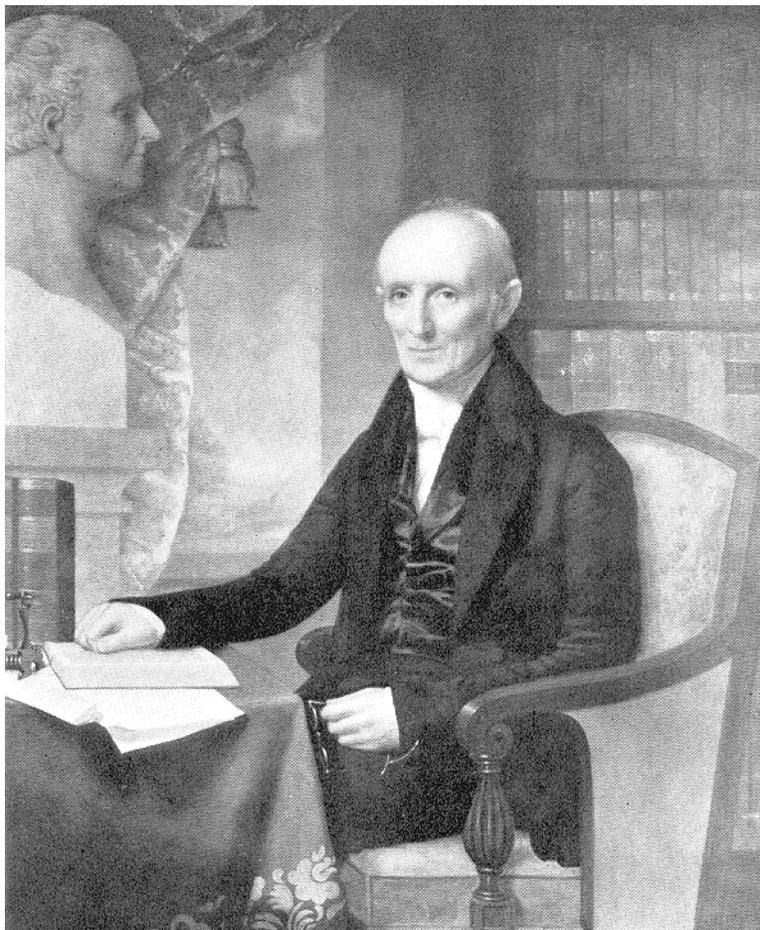
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 9, Wednesday: Gilbert Stuart died in Boston with his portrait of Nathaniel Bowditch still unfinished.



The East India Marine Society of Salem, which had commissioned this painting, would refuse to accept it in that condition, so Bowditch himself sprang for the cost and hung the portrait, the best one of him ever made, in a hall on the second floor of his home: The East India Marine Society would offer its cash instead to the painter Charles Osgood, and the portrait of Bowditch would be completed in 1835 or 1836:



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

4th day 9th of 7 M / Samuel Rodman was in town from [New Bedford](#) - I had buisness with him on acct of [Moses Lopez](#), which brought us together, & he called & set the evening with us a sociable way. - the time passed on pleasant subjects & not a word on disputable points. - but Oh the secret silent lamentation that pervaded my heart on acct of the loss he has sustained in a separation from the Society of which he was once a useful & ornamental Member. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 10, Thursday: The City of Vienna confers on [Nicolò Paganini](#) the Medal of St. Salvator.

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

5th day 10th of 7 M / Silent & small Meeting - It is the season of haymaking, & the atmosphere very damp which makes people that [?] anxious to be doing while they may. - I cant plead excuses for such as stay from Meetings, but it seems as if it was more justifiable under sime circumstances, than others. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 7 M / Meetings again Small - In the Afternoon it was unusually so, the rain coming in torrents prevented many from attending. - In the Morning Anne Dennis spoke a few words and in the Afternoon Father Rodman said a little. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 7 M / In our public Meeting we had a deep searching even prophetic testimony from Abigail Robinson & a very lively comfortable one from Ruth Freeborn. - The last was a Select Meeting which was a season of Exercise & even trial to me

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 18, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 18th of 7 M / My mind much oppressed with the state of things among us. Our society is indeed in a low state - its members low & even inefficient - I have long time hoped we should get [on?] without difficulty but my feelings are fearfully alive of what may happen among us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



July 19, Saturday afternoon: [Sam Patch](#), promised \$15 for his daring exploit, again jumped the Passaic Falls. This gratified a crowd of 6,000 to 10,000 persons — a crowd considerably larger than the entire permanently resident population of Paterson, New Jersey.



“One thing can be done as well as another.”

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

7th day 19th of 7 M 1828 / Went this Afternoon in John Peters boat to Connicut, from his house walked up to John Weedens, attended to the buisness I went upon & lodged there –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Walked from J Weedens to Meeting, called at Mercy Weedens - Dined at Joseph Greenes, spent the remainder of the day & lodged there - The Afternoon was Rainy with Thunder & lightening, which prevented my taking a little excursion round the Island. It was my intention to have visited my Ancient cousin Mary Howland & also to have gone to the old burying ground where my great Grandfather Samuel Clarke was buried. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

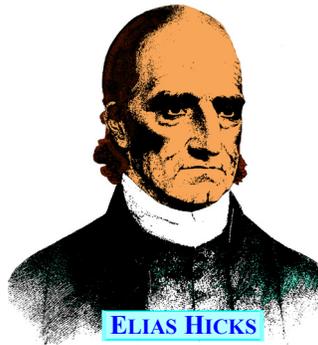
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 21, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day Morning Joseph Greene brought me home in his boat -
a pleasant sail across the river. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 22, Tuesday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#) preached at the Hester Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* "Long Island."²³ Their worship was orderly and settled — for the Orthodox (segregationists) had departed.



ELIAS HICKS

Friend Elias went out during this year on the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he went in a one-horse carriage from the Jericho meetinghouse on Long Island (still extant, as pictured) to visit meetings in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. He wouldn't be back home until some time in 1829.



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

*3rd day 22nd of 7th M / This Afternoon Edw & Mary Lawton took
tea with us. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 27, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 27 of 7 M / In the morning we had a pretty large Meeting
23.A meeting that [Henry David Thoreau](#) would later  visit to hear the [Hicksite](#), Friend [Lucretia Mott](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

tho I expect some were deterd by rain - Father Rodman bore a short testimony & D Buffum a pretty large one to the Truth - Father again was that in testimony in the Afternoon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 30, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 30th of 7 M / Abigail Weeden wife of Holder Weeden Died night before last & at One OClock her funeral went to [Portsmouth](#) & after a Meeting held at the Meeting house her remains were interd there

My Cousin Bathsheba Gould aged about 90 Years Died yesterday - I attended her funeral today at the House of cousin Henry Gould, the sitting was solid & a short testimony from Father Rodman, her remains were carried to Middletown & buried in the family burying ground there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 31, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7 M 31 / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was a quiet favourd time to me Father Rodman & Abigail Sherman bore short testinmonies - but little buisness. - Uncle Benj Freeborn & wife & Deborah Chase Dined with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 3, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 8th M 1828 / Our Mornng Meeting was of usual size & D Buffum engaged in testimony - Silent in the Afternoon. - In the evening went with my wife to Abigail Robinsons - Where we Saw our friend Mary R Morton who presented me with a view of the residence of Richard Jordan with him & his old Cow upon it - Richard Jordan's memory is precious to me, his person, his manner & his powerful preaching when on a religious visit from N Carolina in the year 1797 will long remain with me. - his voice when under the gospel influence was remarkably reaching - & well do I remember the hearty prayers he put up for the youth, a precious seed among whom, he said the Lord had given him to believe were then among us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 6, Wednesday: [Andrew Taylor Still](#) was born.

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

4th day 6th of 8 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with my H, & D Buffum in his carriage - Attended Select Meeting - Dined at Asa Shermans - And after a setting of the Trustees of Obadiah Browns Fund, We went to Uncle Stantons & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 7, Thursday: Friend [Benjamin Lundy](#) and William Lloyd Garrison staged an abolitionist meeting in the vestry room of the [Baptist](#) church in Boston. After they had said their piece the reverend of the church arose to caution his parishioners against allowing themselves to be swayed by such dangerous enthusiasms as these.



(What was the Reverend suggesting? Was he suggesting “Remember, we’re white people here, this really isn’t any of **our** problem”? —Well then, can you offer a **more plausible** parsing of what he was suggesting?)

[Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) and [William Wordsworth](#) with his daughter Dora returned from their tour of the Netherlands and the Rhine.

Russian forces captured Akhalkalaki from the Turks.

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

5th day / Our public Quarterly Meeting was not a very satisfactory one, the preaching was far from being sound tho' charity would induce the hope that the preacher was honest in her views, & what she said did not convey her real meaning else she was very ignorant of what our principles - In the Meeting for buisness we had several cases of importance - particulalry an appeal from a Woman & a case of difference between two Monthly Meetings was referred to the Quarterly Meeting & by them to a committee. - The excellent epistle from the Yearly to the subordinate Meetings was read &c. - After Meeting I rode with Wm Jenkins to [Bristol](#) ferry & Dined at Jeremiah Giffords, after crossing the ferry - I rode the rest of the distance to [Providence](#) with John Farnum & lodged at Wm Jenkins's

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*6th day Spent this day at the School House on committee buisness
- Our visit to the Schools were favoured opportunities - lodged
at my kind friend [Moses Browns](#) -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 9, Saturday: An agreement between Great Britain, France and Egypt provides for the withdrawal of [Egyptian](#) forces from Greece.

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

7th day Spent the day in [Providence](#) attending the Meeting for sufferings - Dined at Wm Jenkins & after the setting in the Afternoon rode with Wm Almy to his place in Cranston where I lodged & had a pleasant visit. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 10, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*First day - Rode with Wm to [Providence](#) & attended Meeting there.
- Dined at Wm Jenkins & went to the School to Meeting in the Afternoon Wm Almy had sound clear & lively testimonies in both.
- After tea at Wm Jenkins I walked out & visited J S Anthony & Jonathon Congdon & returned to W. Jenkins & lodged. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 11, Monday: [William Corder](#) was [hanged](#) at Bury St. Edmunds, England for the murder of Maria Marten at the Red Barn a year earlier.

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

2nd day - After completing a little buisness that was necessary to attend to I got on board the Reformation Capt Pratt & came home -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 12, Tuesday: French explorer Rene-Auguste Caillie reached Fez, Morocco, having crossed the Sahara from Timbuktu. As the 1st European to reach Timbuktu and return alive, Caillie would win a prize of 10,000 francs from the Societe de Geographie.

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

3rd day 12th of 8 M / Spent at home attending to some necessary buisness. - of my own.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 13, Wednesday: Vier Refrainlieder by Franz Schubert to words of Seidl were published by Weigl as op. 95.

With notches in his belt for 14 concerts in Vienna [Nicolò Paganini](#) departed on a triumphal road tour covering some 30 cities in Germany, Bohemia, and Poland at the rate of about a city a month (he would be venturing as far east as Warsaw, as far west as Strassbourg).

[WALDEN](#): Near at hand, upon the topmost spray of a birch, sings the brown-thrasher -or red mavis, as some love to call him- all the morning, glad of your society, that would find out another farmer's field if yours were not here. While you are planting the seed, he cries, -"Drop it, drop it, -cover it up, cover it up, -pull it up, pull it up, pull it up." But this was not corn, and so it was safe from such enemies as he. You may wonder what his rigmarole, his amateur Paganini performances on one string or on twenty, have to do with your planting, and yet prefer it to leached ashes or plaster. It was a cheap sort of top dressing in which I had entire faith.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

NICOLÒ PAGANINI



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

4th day 13 of 8 M 1828 / I left home this morning in the Stage for [New Bedford](#) on buisness of the Meeting for sufferings, to procure Signers, members of the Meeting to the deed of the Boston Meeting house lot which friends has lately agreed to sell & the late act of the Massachusetts Legislature requires the signature of a certain number of the Members of the Meeting to give a Deed I arrived in Bedford a little before 4 OC PM & after getting a little dinner at a tavern, Joseph Tillinghast assisted me in



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

getting a chaise & rode with me to John R. Davis's & after obtaining his name with that of Abraham Sherman Jr who happened to be there we rode on to Obadiah Davis's, took tea, and obtained his name, & rode back into [New Bedford](#), And arrived there about 9 OC in the evening - after sitting awhile at Francis Tabers & arranging for the Morrow I went to J S Tillinghasts & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day, rose early & accomplished all my buisness & after taking breakfast at Francis Tabers, got into the Stage & rode to [Providence](#) Wm Rotch James Nichols[?] & his wife & daughter on board. - we rode along very pleasantly, no subject started that would occasion or call forth altercation. we arrived in [Providence](#) between 3 & 4 OC PM, after attending to a little buisness I had in town I walked up to the School House on my way there met John Griscom of NYork & his daughter bound there Also. - we passed several hours at the School House & John & his daughter visited the School & inspected the institution generally & then went to [Moses Browns](#), took tea & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 15, Friday: [Augustus Sabin Chase](#) was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, the only son of Seth Chase and Eliza Hempstead Dodge Chase.

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

6th day - Spent the forenoon in attending to some little buisness in [Providence](#), delivr'd up my buisness to those who were to complete it & took the Steam Boat at 2 OClock and came home. - In this little excursion I have rode Further than I ever did before in one day, & the whole distance is further than I ever went before in the same time. - It is the first time I was ever in the town of [New Bedford](#). - tho' there are several indeed many more, with whom I am intimately acquainted. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 17, Sunday: [Maria Deraismes](#) was born in Paris.

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

1st day 17th of 8th M / In the forenoon Meeting Anne Dennis, Father Rodman, Hannah Dennis & D Buffum in succession bore short testimonys. - Silent in the Afternoon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 August 20, Wednesday: *Le Comte Ory*, an opera by Gioachino Rossini to words of Scribe and Delestre-Poirson, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opera.

 August 21, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 21 of 8 M / Our frd Wm Almy was unexpectedly at Meeting with us & was acceptable & pertinent in testimony After Meeting I went with him to David Buffums who was not at meeting being confined by indispositions
We spent the Afternoon very pleasantly together the conversation on various subjects - particularly relative to the affairs of our society. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Saturday: In *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, price 2d, of this day appeared the following accounts:

MOTTOES FOR SUN DIALS.

By the Rev. W. Lisle Bowles.

MORNING SUN.— *Tempus volat.*

OH! early passenger, look up — be wise,
And think how, night and day, TIME ONWARD FLIES.

NOON.— *Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum.*

Life steals away — this hour, oh man, is lent thee,
Patient to "WORK THE WORK OF HIM WHO SENT THEE."

SETTING SUN.— *Redibo, tu nunquam.*

Haste, traveller, the sun is sinking now—
He shall return again — but never thou.

CHARMS OF SAVAGE LIFE.

It is remarkable that whites or creoles do not always avail themselves of opportunities to return to civilized society. There seem to be pleasures in savage life, which those who have once tasted, seldom wish to exchange for the charms of more polished intercourse. For example, a creole boy was carried off at the age of 13; at 26 he returned to Buenos Ayres, on some speculation of barter. He said that whoever had lived upon horse-flesh would never eat beef, unless driven by necessity or hunger; he described the flesh of a colt to be the most deliciously flavoured of all viands. This man, having transacted the business which led him to Buenos Ayres, returned voluntarily to his native haunts, and is probably living amongst the Indians to this day.

— General William Miller (1795–1861), *MEMOIRS*,
published by his brother John Miller in London in 1827

 August 24, Sunday: The western part of New Guinea was claimed for the Netherlands.

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 24th of 8th M 1828 / Morning Meeting silent & in the Afternoon a few words by Father Rodman. – Went with D Rodman to D Buffums & took tea he being very unwell & confined to his house for several Days

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 26, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 26th of 8 M / Visited our frd D Buffum, who had a concern to speak with an individual & wished me to be present. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 27, Wednesday: As terms of peace between Argentina and Brazil, Uruguay was declared independent.

[Simón Bolívar](#) declared himself dictator of Gran Colombia.

 August 28, Thursday: Russian troops captured Akhaltzikhe west of Tiflis (Tbilisi).

In Dublin, Ireland, it was proposed among the English Protestants that “Brunswick Clubs” be formed — Orange societies to prevent Roman Catholic emancipation.

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

5th day 28th of 8 M / Got into the Morning Stage & rode with Sister Ruth to attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) – Hannah Dennis & Ruth Freeborn were favoured in seasonable & pertinent testimonies. – In the last meeting a young couple were published for Marriage & not much further buisness of importance or out of the general course. – When Meeting broke up the Stage passed & we got in & rode home without dinner, a thing I do not remember of ever doing before. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 31, Sunday: Sarah Melvin was born in [Concord](#) to Charles Melvin (1) and Betsy Farrar Melvin (eventually she would get married with Isaac Buteau).

THE MELVINS OF CONCORD

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

1st day 31 of 8 M / Our Meetings were rather smaller than usual. In the forenoon Father Rodman bore a short testimony, & Silent in the Afternoon. – After tea took a walk into the Clifton burying ground, where are the remains of many of our Ancient brethren & sisters in The Church & many of our Ancestors & kinsfolk. – I like to go there some times, it brings into mind the memory of many whose character & standing in our society I venerate & love. –



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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I reflect also that this is the last day of the Month & also of the Summer & where I may be or how situated at the end of another, is not known - a desire to be thankful for present good, & hope for more to come. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 1, Monday: On advice of the court physician, Dr. Ernst Rinna, Franz Schubert moved in with his brother on Kettenbruckengasse 6 in the Vienna suburb of Neue Wieden.

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

*2nd day 9th M 1st 1828 / Wrote a letter to Wm Almy & finished one I had begun some time past to our son John - & also attended to some little concerns
My mind weak & rather low, but somewhat favoured. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 2, Tuesday: Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe D.954 for mixed voices by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, at the dedication of the recast bell at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Alsergrund.

 September 3, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th of 9th M / Father Rodman bore a short acceptable testimony -Meeting rather small, but quiet & comfortable time.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 7, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 7 of 9 M / Our Morning Meeting was nearly silent & ought have been quite so. - silent & solid in the Afternoon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 8, Monday: [Joshua Chamberlain](#) was born.

[Clarence Cook](#) was born.

In Berlin, Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage, an overture by [Felix Mendelssohn](#), was performed for the initial time.

 September 11, Thursday: A court in Carlsbad ordered [Nicolò Paganini](#) to pay 150 florins to Antonio Caccia (the violinist had hired Caccia as a secretary at the beginning of July but after an unremunerative concert on August 22d had dispensed with his services, in breach of contract).

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

5th day 11th of 9th M / Anne Dennis & Father Rodman bore short

testimonies the Meeting was small & grows smaller, several expect to remove soon, – James Mitchells daughters Rhoda Sarah & Elizabeth will go in a few days to Providence. – others sick & confined from Age render our gathering small yet attended with some encouragement & comfort. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ September 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14 of 9 M / Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis bore short but good testimonys – In the Afternoon silent After tea I went to see our frd D Buffum yet confined & at times very poorly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ September 15, Monday: A great “Orange” meeting was held in Dublin, Ireland.

➡ September 16, Tuesday: Im Fruhling D.882, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schulze, was published in the Zeitschrift fur Kunst, Vienna.

➡ September 18, Thursday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#)’s cantata Begrussung for solo voices, male chorus, winds, timpani, cellos and basses to words of Rellstab was performed for the initial time, in Berlin (it had been commissioned by [Alexander von Humboldt](#) for performance at a meeting of natural scientists).



The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell’s REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:

A traveller from Cincinnati reached here in the unprecedented time of seven days; so remarkable was this considered that it was noticed and commented upon in the papers....

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

5th day 18th of 9 M / Silent small but comfortable meeting Recd P [per?] Mail this Afternoon a very pleasant letter from our



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

dear John –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 20, Saturday: Treaty with The Potawatami. As per usual, this treaty was entered into in good faith.

[George Bethune English](#) died.

 September 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21st of 9 M / Meetings nearly silent but solid good ones to me – After tea walked out to our frd D Buffums house & set the evening with him. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 22, Monday: After a 12-year-reign, [Shaka, ruler of the Zulus](#), who has become increasingly unstable, was murdered by a brother and his half-brother Dingane, who took over as ruler of the Zulu nation. There were no objections, as it was hard for anyone to imagine a ruler more bloodthirsty than Shaka.

 September 25, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25th of 9 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting in Town - Considerable important buisness was transacted - New Trustees to Eastons Point was agreed upon &c & what was of moment & interesting to my feelings was a certificate was granted Our Son John Stanton Gould directed to Hudson Moy [Monthly] Meeting where he resides. – My desire & prayer is that he may be preserved from evil & established in the Truth. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 27, Saturday: [Hector Berlioz](#) left his family home in La Cote-St.-Andre to return to Paris. This time there was no anger or tears from anyone (the son being the winner of the 2d Prix de Rome).

 September 28, Sunday: Varna was taken by the Russian army.

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

1st day 28th of 9th M 1828 / Our Morning Meeting was nearly silent, a few words was spoken towards the close of it. –at the close of it I rode with Richard Mitchell to his house & dined & then walked down to Uncle Stantons, spent the Afternoon & lodged there –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 29, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

on 2nd day Morning it Rained & I was detained till sometime after

dinner when I set out on foot & walked as far as Mitchells Shop when the rain came on again, & I stoped & waited for the Stage & then rode home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 30, Tuesday: An attitude was being expressed on this day by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#). I am so horrified by that attitude, which we might characterize as a “quietist” attitude, that I will attempt to characterize it here as follows: “Watch out for those violent Quakers who are the deluded followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)! We Quakes are neither black slaves nor white slaveholders (well, at least, not now, not any longer), so whatever it is that these black slaves and these white slaveholders have got going on between them, it’s in some other universe, not in the ‘Quaker Close’ universe which we inhabit! It ain’t none of our freaking religious business! Be nonviolent! –Don’t impose yourself! –Leave it alone at the jeopardy of your soul!” Here is what Friend Gould expressed precisely as he expressed it:

3rd day 30th of 9 M / Last eveng I recd a letter from my valued friend Wm Jenkins now at Mount Pleasant Ohio, whither he went to attend the Meeting of the Committees from the yearly Meetings & the Yearly Meeting of Ohio. - he gives me a sad detail of events that have taken place The [Hixites](#) were violent, to a degree unknown in civil much more religious society. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



It strikes me that the attitude exemplified above by our “quietist” Friend Stephen is precisely the attitude toward human enslavement that [Henry David Thoreau](#) criticized (and the attitude exemplified by Friend Elias and his “Hixites” is precisely the attitude that Henry embraced, by way of the influence on him of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)). Here is how Henry would take a flying dig at this not-so-Friendly “quietist” aberration, in his lecture “A Plea for Captain John Brown”:

What sort of violence is that which is encouraged, not by soldiers but by peaceable citizens, not so much by laymen as by ministers of the gospel, not so much by the fighting sects as by the Quakers, and not so much by the Quaker men as by the Quaker women?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 October 1, Wednesday: Founding of the University of London on Gower Street in London (afterward, this would be known as University College). [Professor George Long](#) of the University of Virginia had returned to England to become professor of Greek there (until 1831, when he would become editor of the [Quarterly Journal of Education](#)). The Long family would reside in Jacksons Lane, Highgate, to the west of Hornsey and would have three female servants, a coachman, and a gardener. With them from America they had brought one of the family slaves, Jacob Walker, who in England would be assigned the role “M.S.” (male servant), and it is not known whether it was Jacob who was that coachman, or that gardener.

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

4th day 1st 10th M 1828 / Today Joseph S Tillinghast from N Bedford on his way to NYork Hudson &c called & dined with us & took letters for John whom he expects to see next first day. - he went in the Steam Boat Connecticut this Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

There's a sketchy painting above the case that holds the Torah scrolls at the [Touro Synagogue](#) in [Newport](#). It is a painting of the short names used, in the Hebrew language, for the Ten Commandments that Moses received from YHWH on Mount Sinai. I don't have any better photo of the crude painting in question, which also depicts three golden crowns, than this one, for your edification,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

but here is a modern representation of the Hebrew characters in question. Read them from right to left:



One of the stories that grew up in Newport over the years had to do with those three golden crowns we can see so nicely depicted at the top of that painting. The story was that the synagogue building had been saved from being trashed during the occupation of the town in Revolutionary War years, when so many of the buildings in the abandoned town were being stripped for kindling to keep the occupying British soldiers warm, because the soldiers presumed that this building must have something to do with the King of England.

Another of the stories that grew up was that this painting, since it is, allegedly, “so fine,” must have been by the famous painter Gilbert Stuart, who resided in nearby [North Kingstown](#). However, it is not listed as one of his known works, nor do we know that he ever painted anything even remotely like this.

As anyone who reads Hebrew who now visits this Newport tourist trap can look up and plainly see, the character that is shown in this painting as the third letter, in the captions of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Commandments in the left column, is not correct! Four of the ten labels have been reduced to nonsense! If that painting had been hanging up there above the case of Torahs while the building was being used for Jewish worship services during the 18th Century, why would it have been that none of the members of this

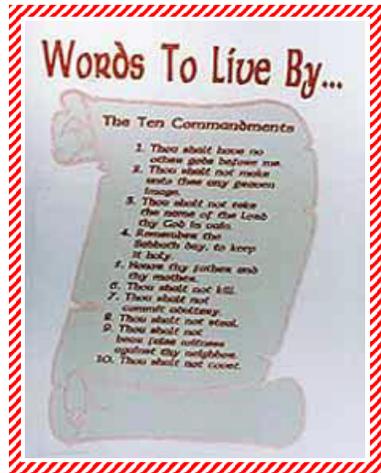
congregation, and none of the honored Jewish visitors to this synagogue, ever informed anyone of this error in the painting, and why would it have been that nobody went and fetched a ladder and some oil paint and climbed up there and touched over the linguistic error with a few simple dabs? This is what the character does look like  (the artist did get the character right when he painted it in the 6th Commandment, at the top of the left column!), and this is what it might have been made to look like with a few more dabs of paint, had anyone known to correct that painting: 

Granted, the Marranos²⁴ who created this synagogue had been living a submerged life as pretend Christians²⁵ since the Inquisition in Spain in Portugal, and granted, they had only just gotten back into the process of recovering their cultural roots — but surely some of them must have known enough Hebrew to be able to recite the Ten Commandments! So, why didn't they correct this painting?

We discover in the records of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, that on this date the sum of \$12.⁰⁰ was paid to the clerk for the town of Newport, Benjamin Baker Howland, who was treasurer of the Newport Savings Bank and a local historian and artist, as reimbursement for a painting of the captions in Hebrew of the Ten Commandments.²⁶ Clearly, Mr. Howland had as little actual knowledge of Hebrew as any other deacon of the local 1st Baptist Church. This painting of his had been created as a mere piece of esoterica, only marking this structure as having formerly been in use as a synagogue, and there would be no opportunity to discover and correct its error —since in point of fact, during the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, there would be no religious services whatever in the structure —since in point of fact, there were no longer any Jews residing in Newport.

JUDAISM

Maybe, as a deacon in the 1st Baptist Church, this Howland should have stuck to designing Christian T-shirts for sale to the summer tourists:



24. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

25. For instance, for the first twenty or so years of his life, the President of this congregation, [Aaron Lopez](#), had been living in Portugal as a Christian by the name of Duarte Lopez. He had been under such deep cover that he and his wife, who was always called “Anna” in Portugal, had had their wedding ceremony in a Catholic church. It was only after they were safely in Rhode Island that they were able to live openly under their given names Aaron and Abigail.

26. This is a “Mayflower” family and as you might imagine, there have been any number of Benjamin Howlands. A Benjamin Howland (1755-1821), had been a Democratic legislator in Rhode Island legislature, and had from 1804 to 1809, as a Jeffersonian Republican, served as one of the US Senators from Rhode Island. This clerk Benjamin Baker Howland of 1828 was not the son of this Senator Benjamin Howland who died in 1821. He was, instead, the son of Henry Howland and Susan Baker Howland, and had been born in Newport on December 11, 1787. At an early age he had been thrown upon his own resources, and having a taste for drawing and painting, had begun the study of portraiture under Robert Feke. In September 1825 he had succeeded Charles Gyles as town clerk of Newport, and soon afterwards became probate clerk. For many years he would be reelected without opposition, and he would serve his community as clerk until 1875. He died on October 20, 1877 and there is now a portrait of him in the mayor’s office.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

So it is clearly false, that the British troops of occupation spared the wood in this building because they saw those three golden crowns and thought of their monarch. The painting in question wouldn't come into existence for another two human generations! More probably, the reason why this building was spared was that some British officer came along and said to himself "Now here's a nice brick building, neat and spacious, with a raised platform at one end of a columned hall, to properly set off my desk and chair — I think this is the one I'll have for my headquarters."

And Gilbert Stewart? Give me a break, take a close look at the actual painting and recognize that a child could have painted something like this on the basis of a paint-by-the-numbers kit purchased at the K-Mart.

The preposterous stories that once circulated about this synagogue painting present an interesting example of the dangers posed by pseudohistorical accretion tendencies.



October 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 5th of 10 M / [Friend Stephen goes to the Yearly Meeting Boarding School in Providence until 21st of 10th Month] This Mornng in the Steam Boat Chas Livingston I left home for [Providence](#) expecting to spend some time at the [YM Boarding School](#) in the Absence of Enoch & Lydia Breed who are on a visit to their friends in Ware NH. - I arrived in season to attend the Morning Meeting which was silent. John Farnum of the committee present. - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended the Meeting & was engaged in an interesting testimony on the important doctrine of our society it was attended with life & in the close was remarkably in the Authority
The day passed pleasantly as the weight of care I feel will admit*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 6, Monday: Franz Schubert's song Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe to words of Kuffner was published by Diabelli, Vienna as op. 97.

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

2nd day 6 of 10 M / This forenoon we had a pleasant visit from [Moses Brown](#). - I feel Awkward in my situation as caretaker. but the family are respectful & kind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 7, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 7 of 10 M / The day has been pleasant & this Afternoon my frd Wm Jenkins called to see me yet it is the first time I have seen him since he returned from his important mission to Ohio on the yearly Meeting committee of Conference - We sympathized with each other, & I did most feelingly & sincerely so with him in his sufferings bodily & mentally both while on the journey to Ohio & while attending that Y Meeting. - And his experience I trust is greatly enlarged & I have no doubt he has deepened in the root of Truth. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), “the first American capitalist of the printing business,” witnessed the 1st canal barge from Providence, Rhode Island arriving at its Worcester dock at Thomas Street, on property which he personally had donated to the city.

The barge that was the 1st to travel the entire length of the new waterway opening up the center of Massachusetts was the *Lady Carrington*. One official guest had fallen overboard and had had to be rescued with a boat hook. The Blackstone Canal’s depth was a minimum of 3½ feet, and it descended 451½ feet by way of a series of 62 locks to its outlet in Providence. Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston

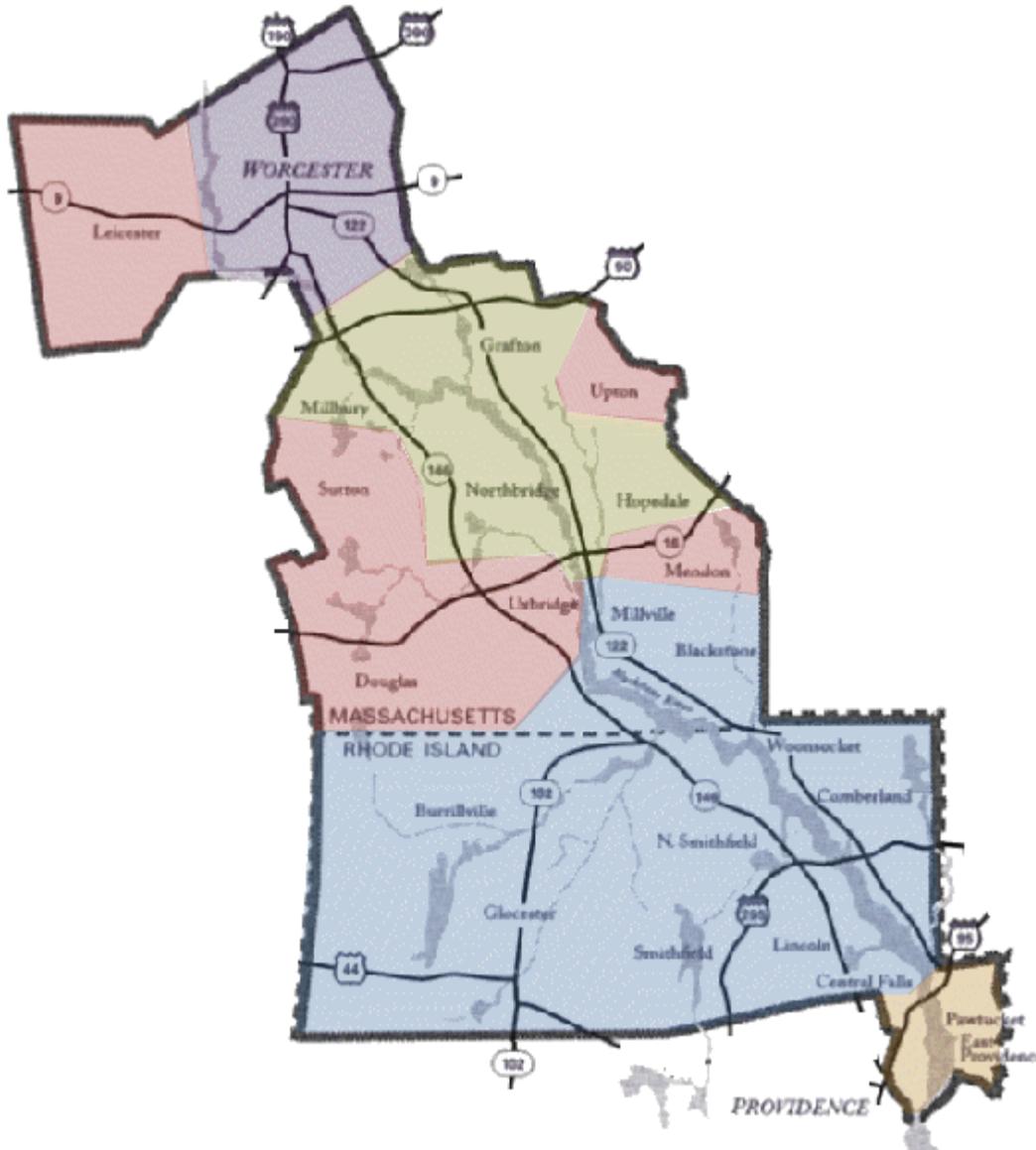


goods 40 miles overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool,

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

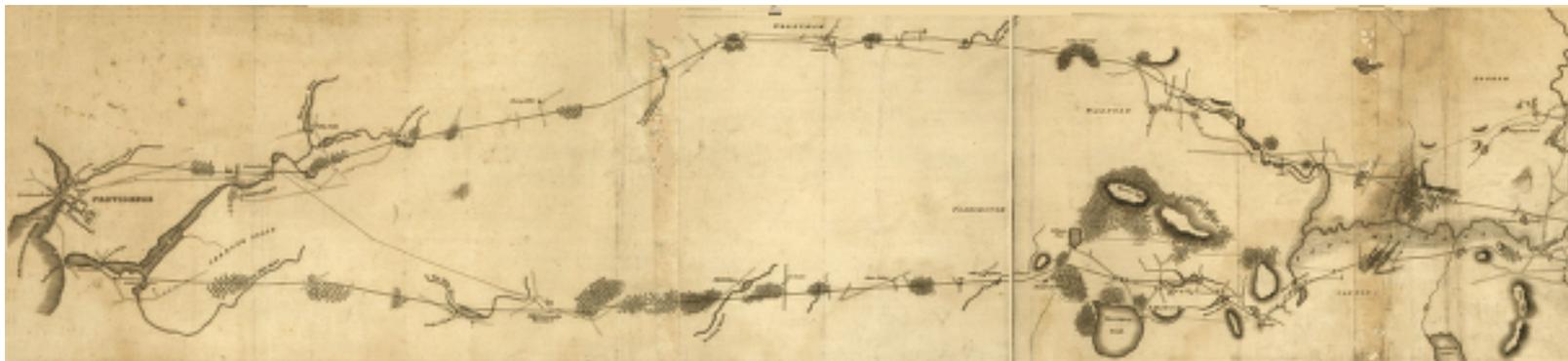
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

England. The new canal was 45 miles long.



There not being enough water in the [Blackstone River](#) watershed to supply both the canal and the mills along the way, a river mill faction would dump boulders into the canal and a canal faction would conspire to burn down mills. (What a coup! —Providence would be a commerce winner for 19 entire years, until the steam-powered railroad which was just being proposed, and its route explored, would come along in 1835 and

instantly obsolete the old mills along the river, and this canal and its single terminus.)



 October 8, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 8 of 10th M / Our Meeting at the [School](#) today was to me a season of weight, in which I had to feel my infermity & weakness - yet a good degree of strength was vouchsafed, & I did not feel that sense of depression which I sometimes do when there is much responsibility devolving upon me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 9, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9 of 10 M / Today is the adjournment of our Moy Meeting at home - tho' absent I am present with them in mind - I know there is not much of importance to engage their attention, but feel interested with all there is doing in [Newport](#). - Today Hannah Hussey of our family was taken ill with the Pleurisy & in the evening Dr Toby was called - Had an interesting opportunity with Benjamin Keene son of Jonah who had been here sometime as a schollar & is now going with his Father to Darien in Georgia. -his being taken from this Garden inclosed & placed in the wide world & in a very corrupt part of it too -has excited my tender feelings & much interest on his account. -he has appear'd to be religiously inclined for some time & I felt it my duty to take a solid opportunity with him, & was favoured with enlargement of mind & spirit towards him. - I imparted what impressed my mind in a manner which was satisfactory to my self & he recd my communication with attention & an apparant feeling which encouraged me to hope he will remember the opportunity when afar off. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 10, Friday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) underwent an operation for an ulcerated tooth in Prague. This would produce severe inflammation of his lower jaw.

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

6th day 10 of 10 M 1828 / The usual rounds of duty & my time mostly occupied in the [Library](#) in sorting the loose pamphlets &



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

preparing them to be bound. much of this kind of care in necessary here. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 11th of 10 M / We have had considerable company at the [Institution](#) today & among the callers has been our frd [Moses Brown](#) - Joseph Tillinghast of [New Bedford](#) & Susan Ann Buffum with her son Thos on their return from Pembroke where they have been visiting their relations -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 12, Sunday: After a 3-month siege, Varna, north of Constantinople, fell to the Russians.

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

1st day 12 of 10 M / At our morning Meeting we had the company of our Friend Royal Southwick, whose ministry was acceptable, seasonable & edifying - Saml Newett & his wife on their return from their journey into NYork state to visit their relations were also at Meeting & Saml offered a short but acceptable testimony. - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was with us & bore a noble & rich testimony to the Truth & both meetings were Seasons of favour I trust not soon to be forgotten by many minds present. - a couple of young women came in just before meeting & requested liberty to set the meeting with us which they did & at the close they both looked serious & one seemed much effected - I believe their minds were unexpectedly affected & I trust they carried away no bad impressions of our order, & the solemnity of our meetings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 13, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 13 of 10 M / Nothing special has occured, but I find myself brought into a close investigation of things here. - I believe there are many things here which need to be helped, - but how they can be helped I do not clearly See. - Mary B Allen came this eveng & staid all night - her company was very agreeable to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 14, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 14th of 10 M / Thos Howland of the committee came & dined - his company was very pleasant tho' the time was short that he Staid. - Toward night my Brother Isaac came & brought a letter



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

from my wife - his wife & Daughter Susanna are in [Providence](#) & Yesterday I called to see them -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 15, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 15 of 10 M 1828 / Our Meeting was silent but solid & quiet. - This is the first day that we have had no company at meals since I have been here. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 16, Thursday: As part of the opening ceremonies for the [Delaware and Hudson Canal](#) connecting Honesdale, Pennsylvania with Rondout, New York, the packet *Orange* left Kingston, New York, to be the initial boat on the waterway. This canal would make the anthracite of northeastern Pennsylvania economically available to cities along the coast of New York and New England, as a substitute for wood fuel.

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

5th day 16th of 10 M / Today is our Select Meeting at home - I feel much about the little gathering & hope divine support has been near them. - This eveng for the first time since I have been here, went down & sat a little while with [Moses Brown](#) & found him friendly & affectionate. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 17, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 17th of 10th M / Spent the day wholly at the [Institution](#) & this eveng while our friend [Moses Brown](#) was sitting with us a fire was discovered in [Providence](#). - he left us to go in & see what it was -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 18, Saturday: The *Orange* arrived at Honesdale, Pennsylvania to begin the transportation of coal from Pennsylvania fields to Eastern industrial cities.

CANALS

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

7th day 18 of 10 M / The fire last eveng proved to be in the North main Street near the [Baptist](#) Meeting house - in which the Druggist shop of our late townsman Wm H Taylor was considerably injured. - his goods moved out & consequently damaged - I went into town this morning & met with Several [Newport](#) folks of my acquaintance, & called to see nancy Pickering. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 19, Sunday: [Lydia Maria Francis](#) got married with [David Lee Child](#), becoming Mrs. [Lydia Maria Child](#).²⁷



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

1st day 19th of 10 M 1828 / Our Morning meeting was silent & rather a poor time to me – In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & bore testimony to the Truth, but either he or I, or both of us were not as lively as we Sometimes are – Our friend [Moses Brown](#) came to see us in the eveng & Attended the Collection in the boys [School](#) & gave them good advice. – my mind was impressed with something to say to them, but fearing I should make an unnecessary addition prevented my speaking – tho I believe I should have felt better if I had have made the attempt. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 20, Monday: Clara Wieck performed at the Leipzig Gewandhaus for the initial time, playing one part in a piano duet by Kalkbrenner.

[Horatio Gates Spafford](#) was born.

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

27. [David](#) was a Harvard grad who had gone to Spain in 1817 as secretary to the American legation, but then in Spain had abandoned this position in order to participate in the rebellion of 1823. Once he had gotten back to Boston he read law, but in order to represent defendants who were indigent. At the point at which the couple got married, he was editing a newspaper and was already in deep trouble over libel. Clearly this was not a marriage of convenience.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

2nd day 20 of 10 M / Enoch & Lydia Breed returned this evening & I hope to get home tomorrow - This eveng after they arrived I called again on my friend [Moses Brown](#) & set a while with them. -

My stay here has been as pleasant as it could be separated so long from my beloved wife & friends at home. - The family here has been uniformly kind & respectful & the children in good measure obedient & towardly in their deportment - all this is a satisfaction & encouragement & withall I have been favoured with religious sensibility, that has kept my spirit in a solid weighty frame & enabled me to go in & set[?] before the family in a manner which on introspection does not appear to leave any sting or disagreeable feelings - many times have I felt the need of increased Salt in myself that I might be enabled duly to Season others & this I have in small degree been favoured with. - to my own consolation & encouragement -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 21, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 21st of 10 M 1828 / After taking leave of my friends at [Providence](#) this morning - At 12 OC I went on board the Chancellor Levington & came home finding my wife well but - Anut nancy Carpenter & James Hammond quite unwell.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 23, Thursday: Le Corsaire published an obituary for Franz Liszt, claiming that he had died on the previous day on his 17th birthday. He had lately been so despondent over a failed love affair that the rumor of his death spread easily through Paris.

The Christiania (Oslo) Public Theater gave its initial performance (it would concentrate on opera and singspiels).

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

5th day 23rd of 10 M / Silent Meeting - In the Preparative Meeting nothing but the usual buisness - In my absence at [Providence](#) my wife recd letters from Several of our friends, a very comfortable one from John, one from Moses Lopez & one from Thomas Thompson. - The one from Thomas was very agreeable on every acct but more especially as it gave information of the arrival at home of our friend E Robson after a Passage of about 20 days from Philadelphia. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 24, Friday: A meeting of Yeomanry was staged on Pennenden Heath in Kent, England, for the purpose of petitioning the House of Commons to preserve the Protestant constitution inviolate. Anti-Catholic "Brunswick Clubs" would be formed in Leeds, Leicester, and other parts of England.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 October 26, Sunday: Izzet Mehmet Pasha replaced Benderli Selim Sirri Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

[William McKendree Robbins](#) was born.

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

*1st day 26th of 10 M / Yesterday an accident happened to the Chans Levingston which occasioned her return in a short time after she left the Wf for NYork - Our frd A Sherman being on board I went down & invited him to stay with us, which he did last night & was at our morning meeting - & left town again this Afternoon in the Benj Franklin. -
Father Rodman was engaged in testimony this morning & in the Afternoon we were silent Went with David Rodman to David Buffums & took tea with them which is the last time I expect to visit them as housekeepers, they intending tomorrow to remove to their Son Davids & spend the residue of their lives with them unincumbered with the things of this life. - We were joined in the evening by Edw & Mary Lawton & the time was instructively spent. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 27, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 27th of 10th M 1828 / In order to find a place for Redwood Hazard to board (our frd D Buffum wanting him no longer) I got into a Chaise & rode about six miles on that account & at length succeeded temporarily. - on my return I stoped at David Buffum Junrs & saw his father & Mother in their new habitation which looked pleasant & I doubt not they will find themselves plesantly situated -
Today recd another short letter & parcell from my frd Thos Thompson. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 29, Wednesday: C.F. Peters music publishing house was sold to the tobacco manufacturer Carl Gotthelf Sigmund Bohme.

On his 15th birthday, [William Benjamin Carpenter](#) was formally apprenticed to a medical doctor.

 October 30, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

30th of 10 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with my Wife to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting - we went out the West road & stoped at Shadrack Chases on our way out - At Meeting Mary Hicks preached a little very good. & Hannah Dennis also bore a short testimony. - In the last we had but little buisness & it soon closed. - We went to Uncle Stantons to dine, where I found my Aged Mother in good health as usual. - On our return we found Dr Hazard had got home who has been absent about 3 Weeks at Hartford attending



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

his son Alfred who has been very sick there. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 31, Friday: In the first sign that he was gravely ill, Franz Schubert was nauseated by fish he was served at a tavern. From this point until his death he would eat almost nothing.

[Joseph Wilson Swan](#) was born.

 November: [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) (called by some “Devilina”) returned from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to her home in Charleston, South Carolina, committed to [Quakerism](#) — and to what was a new concept for her, the idea that human [slavery](#) was an outrage against the human spirit.²⁸

 November: Joseph Fry declared bankruptcy. Although she had not been involved in her husband’s business dealings, this of course impacted [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#)’s good name. In the past subscriptions to the Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate had been sent to Fry’s Bank, and so rumors began to circulate that some of this money had been used by Joseph Fry to help solve his financial problems. Although this was not accurate, for a time such stories would damage the reputation of charities in which Friend Elizabeth was involved. Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#) took over Fry’s business interests, made arrangements for his debts to be repaid, and settled an annuity of £1,600 on his sister Friend Elizabeth.

 November 1, Saturday: [William Lewis Herndon](#) enlisted in the US Navy, as a midshipman.

 November 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 2nd of 11th M 1828 / Father Rodman had a short testimony
in the Afternoon otherwise our Meetings were Silent -to me
unusually favoured seasons. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 3, Monday: Ferdinand Herold was created a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

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

*2nd day 3rd of 11 M / This morning with Sister Ruth Rodman got
into the Stage & rode to Swansey to attend the [?] Y Meeting -
left her at Nathan Chases & went to the Meeting house to meet
with a committee from the Quarterly Meeting on a difficult case
existing between the two Monthly Meetings of Swansey & S
Kingston - We sat sometime & after spending most of the Day we*

28. When the sisters broke with their Southern slaveholding upbringing and mindset, one of the ways in which they made this real to themselves was by destroying their collection of the chivalric novels of [Sir Walter Scott](#). This underlines the contention that would later be made by Mark Twain, that Scott with his conceit about “chivalry” had been the dude responsible for the Civil War.



To-day I have torn up my novels. My mind has long been troubled about them. I did not dare either to sell them or lend them out, and yet I had not resolution to destroy them until this morning, when, in much mercy, strength was granted.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

returned to Nathan Chases & took quarters for the night. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 4, Wednesday: Franz Schubert took his 1st lesson in a projected course in fugue with the noted theorist Simon Sechter.

In a 2d operation on [Nicolò Paganini](#) in Prague to treat an ulcerated tooth and correct the results of the 1st operation, all his lower teeth were removed.

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

4th day 4th of 11th M 1828 / Was our Select Quarterly Meeting - Which was a season of much favour, perhaps my own mind has seldom felt more savour & weight. – Dined at Daniel Braytons & lodged at Nathan Chases

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day The Meeting at large was a season of uncommon favour - Divers friends were engaged in the ministry & in particular our friend Alice Rathbone. – After Meeting Ruth with Wm Almy & I with my cousin George Gould proceeded to [Providence](#) & a little after dark arrived at the School House where I lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 6, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Our School committee today has been a most interesting one to me - particularly, as I have been called to take a part in the Affairs of the Institution by a very unanimous voice of the committee present. It has been under consideration for some Months to have Some further Assistance in the Superintendency & My Wife & I have concluded to accept of it, which will occasion our residence at [Providence](#) for some Months to come. – The committee divided - a part going to visit the boys & a part the girls School I went with those who visited the boys & a very interesting opportunity it proved to be Rowland Greene & Thomas Anthony being much favoured in public testimony & general advice to the children. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 7, Saturday: Sculptor Leonard Wells Volk was born in Wellstown (today's Wells), New-York.

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

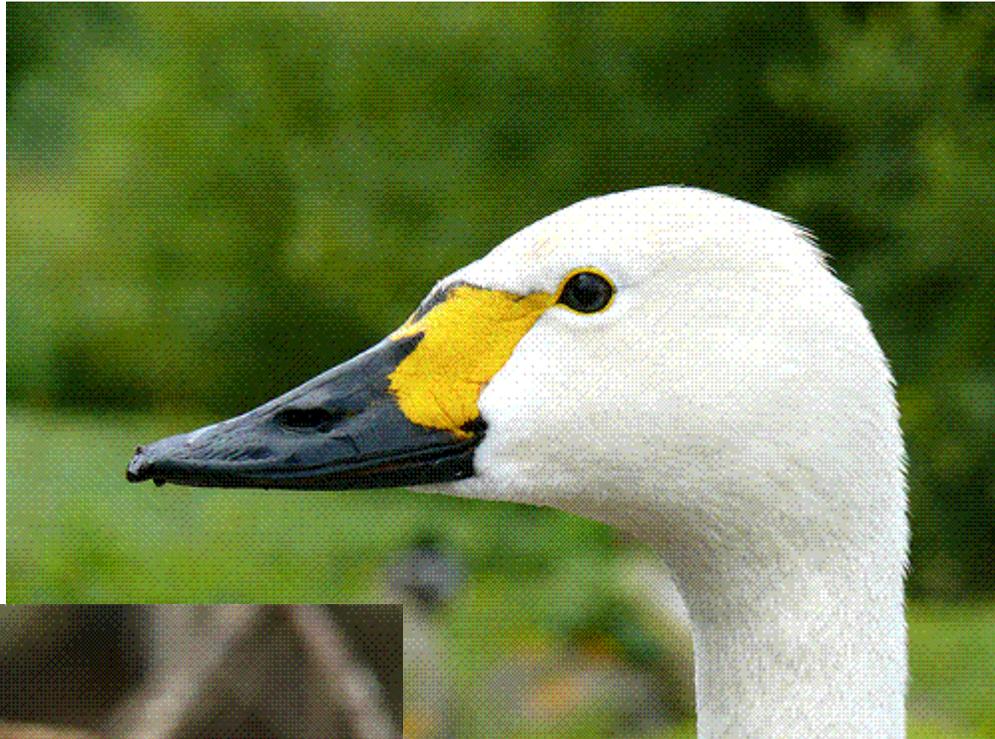
7th day Was our Meeting for sufferings, which was held in the forenoon at the Meeting House & in the Afternoon was a Meeting of the Trustees of the O Brown fund at Wm Jenkins. – I lodged at Wm Jenkins.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ November 8, Saturday: [Thomas Bewick](#) died. Soon, in commemoration of him, a species of swan would be designated as Bewick's Swan *Cygnus columbianus bewickii* (it's a mute swan that hoots, so I suppose one might term it a moot mute swan). There would also be a species, Bewick's Wren *Thryomanes bewickii*.



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

1st day This Morning I got on board the new Steam Boat Ruth Light



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

& got home in Season to attend the Afternoon Meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 11, Tuesday: [Franz Schubert](#) took to his bed in his brother's small apartment.

 November 12, Wednesday: [Franz Schubert](#) wrote a letter to Franz von Schober telling him that he was so sick that had eaten nothing for 11 days. He requested more novels by [James Fenimore Cooper](#).

Anouvong, ruler of the Kingdom of Vientiane, was deposed and his kingdom was annexed to Siam (during the hostilities, the city of Vientiane would be quite obliterated by the Siamese forces).

 November 13, Thursday: [Timothy Alden](#) died at the age of 92 after being pastor at Yarmouth for more than six decades.

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

5th day 12th [sic] of 11 M 1828 / We have been buisily engaged in attending to our affairs of getting in readiness to go to [Providence](#). – Attended meeting. Silent - but to me a Season of much reflection. – I feel much at leaving the Meeting only for a time where I had my birth & growth so far Spiritually & Naturally - there are many endearments at the place of my birth but it will not do to dwell too much upon them. –things must be taken as they are & we acquit ourselves as much like men as we can –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 14, Friday: Now too sick to be attended only by his half-sister, [Franz Schubert](#)'s family engaged the services of a fulltime nurse.

 November 15, Saturday: Albert Lortzing's oratorio Die Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi to words of Rosenthal was performed for the initial time, in Munster.

Victor Hugo received an advance of 4,000 francs from the publisher Gosselin to author a novel. [THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME](#) was to be finished, under this contract, by April 15, 1829, and the author would hold the rights for one year and 2,750 copies.

 November 16, Sunday: In the London Protocol, France, Great Britain, and Russia guaranteed the Peloponnesus and Cyclades Islands, effectively recognizing the independence of Greece.

Dr. Josef von Vering, a recognized expert on the treatment of syphilis, was called to visit [Franz Schubert](#).

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 16th of 11th M / Our meetings were both well attended & to me they were seasons of interest - particularly as I expect to leave for a season the scenes of my youth to the present day. -The place where I have taken much comfort, & known some bitter draughts but I can but feel that the move is as nearly right as things commonly get. - Father Rodman bore short testimonies in both Meetings - After Meeting in the Afternoon we rode out to D Buffums & took tea with him & wife & son David & family in their new habitation. - Mother Rodman was also there & staid the evening -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 17, Monday: Ferdinand Herold's ballet *La fille mal gardee* to a scenario by d'Auberval and Aumer was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opera.

That evening [Franz Schubert](#), who had been confined to his bed since November 11th, went into a delirium that would continue.

 November 20, Thursday: Dithyrambe D.801, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schiller, was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

5th day 20th of 11th M 1828 / Silent public Meeting & no buisness in the Preparative Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 22, Saturday: [Concord's Yeoman's Gazette](#) included a tall tale which [Henry Thoreau](#) would be able to recycle as "We read that the traveller asked the boy if the swamp before him had a hard bottom. The boy replied that it had. But presently the traveller's horse sank in up to the girths, and he observed to the boy, 'I thought you said that this bog had a hard bottom.' 'So it has,' answered the latter, 'but you have not got half way to it yet.'"

WALDEN: There is a solid bottom every where. We read that the traveller asked the boy if the swamp before him had a hard bottom. The boy replied that it had. But presently the traveller's horse sank in up to the girths, and he observed to the boy, "I thought you said that this bog had a hard bottom." "So it has," answered the latter, "but you have not got half way to it yet." So it is with the bogs and quicksands of society; but he is an old boy that knows it. Only what is thought said or done at a certain rare coincidence is good.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Was this tall tale original with the *Yeoman's Gazette*? –Clearly, it was not, for this is a jest that was first published in an English joke book dating to the late 17th Century:

“A Gentleman ask'd a Shepherd, whether that River was to be passed over or not.
Yes, says he, but going to try, flounc'd over head and ears.
Why thou rogue, says he, did you not tell me it might be past over?
Truly, Sir, says he, I thought so, *for my Geese go over and back again every day.*”

The managers of London's Covent Garden Theater announced that they would remove the stinking gas lighting that had been installed in 1817, and return to the use of candles.

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

*7th day 22nd of 11 M 1828 / According to previous conclusion & preparation, we this Morning at 10 OC wnt on board the George & Mary Capt Waldron for [Providence](#) where we expect to pass sometime as Assistant care takers at the yearly Meeting Boarding School
The prospect was very dull on Setting out but the Wind breazed up & we got to the School about 2 OC PM & just before it began to rain -
We were kindly received by Enoch & Lydia Breed the Superintendents & the family in general - & in a manner which was very encouraging to our feelings. - the eveng passed pleasantly.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 23, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23 of 11 M / Our Morng Meeting was silent & solid in the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & delivered an excellent testimony. - I could but admire at the goodness of our heavenly father in the help afforded - - Tho' we find ourselves in a large family & in a responsible situation we are favourd with quiet & a good degree of confidence that we may be favourd to get along pretty well

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 24, Monday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 24 of 11 M / Today our Frd [Moses Brown](#) called to see us & set some time. - I have also spoken with several of my friends who seem glad to see us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 26, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 26th of 11 M 1828 / We attended Monthly Meeting in [Providence](#) & the Schollars that were members also attended. - it was a season of favour to my mind being comforted with the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

preaching of Wm Almy & the offerings of Hannah Robinson & another woman were acceptable to me. – I found a good degree of christian submission among the members in management of their affairs, & tho' a difficult & trying case was before them, it seemed to me all were aiming at the right thing. – I must acknowledge that I fear I did not do right in restraining a few words which I felt to make

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 27, Thursday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Report of the Secretary of the Navy." –AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, III. No. 370.

A requiem mass in memory of Franz Schubert took place in St. Ulrich's Church, Vienna. The Requiem of [Mozart](#) was performed.

Widerspruch D.865, a vocal quartet by Franz Schubert to words of Seidl, was performed for the initial time, in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

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

5th day 27 of 11 M / This also is our Moy [Monthly] Meeting at home - I feel for the dear friends I have left & desire they may be favoured to support the ark with firmness. – Oh that they may be Strengthened & Truth Prosper every where. – I desire in myself renew'd faithfulness in its cause. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 29, Saturday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 29th of 11 M / A week has now passed since we left home with a prospect of spending some time here – I may acknowledge that since we have been here my heart has been made thankful in many respects & particularly for the religious savour with which my spirit has been seasoned & renew'd from day to day. – It has really seemed very much like a right beginning & it does not now seem as if we can look back with regret let what may occur to damp our future progress - I feel cautious in writing too much knowing the critical situation in which all are placed in a family like this. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



November 30, Sunday: Johann Franz Encke (1791–1865)'s comet returned.

SKY EVENT



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

1st day 30 of 11 M 1828 / Both Meetings silent but solid opportunities to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 2, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 2 of 12 M 1828 / Today has been our sub committee - nothing unpleasant occurd and the number rather larger than usual attended & Among them our frd [Moses Brown](#) but very feeble & hardly disposed to take any part in the concerns of the Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 3, Wednesday: The Democrat from Tennessee, General Andrew Jackson, was elected President of the United States of America, with 648,286 popular votes and 178 electoral votes.

“A large and respectable meeting of the citizens of [Concord](#) was convened ... at the Centre brick school-house, pursuant to public notice given by [Rev. Dr. Ripley](#) after the religious exercises on Thanksgiving Day [that was the week before], to take into consideration the expediency of forming a Lyceum in Concord.” [John Keyes](#) became the chairman of that Concord Lyceum project, and Lemuel Shattuck became its secretary. A committee consisting of Samuel Hoar, [John Keyes](#), Nathan Brooks, Daniel Shattuck, Daniel Starr Southmayd, Samuel Burr, Daniel Stone, and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) was charged to prepare a constitution for this new society.

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

4th day 3 of 12 M / Our week day Meeting which Mary B Allen Attended & had searching & powerful labour much to my consolation & edification & I have no doubt she spoke to the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*States & condition of many present. –
Called a little while at [Moses Browns](#) on buisness found him more
bright than yesterday –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 4, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 4th of 12 M / Felt a drift to attend the Meeting in
[Providence](#) & accordinngly went. – it was smaller than I expected
but favoured with Solemnity & quiet. – Betsy Purinton spoke tto
pretty good Satisfaction. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 7, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 7 of 12 M / Our Morng Meeting was silent & I believe a
dry time generally. – In the Afternoon Hannah Robinson bore a
short testimony - honest but I doubted, her being specially
called or its being best for her to appear among us - Skill was
wanting 4th day 10th of 121 M 1828 / Our School Meeting was
silent excepting a short testimony from Lydia Breed - to me it
was not a very bright meeting & I apprehend the current of life
was low with most present. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 8, Monday: In a letter to Carl Klingemann, Fanny Mendelssohn first used the phrase “songs without words.”

 December 9, Tuesday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) was nominated for membership in the Societas Medico-Botanica Londinensis (oops, there went his Monday afternoons). He began work on *LE MEXIQUE*.

Clari, an opera semiseria by Fromental Halevy to words of Giannone, was performed for the initial time, at the Theatre-Italien, Paris. It was his least successful opera so far.

 December 11, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 11 of 12 M / Attended Meeting in [Providence](#), it was
silent, & to me rather a hard time. The spring of life was low
with me, but I hope others were better off. -- [Moses Brown](#) who
had been unable to attend for several Meeting days, was there
today.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



December 12, Friday: Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States of America and Brazil.

READ THE FULL TEXT

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

6th day 12th of 12 M / Today Philip Wanton Robinson who has been for some time a Schollar at the [Institution](#) left & went home - he had been several weeks confined to his room & bed from raising blood but had recovered so as to be able to be removed to his home in Point Judith. -

This eveng [Moses Brown](#) was here at the [Institution](#) & spent it very pleasantly Among other interesting anecdotes. - he said he well remembered when [tea](#) was first drank in [Providence](#) & that two ounces was as much as was bought at a time, & a peerson who had half-pounds was considered extravagant -

The first Hyson tea that was seen in [Providence](#) was prise goods & bought here in the Year 1758 - he bought a canister of it & he well remembers that he & the family were quite excited by its effects & that it was as perceptable as if they had drank a glass of wine. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 14, Sunday: Franz Schubert's Symphony no.6 D.589 was performed publicly for the initial time, in the Vienna Redoutensaal.

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

1st day 14th of 12th M 1828 / Our Morning Meeting was Silent - In the Afternoon we had the company of Our friends James Tucker & Sarah his wife - Sarah was sweetly engaged in testimony & very much to my comfort & help - having had rather a low day. - I was lead to recount, & look back on the visitations of my youth, & especially to remember some seasons of favour when in Sarahs company in [Newport](#). - particularly one at Jeremiah Austins, when divers of us, then young people, were together & we fell into silence, when Sarah had something to offer remarkably fitting the States of some present. - on mentioning the circumstance to her I found she also remembered it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 16, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 16 of 12 M / Silent but favour'd meeting to me & I hope we were favourd
Wm Almy called to see us a little while & went in to the [Schools](#)
a few minutes -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



December 18, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 18th of 12 M / Attended Meeting in [Providence](#) which was their Preparative Meeting & also ours in [Newport](#)
Wm Almy preached, tho' good I thought not as much in the life as I have sometimes heard him
I am thinking much about our meeting at home today - the little gathering there I hope will be favour'd to hold on their way. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 21, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21st of 12 M 1828 / Morning Meeting Silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy favoured in testimony - Our collection in the boys room in the eveng a time of labour I rejoiced in the Services of Mary B Allen & [Moses Brown](#) who were both present -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 25, Thursday (Christmas): Taking as his model a series of annuals which he had seen in London, Samuel Griswold Goodrich was putting out the first of a 15-year series of gift books, THE TOKEN, A [CHRISTMAS](#) AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT FOR 1828. At this point Goodrich's illustrated children's book THE TALES OF PETER PARLEY ABOUT AMERICA had become a favorite of the American public, and so an expanded edition was in the works. A copperplate frontispiece of "Peter Parley Telling Stories" was being added to supplement the illustrative woodcuts in the book. Cutting a new cookie from the successful mold, Goodrich was also self-publishing THE TALES OF PETER PARLEY ABOUT EUROPE, employing some of the same woodblocks that appeared in the AMERICA volume. As you can see, the concept of the nonbook was already ready to be born — and why not?²⁹

Publication of the Lyrical Album for 1829, edited by Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka and Nikolai Ivanovich Pavlishchev, was advertised in the Journal de St. Petersburg (it was a collection of music, some of it by Glinka).

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

5th day 25th of 12 M / Today is our Moy [Monthly] Meeting at home I feel for the little but well tried band that will assemble at [Portsmouth](#) today - May they experience true help to be near. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 28, Sunday: In Echigo, [Japan](#) an earthquake killed 30,000 (give or take).

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

1st day 28 of 12 M / Our Morning meeting was silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & was much engaged on acct of the School - his Gospel labours were lively edifying to me & I have no doubt to many minds present. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

29. This series would publish some of the first works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. The historian George Bancroft, Collector of the Port of Boston, would also contribute articles.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 December 30, Tuesday: The Swan River Settlement was created by Britain in western Australia.



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

3rd day 30 of 12 M / This is my birth day which completes my 47th Year – I have often silently remembered this thro' the day, with a feeling which I hope may be proffitable. – It has Also been our Sub committee Meeting & many of our friends have been here & it has been a pretty pleasant time mingled with some fear. – After transacting the buisness, the committee visited the boys School which was a time of searching & of favour in which our friend Wm Almy & Thos Anthony was engaged in close but encouraging testimony to the Schollars – In the Girls School Wm Almy & Thomas were again engaged in testimony & [Moses Brown](#) closed the opportunity with a few very pertinent & feeling remarks, which I trust as coming from his aged lips will be long remembered

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 31, Wednesday: Formation of the Concord Lyceum, an expansion of the Debating Society which had been in existence since 1822. The initial slate of officers of this association would be the [Reverend Doctor Ezra Ripley](#), President, Josiah Davis, 1st Vice-President, Reuben Brown, 2d Vice-President, the Reverends Daniel Starr Southmayd and Hersey B. Goodwin, Vice-Presidents, [Lemuel Shattuck](#), Recording Secretary, [Phineas Allen](#), Corresponding Secretary, Phineas How, Ephraim Merriam, Treasurer, and [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), Nehemiah Ball, Samuel Burr, Cyrus Hosmer, Daniel Stone, and Colonel William Whiting, Curators.³⁰

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

*12 M 31 1828 4th day / I feel that this is the last date that I shall make in this Year
In a retrospection of the past Year I have the encouraging hope that I have done nearly as well as I could – my Secret trials have been many – know only to my God & my own Soul – & yet I feel that I have been many ways favoured – indeed the evidence has been often renewed that I am still cared for, preserved & protected by the God of my life – & how unworthy do I feel – We have had the acceptable company of our friend Thos Howland today, the weather being cold he Staid here after the committee Yesterday & has been engaged today in writing an important subject now pending in the Qry & Moy [Monthly] Meeting. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

30. Shattuck's HISTORY OF [CONCORD](#) would allege that the constitution of the society was adopted and the officers elected as this date, but that would not happen until January 7th.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1829

 At the age of 18, [Friend William Henry Harvey](#) had the opportunity to kibitz at a science recognition ceremony. The proceedings seems to have amused him:

The President wore a three-cocked hat of ample dimensions, and sat in a crimson arm-chair in great state. I saw a number of new Fellows admitted. They were marched one by one to the president, who rose, and taking them by the hand, admitted them. The process costs £25.

(This would not be the only science recognition ceremony that Friend William would ever attend.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 [Friend Mary Howitt](#)'s poem "The Spider and the Fly."



The Kentucky Colonization Society was established to devise ways of sending [manumitted](#) former [slaves](#) back home to Africa where they belonged.

The term "corral" came from Spanish into American English. First use of the expression "in cahoots." Alfred Robinson visited Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, near today's Oceanside, California and wrote "It is not unusual to see numbers of [native Americans] driven along by *alcaldes* and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary." Evidently this was benign, for as the mission brochure puts it, "While colonists in other parts of the world tried to expropriate and exterminate the natives, the Franciscan Padres and the Spaniards sought to save them."

Birth of [Julia Louisa Hentz](#), who would write poetry and who would marry a Keyes.

➡ [Friend Luke Howard](#)'s THE APOCRYPHA OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL CONTAINING THE STORY OF SUSANNAH; THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH WITH THE HYMN OF THE THREE CHILDREN, AND THE HISTORY OF BEL AND THE DRAGON. TRANSLATED FROM THE VULGATE LATIN, WITH NOTES AND A SHORT TREATISE ON THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THESE PIECES (London).

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

➡ In this year the Nantucket Northern District Monthly Meeting, a group that had been in existence on the northern portion of [Nantucket Island](#) since 1794, was laid down in favor of the monthly meeting that was taking place in the town of [Nantucket](#) itself.

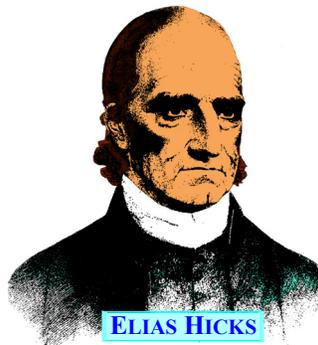
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ [Friend William Rotch, Jr.](#) of [New Bedford](#) got married with Lydia Scott, young daughter of the deceased [Quaker](#) mystic [Job Scott](#), although she had in the meanwhile become a Swedenborgian. In consequence, [Friend William Rotch, Jr.](#) was [disowned](#) by his monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year at the Somerset monthly meeting:

W.M. Jr. has been guilty of dancing, attending a places of diversion and deviating from the truth and after having been treated with without the desired effect, we disown him from being a member of our religious society.³¹

➡ [Friend Elias](#) returned to his home and farm near Jericho, Long Island from the third of his three very extensive visits to [Quaker](#) meetings. On this third journey, he had gone in a one-horse carriage from Long Island to visit monthly meetings located in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.



31. Morse, HISTORY OF CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS, page 36.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

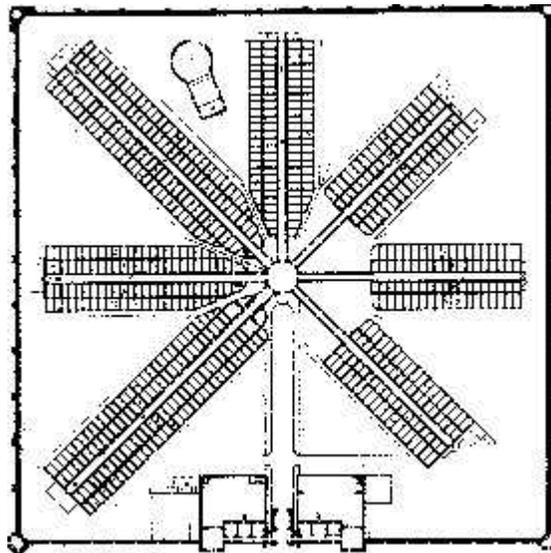
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ At least 75,000 Americans were being held in prison for debt each year, the majority of these owing less than \$20 (in today's currency, something like \$2,000). Massachusetts reorganized its state prison in Charlestown. Pennsylvania added to its state prison in Pittsburgh another one, in Philadelphia.

John Haviland designed the original seven cellblocks of the [Eastern State Penitentiary](#), radiating like the spokes on a wheel from a central observation point. He positioned this edifice of enlightened correction high



on Cherry Hill above downtown Philadelphia in order that Pennsylvania children might be frightened into behaving themselves. It cost \$780,000 and was rumored to be the most expensive structure in the United States of America. Haviland designed the cells to be solitary confinement chambers, 7½ feet wide and 12 feet deep and 16 feet high which is exceedingly generous by today's standards, and provided a round skylight in the ceiling that would remind the incarcerated person of the eye of God gazing down upon him or her in his or her penitence. The entrance door was intentionally low in order to force the prisoner to stoop upon entering, so as



constantly to remind the prisoner of his or her humiliation. Each cell had a back door which led to its own equally isolated exercise area of equal size, which was to be visited on schedule, for exactly two hours each



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

day. Each such whitewashed cell was to be equipped with one sleeping platform, one workbench, one desk and stool, one Bible and one toilet facility, and with exactly nothing else. The workbench was to be used for such productive labor as shoemaking and weaving, tasks which could be accomplished entirely in privacy and in relative silence. The corridor along which the cells are aligned has a barrel-vault ceiling, so that any sounds will reverberate, and the guards would have the strictest orders to detect and punish any whispering among the inmates. No inmate was ever to come into contact with any other inmate, the only communication being terse official functional communication with the guards. The whole idea was to keep 250 souls in total isolation from one another and subject to a long-term [Quaker](#) silence. Each person was to be allowed the opportunity to confront his or her God in the depths of his or her own soul. Per Morris, Norval and Daid J. Rothman, eds. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE PRISON: THE PRACTICE OF PUNISHMENT IN WESTERN SOCIETY:

It was not the case, although many suppose it to have been the case, that imprisonment has been a dominant means of punishment. Imprisonment played only a minor role prior to the 19th century. In colonial America the sanctions which were the most widely used were fines, whippings, techniques of humiliation (branding, letter wearing, ear cropping, the pillory and the stocks), banishment, and of course the ultimate "humiliation" and "banishment" – the gallows tree. Then came the Pennsylvania Plan for the "penitentiary" in which prisoners did not come into contact with one another, and the New York Plan, implemented at Auburn State Prison, where prisoners were kept in solitary cells at night but labored together in a workshop during the day. The Auburn plan would prevail, presumably not because it corrected the criminal but because it organized the essentially free prison labor with greater efficiency at a lower cost. It would serve as a model for European prison builders as well as American, as the idea that this custody was for purposes of correction gradually came to be used only as a cover story which gave to this practice of incarceration an aura of respectability, as somehow different from the techniques of humiliation which it had replaced.

 January 17, Saturday: The [Yeoman's Gazette](#) carried a report of an "adjourned meeting of a large number of the Citizens of Concord" which had taken place on January 7th and which had been about the planned formation of a town Lyceum.

The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal:

I am called by an ancient and respectable church to become its pastor. I recognize in these events, ... the hand of my heavenly Father. This happiness awakens in me a certain awe: I know my imperfections: I know my ill-deserts; and the beauty of God makes me feel my own sinfulness the more.... O God direct and guard and bless me, and ... especially her [his fiancée Miss [Ellen Louisa Tucker](#)] in whom I am blessed.

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

7th day 17th of 1 M 1829 / I trust I am under a thankful sense of the many favours & mercies which I receive from the good hand & providence of God, who I know has [?] extended kindness towards me far beyond my deserts



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Various occurrences to day have called to mind some very interesting Scenes & incidents of my early life, & may they long remain. -

Yesterday we had a satisfactory letter from our dear John, on his acct we feel a mixture of gratitude & fear - Gratitude that he is doing as well as he is doing, & Fear as to what may befall him in his tender Years. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 18, Sunday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) gives a command performance before the King of Saxony and his court at Bruhl Palace, Dresden.

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

*1st day 18 of 1st M / Both our meetings were silent but solid & precious opportunities to some present -
Abraham Tucker & his Sister in Law Nancy has been here some days on a visit to her children - they left After Meeting in the Morning on their way home expecting to be at [Newport](#) took letters for us from our friends -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 19, Monday: Andrew Jackson, a man of the people, embarked aboard the steamboat *Pennsylvania* heading for Washington DC to assume the presidency.

 January 21, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 21 of 1 M / Silent instructive meeting - I feel it right to acknowledge that my mind has of late been favoured with the precious incomes of life & my spirit humbled under a sense of the goodness of Israel Shepherd to my soul. - I have of late often recurred to the days of mine [blot]usals, & many [-]ions of late had precious conversations with divers [who have?] been long walking in the path of duty. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ January 22, Thursday: Sam Houston got married with Eliza Allen, 18-year-old daughter of a well-to-do planter, in her father Colonel John Allen's plantation home on the Cumberland River 3 miles south of Gallatin, Tennessee (for some reason this marriage was over essentially before it even began).



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

5th day 22 of 1 M / Attended the Preparative & Select Meeting in [Providence](#) - Wm Almy preached & Lydia Breed prayed. -the children at the School attended & I was glad of their company.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 23, Friday: One day after he was appointed to the Academy of Fine Arts, the painter Wilhelm Hensel asked Abraham and Lea Mendelssohn for the hand of their daughter, Fanny. Abraham agreed willingly and enthusiastically. The mother was too shocked to respond.

➡ January 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25 of 1st M 1829 / Silent Morning Meeting - in the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & preached. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



February 7, Saturday: [Prince Ibrahima](#) and 151 other passengers set out for Liberia and African freedom aboard the *Harriet*.



February 10, Tuesday: At the Vatican in Rome, Pope Leo XII (Annibale Francesco Sermattei, conte della Genga) died.

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

3rd day 10th of 2 M 1829 / During the last week our Quarterly Meeting was held – It was a time of favour to many tho' my dear wife was taken Sick the day of the Select Meeting which she attended & took a Sever cold followed by Severe fever. it has never the less been to me a season of watering & general refreshment – the School committee which followed it was attended with weight & the labours of the committee in the Schools was of a cast not soon to be forgotten – John Wilbours prayer in the Boys School & his Sermon in the girls apartment was truly memorable & I trust will long be remembered, by the Members of the family & Schollars. – During the Qrly Meeting week my dear wife was very sick of a cold & fever which she took attending the Select Meeting on 4th day–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April: After [Quaker](#) silent worship in Charleston, South Carolina, [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) witnessed an incident involving a black woman and two white boys:

Whilst returning from meeting this morning, I saw before me a colored woman who in much distress was vindicating herself to two white boys, one about eighteen, the other fifteen, who walked on each side of her. The dreadful





apprehension that they were leading her to the workhouse crossed my mind, and I would have avoided her if I could. As I approached, the younger said to her, 'I will have you tied up.' My knees smote together, and my heart sank within me. As I passed them, she exclaimed, 'Missis!' But I felt all I had to do was to suffer the pain of seeing her. My lips were sealed, and my soul earnestly craved a willingness to bear the exercise which was laid on me. How long, O Lord, how long wilt thou suffer the foot of the oppressor to stand on the neck of the slave! None but those who know from experience what it is to live in a land of bondage can form any idea of what is endured by those whose eyes are open to the enormities of slavery, and whose hearts are tender enough to feel for these miserable creatures. For two or three months after my return here it seemed to me that all the cruelty and unkindness which I had from my infancy seen practised towards them came back to my mind as though it was only yesterday. And as to the house of correction, it seemed as though its doors were unbarred to me, and the wretched, lacerated inmates of its cold, dark cells were presented to my view. Night and day they were before me, and yet my hands were bound as with chains of iron. I could do nothing but weep over the scenes of horror which passed in review before my mind. Sometimes I felt as though I was willing to fly from Carolina, be the consequences what they might. At others, it seemed as though the very exercises I was suffering under were preparing me for future usefulness to them; and this, **-hope**, I can scarcely call it, for my very soul trembled at the solemn thought of such a work being placed in my feeble and unworthy hands, -this idea was the means of reconciling me to suffer, and causing me to feel something of a willingness to pass through any trials, if I could only be the means of exposing the cruelty and injustice which was practised in the institution of oppression, and of bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, of revealing the secrets of iniquity and abolishing its present regulations, -above all, of exposing the awful sin of professors of religion sending their slaves to such a place of cruelty, and having them whipped so that when they come out they can scarcely walk, or having them put upon the treadmill until they are lamed for days afterwards. These are not things I have heard; no, my own eyes have looked upon them and wept over them. Such was the opinion I formed of the workhouse that for many months whilst I was a teacher in the Sunday-school, having a scholar in my class who was the daughter of the master of it, I had frequent occasion to go to it to mark her lessons, and no one can imagine my feelings in walking down that street. It seemed as though I was walking on the very confines of hell; and this winter, being obliged to pass it to pay a visit to a friend, I suffered so much that I could not get over it for days, and wondered how any real Christian could live near such a place.





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Grimké, scion of a Southern slave-owning family, was traumatized.³² She began trying to convince her mother that slave-owning was sinful.

 April 26, Sunday: Fanny Wright delivered an address which would soon be published as INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, DELIVERED BY FRANCES WRIGHT, AT THE OPENING OF THE HALL OF SCIENCE, NEW YORK, ON SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1829.

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

1st day 26th of 4 M 1829 / Our Meetings were both Silent & to me rather heavy seasons. the Afternoon setting was the most favourable – Tho' I am so tried with poverty in Meetings it is not always so for there are seasons when love & life is sweetly renew'd. – for this I desire to be thankful as well as for numerous other favours, from the source & fountain of good. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 27, Monday: La belle au bois dormant, a ballet by Ferdinand Herold to a scenario by Scribe and Aumer, was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Opera.

 April 29, Wednesday: John Quincy Adams's son George Washington Adams, summoned by his father to Washington DC, arrived by stage in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and there boarded the steamboat *Benjamin Franklin*.

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

4th day 29 of 4 M / To day some of our family went to lower [Smithfield](#) [the Saylesville meetinghouse in Lincoln] to attend Monthly Meeting held there Hannah went with Enoch & Lydia in the Chaise & I staid at home to have a care of things here. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 30, Thursday: In the early morning, John Quincy Adams's son George Washington Adams, on the steamboat *Benjamin Franklin* out of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) because summoned by his father to Washington DC, jumped overboard and drowned (it would seem that he had been hearing voices and fearing other passengers).

Publication of Systematische Anweisung zum Fantasieren auf dem Pianoforte op.200 by Carl Czerny was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

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

5th day 30 of 4 M / To day is our Monthly Meeting at [Rhode Island](#) held in [Portsmouth](#) – My mind is much with them but I feel

32. This was happening in a city in which slaves could be sent to a workhouse at the order of a private master –without any court hearing or police involvement– in which they would be forced to walk a treadmill for the generation of power. As of 1830, a census being taken, 20 of the 57 prisoners being whipped on the treadmill of this institution turned out to be women.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

satisfied that my body is here. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 2, Saturday: Great Britain took formal possession of Western Australia.

In Washington DC, perusing the Baltimore American, John Quincy Adams and Louisa Adams learned that their son George Washington Adams had disappeared from a steamboat on the Long Island sound.

There was serious rioting in Manchester, England — a factory was burnt, and numerous provision-shops robbed.

In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day 2nd of 5th M 1829 / Today the committee appointed by the General School committee for the purpose met in order to examine the accounts of the Institution for the past Year & I have the satisfaction to say that they found them in pretty good order & seemed well pleased with the State of them. – As the care of the Accounts has fallen to me since we have been here. –it is cause of no Small pleasure, & excites gratitude, & I dont know but I may say Thanksgiving that it is so.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 8, Friday: Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who would become the 1st internationally recognized US pianist, was born in New Orleans, 1st of seven children born to Edward Gottschalk, part owner of a cloth shop, and Aimee-Marie Brusle, daughter of a baker.

Sam Houston and his travel buddy Haralson got off the barge at Little Rock, Arkansas after 15 glorious days drifting together down the broad Mississippi. They would proceed up the Arkansas River aboard the steamer Facility, to Webber's Falls near the mouth of the Illinois River (not the same river as the Illinois River that runs through Illinois), would be met there by Cherokee headman *Oolooteka*, and would proceed some 30 miles to the confluence of the Verdigras, Arkansas, and Neosho rivers, Three Forks near present-day Muskogee, Oklahoma, where Fort Gibson had been established.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day [sic] 8th of 5 M / Today has been our general committee meeting which has been a time of harmony & love among brethern & I believe among the Sisters also. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 10, Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 10 of 5 M 1829 / Thomas Howlad of the committee attended Meeting today – Wm Almy came in the Afternoon & preached. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 13, Wednesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4 day 13 of 5 M / Hannah Robinson attended Meeting & preached a



little. - acceptably to me.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 14, Thursday: [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) was summoned to a church trial for “A neglect of ... ordinance of the Lord’s supper ... [and of] the means of grace....” She would be expelled by the Reverend William A. McDowell from her 3d Presbyterian congregation in Charleston, South Carolina on the formal charge of “A neglect of ... ordinance of the Lord’s supper ... [and of] the means of grace and the ordinance of the Gospel.” (Presumably what this meant was that rather than showing up on a Sunday morning, she had been worshipping with the local [Friends](#).)

Fanny Mendelssohn attended [Nicolò Paganini](#)’s 1st performance in Berlin and afterward wrote about “this extremely wonderful, incredible Talent, about this man, who has the appearance of an insane murderer, and the movements of an ape. A supernatural, wild genius. He is extremely exciting and provocative.”

[Nicolò Paganini](#) received the title of Hofkapellmeister from the king of Prussia.

While travelling from Leipzig to Heidelberg to attend the university, Robert Schumann passed through Frankfurt. He walked into a piano store, tells the proprietor he was the valet of an English nobleman interested in buying an instrument, and played the piano for three hours.

 May 18, Monday: Niblo’s Garden opened at Broadway and Prince Street in New-York.

 May 20, Wednesday: “Les deux nuits,” an opera comique by Adrien Boieldieu to words of Scribe and Bouilly, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre Ventadour of Paris (initially a success, it would ultimately fail).

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

*4th day 20th of 5 M 1829 / Our Meeting was silent & a time of some life & favour to me – In the Afternoon I went into Town where I found a letter from my Brother Isaac giving me the Information that Our Venerable & much loved friend **DAVID BUFFUM** died this morning at 2 OClock. – he had been much in my mind thro’ the course of the day & from his infermities of body & very advanced Age (about 86 Years) I had reflected that his Stay might be short tho’ I did not expect to hear of his removal quite so soon – Yet the news was not surprising or shocking to my feelings. – There is no man with whom I have been in closer habits of intimacy. he scarcely ever came into [Newport](#) for many years without coming to my shop & spending a social hour & I more frequently visited him at his house than any other person as the notes of my journal will testify. – his company was always interesting to me. I seldom was in it without deriving some instruction, his ministry from season to Season has been truly edifying to me & I have often seen & felt the good affects of it in others & I never saw a friend who sat at the head of a Meeting with more dignity & I never knew him to close the Service of it at an improper time.
In our Meetings for discipline no friend was more judicious in their remarks & management of the Affairs of society, & from early life none devoted more time to the Service of it. – he frequently has made long journeys on committees from the Yearly*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Meeting. – But I am giving an account of him not designed for this place tho' my memory will long or as long as I live love to dwell on his life & the fatherly care he has extended towards me from season to season for many years

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 21, Thursday: August replaced Peter I as Duke of Oldenburg.

[Nicolò Paganini](#) arrived in Warsaw from Frankfurt-an-der-Oder.

Robert Schumann arrived on foot in Heidelberg from Mannheim, because he had exceeded his budget and didn't have enough for coach fare. "My lodgings face the asylum on the right and the Catholic church on the left, so that I'm really in doubt whether one is supposed to go crazy or become a Catholic."

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

5th day 21st of 5th M 1829 / Attended Preparative Meeting in [Providence](#). – Wm Almy preached & excellently too. – John & Elizabeth Meader from Sandwich NH was there but were silent they are on their way to NYork to attend the Y Meeting there & have in Prospect a long journey throughout that I several other Y Meetings. –

I dined at Wm Jenkins's in hopes of receiving information of the time of David Buffums funeral in season to go to [Newport](#) to attend it but no boat being going & not receiving a letter till the arrival of the Mail I gave up the prospect for tonight -when the Mail arrived a letter from Br David Rodman informed that it was to be tomorrow at 2 OC PM at the Meeting house.

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



May 22, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 22 of 5 M 1829 / Rose early this morning & went into Providence with some expectation of setting our for Newport with Wm Jenkins by land to attend the funeral of our fr DAVID BUFFUM but the Morning proving Warm & neither of us feeling very well & no boat going in season to attend the funeral we finally gave up the prospect & I came home & settled down quietly & now between 2 & 3 OC the time that I have no doubt the funeral is sitting in the Meeting house I spend in my chamber in pensive reflection & in writing this minute

The last time I saw my dear departed friend was when I was down at Newport in the 3rd M last - on the 7th day of it I went out to his house & took tea spent the evening & lodged, & next Morning being the first of the week I parted with him for the last time, at which time he told me that he did not expect to see me again & was much affected when we parted. - it was however common for him of later years to frequently advert to the closing period in that way - he thought much of death & often warn'd us publicly & privately to prepare for the great & solemn event -- The last time he was at Providence was I think in the 5 M 1828 when he came by land from Greenwich Quarterly Meeting & attended the School committee at which time at a Setting in the boys School he bid them affectionatly farewell, observing that he did not see or know that that was the last time he should ever be here. yet from his advanced age & infermities of body he thought he might with propriety bid us farewell. - I well remember the Solemnity with which he pronounced the words & the savour of life that attended his & other communications at the time. - But he is gone. The earth is now closed upon him & we have nought but the remembrance of his virtues. - which I have no doubt will long remain. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 23, Saturday: To clear up the vagaries concerning publishing rights, music publishers met in Leipzig and signed the Conventional-Akte. Those involved were Johann Andre, Breitkopf & Hartel, C.F. Peters, B. Schott's Sohne, and Nikolaus Simrock.



May 24, Sunday: After [Nicolò Paganini](#) performed at the banquet in Warsaw celebrating coronation of Tsar Nikolai as King of Poland, the monarch presented him with a diamond ring.

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

1st day 24 of 5 M / Our morning Meeting was silent & to me a season of some Suffering in body - being quite unwell & hardly fit to Sit in Meeting my wife was so much so that she Staid in her room thro' the day. - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & had acceptable Service. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ June 5, Friday: In [Baltimore](#), a school for black girls was established by the Sisters of Providence.

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

6th day 5 of 6 M 1829 / Took a pleasant ride to Pawtucket with Lydia P Nichols & Eunice Easton. I went for the first time to the common burying ground in [Providence](#). -

[The rest of this page and the next are blank.]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ July 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

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

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ July 6, Monday: Gaetano Donizetti's melodramma *Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* to words of Tottola after Hugo and Scribe after Scott was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, Naples.

The former African prince, former American slave, [Ibrahim](#), aboard ship off the coast of Liberia, died of fever at the age of 67.

➡ July 7, Tuesday: Sam Houston attended a green corn dance, and spoke at Maynard Bayou in the Cherokee nation as Headman John Jolly's representative (it would have been there in all likelihood that he met Tiana Rogers, who would be his squaw).

➡ July 8, Wednesday: Abraham Mendelssohn wrote to his son Felix in England urging him to adopt the name Bartholdy in place of Mendelssohn, in order to proclaim his Christian faith.

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

4th day 8 of 7 M / Our dear Ancient Brother Thomas Shillitoe from England was here at Meeting with our. - Our dear friends [Moses Brown](#) also attended with him. - Thos was largely & baptizingly engaged in public testimony - he was also engaged in testimony at the dinner table in the girls apartment. - he spent the rest of the day here & was very interesting & Sweet in conversation - I trust his visit will be remembered for good. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ July 9, Thursday: The Turkish defenders of Erzurum surrendered to the Russians.

[Edward Everett](#) returned from his western trip to his home Winter Hill.

➡ July 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 11th of 7 M / Today we have had rather a Solemn parting with Abigail Pierce who has been about ten years the principle



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

teacher at this Institution. – She resigned her place & has been Succeeded by Deborah Ramsdell- & having paid her visits round among her friends left us today & took passage in the Steam boat Chanselor Livingston for NYork - Our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe also went in the Same boat expecting to attend the General Conference at Philad & after that is over he expects to take Passage pretty soon from NYork for his home in Old England – The other day when he was at the Institution I walked across the fields with him down to [Moses Browns](#) - & while Sitting with him in Moses's keeping room he gave me a Small Silver Watch Seal as a token of remembrance This seal he told me belonged to his great great grandfather & he believed to his great great Grandfather & he apprehended it might be two hundred Years old. – he informed me he had worn it himself many years, & it had been constantly with him in all his journeys on the Continent of Europe in England & America untill that time which was the 8 of 7 M 1829 - I took it in remembrance of him & shall leave or make an impression with it on wax on this page that if by any means I should look it I may retain the impression which is a Stags head [there is a rectangular space, taking up three line, of two by four inches with the mark of the seal in the middle.]

Thomas leaves us in much love, & we feel that his services in this country has been a blessing to Society, & truly wonderful that a man of his uncommon nervas sensibility & advanced age of 76 should be so favourd thro' the many trials he has had to pass through, of false brethren & in various other respects. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 12, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12th of 7 M 1829 / At our morning Meeting we were Silent Nicholas Congdon & wife & also Walter Allen were present. – In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & engaged in testimony - After meeting this Afternoon Our much respected & beloved second teacher Lydia B Allen left the Institution [the Quaker school in Providence] not expecting to return to it in that capacity She carries with her the good will & wishes of every member of the family & Schollars

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 13, Monday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) organized a concert in London to benefit flood victims in Silesia. Many of the great musicians in London took part and the concert was sold out. This evening, more than any other single event, established the love affair between England and Mendelssohn.

 July 18, Saturday: Ferdinand Herold's opera comique L'illusion to words of Saint-Georges and Menissier was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre de Ventadour, Paris.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 19, Sunday: Russian forces crossed the River Kamchyk south of Varna and routed the waiting Turks north of Constantinople.

After a stay of two months, and ten concerts in Warsaw, [Nicolò Paganini](#) was departing for Berlin and was given a farewell reception.

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

1st day 19th of 7 M / In the Mornng our Meeting was silent & in the Afternoon William Almy was here & delivered a good instructive testimony. - It was a dull day however to me - life was low in my mind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 20, Monday: [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) completed his studies at the Skola Glowna Muzyki.

 July 21, Tuesday: As soon as exams at Warsaw Conservatory were over, [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) left for Vienna.

 July 22, Wednesday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) departed London for Edinburgh in the company of his friend Karl Klingemann.

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

4th day 22nd of 7 M / After meeting today with my wife E & L Breed & Several others - went to Wm Jenkins & took tea - it was a pleasant social visit - was there also Mary B Allen & Alice Rathbone who are in town expecting to set out tomorrow for Philad to attend the General Conference. - Saml F Hussey went in the Steam Boat on his way for the same purpose. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 23, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23 of 7 M / We attended Preparative & Select Meeting in [Providence](#). - Tho' weakness & fear was my companion yet the Meeting was not of the poorest class with me We had some good preaching from Anna A Jenkins & L Breed & on the whole I felt pretty well in the conclusion - & quite as well for having been silent as to remarks on the buisness. - As it is now likely we may remain here for a year to come - we begin to think it best for us to have a certificate to set us a little more at liberty among our friends & to qualify us to be useful & used as occasion may require - for we feel that it is our duty to stand resigned to do what may be required at our hands - being sensible that we are advancing in life, the evening curtain draws on & we may be nearer a close of life than some who are much older In the Steam Boat today our friends Wm Almy Moses Sleeper Thos Howland Mary B Allen & Alice Rathbone took Passage on their way to Philad to attend the General conference to be held there next



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

2nd day [Monday] the 27th inst. – they apparantly have a good time & the language of my heart has been "Go O Lord with them that go, stay with them that stay. – help for we are weak."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 24, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 24 of 7 M / In the Stage a little after dinner time, arrived Father Rodman & Br David on their way home from Salem where they have been to visit Sister Elizabeth Nichols – We were very glad to see them, it is the first time Father has been here since we have been in [Providence](#) & as he has now entered his eightieth Year it is more than probable he may never be here again. – In reflecting on the subject of his visit, I can but feel that it well be a privilege for which I ought to be thankful, if I live as long & as well as he has done. –1st day [Sunday] 26th of 7 M 1829 / Yesterday Morning Father Rodman & Br David left us after spending one night & part of two days with us, & returned home – Our Meetings today were Silent & not very lively seasons to me. – I trust I feel thankful for all my favours & blessings which I acknowledge to be many, altho' due acknowledgements & returns are not made to God the Author & dispencer of the, all, yet I do trust & believe, it is in good measure so, – that is, I labour to cultivate in my heart a sense of blessings dispenced to me & may the humble tribute of thanksgiving & praise be asscribed with renewed ardor where it is justly due. – for myself I can do nothing & am Unworthy of them all. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 9, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 9th of 8 M / Lydia Breed & Anna A Jenkins attended Meeting at lower [Smithfield](#) – which Seemed to me like a right concern. – Our Meeting at School this Morning was Silent – Our friend Abram Sherman from [New Bedford](#) attended with us. – Saml Foster & his Mother & our Nephew Wm Rodman was also – in addition to the foregoing In the Afternoon we had the company of Loyd Greene & wife – Lydia Breed having returned was present & she & Loyd had short acceptable offerings. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 10, Monday: Race rioting began in Cincinnati, Ohio.³³

After giving 4 concerts in Breslau (Poznan) [Nicolò Paganini](#) reached Berlin.

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

2nd day 10th of 8 M / Saml F Hussey & daughter Miriam have Spent most of the day with us on their return to Portland from Philad where they have been Saml being one of the delegation from our Y Meeting to General Conference lately held at Philad. –After

33. The rioters were, and this goes without saying, white.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

we rose from Dinner there arose a Mighty rush of Wind preceeded by distant thunder & attended by mighty Showers of Rain. - In the midst of this I was in the Library & from the Window saw a woman & little boy walking up the Avenue making for the east end of the Institution, & it appears entered at the door there & went into the Ironing room where our folks were engaged at work - Soon after my wife came & told me who she was, & it appeared to be Polly Wenwood that was of [Newport](#) now the widow of Nathaniel G Senter - [Senter applied to [Paul Cuffe](#) to go to Sierra Leone in 1814, but Cuffe explained he was taking chiefly People of Color] with Her husband I was well acquainted being brought up next door to him - our fathers houses joined & I well knew both her & her family in Newport. - The History of these individuals are truly affecting & Strikingly exhibit the danger of a loose unguarded & irreligious education. - Just in a few words to State that her husband was among the wickedest boys of his time - his father a professed Dash & took great pains to proselite others, giving the rein loose & unchecked to his sons, (his daughters being more carefully educated & guarded by their Mother) who running on, all came to their ends Speedily - Nathl Lived the longest & marrying this poor girl, who also was none of the most prudent - they lead an unsettled & miserable life & he finally died in Ohio a few years ago leaving his wife destitute with one child, a fine looking little boy, who now are little more than wanderers on the face of the earth. - Their Situation excited my tender feeling exceedingly - she had Known better days he father Godfrey Wenwood was among the bivers in [Newport](#) She knew no want from childhood to her marriage with Nath Senter -since which her sufferings has been great as she told both me & my wife

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 16, Sunday: The Sachem, docking in [Boston](#) opposite the India Wharf, delivered not only “sugar, sapan wood, gamboge, buffalo horns, leopard skins, and tin,” but also the “Siamese twins” Chang and Eng — Dr. John C. Warren was going to have an opportunity to examine an interesting pair of specimens.

“SIAMESE TWINS”

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

1st day 16 of 8 M / Our Mornng Meeting silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & was engaged in a lively pertinent & on the whole excellent testimony on the subject of the Lords Prayer - I have seldom known better justice done to a subject. - Several of the Towns people came in to attend out of curiosity & sat very attentively. - John Farnum was also here & staid to tea. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 20, Thursday: The Turkish governor surrenders Adrianople (Edirne), northwest of Constantinople, to the Russians.

[Robert Schumann](#) departed from Heidelberg on a journey to Switzerland and Italy.

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

5th day 20 of 8th M / We attended preparative Meeting Hannah Robinson & Wm Almy preached -the latter a very satisfactory communication to my mind. - Several new [Schollars](#) arrive this Afternoon - the family is now enlarging fast -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 1, Tuesday, 1829: Ad in the [Boston Daily Courier](#): "GREAT NATURAL CURIOSITY Last Week of the Exhibition of the Siamese Double Boys ... the Forenoons of Thursday, Friday and Saturday next, will be devoted to the reception of Ladies, from 9 to 1...."

"SIAMESE TWINS"

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

3rd day 1 of 9 M 1829 / To day was our sub committee meeting It was a good harmonious time in which brotherly & sisterly affection was prevalent & good concern manifest for the prosperity of the Institution [what is now the "Moses Brown School" in Providence]. - The School was visited. I did not go into the Girls apartment - but in the boys I did - Wm Almy gave much suitable council & our Ancient frd Job Chalinor gave much suitable council & caution.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 2, Wednesday, 1829: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 9th M 1829 / Our frd Job Chalinor attended our Meeting & was engaged in testimony & supplication I thought it a time of some favour tho' life did not rise into dominion as at some times. - Job is now nearly 79 Years of age & feeble in body & Mind but I believe is concerned for the cause & labourd faithfully in the ability afforded. I have been acquainted with him from my childhood - at which time he lived in [Newport](#) & I went to School to him - & was at Meeting the day he first appeard in public & well remember the circumstance -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 6, Sunday: Gioachino Rossini and his wife arrived in Bologna from Paris.

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

1st day 6 of 9 M / Morning meeting silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & preached in a lively & pertinent manner. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 8, Tuesday, 1829: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8th of 9 M / Yesterday & today I have been quite sick commencing in the Morning with an oppression at my Stomach which



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

increased thro' the forenoon & at Dinner time I found it necessary to take Active medicine. which made me very sick in the Afternoon so that I kept my room & nearly or quite fainted way - In the eveng I thought it necessary to consult Dr Tobey who administerd an emetic but I passed the night comfortably & this morning felt a little better but the cause not removed When the Doctor came today he with our frd [Moses Brown](#) thought my symptoms indicated fever & that I had better keep my room & take more medicine which I have done this Afternoon Lydia Keene of Lynn returned to School today & says Matthew & Betsy Purinton are there & that Betsy is very sick & Doubts are entertained of her returning to [Providence](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 9, Wednesday, 1829: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 9 of 9 M 1829 / Confined to my room & mostly to my bed.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

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

 September 13, Sunday, 1829: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 9 M / I attended Meetings they were both Silent & pretty good ones to me. -

I doubt whether at any time in my life I was sicker than I have been in the course of last Week - my general system was affected & an approach of Inflammatory Bilious Fever was indicated by almost every symptom, I applied medecine closely under Dr. Tobey & was successful in reducing the force of the disease pretty soon. - I may acknowledge that my mind was favourd with quiet on the occasion. & also acknowledge my thankfulness for the favour. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 14, Monday: The Treaty of Adrianople (Edirne) ended war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The Russian border was extended to the southernmost branch of the Danube delta. Russia annexed Akhalkalaki and Akhalkhitze. All other conquered territories were restored.

Henry James Hackett presented the acrobat Peter the Antipodean at New-York's Bowery Theater.

 October 14, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 14 of 10 M / I was very unwell last night & thro' this forenoon which prevented my attending Meeting - Anne A Jenkins

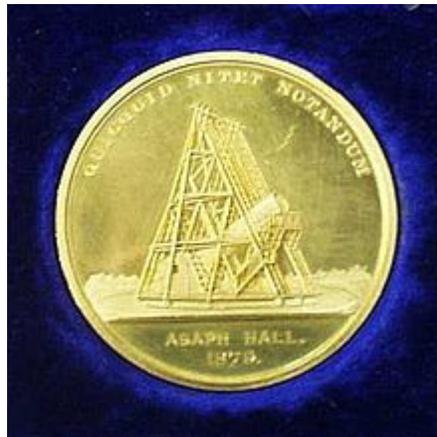
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

was there & preached sweetly as I was informed by those I esteem good judges – This Afternoon We had a Meeting of the sub committee to consider of Benj B Hussey preposition to leave the School on account of Ill health which was acceded to & he expects to leave us next 1st day [Sunday] to spend the Winter at Savannah in Georgia- At the same time Moses Brown & myself were directed to write to Isaiah Jones inviting him to return & take charge of the School. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 15, Thursday: Asaph Hall, who would discover the moons of Mars (Phobos and Deimos), was born.



In about this timeframe, Fanny Wright and William S. Phiquepal were setting out from New-York on a combination lecture tour and mission to free the slaves of Nashoba (when they attained New Orleans they would debark with these blacks, toward freedom in Haiti).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 15 of 10 M / Tho' quite unwell I attended Meeting in Town which was silent & an uncommonly solid favoured time to me. – I was thankful for this renew'd extension of Divine regard & hope it may be continued. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 25, Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*1st day 25 of 10 M / Silent in the Mornng & in the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & was much favoured in testimony, & it was a good meeting
This eveng Joseph Tillinghast & Wm Taber from New Bedford came here & brought a letter from Abraham Sherman Jr.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 28, Wednesday: Destruction by a mob of The True South, an abolition newspaper published at Newport, Kentucky.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

4th day 28th of 10 M / We attended Monthly Meeting held at [Smithfield](#) at which our Certificate was read & received, which unites us to [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting. - I know not that I shall ever feel as if that was as much my own as [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting, but I desire to be united to the living body where they or I may be - There are those here that I love & feel nearly united to, & hope I may be willing to contribute my mite & usefulness. -

In the first Meeting Hepzibah Harris a friend in the Station of an Elder, & now quite blind - appeared in testimony in a few words, which evinced a lively concern for the cause of Truth & willingness to be engaged for its support - She was followed by a lively & powerful testimony by Wm Almy & after a few words in tenderness of Spirit by Caleb Fisk the meeting closed - We rode home to Dinner

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 29, Thursday: A Roman Catholic council was held in [Baltimore](#).

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

5th day 29th of 10 M 1829 / Today is the Moy [Monthly] Meeting held at [Newport](#) - I have mentally been with them several times in the course of the day & remembered some very precious time I have had there, & some low depressing seasons. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 31, Saturday: From the log of the lightkeeper on Matinicus Rock: "a sever [severe] gail Broak over rock"

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

7th day 31 of 10 M / Christopher Almy an old acquaintance in [Newport](#) now in Vermont spent the day with us as it was a violent North East Storm of wind & Rain we were confined within doors which gave opportunity for much pleasant & interesting conversation about old times & old occurrences. I recounted this day with one I spent at his fathers in [Portsmouth](#) in the 1st M 1803 when I was confined there in a great Snow Storm. - which was a truly pleasant & memorable day of my life being then just out of my time & on a visit to my cousin Zacheus Chase & family & other friends there -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ November 15, Sunday: Friend [Elias Hicks](#)'s farewell sermon was attended by a young and impressionable boy named Walt Whitman.

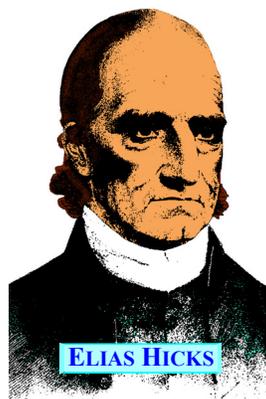


This is something that Whitman would recall much later, in 1888 ➡ while he was ill and was supposing that he was dying. He recalled that he had been fortunate enough to have been taken by his parents, who had been involved with Quakers,³⁴ to hear Friend Elias at his farewell sermon in a



handsome ball-room, on Brooklyn Heights, overlooking New York, and in full sight of that great city, and its North and East Rivers fill'd with ships- ... the second floor of "Morrison's Hotel," used for the most genteel concerts, balls, and assemblies- a large, cheerful, gay-color'd room, with glass chandeliers bearing myriads of sparkling pendants, plenty of settees and chairs, and a sort of velvet divan running all round the side-walls.

Hicks had worshipped and preached at the Hester Street Friends Meeting that First Day afternoon, and the meeting in the ballroom in the evening was what Quakers term an "appointed meeting." It marked the culmination of his latest trip in which he had covered 1,500 miles in five months. His health failing, everyone including Friend Elias knew that the meeting also marked the completion of his years of minuted ministry. "Many, very many, were in tears."



The topic on which he spoke that night was, characteristically, "What is the chief end of man?" Whitman later commented that Friend Elias's presentation was one of "pleading, tender, nearly agonizing conviction" and that of the Society of Friends "Elias Hicks has so far prov'd to be the most mark'd individual result."³⁵ One of the things this uneducated old Raskolnik farmer had been trying to accomplish was a boycott of all products created by the forced and unremunerated labors of enslaved peoples. He demonstrated during meetings for worship that the old as well as the young can resort to guerrilla theater, informing one [Quaker](#) elder for instance

34. The involvement of Whitman's parents with the Quakers is not to be overemphasized: it was more on his father's part than on his mother's yet did little to protect his father from a substance dependency upon ethanol.
35. Whitman 1244.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

that he admired his ignorance. The use of tobacco, as a product of slave labor and by no means a necessity of life, was so obviously, he argued, a far greater sin than thinking mistaken thoughts about Jesus Christ—who was quite capable of taking care of himself, thank you—that it was evident that the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in being primarily concerned over the content of its creedal statement, had its head screwed on backward. Taking as his motto “a work well begun is half done,” Hicks insisted that our religious faith should be as simple as a child’s. Religion is “righteousness, justice, and mercy,” and has little or nothing to do with believing the truth.



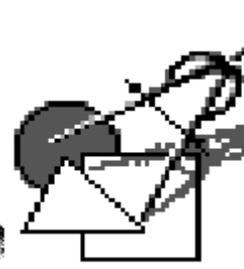
Carpenters



and



Testifiers

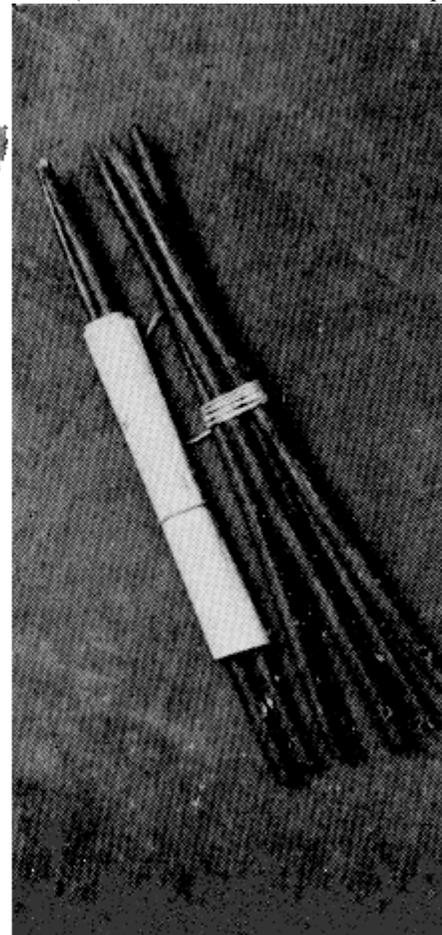
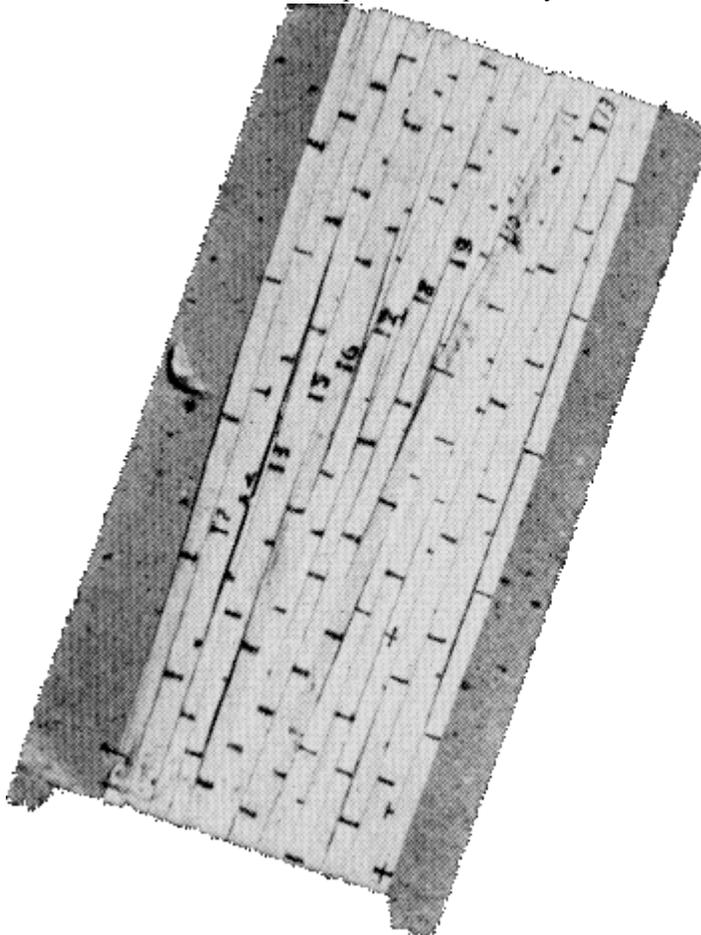


and



Surveyors

[Henry Thoreau](#) and [Elias Hicks](#) were both surveyors not only in that they shared a learned skill and in that they had both constructed the simple instruments they utilized in this skill (Thoreau’s are shown on the next page)



but also in the fine sense of William Cowper’s “Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, during



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

his solitary abode on the Island of Juan Fernandez, 1782”³⁶ which Thoreau quotes in Chapter 2 of [WALDEN](#):

“I am monarch of all I *survey*,
My right there is none to dispute.”

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

1st day 15th of 11 M / In the Afternoon our Fr Wm Almy attended our meeting & was much engaged for welfare - & his preaching at this house stands high in my mind & I am ofter thankful that we have so able an advocate for the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

36. Cowper, William. THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM COWPER. New York: Thomas Crowell, no date, page 425. But note that John Brown was also a surveyor, or rather **pretended** to be one. Is there that much difference between being a surveyor and pretending to be one? –You betcha, it’s every bit as big a difference as **being** in the cause of God and **justifying oneself** as being in the cause of God!



NOTE: Recently it has been reported that we have, on an archival radio tape from the 1950s, a DJ alleging that he was playing a wax cylinder of Walt Whitman reading his poem “America” at a recital in 1890a few years before the old poet died. It would be nice to get that sound bite and use it in conjunction with this multimedia textbase, especially in regard to the possibility that since Walt heard Friend Elias deliver his farewell address, his poetic style of delivery may have been influenced by [Quaker](#) preaching cadence. For although this is a sorry fact, we no longer have a sense of what that “Quaker singsong” had been like.

“Specimen Days”

From 1824 to '28 our family lived in Brooklyn in Front, Cranberry and Johnson streets. In the latter my father built a nice house for a home, and afterwards another in Tillary street. We occupied them, one after the other, but they were mortgaged, and we lost them. I yet remember Lafayette's visit.¹ Most of these years I went to the public schools. It must have been about 1829 or '30 that I went with my father [Page 699] and mother to hear [Elias Hicks](#) preach in a ball-room on Brooklyn heights. At about the same time employ'd as a boy in an office, lawyers', father and two sons, Clarke's, Fulton Street, near Orange. I had a nice desk and window-nook to myself; Edward C. kindly help'd me at my handwriting and composition, and, (the signal event of my life up to that time,) subscribed for me to a big circulating library. For a time I now revel'd in romance-reading of all kinds; first, the “Arabian Nights,” all the volumes, an amazing treat. Then, with sorties in very many other directions, took in Walter Scott's novels, one after another, and his poetry, (and continue to enjoy novels and poetry to this day.)

1.“On the visit of General Lafayette to this country, in 1824, he came over to Brooklyn in state, and rode through the city. The children of the schools turn'd out to join in the welcome. An edifice for a free public library for youths was just then commencing, and Lafayette consented to stop on his way and lay the corner-stone. Numerous children arriving on the ground, where a huge irregular excavation for the building was already dug, surrounded with heaps of rough stone, several gentlemen assisted in lifting the children to safe or convenient spots to see the ceremony. Among the rest, Lafayette, also helping the children, took up the five-year-old Walt Whitman, and pressing the child a moment to his breast, and giving him a kiss, handed him down to a safe spot in the excavation.” — John Burroughs.

“Specimen Days”

REMINISCENCE OF ELIAS HICKS

To-day a letter from Mrs. E. S. L., Detroit, accompanied in a little post-office roll by a rare old engraved head of [Elias Hicks](#), (from a portrait in oil by Henry Inman, painted for J. V. S., must have been 60 years or more ago, in [Page 880] New York) – among the rest the following excerpt about E. H. in the letter:

“I have listen'd to his preaching so often when a child, and sat with my mother at social gatherings where he was the centre, and every one so pleas'd and stirr'd by his conversation. I hear that you contemplate writing or speaking about him, and I wonder'd whether you had a picture of him. As I am the owner of two, I send you one.”

 November 26, Thursday: The Reverend Lyman Beecher preached a sermon on the topic of atheism, which would eventuate in a book “dedicated to the working men of America,” LECTURES ON POLITICAL ATHEISM.



Bushrod Washington died, bequeathing 160 acres to the [manumitted](#) mulatto [slave](#) West Ford who is suspected to be the only son of George Washington, with a slave woman named Venus. John Augustine Washington III inherited Mount Vernon, and West Ford –although he had become a free man– would continue to work at Mount Vernon as an overseer (West’s mother Venus would decrease before he would become financially able to purchase her [manumission](#)). Refer to <http://www.westfordlegacy.com/home.htm>.

[Josiah Haynes, Jr.](#) got married with 25-year-old widow Mary Hayward.

On this day or the previous one, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25 (?) of 11 M / Today was our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) - Wm Almy largely & very pertinently engaged in testimony - The committee from the Quarterly Meeting attended on account of the recent failures in trade, which has lately occurred in society & particularly in This Moy [Monthly] Meeting - They gave suitable service & were helpful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 29, Sunday: After two months convalescence, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) left England for Berlin.

Gott im Ungewitter D.985, a vocal quartet by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, in the Vienna Redoutensaal.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley was appointed organist at St. John, Waterloo Road, London.

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

1st day 29 of 11 M / Our Mornng Meeting Silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy laboured in the Gospel acceptably among us. - Saml Brown of Pembroke was here being an old acquaintance & his parents intimate friends of my father & Mother - together with a religious sympathy I feel with him - drew him quite near. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

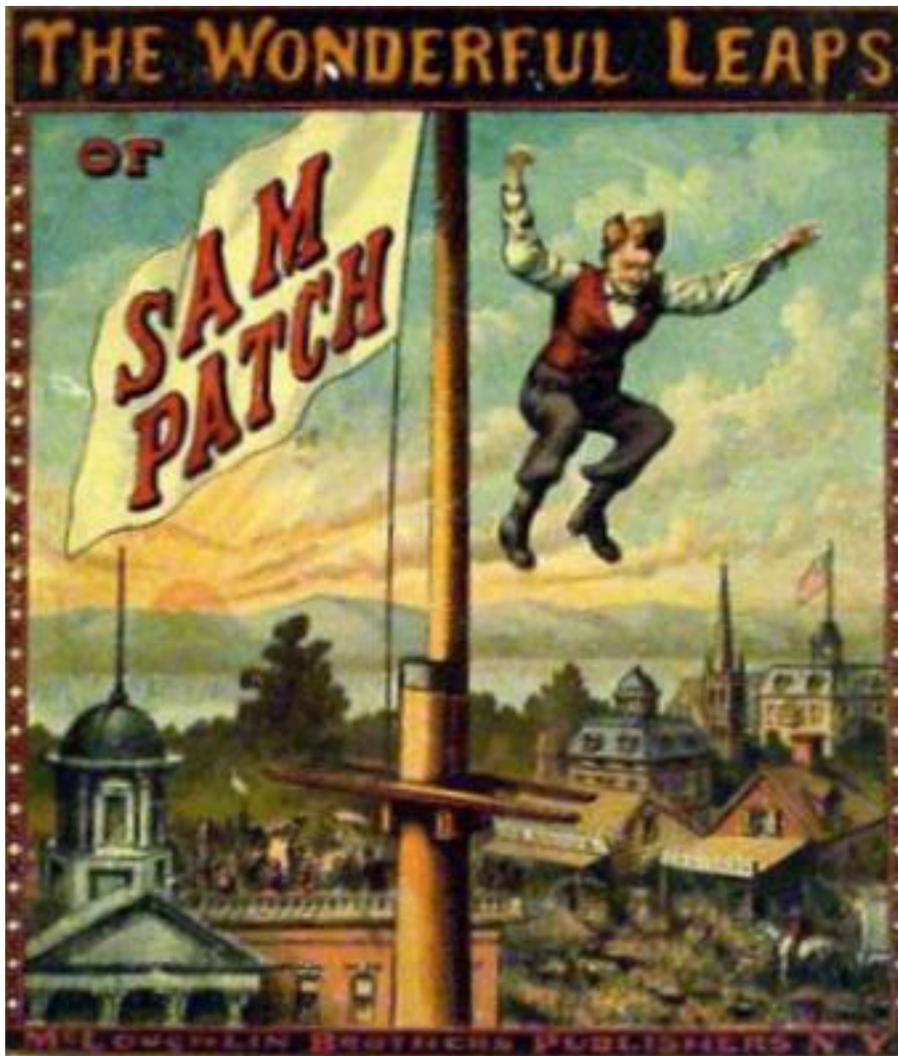
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ November 30, Monday: After five years of work, the Welland Canal opened connecting Lake Ontario with Lake Erie and allowing vessels to pass around the Niagara Falls.

➡ December 2, Wednesday: To prevent unrest, President Vicente Guerero exempted the Tejas Territory of Mexico from the antislavery decree of September 15th.

“A Monody,³⁷ made on the late Mr. Samuel Patch, by an admirer of the Bathos,” by Robert Sands, appeared in the New-York Commercial Advertiser:

... he dived for the sublime,
And found it.



SAM PATCH

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

4th day 2nd of 12th M 1829 / Silent Meeting. –

37. For another “monody,” see July 22, 1882.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

This mornng I awoke from a Dream just before the Clock struck three - I at [Portsmouth](#) & on a piece of Ground near Lawtons Gulley, where I have often been both Sleeping & waking - I dreamed was with me a child it seemed as if he inclined to turn in to a certain place to get some water from a certain spring - I remarked to him he had better not go as it was dangerous but he inclined to, & stepped round, on my going in another position I saw him opposite, & saw the Rock was shelving & crumbly or rotten, of which I appraised him & requested him to step round & come on my side - but as he moved his foot hold gave way & down he went into the water & tho' it was not higher than his middle -he was evidently hurt & crying - in agitation I awoke This dream convey'd instruction & warning which I hope to remember & proffit by - & I dont know but I may convey it to {blank } believing it was for his warning as well as mine.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 4, Friday: The final stone of the “Carrolton” Viaduct carrying the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad 80 feet over Gwynns Falls in southwest Baltimore was laid by Charles Carroll.

 December 7, Monday: In President Andrew Jackson’s first address to Congress, he wrote (it was usual in those times for such addresses to be in writing rather than delivered orally) of “setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, ... guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it”; and he called the Bank of the United States a failure at the very thing it had done really well, establishing uniform and sound currency.

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

2nd day 7th of 12th M 1829 / Got into the Stage this Morning & rode to [Newport](#) where I had been intending for some days - Stopped at [Portsmouth](#) & visited my Mother at Uncle Stantons then took the Boston Stage & rode - Newport finding our friends all well

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 8, Tuesday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrived home in Berlin.

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

3rd day spent in attending to a little buisness & in visiting my friends & relations much to my satisfaction.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 9, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4 day took the Steam Boat & returned to [Providence](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 December 26, Saturday: Two new works by the Mendelssohn siblings were performed for the initial time, at the Berlin home of the composers' parents, in honor of their silver wedding anniversary: Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde, a liederspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Klingemann, and Festspiel for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra by Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel to words of her husband, Wilhelm Hensel.

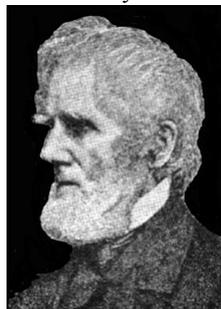
In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 26 of 12 M / This evening our Ancient & beloved friend [Moses Brown](#) called & set several Hours with us & was very pleasant & interesting – We recd also a pleasant letter from our dear John – Many things we have to be thankful for. – & I often feel that I make poor returns for favours recd. – Have thought much of things & friends at home. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Late in the year: Early in this year, Abigail Ballou had died after giving birth to a daughter, Abbie. Later in the year the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) became so ill his life was at risk, but he was nursed back to health by Lucy Hunt (1810-1891), daughter of a prominent family in the Milford congregation. A few months after this recovery the two of them would wed, with the Reverend Hosea Ballou II officiating at the ceremony.

Earlier that fall William Lloyd Garrison had attacked a Newburyport MA slave trader by the name of Francis Todd, for transporting about 80 slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans. Having declared in print that such a person ought to be placed in solitary confinement for the remainder of his natural life, Garrison was sued for libel by the [State of Maryland](#) acting on behalf of Mr. Todd, and his sentence was a fine of \$100.⁰⁰ which he was unable to pay, and so he was thrown into prison and, his 4th failure as a newspaper editor, his newspaper ceased publication. However, the warden of the prison was allowing the former editor to have pencil and paper and to have visitors, so he used the last of his business's funds to have published a tract titled "A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison." After 49 days of incarceration Arthur Tappan paid Garrison's fine and



he went on the lecture circuit with an immediatist anti-colonization approach to the elimination of slavery. While lecturing in Philadelphia he was staying in the home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#).





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 December 27, Sunday: Hinton Rowan Helper was born in Davie County, [North Carolina](#). In the following year his father would die, leaving his family in difficult circumstances which would made indenture a necessity and interfere with his later ability to obtain a higher education. Rowan County, in which he would grow to maturity, was a [Quaker](#) stronghold where for many years the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been purchasing [slaves](#) from individuals either to immediately grant [manumission](#) papers or to hold them, if absolutely necessary due to legal problems, in a condition of purely nominal enslavement. **Helper would grow up to consider this sort of conduct to be an abomination, and the ruin of our white Christian nation. The Quakers were setting a bad example. People shouldn't act like that.**

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

*1st day 27th of 12 M 1829 / A day of but little religious favour
- hard & dry - Silent meeting in the Morning & in the Afternoon
Wm Almy much engaged in testimony - I think I could see that he
was favoured. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

While teaching at the Friends School in Lynn, Massachusetts, [Friend Abby Kelley](#) met [Friend James N. Buffum](#), father of her classmate, [Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#) from [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). [Friend](#) Buffum and [Friend William Bassett](#), two leading abolitionists in Lynn, introduced Abby to the growing number of state and local anti-slavery societies that were beginning since the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Abby joined the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Lynn and began distributing petitions door-to-door, sewing and selling fancy articles at the fairs to raise money for the American Anti-Slavery Society. During her school breaks Abby was visiting Boston and Worcester to attend meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, meetings which women attended but at which they were expected not to speak.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1830

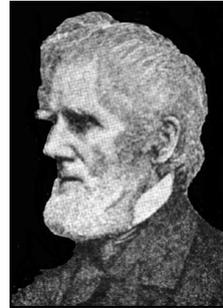
 Definitely by this point in time, all the peoples formerly known as "[Nicholites](#)" had become [Quakers](#).

[Alfred Henry Love](#) was born as a birthright [Friend](#).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 Arthur Tappan donated to [Friend Benjamin Lundy](#)'s antislavery paper.



 The final two volumes of the [Reverend Joseph Ivimey](#)'s 4-volume A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH [BAPTISTS](#) INCLUDING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE HISTORY OF BAPTISM IN ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO WHICH IT CAN BE TRACED TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED, TESTIMONIES OF ANCIENT WRITERS IN FAVOUR OF ADULT BAPTISM: EXTRACTED FROM DR. GILL'S PIECE, ENTITLED, "THE DIVINE RIGHT OF INFANT BAPTISM EXAMINED AND DISPROVED." (London: Printed for the Author).

[Prudence Crandall](#), having completed her [Quaker](#) education, had evidently fallen under the influence of the revivalist Reverend Levi Kneeland of the Packerville Baptist Church. Despite the objections of her less impressed younger brother [Reuben Crandall](#), in this year she underwent a full-immersion adult baptism in Connecticut's Quinebaug River, becoming thereby a [Baptist](#). She would remain a Baptist for decades — until the Baptists would throw her out.

An attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts, expressed during this decade by Bernard Barton, when he introduced himself to a Quaker Minister visiting his Monthly Meeting:

"Barton? Barton? That's a name I don't recollect.
(pause) What, art thou the versifying man?"

On my replying with a gravity that I really think was heroic that I was called such, he looked at me again, I thought, more in sorrow than in anger, and observed:

"Ah, that is a thing quite out of my way."

I dare say the good soul may have thought of me, if at all, with much the same feelings as if I had been bitten by a mad dog.³⁸

38. Quoted in Laurence Lerner, THE TWO CINNAS: QUAKERISM, REVOLUTION AND POETRY, Swarthmore Lecture 1984 (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), page 31

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:**19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM**

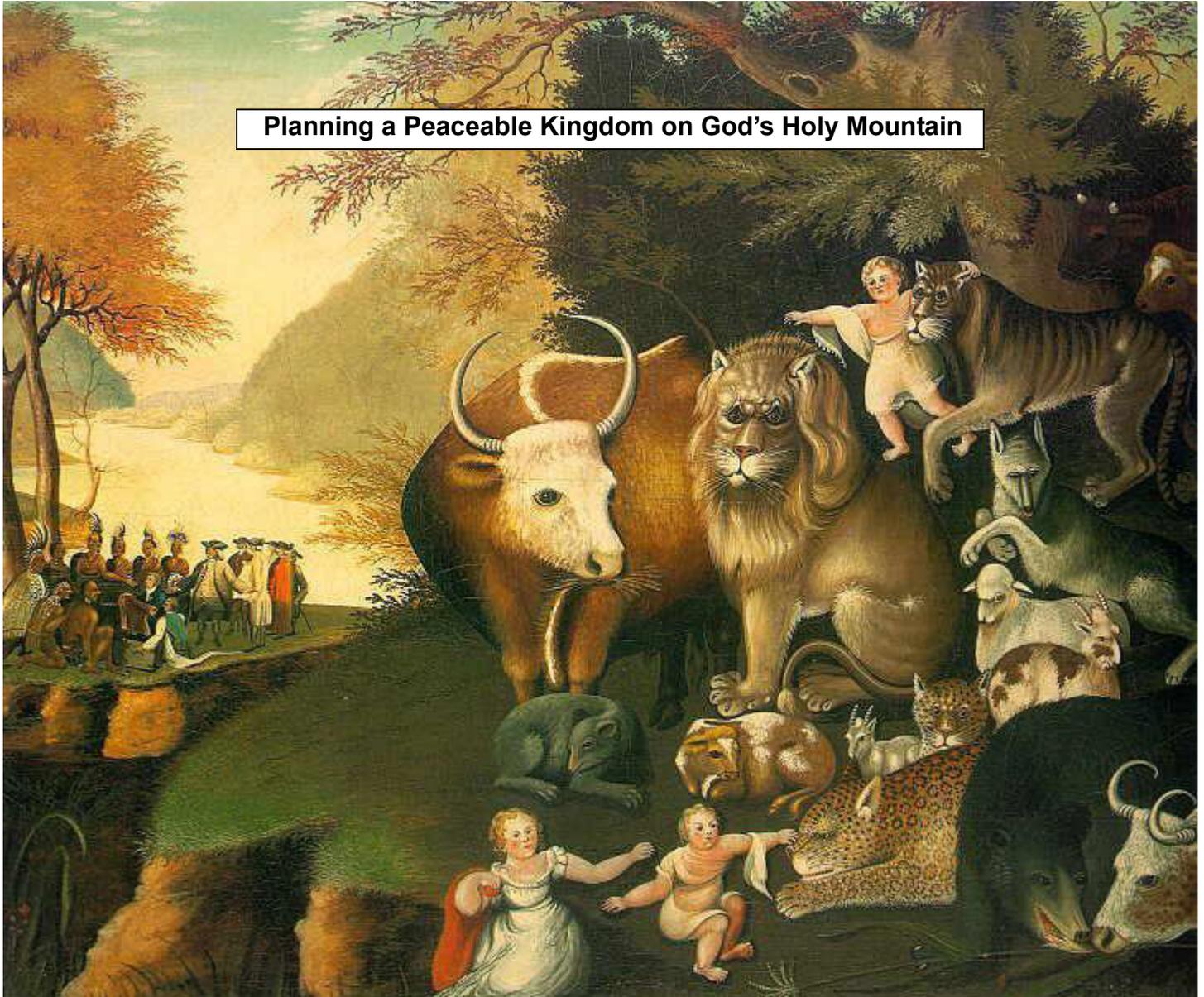
In 1681 King Charles II of England had granted a charter to Friend [William Penn, Quaker](#), for a “Holy



Experiment” in a land to be called “Pennsylvania,” in the New World. Having received royal permissions, for what they were worth, Penn had immediately sought the permission and cooperation of the actual owners and inhabitants of this land.



Here is a painting that Friend [Edward Hicks](#) made of this occasion in about this year 1830:



Here is a detail:



In this year appeared an engraving by T.H. Mumford, “Penn Landing at the Blue Anchor Inn,” which Friend Edward the painter would utilize in multiple renderings of the “Tamanend/Penn peace treaty” negotiation in the PEACEABLE KINGDOM series in the background, as a bunch of [Quakers](#) all standing up at once in a rowboat (“Penn’s Treaty with the Indians” is now in the Halladay-Thomas collection and can be viewed as plate 69 of Jean Lipman’s AMERICAN PRIMITIVE PAINTING. NY: Oxford UP, 1942).

We all have been too influence by the fabulations in the PEACEABLE KINGDOM series of paintings many copies of which hang in our meetinghouses. We have all heard, I think, at one time or another, that when Friend [William Penn](#) got to his allotted portion of the New World with, in pocket, the various patents and titles he had received from The Man (AKA “King of England”), he did **not** consider himself entitled to do precisely as he wished upon that landscape. Instead, I think we have believed, our guy entered into uniquely f/Friendly treaties with the local native landowners. The “Tammany” story, peace and trust under a humongous elm tree as depicted in our famous patristic paintings.

The most famous one, or the most famous one to **us**, has inscribed across its bottom:

**PENNS TREATY with the INDIANS, made 1681 with
out an Oath, and never broken. The foundations of
Religious and Civil LIBERTY, in the U.S. of AMERICA.**

And, on the scroll held in Penn’s hand in the painting, there appears the one legible word “**PENNSYLV[ANIA]**.” Beginning in about 1830, Edward Hicks painted 13 versions of this painting that are now known, over and above the “Peaceable Kingdom” series of which this is often a background element. In addition, Hicks’s poem “Peaceable Kingdom” tell us that Governor Penn’s treaty with the Lenape tribe of Americans was a fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophesy of peace on earth:

The illustrious Penn this heavenly kingdom felt
Then with Columbia’s native sons he dealt,
Without an oath a lasting treaty made
In Christian faith beneath the elm tree’s shade.

Well, I had never looked into this, but I had always **assumed** or **presumed** that **some** sort of historical reality and authenticity, albeit likely somewhat exaggerated, lay behind all of this storytelling. But now I am being informed that the only treaty we never broke, we apparently never entered into at all. What actually happened, more likely, was that we went to a series of parties at someone's home, and everybody was friendly and felt good, and then

—BLACKOUT, AND WHEN WE COME BACK FROM THIS BLACKOUT—

we **own** their home and they have voluntarily packed up and relocated to lesser accommodations elsewhere and we are telling anyone who will listen to us that those house parties had actually been polite inspection tours “Now this is the living room over here, and you'll notice the conversation pit,...” and smiling negotiations “If you give me everything on the south bank here's this nice suit of clothes and maybe I can keep my cousins Hank and Rube here from killing **all** your children.” It was all so friendly and aboveboard that nobody needed to keep any paper trail, such as a signed and notarized purchase contract placed in the public record.

Now the sources I have been consulting suggest that we should bear in mind that in all likelihood there never was a single event anything like what has been portrayed in this art and artifice. Had there been actual purchases, those sources point out, there would obviously be written documents, and there are no records alleging even that there **ever were** any documents. In fact, nothing like this appears in early biographies of Friend [William Penn](#), nor is there any other contemporary written description. The story as presented by West is said to be quite uncharacteristic of treaty proceedings of the late 17th century, although it is quite true that Penn had been staging various “friendship conferences” in 1681, in 1682, and even into 1683. The story told by Marie Arouet de Voltaire had evidently been an entire concoction.



(Notice the sly smirk.)

The reason why this is the only little white treaty **never ever infringed upon** seems to be merely that it is the only little white treaty **never actually entered into**. To all present appearances Voltaire had been, as was his wont, merely **prefabricating** some context of fidelity in order by contrast more effectively to disdain our contexts of infidelity. Which is to say, in our desire to congratulate ourselves we have strangely failed to notice the satirist's tongue in his cheek.

My question, in my shock, would be, has anybody else been looking into such matters? Am I to accept these sources I have recently been consulting, which profess to debunk the entire commonly held story of the founding of Pennsylvania as merely a Sunday School confabulation? And, maybe — has everyone else but me already known about all this?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 [Robert Purvis](#) met the abolitionists [Friend Benjamin Lundy](#) and William Lloyd Garrison.



Annual black conventions began in Philadelphia. In the convention of this year, [Robert Purvis](#) joined in an appeal to establish a manual labor school for blacks.

The free mulatto Shadd family moved from Delaware to West Chester outside of Philadelphia. Mary Ann Shadd would attend a [Quaker](#) school there, run by Miss Phoebe Darlington. Her father Abraham Shadd would be active in abolitionist groups and other political organizations that discussed black immigration to Canada, Africa, and the West Indies. He would function as an agent of subscriptions for Garrison’s newspaper, [The Liberator](#). He and his family would begin to socialize with the more affluent blacks of the area. The Shadd home in West Chester would function as a stop on the [Underground Railroad](#).

In this year the shipbuilders of Chatham in Canada West (where Mary Ann Shadd eventually would teach) were launching their first commercial vessel, the *Sans Pareil*.



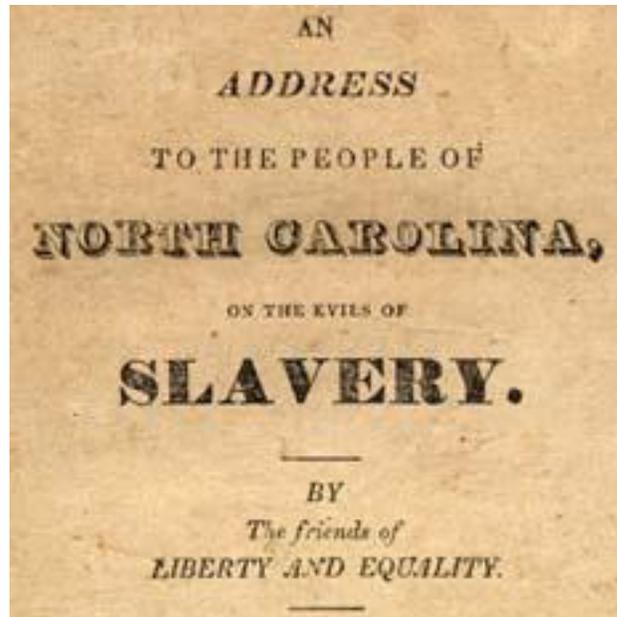
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 In [North Carolina](#) in 1828, John Mann had hired a slave named Lydia from Elizabeth Jones. At some point he had decided that Lydia needed punishment, but she fled and he shot at her, wounding her. Mann had been convicted by a county court of battery and fined \$5,³⁹ but he appealed this to the state supreme court. In this year Judge Thomas Ruffin, a recent appointee who himself owned 32 slaves, wrote an opinion overturning the conviction and the fine, maintaining that “the slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master.” (Harriet Beecher Stowe, in her 1856 novel DRED; A TALE OF THE GREAT, DISMAL SWAMP, would place the characters in a situation similar to the one in State v. Mann, so that her judge could recite Ruffin’s decision verbatim.)

In [North Carolina](#), the ownership of more than 400 slaves was being transferred to [Quaker](#) citizens in order to circumvent the antimanumission law. Such “ownership” would be in the case of these specific 400 slaves a theoretical ownership only, and the slaves would be allowed virtual freedom pending funds for travel, and a situation being found for them in the free states.

MANUMISSION



AN
ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE OF
NORTH CAROLINA,
ON THE EVILS OF
SLAVERY.
BY
The friends of
LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

“Anne, liceat invitos in servitutum dare.” —DR. PICKARD.

“Not only the Christian religion, but nature herself cries out against a state of [slavery](#).” —POPE LEO. X.

WILLIAM SWAIM PRINTER,

39. To get a sense of what that amounted to in today’s money, consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



**Greensborough, N. C.
1830**

To the people of North-Carolina.

The Board of Managers of the Manumission Society of North-Carolina in General Association, feel it their indispensable duty, respectfully to address, not only their immediate constituents, but with them, the people of the State in general.

WILLIAM SWAIM, Sec.

Guilford, March 1830.

ADDRESS, &c.

CAROLINIANS:

We believe it is generally known that a social institution has, for some years, been progressing, for "the gradual abolition OF NEGRO SLAVERY" among us: yet we are well aware that our precise views in relation to this subject are but partially understood. In the commencement of our investigations we used the utmost prudence, knowing the irritable disposition of those, (and at that time many there were,) who, from want of reflection on the subject, felt, or seemed to feel their dearest rights invaded by the least attempt to examine into the policy or rectitude of holding the African race in a state of slavery. We proceeded then as we ought, with all possible caution & reserve; never venturing to discuss rashly, and seldom stirring the subject far abroad. We thought it not only advisable, but the only justifiable course, in the first place to examine, weigh, and deliberate profoundly within our own more immediate circles, the fundamental principles of the Institution, and ascertain if possible, from the best human calculations, to what extent could our labours probably succeed, and what would be the probable consequences of giving unrestrained publicity to our doctrines, by circulating them generally throughout the country. All this we trust has been done. We have taken a deliberate survey of this land of slavery. We have impartially examined the evil in its origine, its progress, and in its present state, as well as its future consequences; and even in its mildest form, it shrinks from rational inspection – a monster of hideous deformity in its best feature.

We profess to have considered the matter on all sides, and to have made every due allowance for the peculiar situation of all parties, whether slave-holders, monster-slave holders or slaves, and seriously, we cannot longer hesitate as to the course that our common duty, interest, and prosperity demand. Discussion has been too long delayed already, and is now rendered the more indispensable, as the evil to be removed is daily accumulating on our hands. And we are divinely admonished to "work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work."

Whatever the people of this State may be with respect to information on other subjects, on this they are very destitute, owing, we suppose, to the "awful delicacy" we hear so much about, and which we would briefly examine. Then what renders this subject so awfully delicate? Is it the incapacity of the people to investigate it? – Is the discussion of this subject delicate because it favours the innocent and condemns the guilty? Is it delicate because it shows republicans their inconsistency? Is it delicate because it accuses the professors of the Christian Religion of crimes which a Mahomedan would blush to commit? Is it delicate because it impeaches the right to hold human beings as property? Is it delicate because free men are ashamed or afraid for slaves to know that they incline to do them justice? If any of the above considerations are to restrain the rational enquiry of this community, fare-well to manly enterprize in North-Carolina! But we yet



hope for better things. This is an age of active enterprize. A spirit of inquiry is partially awakened which no earthly authority or artful dissuasion can effectually restrain.

Under the protection offered by our Constitution in the 18th section of a Declaration of rights made by the Representatives of the Freemen of this State, we now set out in a calm, and more full investigation of the evils consequent on the existence of absolute slavery. And as we cherish no unkind feelings toward any class of our citizens, but prompted, by philanthropy and patriotism, we labour to expose inconsistencies, and to hold up to public gaze, and we hope to public execration, principles that tend to destroy our liberties, our morals, and even our souls; we hope that every man having an opportunity to examine this subject with us, will do it impartially and honestly, in attending to, and investigating the following propositions:

PROPOSITION 1. Our slave system is radically evil.

II. It is founded in injustice and cruelty.

III. It is a fruitful source of pride, idleness and tyranny.

IV. It increases depravity in the human heart, while it inflames and nourishes a numerous train of dark and brutal passions and lusts, disgraceful to human nature, and destructive of the general welfare.

V. It is contrary to the plain and simple maxims of the Christian Revelation, or religion of Christ.

After demonstrating these propositions we shall briefly state in conclusion, some of the most prominent features in the plan which we would adopt for the abolition of slavery.

PROPOSITION. I. Our slave system is radically evil.

The truth of this proposition is generally admitted, and it would be still more generally avowed were its pernicious effects less: For it is true that absolute slavery, while it tends to destroy the most virtuous principles yet remaining in man, by introducing into his heart, and cherishing there when thus introduced, the most hateful principles and passions which disgrace human nature, tends at the same time, to render him more destitute of a true knowledge of its enormity: as it proportionately effaces from his understanding those ideas of social order and reciprocal justice engraven on his mind by the God of nature. But as the remaining propositions are such as arise out of this, of which they are rather members than original propositions, we shall refer the reader for a further consideration of this subject, to the propositions which follow, where its various principles will be attended to.

PROPOSITION II. Our system of slavery is founded in injustice and cruelty.

SECTION 1. Of the injustice of absolute slavery.

To demonstrate the truth of this proposition we shall attend to the terms "Injustice and cruelty" together with some of those circumstances which have attended the introduction and continuance of Negro-Slavery among us. And as injustice is the opposite of justice; and as every act of social beings is founded either in justice or injustice, we need only examine the term justice, and try our slave-system by its principles, since whatever is not according to the principles of justice, must necessarily be founded in injustice.—Justice, if we mistake not, has respect to the conduct of relation, and imports that he who acts according to its dictates, renders in a righteous manner "blessing to whom blessing is due, honor to whom honor &c." and that too, without the least regard to colour, rank, or condition. And one very prominent feature in the administration of true justice, is, that it distributes rewards and punishments to such individuals separately and singly, as have merited the same, and that too in the same degree in



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which the acts as aforesaid have merited. Now if this be a faithful description of justice, is it not manifest that Negro slavery is founded in injustice? An unfortunate fellow-creature is kid-napped on Africa's defenceless shore, and by a monster having the form and name, without any of the tender sensibilities of a human being, he is taken into a foreign land and sold into perpetual slavery, where he becomes at once the scorn and the slave of a people (falsely termed Christians) whose conduct towards the poor negro, in many cases is such as would even cause

“Mercy * * * * to weep,
Should she see such treatment rendered
to a brute.”
“And what MAN seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head to think himself a MAN?”

But still worse! Should the unfortunate creature thus kidnapped and sold be a female, her innocent and helpless posterity are doomed to a like state of cruel bondage and suffering, for no other ostensible reason, than that of their ancestor being guilty of a⁴⁰ black skin!! If it should be urged that many of the negroes originally brought from Africa, were such as had forfeited their lives in their native country; this, by no principle of logic amounts to a sufficient reason for passing the dreadful decree of slavery for life on their innocent offspring: which according to those patriotic veterans of 1776, the framers of the Declaration of American Independence, is a flagrant violation of the Law of Nature, & an unjustifiable encroachment on those “self-evident” and “unalienable rights” with which God has endowed all men.

Nor will doctrine of the injustice of absolute slavery lose any of its real weight by the consideration of its having the sanction of the Law, if we consider that all men are but subordinate beings, who are held bound to obey their Creator according to his own Laws, which he hath ordained, and by which he designs his creatures to be governed, among which that denominated the Law of nature (which is nevertheless a divine Law) may and ought to be regarded as having been instituted for the particular purpose to which we now apply it, and to which it has been applied by men of sound judgment and uncorrupted principles in every age; and to which it was particularly applied by the Fathers of our glorious liberty, as they have abundantly shown.⁴¹

Nor dare any one doubt the validity of the Law of nature, any more than the right of its Almighty giver to a primary part in the government of mankind. It follows consequently that the principles set forth in the Law of nature for the government of mankind are primary or constitutional principles, and that the Laws enacted by men for their own government should harmonize with and acquiesce in them.

And as no authority can overreach that by which the law of nature is established, therefore no human Legislature, how lawfully soever it may be constituted, can deprive any individual, (he or she being one of God's creatures, and under his government) of any of those “unalienable” privileges guaranteed to him or her in the law of nature, otherwise than they are personally forfeited by the individual or individuals from whom they are taken, without offending the great Governor of the universe. Such laws are therefore founded in injustice, and ought to be repealed without

40.

He [Man] finds his fellow guilty of a skin,
Not COLOURED like his own; and having power
To enforce the Wrong, for such a worthy cause
Dooms and devours him as his lawful prey.
COWPER

41. See Declaration of American Independence and also Bill of Rights.



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delay, as they oppose divine law, and as such, must be offensive to the God of nature, whose wrath we necessarily incur by suffering them to exist. Nor is this doctrine of the law of nature a mere chimera – it is a reality of which every rational man may have the most satisfactory evidence, even in his own breast: for it is there that this doctrine is fully authenticated and established. It was there that the writer's address discovered this principle. And there can be no doubt but, that the Patriots of 1776 discovered the same principle existing in their breasts in a similar manner. And in like manner, have good and Patriotic men in all ages discovered the same principle, in proportion as they received the aids of reason and revelation.⁴²

And if any man, upon examination find not the same principles existing in his breast also, it is not because of any defect either in the law of nature or in his own original constitution: but it is because he has suffered the undue love of money, which is the "root of all evil," and pride the "mother of vice," to subvert these primary principles of justice and prosperity implanted in his mind by the God of nature, and thereby to turn nature out of her proper course, and by thus abandoning himself to avarice and selfishness, has introduced into his own heart such an assemblage of carnal desires and avaricious propensities, as in no small degree, to darken his understanding, and deprive it of those ideas of social order and reciprocal justice which even exist in minds expanded by wisdom and ennobled by virtue. Such being the dictates of human instinct –or to speak more correctly– such being the principles set forth in the law of nature, a copy of which is furnished in the breast of every rational individual, we are not surprized on finding them repeatedly set forth in the opinions and laws of men; – thus we know them, not only in the Declaration of American Independence, and in the Bill of Rights, but in some way or other set forth in some part of the Constitution or Laws of perhaps every State in the Union. In the Constitution of the State of Delaware, though a slave-holding State, they are fully set forth thus:– "Through divine goodness ALL men have by nature the rights of worshipping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their own consciences; of enjoying and defending life and liberty; of acquiring and protecting reputation and property; and in general, of attaining objects suitable to their condition without INJURY OF ONE TO ANOTHER." And a Declaration of the rights of the citizens of North-Carolina, which, by the 44, Section of our CONSTITUTION, is declared to be a part of the Constitution of this State, says, in Section 19: "That ALL men have a natural and unalienable RIGHT to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of THEIR OWN CONSCIENCES." While other parts of the above mentioned Declaration of Rights, as well as some subsequent acts of the General Assembly, seem to show in a very high degree, the conflicting influence of humanity and prejudice in the Councils of N. Carolina. The 22,

42. In further confirmation of the above, we transcribe the following noble passage of Cicero cited by Lectantius out of his work DE REPUBLICA.

"Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in animis constans, simpiterna quæ vocat ad officium jubendo, vetando a frande deterret; quæ tenet probos frustra jubet aut vetat; nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec abrogari fas est; nec derogare hac aliquid licet; neque tota abrogari protest. Nec vero aut per senatum, aut populum solvi hac lege possumus; neque est quarendus explanator, aut interpres ejus alius. Nec enim alia lex Romæ alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una lex et sempiterna et emmutabilis continebit; unesque, cris communis quasi magistu et imperator omnuem Deus, lie legis, hujus inventor, descriptator, lator; cui qui nor paribet, ipsi se pigiet ac naluram humanis aspunabitu a atque hoc ipsoluit max imas pænas estra amsi cætir; supplicia, quæ pulantui, effugerit" "From which it is clear" says Bishop Watson "that CICERO acknowledged a Law antecedent to all human civil institutions, and independent of them, binding upon all, constant and perpetual, the same in all times and places, not one thing at Rome and another at Athens; of an authority so high, that no HUMAN power had a RIGHT to alter or annul it; having God for its author, in his character of universal Master and Sovereign taking hold of the very consciences of men, and following them with its animadversions, though they should escape the hand of man, and the penalties of human codes:" Here then is the LAW of nature fairly and fully apprehended.



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Section of our Declaration of Rights, which, as we have shown above, is a part of our Constitution, says that, "No hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honors ought to be granted or conferred in this State." And by a parity of reasoning it may and ought to be said, that "No emoluments or privileges," the right to enjoy which, being vested in the individual or individuals possessing them, by the law of nature, "ought to be taken away in any case, either in this or any other State in a hereditary manner." But are not both these rules violated in this State? The son or daughter, in this State, falls heir to all, or a proportionable part of the "born sheds" belonging to the estate of his or her Father; and that too without any bequest or other instrument of conveyance, except the mere provision contained in the Law of the state. And this principle of descent is a hereditary principle. Now if the circumstance of one man's holding another in absolute slavery, and of enjoying all the benefits of his sweat and toil, are "emoluments and privileges," then it must be granted that the "hereditary emoluments and privileges" conferred in this state are many, very many, notwithstanding the constitution of the state to the contrary. And our "common law," which is a primary ingredient in the "law of the land," mentioned in Section 12, of our declaration of rights, is said to be founded on "reason and the divine law," and is held to acquiesce in them in every instance, any former usage or decision to the contrary notwithstanding. The common law of this state, must therefore acquiesce in the provisions set forth in the law of nature, in all cases, when the "law of the land" is not rendered otherwise by some statute or special act passed either by the General Assembly of North Carolina, or by Congress; and that too, according to the Constitution of our State or of the United States, as the case may be, since the law of nature is evidently a divine law, and as such, must be supposed to harmonize with all other laws of divine origine; as it would be absurd to suppose two divine principles, opposed the one to the other. The law of nature, the law of reason, and consequently the common law of this State, (as we have shown,) all declare liberty to be the "birth right" of every human being. Now it is a well known, and universally acknowledged point in law, that every man stands acquitted until the contrary appears in good and lawful evidence; or in other words, that the Law presumes every man to be innocent, or clear from any alleged charge, &c. until the same be proved by good and lawful testimony. Let us then briefly examine our slave system with respect to this particular. There is one man claiming to hold another as his slave, which claim the alleged slave is not disposed to admit. Now in this trial for liberty, on whom should the weight of evidence rest? We answer – according to the above principle, it should always rest on the claimant.

This opinion is fully corroborated by the sentiments of the honorable George Wythe, one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence, and since chancellor in Virginia; who laid down as a general position "That whenever one person claims to hold another in slavery, the ONIS PROBANDI (burthen of evidence) lies on the CLAIMANT. This sentiment," he continues, "is strongly inculcated in our political catechism, the bill of rights, and accords with that self-evident principle which makes liberty the birth-right of every human being." Sentiments like these are honorable – they are the native sentiments of an uncorrupted corrupted understanding, and a mind superior to avarice and selfishness, &c. From the view we have taken of the subject, it follows that in the supposed trial for liberty referred to the alleged slave has only to plead, (not to prove,) that he is a human being, born free according to the invariable law of nature; and that he had not, at any time, either forfeited or relinquished his title thereto. Now it devolves on the person claiming to prove that the alleged slave is not a human being; that the law of nature does not entitle every human being to



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liberty, and that the alleged slave is one of those unfortunate creatures for whom it has made no gracious provision; or that he has personally forfeited, or voluntarily relinquished his title thereto; which, should he fail to establish any or all of the above mentioned particulars, amounts to a sufficient presumption in favour of the alleged slave's liberty, and as such, he ought to have it, "Not so," say some of our law expositors, "our law presumes all Africans of the full blood, who may be claimed as slaves, to be such, until the contrary is proved," see *Gober vs. Gober* I Taylor's reports, page 164, where this doctrine is laid down by the Judge in his charge. This being the case relied on by the advocates of slavery, for the establishment of the presumption of slavery founded on colour, we shall give ourselves, and our readers if they please, the trouble of examining the case itself, as well as the profound reasoning of Chief Justice Taylor on this occasion— *Gober vs. Gober* —Trespass and false imprisonment. —Plea, that the plaintiff is a SLAVE.

"It appeared in evidence that the plaintiff, when an infant, apparently about eight days old, was placed in a barn by some person unknown; and that the defendant, then a girl of about twelve years of age, found him there and conveyed him home, and had kept possession of him ever since, treating him with humanity, but claiming him as her slave. The plaintiff was of an olive colour, between black and yellow, had long hair, and prominent nose." These facts being ascertained by the Court, by proof and inspection, the Judge proceeded to give the following charge: "I acquiesce in the rule laid down by the defendant's counsel, with respect to the presumption of every black person's being a slave. It is so, because the negroes originally brought into this country were slaves, and their descendents must remain such until manumitted by proper authority. If, therefore, a person of this description should claim his freedom, he must establish his right to it, by such evidence as will destroy the force of presumption arising from colour. But I am not aware that the doctrine of presumption against liberty has ever been urged in relation to persons of mixed, or to those of any colour between the two extremes of white and black, and I do not think it reasonable that such a doctrine should receive the least countenance: Such persons may have descended from Indians in both lines, or at least in the maternal: they may have descended from a white person in the maternal line, or from mulatto parents originally free; in all which cases the offspring, following the condition of the mother, is entitled to freedom. Considering how many probabilities there are in favour of the liberty of those persons, they ought not to be deprived of it upon mere presumption, more especially as the right to hold them in slavery, if it exists, is in most instances, capable of being satisfactorily proved." Doubtless every true friend of liberty, will be found to acquiesce in the soundness of the views of this "distinguished jurist" in relation to persons of mixed blood; but we must candidly and fully dissent from the specious reasoning by which it is inferred, that every black person should be presumed to be a slave. We are convinced that no circumstance or consideration whatever, can render unqualified and absolute slavery consistent with that instinctive sense of right of which every man may find more or less in his own breast. But could any circumstance justify it in any degree, is it not still evident, that that circumstance cannot be mere colour of the skin, or even any other natural circumstance whatever. But says Judge Taylor:— "It is so, because the negroes originally brought into this country were slaves, and their descendents must continue such until manumitted by proper authority." Then the doctrine which presumes the existence of slavery, and which Judge Taylor would confine to negroes of the whole blood, is made by the same gentleman to depend, not so much upon the colour of the skin, as upon the circumstance of the "negroes originally brought into this country" being slaves. But we



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would ask by what means they become such?

Were they "originally" slaves? Or were they not "originally" robbed and plundered of their liberties and made SLAVES by arbitrary means contrary to all justice and propriety? We are not saying too much when we answer this last question in the affirmative; as we could abundantly show from authentic documents.⁴³

Having laid down his premises whereon to predicate the doctrine of the presumption of slavery, Judge Taylor proceeds to argue its hereditary principle, from the laws of necessity— "And their descendants," continues he, "must continue slaves until manumitted by proper authority." We would regard it as no small favor to have this last phrase "proper authority," fully elucidated. We should be glad to know what ideas men in general, and learned men in their individual capacities as statesmen, politicians, &c. may have, with respect to the "proper authority," by which the emancipation of slaves should be regulated. On this, how artfully soever some may reason, and how cautiously soever they may proceed, touching only such cords as vibrate with the greatest consonance to the tune of self-interest we have no desire to conceal our sentiments. We believe that as all men are created, equally and unalienably entitled to liberty, the child of a slave is as much entitled to his freedom at a proper age, as the child of a free person, and as such ought to have it. We hold that laws which determine the contrary are capitally unjust, and such as in truth no human Legislature has a just right to enact, since such laws must be opposed to the WILL of the Almighty Governor of the Universe, and his will must be supreme. And hence we believe that this will of the Supreme Being constitutes the only. "proper authority" by which manumission should be regulated. On this subject we would say with Plato, that "No mortal can make laws to purpose" unless made in conformity with the divine will — that is, no human authority can give sanctity or justice to a law which violates the law of nature, or any other principle in the will of the Almighty ruler of the world. Such laws must therefore be a curse instead of a blessing, to those, by, and for whom they have been enacted. Neither are they sanctified by Judge Taylor's principle of necessity, since this great truth still remains, "That which is morally wrong, cannot be politically right."

But to return to the subject after this seeming digression:— If Judge Taylor has proved any thing in favor of the presumption of slavery, his arguments operate with as much force against those of the mixed, as against those of the whole blood; and the presumption of slavery is as unreasonable in relation to Africans of the "whole blood," as it is in relation to any colour that can possibly exist between "the two extremes of black and white." For it is not only evident that "the negroes originally brought into this country" were "robbed and plundered" of their liberties, and deprived of them by the most glaring injustice and inhumanity; but it is also true, that there has been heretofore, and still are, many Africans of the whole blood who are declared to be FREE, and for whose benefit and protection as FREE MEN, the power of government has been wielded whenever it has been thought by the ruling authorities, to be necessary. And further — it is an evident fact that much the largest portion of those of mixed blood are claimed and held as slaves, while by far the greatest number of those whom we call free negroes, are African descendants, of the full blood. The causes which conspire to produce this astonishing fact, are chiefly such as must be apparent to every person who has attentively considered this subject; but being such in general, as tend to promote an unlawful intercourse between white or free males, and female slaves; whether of the whole or mixed blood, more than they do a similar intercourse between black males and WHITE females, they belong more properly to Proposition 4, of

43. See Clarkson's History of the abolition of the SLAVE TRADE by the British Parliament.



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this address, to which place we refer the reader for their further consideration. It is therefore inconsistent with sound reason, with the divine Law, and consequently with the common law of this State, thus to trifle with the natural rights of mankind, and with God the great and sovereign donor of those rights, by making the mere colour of the skin, amount to a sufficient presumption against a fellow creature's liberty, and this "mere presumption" the means of depriving him of it. Is this just? Does conduct like this comport with the dignity and virtue of a "free, christian, and independent community?" Let us hear what a former Legislature have said on a subject in some respects similar - In the preamble to an act passed in 1798, running thus: "Whereas, by an act of Assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel, and deliberate, is only punishable in the first instance by imprisonment, and paying the value thereof to the owner: which distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one that is equally a human being, but merely of a different complexion, is disgraceful to humanity, and degrading in the highest degree, to the LAWS, AND PRINCIPLES of a free, christian and independent COMMUNITY. Now if this "distinction of criminality between the murdering of a "white person" and one that is "equally a human being" but "merely of a different complexion" is in reality so "disgraceful to humanity" and "degrading to the LAWS AND PRINCIPLES of a free, christian and INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY; is not any "distinction" founded upon the same circumstance, (the circumstance of colour,) more or less so, in proportion as it is made to affect the persons against whom it is exercised? And as next to life, liberty is the greatest earthly boon enjoyed by mortals, or rather as liberty is that alone which can render temporal existence truly desirable, what distinction therefore, founded upon "mere colour," can be more "disgraceful to humanity" and "degrading" to our holy religion, to our virtue and even to our liberty itself, than that which "presumes" one man to be a slave and another to be free, their circumstance being in every respect the same, except in the "colour of the skin?" Neither can this doctrine of the presumption of slavery be supported by the constitution of this State. The 12, and 13, Sections of our Declaration of Rights declare "That no free man ought to be taken, imprisoned, or deprived of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land;" and that when this is the case, the person thus deprived is "entitled to a remedy by enquiring into the lawfulness thereof," and asserts that "such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed." Now as this "remedy" is to be had by "enquiring into the lawfulness thereof," it is certain that nothing herein can be reasonably construed so as to favour the presumption against liberty in any case, but altogether the contrary. But notwithstanding this constitutional protection of the liberties of all free men within this State, yet when the doctrine of the presumption against liberty as laid down by Judge Taylor prevails, it jeopardizes the liberties and fortunes of hundreds of our citizens, many of whom are industrious and honest men.

Man-stealing has been received as a crime of great magnitude for nearly four thousand years; and under some of the wisest and best administrations, has been punished with death. But should a wretched villain succeed in stealing a free black person in any part of the world, and in conveying such free black person within the limits of this State, the poor negro, instead of finding protection under our humane laws, from the injustice of this relentless cannibal, is, according to Judge Taylor's hypothesis, presumed to be a SLAVE by these very laws which were framed to protect the innocent and punish the guilty; while the wretch who is guilty of a crime for which he would have suffered death under the law of Moses, is not only



protected from punishment, but also aided in the accomplishment of his ungodly and hateful purpose, by those very laws which were instituted to suppress violence and usurpation, and to encourage virtue and manly enterprize by protecting the rights, privileges, and liberties of our general citizenship. Surely it is both unjust and cruel thus to trifle with the liberties of our fellow creatures, especially as there can no inconvenience arise from the opposite doctrine. For as Judge Taylor remarks in relation to Africans of the mixed blood, so we may say of all, that "The right to hold them in slavery, if it exists, is in most cases capable of being satisfactorily proved." We therefore think, and we trust that every true Republican who may examine the subject, will think, that liberty, which is the acknowledged "birthright" with which God has endowed "every human being," ought not to be wrested from any individual upon "mere presumption." But whether it be consistent or inconsistent with the true principles and spirit of this government, and laws now in force in this State, to presume a person to be a slave merely because he has "a skin not coloured like our own," will probably be doubled, notwithstanding it is proved to be contrary to reason and justice as well as to the divine Law, in as much as it was so held by Judge Taylor, whose decision was afterwards confirmed.⁴⁴ And this principle as we have shown, is a foul stain on our character as a free, enlightened, and religious people. And as the sovereign power in this government is vested in the people, who may and ought to have any regulation or change in their laws whenever a majority of them shall concur in the regulation or change required, we call upon the friends of humanity, of virtue, of patriotism, and above all, of religion, to awake to a sense, not only of this, but of the many principles of injustice, inhumanity and irreligion which attend our system of slavery; and to continue their protest against measures so unjust to the unfortunate African, and so disgraceful to the spirit and principles of a free and religious community, until we shall succeed in rendering to mankind (the negro as well as the white man,) both true and impartial justice; by which alone can glorious liberty be rendered perpetual, and we be enabled to transmit freedom as an unsullied patrimony to posterity.

SECTION II. On the cruelty of slavery.

We have seen in the preceding section much of the injustice with which our slave system so plentifully abounds. Much as our sense of justice and social order have been shocked during the survey, and much as our just abhorrence of such measures may have been excited, we are now about to enter upon the investigation of a feature in our state economy where the finer sensibilities of our natures must frequently be put to the wrack! and where our warmest sympathies must surely be excited in behalf of suffering innocence in a manner much more overpowering than any thing we have yet witnessed in this tragical system! Now, as injustice is the withholding from a fellow creature, that to which he is entitled by the "Magna Charta" of his Creator, the law of nature, or some other laws in connection therewith; so cruelty is the withholding of those acts of brotherly kindness and humane treatment from a fellow creature to which he is entitled – as a man and as a member of the great brotherhood of human beings. As injustice is the absence of justice, so cruelty is the absence of mercy; and between these two last, mercy and CRUELTY, there is no vacuum: Every individual, as a social being, is either an object of the mercy or cruelty of others. He is either treated humanely, according to the dictates of kindness, by his fellow creatures, or he shares in their oppression, inhumanity and violence. To oppress a fellow creature, over whom we may have justly acquired an ascendancy, or whom misfortunes of any kind, may have sunk

44. Vol. II. Haywood's Reports 170.



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within our power, is of course cruel. And hence the cruelties connected with slavery are almost, if not altogether incalculable. To set this part of our subject more fully before the reader, we shall proceed to notice some of those circumstances of cruelty which have attended the introduction and continuance of slavery among us. And here our attention is first arrested by the slave-trade, which is of two kinds – foreign and domestic. The foreign, or African slave-trade, deserves first to be considered. And here, when we turn our attention to Africa, we see it, though naturally a fertile country, well adapted to agricultural and commercial enterprize, yielding to the withering and destroying influence of the slave-trade. Cantoned out into many separate nations or principalities, they wage intestine wars almost continually, for the purpose of obtaining prisoners of whom to make slaves, chiefly for the purpose of selling them to a people falsely termed christians, many of whom hold, at the very time that they are riveting their chains of cruel bondage on their brethren, that “all men are created EQUAL,” and that liberty is the “birth-right of every human being.” But finding the poor deluded African willing to sacrifice his brother to mammon, they resort to the most nefarious measures to excite him to this cruel act, by breeding wars and exciting feuds among them, by occasioning a necessity or exciting a desire for foreign goods, productions, &c. and then refusing to trade the same to them for any thing except slaves. And the African, too often having no greater or higher desires than those of sensual gratification, and having, in consequence of being long inured to scenes of the grossest superstition and amazing cruelty, lost, or stifled in a great measure, those native feelings of humanity, which so distinguish the virtuous and the good, dares to sell his brother into absolute and perpetual slavery. And could we be present and witness this shameful traffic, as it has long been carried on there, what sorrow and disgust must it create in every philanthropic mind! We should there behold the merciless slave-traders, like greedy vultures hovering around the dreary shores of bleeding Africa. There we should see honour – justice – humanity – virtue – all proscribed, and cruelty and inhumanity going forth in all their dreadful forms to complete this wretched drama of human oppression and misery. There we should see troops of savages violently seizing and forcibly bearing away the most innocent and helpless objects, that might chance to fall within their grasp. There we should behold the “stoutest hearts failing them for fear,” the most proud and dauntless spirits of African greatness, sinking down appalled; and the most innocent and worthy, suffering all the indignities and hardships that can be supported or inflicted by human beings. And how must humanity bleed within us, while seeing a helpless fellow mortal thus seized and in a merciless manner hurried off in the midst of cries and entreaties sufficient to soften the most relentless heart in which remains any sense of humanity? O! what must be the agitation and apprehension of this unfortunate victim of human injustice and violence while he is hurried on to his fatal destiny! The thoughts of being parted from his native country, from his tender relatives, his father, his mother, or perhaps his affectionate wife and tender offspring, become almost insupportable to human nature, and at once awaken in his distressed bosom a thousand stings of the keenest and most painful sensibility. But when arrived at the place where the wretch who dares to purchase this object of human commiseration, has been waiting to receive his cargo of human cattle, he is disposed of in a manner which shocks all the finer feelings of our nature. Here he is immediately loaded with irons, and confined in the loathsome prison of a slave ship, where he soon finds that even the “tender mercies of the wicked are cruelties.” It will doubtless be admitted by all that the conduct of the Africans in seizing, and making slaves of each other is highly culpable: But the conduct of those



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of civilized nations, who engage in this traffic is still more so, since they are found to sin against greater light and knowledge, and in a manner that is in no respect less criminal. Nor does it appear that the conduct of the African slave traders is in itself better or less cruel in any respect than that of the savage Africans. It is certain that they kidnap with as much cruelty when an opportunity offers, as do the African savages. But besides this there are other cruelties practised on these suffering mortals, by the African slave-traders over which, for the honor of human nature, we would draw a veil, did not justice demand that they should be made public? Having collected his cargo of suffering victims, and made the same fast, by means of irons &c. the merciless tyrant commences his inhuman expedition, laden with human misery, and distress. Alas! what must be the anguish of these helpless, and may we not say, truly hopeless beings, while the unfriendly breeze is hurrying them far, far from their native land – the land of their fathers, with which they leave every earthly object calculated to cheer them or even to render life supportable.

Their miseries must at this time be intolerable, heightened, as well by the remembrance of former enjoyments now gone forever, as by the just anticipation of those inexpressible sufferings to which they will most likely be exposed through the remainder of their earthly career. But besides the horrors connected with intolerable servitude, there are miseries more insupportable and cruel than we can easily imagine, inseparably connected with confinement in a slave ship. Here we might see a brother suffering death in all the agonies of human woe, by the side of a brother, who in consequence of his own confinement can afford him no assistance, no not so much as to raise his sinking head, or wipe the tear that "stagnates in his eye." And of every cargo of these unhappy beings thus seized and confined, there are doubtless many whose wretched existence is terminated ere they reach the place of destination. But those who are enabled to survive the perils of the sea, as well as the horific confinement and brutal treatment which they undergo in the slave ships, are at length brought into market, and sold like cattle, or in a manner no less brutal. And here these miserable creatures often fall into hands, that treat them the remainder of their days, with the utmost barbarity, working and beating them like oxen and feeding them but little better than dogs. By such treatment as we have been describing, the sprightly and spirited African is soon reduced to a heart broken, dispirited and miserable slave, almost naked and starved, moaping over some of our lovely fields, which seem silently to weep for the misery and oppression which they bear; or perhaps groaning under the lash of some cruel master or overseer, while they often express the alarm and consternation which they feel on such occasions by a strange species of wild and haggard-like smiling, bordering on ghastliness. Here we behold them doomed to serve a people who are accustomed to look upon their whole race with a kind of contempt, exercising towards them an obstinate prejudice from which neither intelligence, virtue, nor religion has been found sufficient to screen them. Thus circumstanced they find themselves cut off from every means of bettering their situation.

The laws which exist respecting them, exist only to oppress them, without affording them any solid or real protection in any one instance,⁴⁵ as we shall presently proceed in some degree to show. But we proceed now to notice another abominable practice in this traffic, which is the domestic slave-trade. As though it were not cruelty enough to have touched every string of painful sensibility in the negroe's heart, by tearing him forcibly from his native Africa he must still be held subject to a new trial of this kind whenever it may best suit the selfish and avaricious views of a cruel master, thirsting for gain or panting for cruel revenge. And if we have

45. Vide Stroud on the slave laws.



been accustomed to look upon African slave-traders with disgust, let us turn our attention homewards for a moment, and see if we have not among ourselves, men of similar character. We doubt not however, but many of those men engaged in the domestic slave-trade have been accustomed to regard African slave-traders as very depraved and cruel men; and are very unwilling to rank with them, in point of character. But we hope they will do themselves the justice of entering calmly with us, into an investigation of the principles and nature of the domestic slave-trade, while we briefly contrast it with the African slave trade, - And first:- We would ask what is the primary object of the African slave-trader? Gain, must undoubtedly be the just and only proper answer to this question. Now permit us to ask the domestic slave-trader what is his primary object? The same answer must invariably be given: gain. The desire of amassing wealth becomes the predominant desire ere he is prepared for this inhuman traffic! Should the domestic slave-trader plead in extenuation of his conduct, that those negroes whom he buys and sells, were slaves before he bought or sold them, and can only be such afterwards, and that in many cases their circumstances are really bettered by the exchange of masters which it has occasioned; all this will prove nothing in his favour, as it is the principles and motives existing in the heart, which, like main springs, exert a controlling influence over the man, in producing the actions of which we are speaking, and not the particular degree either of good or harm done to any individual thereby, which we are investigating.-But secondly: the African slave-traders obtain their subjects in any way that they can, without the least regard to the attachments or relationships either final, parental, or conjugal, existing between the captured negro and those he is leaving behind him. In like manner the domestic slave-trader purchases his subjects wherever he can obtain the best bargains, without any regard⁴⁶ to the condition of the slave, in relation to any of the above mentioned particulars, and sells them again by the same rule. And although he does not crowd them down in the gloomy cells of a slave ship, yet he often loads the miserable creatures with irons in such a manner as to render their very existence burdensome. It may however, be objected to the African slave-traders, that they sometimes kidnap and bring away those who were free, without paying an equivalent for them. Nor can we entirely vindicate the character of the domestic slave-traders from this disgrace of the human character, some of whom are at times too notoriously guilty of this abomination, as we could make appear were it necessary, with but little inconvenience to ourselves. And although the instances of kidnapping in the history of the domestic slave-trade, are much more rare than in that of the foreign, yet we believe, and facts authorize the belief, that few have engaged in the former, with a view of amassing wealth, but have shown a disposition to obtain slaves in any way which the laws and existing circumstances might permit. And it is a shameful fact that more or less, annually, of the free negroes, chiefly children, are taken and sold into slavery. From these facts it follows that, although the African slave-traders accomplish in some instances, more cruelty and inflict more injustice than the domestic slave-traders do, it is not because of any superior goodness of heart which the latter have more than the former; but it is because such cruelty and injustice are either unnecessary or impracticable.

The domestic slave-traders often sunder the strongest and most endeared ties of nature, and destroy every prospect of earthly enjoyment, which may have been left to the poor negro.

Negroes are human beings, and are capable of loving, and of being endeared to each other, especially in the tender relations of husband and wife,

46. There are doubtless some exceptions to this rule, but it is true in the main.



parent and child, &c. And the pleasures arising out of their relations, though very much alloyed by the existence of slavery, may nevertheless be enjoyed imperfectly even by the slave. But in consequence of this traffic in human souls they are often deprived of these last remains of earthly felicity, which, though enjoyed by them very imperfectly at best, are inexpressibly dear to them, as they constitute their entire store of earthly happiness. That we may perceive the heinousness and iniquity of our slave system in this respect, let us suppose a case – such a case as often occurs in the course of passing events. Here is a slave who, according to the best matrimonial rights existing in this country, with respect to slaves,⁴⁷ has vowed at the altar of Hymen, and is united to the woman whom he loves, and by whom he is loved in return, by many endearing ties. They entered piously and seriously into this union, and have been living chastely, and as far as could be expected, comfortable together. This union is rendered still more complete by the tender pledges of their mutual love, which are growing up before them. But they must part; – Yes dearly as husband and wife, parents and children are connected together, they must now be sundered by a cruel master and a hard-hearted purchaser. Here we must be struck, (if aught can strike us,) with the injustice which often attends human laws, while we witness a weeping husband ruthlessly torn from the tender embraces of a heart-broken and worse than a widowed wife; parents in agonies of grief, taking a final adieu of their beloved children; and children in return, bereaved of the parental superintendence of affectionate, perhaps praying parents, and thrown upon the mercy and faith of beings from whom they have nothing to expect but labor and oppression. And yet these objects of human commiseration are as we have said, human beings, – nay more – some of them are true believers in Christ, – legitimate members of his mystical body and heirs of his glorious kingdom. Let such therefore, as engage in the buying and selling of such slaves, with an intention to enslave them, or who holding them as property, exercise over them an unnecessary, and (as many do) an inhuman oppression, attend to our Saviour's declarations: "In as much as ye have done this unto one of these little ones, ye have done it unto ME." "Better for a man that a mill stone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the depths of the Sea, than to offend one of these LITTLE ONES." But it may be asked, why do these things exist! Hath it not been said – "Those whom God hath joined together let not man put assunder?" Truly – But our law knows no such thing as marriage among slaves! This brings us to show what we before promised, that the laws of this State afford no solid or substantial protection to the slave in any one instance. This we shall briefly do, by laying down a few propositions, which we give as the true spirit and meaning of the laws now in force in this State. And first:– The laws of this State afford the slave no protection in his conjugal rights. This is evident, in as much as the law knows no such thing as marriage among them. And it is just, further to observe, that as there is no law to guard the sanctity of marriage among slaves, so there is none to restrain them from any of these abominations in this respect, to which they, in consequence of their degraded situation, are particularly prone. Hence adultery, fornication, polygamy, incest &c. are no violations of the law of this State, provided the same be committed among slaves only. And in the midst of the beastly, and the rude, we find the chaste virgin exposed to their capricious lusts, and rude assaults, without even the poor privilege of complaining; especially if the same should have to be made against a monster who is while. O! shame, O! scandal to the human character. Secondly: The slave in North-Carolina, is not protected by law in his right in property, in any case: so express are the laws in relation to this particular, that should a humane master permit his slave to raise and claim

47. Such as they have instituted among themselves.



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"live stock," the property so raised and claimed by a slave, is liable to be seized and sold for the public benefit. Thirdly: Nor is the slave protected by law in his person. It is true, there are laws in existence in this State, with respect to this last, but in such a manner as to render them of no real advantage to the slave. Thus the law says, that, an allowance "of at least one quart of corn a day," shall be given to the slave. But it is manifest that the slave can have no redress, should even this small quantity be denied him; since the slave cannot, in such a case, prosecute his master or owner, or prove any thing in this matter, or in any other, against him, either by his own, or the evidence of other African descendent, to the fourth generation. And it is also true, that laws have been passed to prevent the murder of slaves! But if a wretch, being white, wishes to abuse, or even murder a negro, he has only to embrace an opportunity of doing it, when no white person is present. And a slave may, in certain cases, be even lawfully killed, (viz.) First: for lurking in swamps, and pilfering in the neighborhood, being a runaway, a slave may be outlawed by any justice of the county wherein such runaway may be discovered, and may afterwards be lawfully KILLED by any person. Secondly: He may be lawfully killed in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master. Thirdly: And where no such resistance is made, the humane laws of this State can find means of excusing or commuting the murder of slaves. In 1798, an act was passed to prevent the murdering of slaves, but lest this act should be found to impose too great a bar against the cruel abuse of slaves, the third section provides that the penalty which the act inflicts, shall not be incurred when the slave dies under "moderate correction." This law must be acknowledged lenient since the "correction" must be "moderate." But to call a correction "moderate" which is sufficiently severe to produce death, is a solecism too glaring to require a criticism, and too monstrous for sober legislation. As in the above, so in all other instances; there must ever exist the same difficulty in the negro's obtaining, even that small degree of justice to which the laws seem to entitle him, so long as he is compelled to prove every thing respecting the affair by white witnesses. And why is this the case? Why are black men prevented from giving evidence against white men, while the latter have all the advantages of evidence against the former? Is it because the black man is a wretchedly depraved being, who will not speak the truth? Then why not say that men of this ignorant and depraved character whether white or black shall not be entitled to give evidence against men of a contrary character? Now our law very righteously determines, that no atheist, or person denying the existence of a Superior Being, and the accountability of man to the same, &c. shall be good evidence in any Court of Law, or Equity in this State. Our law framers could not have been actuated by motives of the same kind, in fixing the fate of the Africans in this particular: since it is a fact which we presume, none, who admit the truth of revelation (and our law is founded on this admission,) that there are many slaves as well as free negroes, who are conscientiously and devotedly religious; while on the other hand, there are many examples of as desperate depravity among the white, as among the black population of this country. And further, there are among the black people, both slaves and free men, whose mere assertions would be received and accredited sooner by far, by their respectable neighbours, than even the oaths of many white men. And as the palladium of our civil institutions, is that of trial by jury, no danger could be justly apprehended from the admission of their evidence in most cases; since they must always appear before a court under disadvantages; the prejudices of the jurors, court &c most generally being against them, would prevent any undue difference being paid to their testimony. And the prejudices of education, which white people universally exercise more or less, towards



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the negro in this country, affords a conclusive argument in favor of this position. But before we dismiss this subject, we would drop an admonition to such as are disposed to take advantages of the negro under the present existing laws, that they be careful how they act, thus; since all the transactions of the present life will be reconsidered in a future Court, where Christ himself will be the Supreme Judge, (see Act. XVII, 31) and his Apostles and saints subordinate judges, &c. and where many of those on whom the law now imposes silence, will doubtless become the swiftest witnesses against you. Fourthly: One more, and we shall have done with this part of our subject. The laws make no provision for the education or moral improvement of the slave; but rather the contrary: since they permit the master to exercise an exclusive control over the slave; who, in general, seems to think he has done enough, if he has kept the slave busily at work, without affording him any facilities by which to elevate himself in the scale of being, by devoting a portion of his time to the acquisition of learning and mental improvement. The truth is, the advocates of slavery have thought the best way of maintaining their dominion, was to keep these miserable creatures in ignorance. And a large portion of our law-framers being of this class, they have ever maintained a system of slavery calculated, in their opinion, to keep them secure in this respect. Hence learning, though in a very small degree diffused among the coloured people of a few sections of this State, may be said to be almost unknown to that race of beings in North-Carolina, where the sciences have been so long cultivated. Nor is the little instruction which some of them have received, and by which a few among the thousands of our coloured population, have been learned to spell, or perhaps to read in "easy places," in the least owing to any legal provision for the same: but solely to that CHARITY which "endureth all things," and is willing to suffer reproach, for the sake of being instrumental in "delivering the poor that cry," and in "directing the wanderer in the right way." And even charity with all her store of precious gifts must stand at a distance, and see thousands of precious souls die in ignorance, their minds a moral desert, benighted, and wretched; while sin in, all its deadly forms comes in to complete their ruin, without being able to afford them any assistance: provided such be the unrighteous will of the man who claims a title to property in these "human souls." These things we hold to be improper in themselves, and highly displeasing to the God of Heaven, "who hath of one blood created ALL men," for the express purpose of glorifying him. But is it not morally certain that the slave, if kept in ignorance, will be unable to glorify God in that degree, and to that extent, originally designed by his maker? Certainly it is: For while it is said that "The Holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation," and to furnish the man of God to "every good work," it is also said that the "unlearned wrest these things to their own destruction." But further, we contend that the withholding of mental improvement and moral culture from the slave is a robbery – a sacrilege against Heaven – against God himself: Because it deprives him of much service and adoration, which these ignorant creatures, aided by an education in letters, and moral as well as religious principles, might have rendered to him. Yet to our great mortification and the mortification of every true christian who has impartially thought on, and weighed this subject, we sometimes meet with high toned professors of religion who are guilty in this respect. "O tell it not in Gath. neither publish it in the streets of Askalon." May God vindicate his injured cause, and save our Holy Religion from such disgrace. It will be in vain that any may attempt to consoal or extenuate these facts, or to make them appear in any respect less heinous than what is here represented. The Declaration of Rights says, that:– "Through divine goodness ALL men have a natural and unalienable RIGHT to worship Almighty



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God according to the dictates of their own consciences." Yet we must add that, Through human injustice and oppression, this "right" is substantially taken from the slave, and is vested in the master, who may give or withhold, in this matter (so far as it is possible for human authority to control it,) Just as he pleases. "These things ought not to be;" and they are such as call for immediate redress.

PROPOSITION III. Absolute slavery, is a fruitful source of pride, idleness and tyranny.

This proposition is proved to be true by the common experience of mankind; and in a manner too, that must force conviction upon every unprejudiced and observing understanding. But it may nevertheless, be asked, when does slavery begin this mighty work in the human soul? – We answer, as soon as embryo reason begins to exert itself, it is, through this medium, perverted, and the little strength which it has acquired, is, by a wretched application, turned to its own destruction. The little child begins to view itself in contrast with its black associates; and while it discovers that these little creatures, as well as their fathers and mothers, are all destined to labour for white people, it imagines itself attached to a superior race of beings. And when grown a little larger, it finds these wholesome ideas greatly strengthened by being permitted to command TOM or BET to this or that, according as its whims or fancies may direct. These things dispose the heart to pride, and not unfrequently to tyranny itself. This disposition to "look down" on the part of mankind which does not possess the same advantages with ourselves, and which has been so successfully implanted in the minds of these little masters and mistresses, by a comparison of their own exalted worth with that of the degraded negroes, grows and strengthens with them. They next begin to compare themselves with the more humble and destitute of the neighbours, and find their own superior greatness more fully demonstrated: and the same contempt which they cherish for the negro they now begin to cherish towards the white peasantry, lessening, however, in proportion as they advance from poverty and humble life towards wealth and affluence. It is here also, that the disposition to "grind the face of the poor," and to "oppress the hireling in his wages," so common among the wealthy, and by far too common with the middle classes of our citizens, receives its first impulse. The children of these parents who own slaves, and think, or seem to think it not amiss to storm and drive, with all the hurry and fury of which they are capable, learn to act in a similar manner. And it is a fact too well known (at least by the poor) to admit of successful controversy, that the man who will oppress and abuse his own slaves, will also, when an opportunity is afforded, oppress his indigent neighbour, or any one else over whom he may have gained an advantage. This principle strikes at the root of our republican institutions, and if suffered to become sufficiently strong, would overturn even our liberty itself. But there is no alarming prospect at this time, of such principles getting to such a height among us, if they be timely and sufficiently opposed by the people, whose privilege and interest is to oppose them. Yet this much is certain, that by such principles as these, our fine gold has become dim, and much of our rising glory has been lost! We might say much more on this subject, but as it may be necessary, in attending to the next proposition, to advert to some things primarily embraced in this, we defer their consideration until called up in support of facts more lamentable, yet not less true than those embraced in this proposition.

PROPOSITION IV. Absolute slavery increases depravity in the human heart, and nourishes a train of dark and brutal passions and lusts, disgraceful to human nature, and destructive of the general welfare.



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Proofs of this proposition are abundant. We cannot long survey any one feature of slavery, without receiving some fresh confirmation of its truth. But we shall at present, detain our readers but a short time on a subject which must be such as to sicken the heart of the philanthropist, and to cause misanthropy itself to blush. To describe the gross ignorance into which nearly all our slave population are sunk – the deplorable corruption of morals, the natural offspring of such ignorance, every where seen among them, and these, like descending streams of destructive lava, bursting from the summit of this amazing mountain of human depravity, and extending its influence throughout our State, withering, the tenderest plants and blasting the opening flowers of human greatness wherever they come, throughout the various walks of society, would be a task of no ordinary undertaking. That the conduct of the master towards his slave has, in general, a tendency to keep them ignorant and depraved, is a fact which must be admitted by all. And although there are some honourable exceptions, (blessed be God!) yet is it not true in the main, that slaves are grossly ignorant and depraved? Let a general examination into the character and morals of slaves, particularly in those parts of the State where they most abound, and where they are under the control of overseers &c. decide this question. And yet these ignorant –these depraved– these too often vicious domestics, were the misses of most of those whose fortunes entitle them, (at least in their own estimation,) to high distinctions among us, and who, having received their first rudiments among these intelligent slaves, (and that, too, doubtless, to the detriment of both their understanding and habits) think themselves entitled to set at the helm of Government. If we consider how many of those who live on the sweat and toil of their unhappy domestics, who, relying on their wealth for their future success and enjoyments, grow vain and insolent, and while they neglect all useful business, look down with haughty pride on the humble and laborious, supposing labor beneath the dignity of gentlemen – we say, cast a glance over the final destiny of the innumerable hosts that come under this description, and we are made to exclaim – How many thus sink down into insignificance, and whose very memories rot, who, otherwise, might have lived to the latest posterity, as monuments of human greatness! How many such become the very nuisances of society, and are remembered by their enemies with execration and by their friends with remorse! Reflections of this kind will lead us into a correct estimate, in this respect, of the evils of slavery. It is not necessary to mention the transcendant sin of intemperance, or the more extreme sin of theft and plunder, engaged in, too often, by those who are too proud to endure poverty, and too much the slave of indolence to labour honestly for a support. These evils which have spread so widely through our country, owe their origine more to the existence of slavery, either directly or indirectly, than to any one extreme circumstance whatever.

It is slavery that has rendered labour disgraceful, in so much that to labour, is to be like the negroes; and it is slavery that gives idleness its charms, since the idler is, in this respect at least, like the gentleman.⁴⁸

To exemplify this fact let us contrast ourselves as a community, with those of the free States: there we see all classes work, without thinking it in the least disgraceful – There it is that hirelings are not afraid of working like negroes, as is too often the case with them in this country – there it is that the hale sons of Columbia enjoy the sweets of Domestic life, while the labour which they undergo conduces greatly to the health, both of mind and body, and the establishing of the same in virtue. The “active

48. It will be seen here that we speak not of true gentlemen, but of those useless property-made gentlemen who place that trust in wealth, which others place in rectitude of conduct.



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mind of man" is seldom idle; and when not in the pursuit of improvement, it is apt to fall an easy prey to some vice, which, when it has gained admission into the human breast, seldom ceases to triumph until it has fathered upon the individual all its kindred. It was not until the evil spirit mentioned in the scriptures, found the house "empty" [unemployed] that he was able to enter with "seven other spirits more wicked than himself:" so it is with idlers generally; – the Devil takes this advantage of them, first inflaming their desires of sensual happiness, vitiating their tastes and corrupting their minds generally, until he, by these means succeeds in leading his unhappy captives, first to the "shades of insignificance" and thence to the "mansions of misery." But we have not time to pursue this subject through all its labyrinths; we trust, however, that the contemplative reader will follow it out and supply what ever may be wanting.

We have said, that slavery nourishes a train of brutal passions and lusts, disgraceful, &c. In support of this part of our proposition, many considerations might be urged, one of which however, must suffice for the present. We had occasion to remark, in a former part of this address, that the chastity of the female slave is not protected by law! No, not in the least! The most virtuous and chaste of this degraded race, are daily exposed to the hateful lusts of the most incestuous, without the poor privilege of either defending or complaining against such diabolical treatment. The disgrace of such an outrage on virtue, and the sacred rights of social order, we would fain, (for the honour of our country,) conceal, were it not proclaimed against us by the tawny skins of a numerous host of mulattoes, many of whom recognize among their masters, owners &c. the relations of father, brother, sister &c. yes: dreadful as it may seem, man literally

"Chains his brother and exacts his sweat."

And sure if angels ever weep at the follies and crimes of men, it must be when thus employed. Amalgamation has been professedly deprecated by our legislators, and people generally, as one of the sorest evils that could befall us in this respect: and law have been enacted to prevent free negroes from intermarrying with white people, while strange to tell, not one legislative effort has been made to prevent the abuse of female slaves, by whom, or under what aggravating circumstances soever the same might be offered. These circumstances, with others no less unfavorable to our moral and political character, make primary ingredients in that monument of our country's disgrace, which, unless it be demolished by the virtues of our present or succeeding citizenship, can only fall with our remembrance as a people, and not until the last laurel has dropped from our brow, and our last fading glory is extinct! We might enlarge on this painful subject: we might treat of the force of temptation, particularly when coming from a quarter to meet the cordial approbation of our natural passions and desires; and in the accomplishment of which no formidable bar is interposed. We might show how reason is here overpowered and dethroned; how the remonstrances of virtue, already decayed and emaciated, become vain and futile; how man, bent upon sensual gratification, rushes on, brutifies himself, inflames his passions but the more, prepares himself for the practice of almost every vice, and at once submits to be carried by the current of his clamorous inclinations into the whirlpool of vice and dissipation; but we forbear. Thus we have given a faint and very imperfect representation, which it is believed, falls far below the reality; but such a one as is by no means flattering, either to the wisdom or virtue of our country.

One remark more shall close our observations on this subject. If this be the nature of the case, is it not matter of surprise that these things have not excited the attention of our legislatures before now? Truly they cannot



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be ignorant of this evil; but still they have approbated, or at least winked at it. We are certainly entitled to enquire into the cause of this neglect. Has it been then, as they have said, "Because this subject needs no legislative interference?" Facts the most incontestable declare the contrary. Has it been because the evil to be removed was one too great to be exterminated, either in part or in whole? We think not. Has it been because the appeals on this subject have not been sufficient to elicit the feelings of humanity, and awaken the voice of justice? surely not. Must we then conclude that there is not virtue enough among us, as a people, to correct even the grossest of irregularities. And are we not authorized to fear that the legislative functionaries among us, have designedly neglected this subject, lest by imposing any restraints on the licentious in this respect, they should also abridge their own enjoyments? CAROLINIANS! reflect on this subject! It is one that demands your attention. The evil here complained of has already ruined many of your sons! It is the hateful mildew which tarnishes the virtue of many a promising American youth, and is the cause of more debauchery than all other causes conjoined! Let the people – the virtuous the intelligent people, call "loud and long" for redress on this subject, until virtue triumphs over vice, and humanity over cruelty.

PROPOSITION V. Slavery, absolute and unconditional, is no less contrary to the christian religion than to the dictates of justice and humanity. It may seem superfluous, after having dwelt so long on the evils and miseries of slavery, to say any thing in relation to its antichristian character; for if what we have said already be true, it must be apparent to all serious and sober thinking people that a system fraught with so much injustice and attended with so many pernicious consequences, cannot possibly be consistent with the simple and disinterested truths of the religion of Christ. But the attempts which worldly minded and selfish professors are daily making to reconcile slavery with Christianity, constitute our apology for detaining our readers awhile on this part of the subject. And here we shall first attempt to show that slavery is inconsistent with the Mosaic or Jewish policy: and secondly, that it is contrary to the most obvious duties and requirements of the teachings of Christ.

First. We have said that slavery was inconsistent with the Mosaic or Jewish policy. It is true that a species of slavery existed among the Jews, both before and after the giving of the law, but the rigor and perpetuity which characterize our slave system was not tolerated among the Jews; nor was the servitude known among that people of that absolute nature, practised. No Hebrew was at liberty to continue a Hebrew whom he had purchased longer than six years against his will. Thus in Exodus XXI chap. 2, 3, ver. it was admitted, that in such cases the servant should "serve" his master "six years" and the "seventh" he should go out free. In Deuteronomy, XV chap. 12, ver. the same principle is recognized, and applied to Hebrew servants, both male and female; and here also they are declared to be free on the seventh year. And in the last paragraph of the XXXIV chap. of Jeremiah, we find God by the mouth of the prophet, reiterating this sacred statute, censuring the Jews in the highest degree for not observing it, and threatening to visit them with sword, famine &c. and to scatter them among all nations for such disobedience.

The principle causes of slavery among the Hebrews were, First, poverty which obliged them to sell themselves. Leviticus XXV, 39, and Secondly, the commission of theft for which they were not able to make amends. Exod. XXII. 3. And from the example of the widow, whose oil Elisha multiplied, it seems that the demands of creditors extended to the enslaving of the children of



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insolvent debtors. II, Kings IV. 1. In all this we find nothing to justify the slavery that exists among us, which has been marked with cruelty in every period of its existance. Those Hebrew servants, or slaves, were not only entitled to go out free on the seventh or sabbatical year; but if than were not then disposed to leave their wives and children, and make use of the privilege, "they might claim their liberty and that of their children, in the Jubilee, or fiftieth year." Lev. XXV. 40. But it is alleged that besides this enslaving of Hebrews by Hebrews, "there existed another species of slavery among the Jews, a species of slavery which fully justifies the system now existing among us." To this allegation, we reply – First, that it is very uncertain whether this allegation be founded in truth or not, – and Secondly, if it is, it proves nothing against our argument in the present instance.

First then, we contend that the allegation is itself founded in doubt, or uncertainty. God's covenant with Abraham and with his seed after, him, was that they should duly circumcise every male among them, as well he that was bought with money of any stranger, as he that was a native decendant of Abraham. Gen. XVII. 10-12 Jewish commentators agree that this command was strictly construed and faithfully practised. Thus it is said by Maimonides, "Whether a servant be born in the house of an Israelite, or whether he be purchased from the brethren, the master is to bring them both into the covenant. But he that is born in the house is to be entered upon the eighth day, and he that is bought with money on the day on which the master received him, unless the slave be unwilling. For, if the master receive a grown slave, and he be unwilling his master is to bear with him, to seek to win him over by instruction and by love and kindness, for one year, after which should he refuse so long, it is forbidden to keep him longer than the winter months, and the master must send him back to the stranger, from whence he came, for the God of Jacob will not accept the worship of any other than a willing heart." And by a comparison of Genesis, Chap. XVII Verse 10, with Romans, Chap. IV. Verse 9-12, it is certain that those who receive the right of circumcision were consecrated to the service of the true God.⁴⁹

And these circumcised strangers, were called by the Jews, prosolytes of justice, because they imbraced the whole law of Moses, and engaged themselves to live holy and justly. "And they therefore," (says the learned and the pious Claudious Florius, in his celebrated treatis on the manners, customs, rights, &c. of the ancient Israelites, page 129) "had the rank and privilege of Natural Jews." This sentiment is also corobrated by the learned Mr. Horne who says, "although the constitution of the Jewish polity, and the laws of Moses allowed no other nation to participate in their sacred rites, yet they did not exclude such as were willing to qualify themselves for conforming to them."

From the above considerations, and others that might be adduced, it is probable that the slaves which were bought of strangers and afterwards became circumcised, enjoyed all the privileges of enfranchisement, especially in the year of Jubilee: for St. Paul says of such, that they were "debtor to do the whole law." And surely if they "must do the whole law," they, in turn, would reap the benefits conferred by the law. This opinion is generally strengthened by the command of God, in Lev. Chap. XXV. Verse 10– "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof: and it shall be a Jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possessions, and ye shall return every man unto his family. But since there are some authorities which favor a different hypothesis with respect to the nature of that slavery into which strangers were brought by Jews, we shall leave, as all who duly weigh both sides of the subject must leave it in a degree of doubt and

49. Horne's introduction to the critical study of the holy scriptures.



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uncertainty; for as Mr. Stroud has justly remarked: "it is a subject not to be discoursed on with the freedom of ordinary criticism, and on which there is an obscurity which leaves the mind unsatisfied."

But suppose we give up the ground altogether, and let the friends of slavery have the advantage of the position they have taken in this respect, instead of deriving any support from this circumstance, their cause is rather weakened, since we being Gentiles should, by the same rule, act towards Gentiles, as Jews did towards Jews, semilarly circumstanced. "The only legitimate inference, therefore, which, in a comparison with Mosaic regulations, analogy furnishes, is, that our conduct to slaves should be the same as was the conduct of Israelites to Hebrew slaves.

Secondly. If slavery be inconsistent with the Mosaic or Jewish polity, it is still more so with the precepts of Christ. The Mosaic dispensation was, in some respects, a dispensation of bondage, but the Christian or gospel dispensation, is in every respect, a dispensation of liberty. The genius of the gospel is "mildness gentleness and brotherly kindness," &c. And the great and ruling maxim by which Christ would have his followers to regulate their conduct is this: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." This rule is applied in refference to our conduct towards all men. And in addition to this, or rather by way of inforcing it, we are commanded by Christ, to "be merciful, as our heavenly father is merciful;" and St. Paul has enjoined the doing of good to all men. On these plain scriptures, the sense of which is too plain and obvious to be overlooked by any devout seeker of truth, we think it entirely unnecessary to offer any comment. Surely no serious and sober thinking Christian will, with these scriptures, and a thousand others of similar import, before his eyes, attempt again to reconcile slavery with christianity. No, brethren; - if you find in your hearts to be evil, by unjustly and unmercifully enslaving your fellow creatures; by living in pampered ease and affluence on the labors toil and sweat, or may we not say, the "flesh and blood," of the poor African do not insult the common sense of mankind, and put that religion which you profess to love, to the blush by prostituting the mild and gentle doctrines of the gospel to the support of a principle and practice which shocks every native idea, which mankind have of natural and universal justice! May the spirit which inspired these holy men of old, who wrote the sacred text as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, save us from "wresting it thus to our own destruction!

The following principles, most of which are deducible from the foregoing remarks, we give as the primary principles held by us as a Society - together with a brief outline of the plan which we would adopt for the abolition of the evil complained of: and First. We hold, with the venerable founders of our republican institutions, that liberty is the unalienable birth-right of every human being; and that God has made no difference in this respect between the white and black.

Secondly We believe that, in a national and individual point of view, the negro is intitled to the same measure of justice with the white man, and that neither his skin, or any other material consequence attending him, can afford a reasonable pretext for his oppression.

Thirdly. We believe that the evil is one which effects every part of the community, in a greater or less degree; and may therefore be termed a national evil; and that both emancipation and colonization are necessary to its removal.

With regard to emancipation, we hold 1st, that it should be gradual; so conducted as not to interfere with the rights of property; - But 2ndly, that it should be universal. This however, is not enough - The debt which we owe the negroes is not sufficiently paid by merely suffering the opressed to go free. We believe it to be the duty of our countrymen, to use all



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possible means to enlighten and elevate the minds, ennoble the hearts; and improve and elevate the character of the negroes among us, that they may be prepared both to enjoy and appreciate liberty, and to discharge the important duties assigned them by their creator, as well to himself as to their fellow creatures, with honour to God and benefit to mankind.

In order to remove this alarming evil which is threatening in its aspect, and which if continued long enough, must be so destructive in its consequences, we would recommend the following:

First. Let a law be enacted, preventing the further introduction of slaves into the State for sale or hire.

Secondly. Let a law be enacted facilitating individual emancipation, by allowing such masters as wish to liberate their slaves, to do so; provided the liberated slave be capable of earning a comfortable livelihood.

Thirdly. We would recommend a law to facilitate individual emancipation still further, by authorizing negroes to make contracts with their masters by which they may purchase their own freedom.

Fourthly. We would recommend the passage of laws imposing still further restraints upon the abuse of slaves, and affording the unlawfully abused slave, at the same time, easy means of redress.

Fifthly. We would recommend a law providing for the instruction of slaves, in the elementary principles of language, at least so far as to enable them to read the holy scriptures.

Sixthly. We would provide by law that all children in this State after a certain period, should be free at a certain age; and from and after the passing of said act, no negroes should be removed from the State in such a way as to lose the benefit of said act upon their posterity.

FINIS.

The committee appointed by the General Association of the Manumission Society of North-Carolina, to draw up an address to the people of the State, and to report the same to the Board of Managers of the said Society for Publication, respectfully report the foregoing.

AMOS WEAVER, Chairman.



January 1, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) about being in the company of [Friend Moses Brown](#), in the 92d year of his age:

*6th day 1st of 1st M 1830 / We commence a new Year — It has been a comfortable day to me in body & mind - I have been twice into town & transacted small concerns & feel thankful & grateful for my many favours. - I know that few who have lived 48 Years have got along more easily & pleasantly than I have tho' attended with some close trials yet I have much to be tankful for & desire to cultivate a disposition to be grateful & render the tribute of praise Where it is alone due
This evng we had the company of our friend [Moses Brown](#), now in his 92nd Year - he is still pleasant animated & interesting in conversation.—⁵⁰*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

50. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1829-1832: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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Anastasio Bustamante y Osegera became acting President of Mexico.

In South Carolina, meeting of merchants renounced a proposed state loan for railroad construction as inadequate, and “adopted a resolution urging the company to apply again for a congressional appropriation” — to the disgust of state’s rights radicals. Senator Robert Hayne and Representative William Drayton would be willing to present the petition to Congress, but not to support it. Ironically, it would then be presented to Congress by Hayne’s famous antagonist, [Daniel Webster](#).

In [Baltimore](#), an illustrious party, including William Wirt, rode a carriage pulled by one horse on the new railroad as far as the Carrollton Viaduct at a speed of 15 miles per hour (note that, to duplicate this feat on a conventional road, the carriage would have required four horses).

 January 6, Wednesday: Fanny Wright and William S. Phiquepal boarded the brig they had chartered, the *John Quincy Adams* anchored off New Orleans, to convey their Nashoba slaves to Haiti and there set them free.

General Manuel de Mier y Teran reported on a plan to defend Mexico against encroachment by the USA.

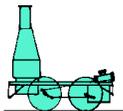
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6th of 1st M / Our dear friend Mary B Allen was at Meeting with us & bore a living & faithful testimony much to our comfort & Strength Lydia Breed also bore a short but good and appropriate testimony. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 8, Friday: 15th anniversary of Battle of New Orleans (!).

 January 9, Saturday: Work began on the South Carolina Canal & Railroad Company’s tracks from Charleston west-northwest to a landing just across the river from Augusta GA. Unlike the Baltimore & Ohio, which was an existing horse-drawn railroad in the process of converting to steam power, this new 136 miles of track would never have cars pulled over it by horses. However, the track system was constructed in the same manner, with iron-strap rails spiked to wood stringers which were set into wooden cross-ties. While the tracks were being laid, the company commissioned the West Point Foundry of New York to construct, for \$4,000.⁰⁰, a locomotive to be named *Best Friend of Charleston*.





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 January 10, Sunday: Caleb Atwater attends President Andrew Jackson's "First levee"; "opened at 5:00,... President [and cabinet] were there at an early hour.... The Secretary of War, and all his family were dressed in the neatest but plainest manner. The Secretary's lady ("Peggy" Eaton), whose person is symmetry itself, neither needed nor wore any thing, but plain American calico for a dress, without a ruffle, or a single ornament, on her person... no sooner had she taken her place, near the President's family, than all the beauty and fashion in the room, gathered around her, to do her honor.... During five long hours, they stood, almost without moving from their places on the floor, shaking hands with those who had just entered the room, or were about to retire from it."

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

1st day 10 of 1st M / Silent Meetings but pretty good ones - I feel renewedly that the Silent Wing of time passes very swiftly with me. - Had it not been for the Stormy weather I expect my wife & I should have gone to attend [Smithfield](#) Meeting today. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 12, Tuesday: Into Brown's Indian Queen Hotel, as the white-man ambassador in Washington DC of the Cherokee Nation of the Oklahoma Territory, strode Sam Houston. To mark his standing he would often appear "in buckskin leggings, moccasins, and a brilliant Indian hunting shirt, with his head wrapped in the distinctive Cherokee turban" (as to why an Indian hunting shirt needs to be brilliant, let's all just agree to let that go).

 January 13, Wednesday: Samuel Wesley began his last lecture series, in Bristol.

A great fire of suspicious origin struck New Orleans causing over \$300,000 damage. Slaves were blamed.

The State of Venezuela seceded from Gran Colombia.

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

4th day 13 of 1 M Silent Meeting but pretty good. I however was sensible of much barrenness & unfruitfulness of Spirit, both in & out of meetings - it is far from a season abounding - but I hope to proffit by it -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 15, Friday: William Lloyd Garrison's [Genius of Universal Emancipation](#) included a comment about David Walker's AN APPEAL ... TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD..., "We have had this pamphlet on our table for some time past, and are not surprised at its effect upon our sensitive Southern brethren. It is written by a colored Bostonian, and breathes the most impassioned and determined spirit. We deprecate its circulation, though we cannot but wonder at the bravery and intelligence of its author. The editor of the Whig must not laugh at Gov. Giles: his alarm was natural."

A post office was opened at Canal (later Memphis), New York.



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 January 16, Saturday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was voted honorary membership in the Philharmonic Society of London.

 January 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17th of 1st M 1830 / Silent in the Morning- In the Afternoon we had the pious labours of Wm Almy - Daniel & James Buffum of Salem were here & attended both Meetings - They appear to be a couple of clever solid young men & I also like the appearance of their Brother Samuel who has come as a Schollar to the School - I am glad to see such good looking young men - James Buffum told me that the Schooling he recd here some years ago had done much to attach him to the Society of Friends. - he is an acquaintance of J S Gould. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 24, Sunday: Anna Flatt Melvin died.

THE MELVINS OF CONCORD

Law student [Robert Schumann](#) gave a very successful performance of Moscheles, Alexander Variations in Heidelberg. Despite the public approval, he would descend into depression for the next few months.

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

1st day 24th of 1 M / Silent Meetings all day - but Pretty good ones to me -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 28, Thursday: Fra Diavolo, ou L'hotelliere de Terracine, an opera comique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, was performed for the initial time, at Theatre de Ventadour, Paris on the eve of the composer's 48th birthday.

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

5th day 28 of 1 M / A letter by Deborah Ramsdall mentioned the decease of our fr MOSES SLEEPER on the 20th inst - he attended China Monthly Meeting on the 19th & after which & on his return home was taken ill & died before he reached his own residence -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 29, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 29 of 1st M 1830 / This Morning the remains of our Schollar Timothy Gifford were removed from hence homeward: - His father accompanied by his neighbour & friend Isaac Lawrence & Ellis Gifford to drive the herse set out Wm Jenkins with the myself in a Chaise followed by teachers & large Schollars went as far as [Moses Brown](#)'s Bridge where we parted with them, leaving them to go a solitary & Mournful journey of 36 Miles the weather was very cold. The Thermometer standing when they set out at 5



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above 0 - this with other circumstances have made them much the companions of my mind thro' the day - as we returned from the Bridge Wm Jenkins & I stoped at [Moses Browns](#) & took breakfast with him.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The first issue of the [Southern Times](#) came out in Columbia, South Carolina, with James Henry Hammond writing: "We are opposed to internal improvements. We are opposed to the Tariff in every shape, and upon every ground."

Congressman David Crockett's committee introduced its bill giving squatters on public lands an entitlement to purchase, cheaply, land they had improved.

 Late January: At a Washington DC reception for the Diplomatic Corps, President Andrew Jackson enthusiastically received Sam Houston as a delegate of the Cherokee Nation.

 January 30, Saturday: The [Texas Gazette](#) reported that during the previous couple of months, Stephen Austin had issued 230 certificates receiving settlers and prospective settlers.

From the log of the lightkeeper on Matinicus Rock: "*A Sataday night Very cold.*"

Eugène Delacroix displayed his painting *La Liberté guidant le peuple*.

 February 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 14 of 2 M / Silent in the Morning - In the Afternoon
Wm Almy preached & Lydia Breed prayed*

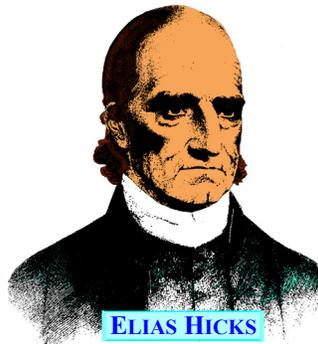
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) suffered a stroke on his right side and lost the ability to speak. In his hand as he fell was his last letter, just completed, to Hugh Judge in Ohio,⁵¹ which said in part that



[N]othing but this inward light and law, as it is heeded and obeyed, ever did, or ever can make a true and real Christian and child of God.... "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men" ... "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth ... shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." These scripture testimonies give a true and correct description of the gospel state, and ... nothing can make them afraid that man can do unto them; as saith the prophet in his appeal to Jehovah: "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee."

Placed on a bed with a cotton quilt over him, he could see that it was [cotton](#) and thus the product of slave labor, and so he picked and shoved feebly at the covering with his left hand until it slid to the floor.



The full text of the letter to Hugh Judge of Ohio from this [Quaker](#) leader was as follows:



Jericho, 2nd mo. 14th, 1830
Dear Hugh,
Thy very acceptable letter of the 21st ultimo, was duly received, and read with interest, tending to excite renewed sympathetic, and mutual fellow-feeling; and brought to my remembrance the cheering salutation of the blessed Jesus, our holy and perfect pattern and example, to his disciples, viz: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." By which he assured his disciples that, by walking in the same pathway of self-denial and the cross which he trod to blessedness, they might also overcome the world; as nothing has ever enabled any ration being, in any age of the world, to overcome the spirit of the world, which lieth in wickedness, but the cross of Christ.

 April 1, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

51. [Elias Hicks](#). JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS OF ELIAS HICKS. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. NY: Isaac T. Hopper, 1832.



Some may query, what is the cross of Christ? To these I answer, it is the perfect law of God written on the tablet of the heart, and in the heart of every rational creature, in such indelible characters that all the powers of mortals cannot erase nor obliterate. Neither is there any power or means given or dispensed to the children of men, but this inward law and light by which the true and saving knowledge of God can be obtained. And by this inward law and light, all will be either justified or condemned, and all be made to know God for themselves, and left without excuse, agreeably to the prophecy of Jeremiah, and corroborating the testimony of Jesus in his last counsel and command to his disciples, not to depart from Jerusalem until they should receive power from on high; assuring them that they should receive power, when they had received the pouring forth of the spirit upon them, which would qualify them to bear witness of him in Judea, Jerusalem, Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth; which was verified in a marvellous manner on the day of Pentecost, when thousands were converted to the Christian faith in one day. By which it is evident, that nothing but this inward light and law, as it is heeded and obeyed, ever did, or even can make a true and real Christian and child of God. And until the professors of Christianity agree to lay aside all their non-essentials in religion, and rally to this unchangeable foundation and standard of truth, wars and fighting, confusion and error will prevail, and the angelic song cannot be heard in our land, that of "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men." But when all nations are made willing to make this inward law and light, the rule and standard of all their faith and works, then we shall be brought to know and believe alike, that there is but one Lord, one faith, and but one baptism; on God and Father, that is above all, through all, and in all; and then will all those glorious and consoling prophecies recorded in the scriptures of truth be fulfilled. Isaiah ii. 4, "He," the Lord, "shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." Isaiah xi. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth," that is our earthly tabernacles, "shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

These scripture testimonies give a true and correct description of the gospel state, and no rational being can be a real Christian and true disciple of Christ, until he comes to know all these things verified in his own experience, as every man and woman has more or less of all those different animal propensities and passions in their nature, and they predominate and bear rule, and are the source and fountain from which all wars, and every evil work proceed, and will continue as long as man remains in his first nature, and is governed by his animal spirit and propensities, which constitute the natural man, which Paul tells us "receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."



This corroborated the declaration of Jesus to Nicodemus, "that, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Here Jesus assures us, beyond all doubt, that nothing but spirit can either see or enter into the kingdom of God; and this confirms Paul's doctrine, that "as many as are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God," and "joint heirs with Christ." And Jesus assures us, by his declaration to his disciples, John xiv. 16,17, "If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive;" that is, men and women in their natural state, who have not given up to be led by this spirit of truth, that leads and guides into all truth; "because the see him not, neither do they know him, but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." And as these give up to be wholly led and guided by him, the new birth is brought forth in them, and they witness the truth of another testimony of Paul's, even that of being created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God had fore-ordained that all his new-born children should walk in them, and thereby show forth by their fruits and good works, that they were truly children of God, born of his spirit, and taught by him; agreeably to the testimony of the prophet, that "the children of the Lord are all taught of the Lord, and in righteousness they are established, and great is the peace of his children." And nothing can make them afraid that man can do unto them; as saith the prophet in his appeal to Jehovah, "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is staid on thee, because he trusteth in thee." Therefore, let every one that loves the truth, for God is truth, "trust in the Lord forever, for in the Lord Jehovah there is everlasting strength."

I write these things to thee, not as though thou didst not know them, but as a witness to thy experience, as "two are better than one, and a threefold cord is not quickly broken."

I will now draw to a close, with just adding, for the encouragement, be of good cheer, for no new thing has happened to us; for it has ever been the lot of the righteous to pass through many trials and tribulations, in their passage to that glorious, everlasting, peaceful, and happy abode, where all sorrow and sighing come to an end - the value of which is above all price; for when we have given all that we have and can give, and suffered and suffered all that we can suffer, it is still infinitely below its real value. And if we are favoured to gain an inheritance in that blissful and peaceful abode, "where the wicked cease troubling, and the wear are at rest, "we must ascribe it all to the unmerited mercy and loving-kindness of our heavenly Father, who remains to be God over all, blessed for ever.

I will now conclude; and in the fulness of brotherly love to thee and thine, in which my family unite, subscribe thy affectionate friend,

ELIAS HICKS

TO HUGH JUDGE.

Please present my love to all my friends, as way opens.



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5th day 1 of 4 M 1830 / Attended Meeting in town, but alas my leaness, my weakness & Poverty followed me even there. -- In the Afternoon we had a call from [Moses Brown](#) & Wm Jenkins & agreed to write to Phebe Burgess to come here as Second teacher.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 11, Easter Sunday: Louis de Chaisne, Comte Bourmont became the 1st French military commander of Algeria.

In the Anna-Kirche of Vienna, Acts I & II of Lazarus, oder Die Feier der Auferstehung D.689, an oratorio by Franz Schubert to words of Niemeyer, was performed for the initial time.

While in Frankfurt, Robert Schumann for the 1st time witnessed a performance by [Nicolò Paganini](#). This was of course impressive but he wondered whether such a virtuoso might be lacking in “that great, noble, priestly serenity characteristic of the genuine artist.”

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

1st day 11 of 4 M 1830 / Silent Meeting in the Mornng In the Afternoon we had the company of Wm almy who preached acceptably. – his labours at this house I hope may be blessed to the rising generation as well as to some in more maturer years. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 13, Tuesday: Jefferson day “battle of the toasts” at (Jesse Brown’s) Indian Queen Hotel, Washington DC. Toasted Jackson: “Our Federal Union: It must be preserved.” Responded Calhoun: “The Union: Next to our liberty most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the union.”



April 16, Friday: [Hector Berlioz](#) wrote his friend Humbert Ferrand that he was getting over his obsession with Harriet Smithson by composing a symphony. He called it “*LE SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE*, Episode in the Life of an Artist” and includes a draft of the program, saying he had just written the last note.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 April 17, Saturday: While he was in London, [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was created a corresponding member of the Institut de France in the Academie des Beaux Arts.

William Lloyd Garrison entered the Baltimore jail “amid shouts of ‘Fresh fish! fresh fish!’ from the prisoners....” He found that the prisoners were allowed to boil beef for their breakfast, and thicken the leftovers into a vegetable soup for their supper. There were four separate chambers within the jail, one of which was for the debtors, one for the male criminals, one for the women inmates, and one for those who were being denied general walking privileges within the high stone walls surrounding the compound. Youths were being kept away from the general run of the prisoners, within the warden’s family’s quarters. Garrison, as a celebrity, boarded with the warden’s family, took his meals at their table, and had a desk in their parlor at which he might write. Garrison would be able to interview a number of runaway slaves who were being held in this jail pending their being reclaimed by their slavemasters. He would occupy this time in writing letters, and in the creation of a pamphlet about freedom of the press.

 April 18, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day [sic] 18 of 4 M / Silent Meetings - seasons of some favour to me, tho' not a little tried with unsettled & roving feelings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 19, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 19 of 4 M / Recd a letter from John, very pleasant & good.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 20, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 20th of 4th M / Recd a letter from Abraham Tucker containing a good deal of acceptable & interesting matter. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 21, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 21st of 4 M / Our Meeting in the family was silent & rather a low time to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 22, Thursday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was elected a corresponding member to the Academie Royale des Beaux Arts de l’Institut de France.

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

5th day 22nd of 4th M 1830 / In the first Meeting Lydia Breed had a short but good testimony - In the Preparative meeting we had a complaint presented against Anson Potter & one against



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Rowland E Hazard which were forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting.

In the Select Meeting which followed, - The Usual buisness of answering the queries were attended to & our friend Anna A Jenkins opened a concern to attend the ensuing Yearly Meeting at New York which was fully united with. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 23, Friday: The ship from Haiti, bearing Francis Wright, docked in Philadelphia. Fanny was pregnant. She would soon leave for New-York, to be with her sister Camilla.

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

6th day 23 of 4 M / Our frined [Moses Brown](#) had a severe ill turn yesterday & last night - I visited him today & found him comfortable and pleasant. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Because of an unfortunate dalliance, when Fanny Wright arrived in Philadelphia from Haiti, she arrived pregnant. She would go on, to New-York, in an attempt to assist her troubled sister, Camilla, whose life had been wracked by tragedy and illness, and who was “visibly sinking.” The only person with whom she was hanging out was Robert Dale Owen, and the two were very possibly in love but he was attempting to cope with “the impossibility of their situation by burying his emotions in work.” He was commuting every day five miles on horseback from their rural home in the upper reaches of Manhattan Island to “the city” (south of Houston Street), and working there twelve hours a day.



Harriet Arbuthnot was the wife of a Tory MP and a great friend to Wellington. She secretly became his “social secretary” at No. 10 Downing Street. According to *THE JOURNAL OF MRS. ARBUTHNOT 1820-1832*, as edited by Francis Bamford and the duke of Wellington (Macmillan, 1950),

The King goes on much the same. The Doctors say he is a little better, but I think Halford is persuaded he will die. He gets black in the face & his pulse alters when he has these attacks on his breath, which they think shows something wrong about the heart. They took him out airing ten days ago &, when he got to the Lodge, he was so bad they were frightened to death & thought he would die. They gave him quantities of brandy, & he rallied so completely that he got into his carriage & drove 20 miles. His mode of living is really beyond belief. One day last week, at the hour of the servants’ dinner, he called the Page & said, “Now you are going to dinner. Go down stairs & cut me off just such a piece of beef as you would like to have yourself, cut from the part you like best yourself, & bring it me up.” The page accordingly went and fetched him an enormous quantity of roast beef, all of which he eat, & then slept for 5 hours. One



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

night he drank two glasses of hot ale & toast, three glasses of claret, some strawberries!! and a glass of brandy. Last night they gave him some physic and, after it, he drank three glasses of port wine & a glass of brandy. No wonder he is likely to die! But they say he will have all these things & nobody can prevent him. I dare say the wine will not hurt him, for with the Evil (which all the Royal Family have) it is necessary, I believe, to have a great deal of high food, but the mixture of ale & strawberries is enough to kill a horse....

 April 24, Saturday: Wilhelmine Schroder-Devrient sang Franz Schubert's setting of Erlkonig for the poet, [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), who reversed his previous negative reaction to the work.

 April 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25 of 4th M / With my H Rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Meeting there, - it was silent & a dull season to me. - I Returned to the Afternoon Meeting at the Institution Wm Almy was there & preached instructively

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 27, Tuesday: [Simón Bolívar](#) resigned as president of Colombia.

 April 28, Wednesday: Franz Liszt and Henri Herz played duets at the Salle Chantierine, Paris.

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

*4th day 28th of 4 M / Rode to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - it was a very pleasant Ride - we enjoyed the Scenery - the beautiful pines & the other forest trees were highly interesting & particularly the wild plums which is in full blossom
But the Meeting tho' highly favoured in some respects was a season of painful exercise Wm Harris Abraham Wilkinson Timothy Greene & Nathan Buffington were disowned - & three others were taken under dealing - the Meeting held over four hours. -In the first Meeting our friend Wm Almy preached & was followed by Anna A Jenkins - Lydia Breed closed in Supplication - In the last meeting Anna A Jenkins opened a concern to attend the approaching Yearly Meeting at New York & recd a copy of a Minute for the purpose & Lydia Breed felt a drawing to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meetings of Dartmouth & [New Bedford](#) & had a copy of a Minute for that purpose. - So that amidst all the discouraging circumstances which attend us - there are some which evince that there are some alive & ready to go fourth in the great course of their Lord & Master. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



June 8, Tuesday: The USS *Vincennes* returned to New-York harbor as “the first warship to circumnavigate the earth.” Well, anyway, that was its blurb in the patriotic press.

The [Quaker](#) educational institution in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on its way to becoming today’s [Moses Brown School](#), was visited by a couple of traveling [Hicksite](#) Quakers, and Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), living in an apartment of the boarding house for students as a kind of house parent, found himself in deep opposition to these Hicksites and everything they stood for:

3rd day 8th of 6th M / Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution - they are Hixites & Hannah as Preacher & has come on here to impose on Friends - She was formerly Hannah Pope of Bolton & an old acquaintance of ours as a Yearly Meeting lodger. - We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles - they were accompanied by Anson Potter a disowned Member of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting at whose house they lodged last night - From here they went to James Scott another disowned member. - After tea I went down to [Moses Browns](#) & sat with him & Elisha Bates. -



Summer: Four [Friends](#) from Baltimore MD arrived on the island of Nantucket: [Friend](#) Hannah Wilson, the clerk of the Baltimore Women’s Yearly Meeting, her husband, and two traveling companions. Although the visitors were [Hicksite](#) Friends, the Nantucket meeting had never gotten around to disowning the some 87% of its membership who were Hicksite, and thus technically at least the visitors were Friends in good standing, and could not be prevented from entering the meetinghouse for worship. Friend Hannah Wilson, a traveling minister, was therefore forbidden by the elders of the local meeting from making any attempt to address the meeting, and informed in addition that she would not be welcome to seat herself in the ministers’ gallery during worship. (Hey, lady, better not attempt to pray in the presence of these holy people! —Nevertheless, Friend Hannah Wilson would speak, in fact for some twenty minutes.) When the visitors were refused permission to use the meetinghouse for a special or “appointed” meeting on an off day, the Methodists of the island offered their place of worship as an alternative venue, which offer was gratefully accepted. Thus, when the Hicksite doctrines were first expounded on [Nantucket Island](#), they were expounded at the Methodist Church! Shortly after this visit of Hicksite Friends from Baltimore, a deputation of Hicksite Friends appeared from the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting of New York state. This was Friend Benjamin Mitchell and Friend William Clark. After a local Orthodox minister, Friend Mary Barker Allen, had held the floor of the meeting for some time, Friend William Clark rose to speak and was ordered to sit down by Elder Friend Samuel Macy. The ritual shaking of hands that ended the meetings for worship was begun, but was interrupted by Friend Benjamin Mitchell, who stated that “the service of the Meeting is not quite over.” Most of those present exited the building, but some 40 Nantucket Friends remained and heard the visiting Hicksite ministers from New York. The names of the 40 who remained would be recorded, and they would be disciplined by their Nantucket monthly meeting for having joined in “a disorder in a Meeting for Worship.” The first wave of disownments, which occurred within a month, got rid of ten of the members of the island meeting, and by the end of this, the meeting would have lost about a hundred members, forbidden to enter either the vacated meetinghouse of the defunct Northern District Monthly Meeting or the meetinghouse still in use inside the town of Nantucket itself, for any reason. About thirty of these dissenters would unite to form a new Hicksite Monthly Meeting on Nantucket Island.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 12, Monday: Very heavy rain began falling in western New York, and would continue through the following morning.

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

2nd day 12th of 7th M 1830 / Phebe Field & her daughter spent the forenoon with us & after dinner Enoch carried them to Town. – We recd a letter from Sister Ruth Rodman –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 13, Tuesday: Recent heavy rains had caused a breach in the [Erie Canal](#) in Bushnell's Basin near Pittsford's Grand Embankment; a culvert had given way a mile and a half west of Pittsford and damage had been done at Fairport.

 July 14, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 14th of 7 M / Our Meeting was held at 9 OC this Morning to accomodate Our friends Joseph Bowne & Phebe Field who wished to attend, so as to go on Board the Steam Boat at 12 OC for NYork. Joseph & Phebe were both engaged in testimony very acceptably, they were comforting and encouraging, both to the Caretakers & Scholars – Samuel Emlen son of our late friend Samuel Emlen was also at Meeting, & our always acceptable friend [Moses Brown](#) Ahab Arnold Wm Jenkins & Anna A Jenkins also attended. – I have no doubt that tender impressions were made on the minds of the Scholars & others present – Josephs preaching was well calculated to live in the minds of the children. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 12, Thursday: Johanna Schumann grudgingly approved a plan of Freidrich Wieck to allow her son Robert to study piano and theory and assess his progress after a 6-month period.

Ground was broken at Schenectady, New York for the Mohawk and Hudson Rail-Road. Backer and lawyer C.C. Cambreleng addressed the crowd.

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

5th day 12th of 8th M / After waiting on Lydia Breed and my wife to Meeting in [Providence](#) which they had a mind to attend – I took the Steam Boat for [Newport](#) having buisness there which required my personal attention. – Found Aunt Nancy & all my particular friends well & had time to accomplish some things I went on – in the course of the Afternoon. Took tea at Father Rodmans & lodged at our own hired house

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 August 13, Friday: Achille Charles Leonce Victor, Duc de Broglie replaced Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, [Marquis de Lafayette](#) as prime minister of France.

Congressman Warren Davis, on the nullification “solution” to the tariff: “An oppressive and tyrannical law, that is driving almost to madness a generous, patriotic and highminded people, would be seen to be annulled, avoided, and made harmless by the quiet and peaceful intervention of ‘trial by jury’.”

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

6th day - Was informed today that Peleg Heng on [?] had had the whole of one of his eyes taken out in consequence of a Cancerous affection & day before yesterday a painful & dreadful operation was performed on my cousin Thomas B Gould. - Spent the day in various concerns among others a visit to my Aged Aunt Hannah Gould tho' circumstances required my dealing closely with her & setting in order before her the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin Yet my labour afforded peace to my own mind and I am in good hopes that the effect of it on her will be lastingly useful I visited most of my friends in the course of the day - & effected some buisness which may hereafter be much to my advantage & got ready to leave in the Morning -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 14, Saturday: A Constitutional Charter for France was promulgated. It called for an elected monarchy, legislation initiated in the Chambers, an end to press censorship, and the disestablishment of Roman Catholicism.

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

7th day Rose early & on going to the house top to see if the Steam Boat was in sight found she had turned Brentons Point & Ringing her Bell - I repaired immediately to the head of Long Wharf & was soon joined by Sister Ruth Rodman in a carriage & had a pleasant Passage up & arrived at the Institution between 8 & 9 O'clock finding all things well & comfortable.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 15, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 8 M / Our friend Elizabeth Wing from [Tiverton](#) in [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting Attended our Afternoon Meeting very acceptably - She is now out on a Religious visit to the Meetings of this Quarterly Meeting. - her Travelling companion is her husband Edward Wing & a very suitable one he is. They Lodge at the Institution, & expect to attend an appointed Meeting at Cumberland tomorrow.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 16, Monday: Despite the fact that he had little sympathy for such republican changes and was wary of service under the new constitutional monarch Louis-Philippe, Alexis de Tocqueville took the oath of loyalty as mandated. He began musing on ways of avoiding all this unpleasant commonness, such as by visiting the United States of America to “see there what a great republic is like” and to observe whether or no that sort of



thing could ever be good for France. He commented that his only fear was that upon his return, he would find France also had become a republic.

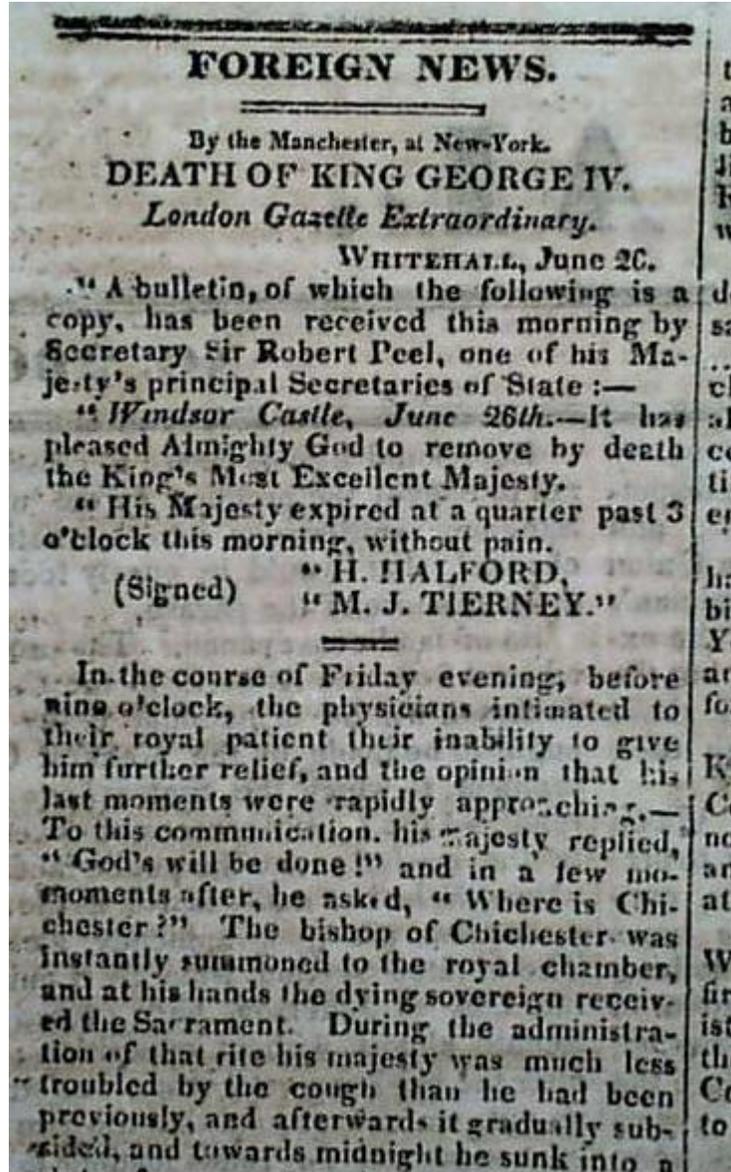


Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 16 of 8 M / Took Sister Ruth & rode to Cumberland Meeting with Edw & Elizabeth Wing - Stopped at Davis Metcalfs & refreshed before Meeting. The Meeting was not large but a season of favour. - Dined at Davis Mercalf then left Ruth & came home, as they expected to be at [Smithfield](#) tomorrow. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The news arrived in America, that King George IV of England had died. Note the black banner at the top of the column, the manner in which printers of the period announced a death:



August 17, Tuesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8th M 17th 1830 / Rode to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Appointed Meeting & Joined our friends & Sister Ruth. —Elizabeth was favour'd in the language & encouragement to all & there were a pretty respectable number of Females who were not members & some men. — Elizabeth requested the members present to remain - & to them she had very encouraging service. After the Meeting closed I rode home with them to the Institution & After dinner & resting a while - our kind young friend Gilbert Congdon took Sister Ruth with him in a Chaise & Conducted them to Elihu Bowens in Scituate where they expect to be at Meeting



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

tomorrow & next day at Cranston. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 29 of 8 M 1830 / Silent Meetings all Day. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30, Monday: Chickasaw Indian headmen “agreed” to abandon their homes and move west to the far side of the Mississippi River.

 August 31, Tuesday: A British patent was awarded to Edwin Beard Budding of Stroud, Gloucestershire, for a lawn mower.

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

3rd day 31 of 8 M / Today was our Sub committee Meeting - which was a pleasant time & a considerable important buisness transacted

It was pretty much concluded to build an Addition to this House for the accomodation of a School for the higher branches. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Fall: The Boston firm of Carter and Hendee published [Bronson Alcott](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF INFANT INSTRUCTION as a 27-page pamphlet. This publication would attract the attention of the [Quaker](#) financier Reuben Haines of Germantown, a Philadelphia suburb.

Infant happiness should be but another name for infant progress.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

 September 12, Sunday: Elector Wilhelm II of Hesse-Kassel returned to the capital from Karlsbad. In a few days, unable to depend on his military, he would call for a new constitution for the country.

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

1st day 12th of 9th M 1830 / Silent Meetings at the [Institution](#) - In the Afternoon John Brown of Dover a member of the committee & his Brother Moses Brown of Philadelphia, attended. -

Immediately after the close of our Meeting a number of us went to Town to attend the Funeral of Wm Jenkins's child Wm Almy Jenkins who died at his gan rd father Wm Almy's in Cranston yesterday Morning & was brought to Town this & buried from his fathers house this afternoon In the burying ground used by Friends here

This is a heavy loss to the Parents & connections who I have no doubt will be supported under it by the religion which they have long professed & I have no doubt professed in a very good degree. The funeral was Solemn the setting quiet & Wm Almy appeard in



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

reverend supplication & also in a short testimony at the close. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 22, Wednesday: State of the South of Colombia was renamed the State of Ecuador.

Holland's Belgian provinces were separated.

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

4th day 22 of 9 M / Today was our Week day Meeting at the Institution. – Oh Poverty & leanness is Yet upon me – but the Meeting today was a little better than at sometimes – Our fr [Moses Brown](#) called to see us a little while this Afternoon, but my wife being under engagement to go to Dorcas Anthonys & Phebe Holdens on buisness of the Meeting we were obliged to leave hi. –Finished & mail'd a letter to John this Afternoon –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23 of 9 M / We attended Meeting in town it was a good solid quiet Meeting tho there was great noise in the Streets with Drums &c it being a Military general muster. – Our friend [Moses Brown](#) was at Meeting, it is his Birthday being 92 Years of age this day - he Seemed pleasant & cheerful after Meeting & offered a few remarks to the buisness in the Preparative Meeting. –

When we returned from Meeting we found a letter from John, which had been left in our absence by Benjamin Marshall who has gone to Pawtucket & will be at the Roger Williams Hotel this Afternoon –

I spent most of the Afternoon in waiting & looking for Benj Marshall - but found him not - concluded he had gone further than Pawtucket

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 25, Saturday: Charles Sumner and Barzillai Frost graduated from [Harvard College](#). (During October 1829, the young Frost had submitted a requirement “Algebraic Geometry” (21 ¼ x 38 ¾ inches) that is still on file there: <<http://oasis.harvard.edu:10080/oasis/deliver/~hua17004>>.)

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

7 day 25th of 9th M 1830 / Benj Marshall came & we had a good opportunity with him in our room to make many inquirys about our dear John

He staid about an hour & an half & then I carried him into Town. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 September 26, Sunday: To Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it was a distinctly unpleasant experience to encounter in the public street his former friend William Rotch — since he had been [disowned](#) from the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having [Hicksite](#) leanings:

1st day 26 of 9 M / Silent & measurably favour'd Meeting. -After meeting in the Afternoon I rode into Town.- In the Street I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me - but he did not look nor feel to me, as Wm Rotch once looked & felt. - I deplore his departure from Society - but nothing can be done - he must remain as he is. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 29, Wednesday: John F. Knapp was hanged in Salem, for having murdered 82-year-old Joseph White on April 6th.

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

*4th day 29th of 9 M / Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in Town Wm almy was short in testimony encouraging the youth
The buisness was pretty well conducted - Elisha Bowen dined at the Institution the first time since we have been here -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 12, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#) began reading Volume I of Friend [William Penn](#)'s SELECT WORKS.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

6th day 12 of 11 M / Recd a letter this Afternoon from my brother Isaac informing me that my old friend John Slocum Died yesterday Afternoon in [Newport](#) - I respected him much. -

 November 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14th of 11th M 1830 / Silent Meetings all day & pretty good times to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Winter: Although a substantial new brick and stone meetinghouse of the Religious Society of Friends had in this year been constructed on Milton Place just off Federal Street in [Boston](#) at the rear of 100 Summer Street set just a little back from the street, 40 feet by 60 feet, with a front of hammered Quincy granite and an iron grill fence along the sidewalk, this building would be used not for worship meetings but for Quaker addresses to the public. The structure would stand there until 1865, under caretakers from the Salem meeting. Hannah C. Backhouse would speak there in June 1831, Daniel Wheeler would speak there in 1839, Joseph John Gurney would speak there on July 29, 1838, etc. The existence of this structure would not bring about any revival of Friends in beautiful downtown Boston, and so in 1848, and again in 1855 — it would not be possible to identify a single locally resident [Quaker](#)!



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 December 25, [Christmas](#), Saturday: An overture in B_b “Drumbeat Overture” WWV 10 by Richard Wagner was performed for the initial time, in the Royal Saxon Hoftheater, Leipzig. It was Wagner’s public debut as a composer.

The *Best Friend of Charleston* began to carry passengers over the first completed six miles of track, on a scheduled basis between Charleston and Hamburg SC, and thus became the first regularly scheduled steam railway carrier of the New World:



Away we flew on the wings of the wind at the speed of fifteen to twenty-five miles an hour, scattering sparks and flames on either side, passed over three saltwater creeks, hop, step and jump and reached the end of the line at State and Dorchester Roads before any of us had time to determine whether it was prudent to be scared.

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

*7th day 25 of 12 M 1830 / A longer time than usual has now elapsed since I have written in my Diary - I may humbly acknowledge that it has been a time of much favour & sweetness & quiet to my mind tho' trials have awaited us - I have been for more than a week since the last date confined to the room by sickness & about two days to the bed - We have also been tried with accounts from [Newport](#) that the Small Pox was in Br David Rodmans family - but are now comforted by hearing that the child is getting well - We hope none of the others will take it & that our Aged Father will be preserved from it; who has not had it & declines being inoculated for the kine Pock. -
What a blessing it is to be favoured to dwell in the quiet in times of Peril & dismay - Truly we have been tried, deeply tried but I must say I never felt more confidence in the divine Arm of support. - Oh may this continue - Human Philosophy may do much, but it falls far short of yealding the rich consolation & firm Anchor of hope, which is to be found in the Religion which comes by our blessed Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 26, Sunday: Gaetano Donizetti’s tragedia lirica *Anna Bolena* to words of Romani after Pindemonte and Pepoli was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Carcano, Milan. Of the unusually warm reception Donizetti wrote, “success, triumph, delerium.” A traveling Russian, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, would remember “The performance was like magic for me.”

 December 29, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

12 M 29 1830 (4th day) / Rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - In the first Meeting Betsy Purinton prayed & I thought it was a pretty good Meeting, tho' my own mind was very much secluded from Good, & perhaps preserved from much that was positively bad -



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Maysville Road veto and [progress towards paying] the National Debt [and] argued the right ... to use his veto at will to implement his reform program (as opposed to only vetoing on the basis of unconstitutionality)." (Source: Remini, Jackson, vol 2, p301) (Text of the Annual Address)

The first issue of the Washington Globe, published by Francis Blair. It carried advertisements and was sold by subscription in a move to avoid party dependency. (Source: Derr, Fronteirsman, p178)

12/10 - A deep freeze sets in in Boston - "All Boston shrank, braced and blued with a steady cold that deepened without a break from December 10 through Christmas. ... 'God save the poor,' Emerson wrote in letter after letter. (Source: Richardson, Emerson, p117)

12/16 Abraham Lincoln, age 21, with John Reed, "having been called on to apprais an Estray Mare ... Do find her to be four years old next Spring a bright bay 14 hands high -- a Small blaze and a Snip in her face -- right hind foot white ... appraised to 30 Dollars". (Source: Basler, Works of Lincoln, vol 1, p3)

12/25 - Snow began to fall in Illinois and accumulated to a depth of several feet for many days, accompanied by temperatures 10 and 20 degrees below zero. "Cattle died; deer and turkey which had been numerous were nearly exterminated. Of wild animals, only the wolves survived (other sources say that, after slight rain caused a crust to form on the snow, wolves were able to get around on the snow, while hooved animals, like cattle and deer, were trapped). (Source: Beveridge, Lincoln, vol. 1, p104)

1831

➡ [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) noticed that:

[I]t is expected that a person who has distinguished himself in one field ... will not ... venture into one entirely unrelated. Should an individual attempt this, no gratitude is shown.



An individual who followed Goethe's advice: Friend John [Cadbury](#) of Birmingham's premier breakfast product "Cocoa Nibs," was so successful that he rented a small factory in Crooked Lane, Birmingham to produce his own [cocoa](#). His brother Friend Benjamin Cadbury would join him later; from this beginning the Cadbury chocolate empire would ensue.

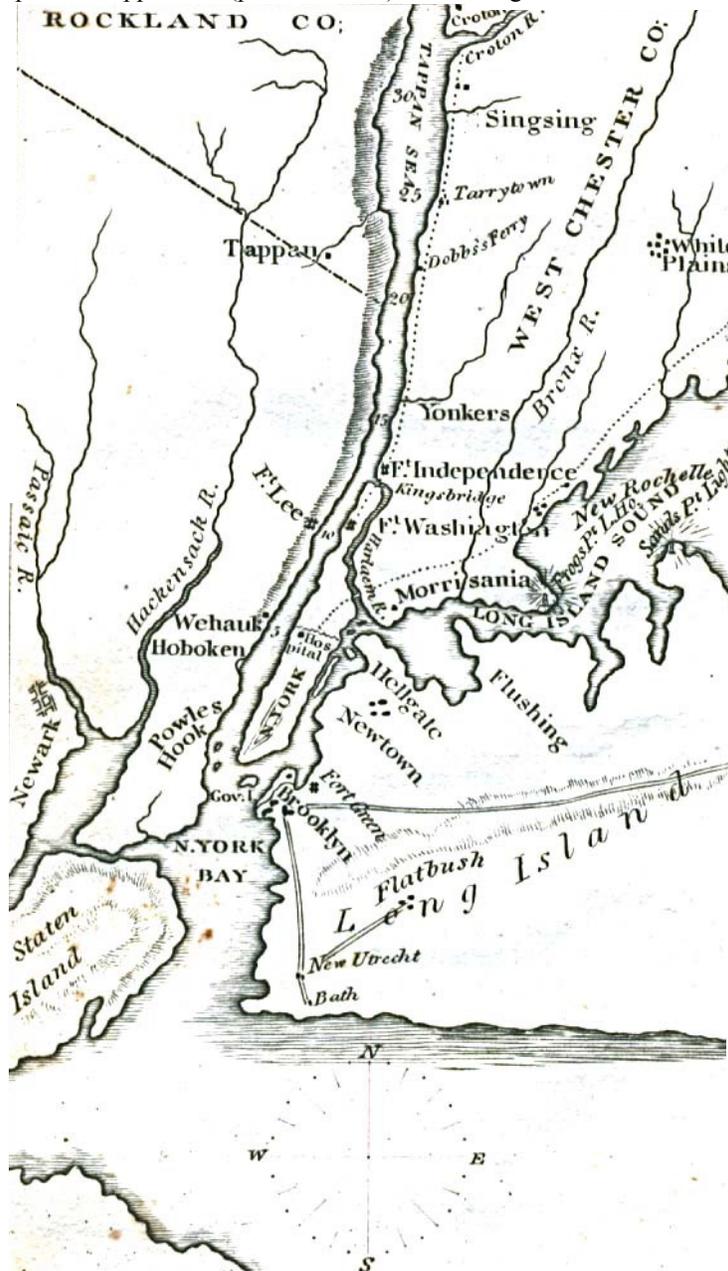
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Phillipe Suchard, who opened a confectioner's shop in Neuchatel, [Switzerland](#) in this year, had been first introduced to chocolate when he went to collect a pound of the substance from an apothecary for his ailing mother.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 A [Hicksite Quaker](#), Friend Samuel E. Clements, hired 12-year-old Walt Whitman, the son of one of his subscribers, as a printer's apprentice (printer's devil) at the [Long Island Patriot](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 The charges for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) for young [Quaker](#) scholars in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been dropping steadily, and at this point had been cut in half, to \$50 per year. A north wing had been added in the rear of the original building, the “Classical Building,” as indicated, to house an “academic department” (now known as the Upper School).





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

John Comly published, in Philadelphia in two volumes, THE WORKS OF THAT EMINENT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, [JOB SCOTT](#), LATE OF [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

JOB SCOTT WORKS I
APPENDIX
SALVATION BY CHRIST
FURTHER CONSIDERED
OPENINGS OF TRUTH
JOB SCOTT WORKS II
TENDER CAUTION
ONE TRUE GOD
ON PERSEVERANCE
REWARD / PUNISHMENT
ON BAPTISM
LIBERTY / NECESSITY

The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#)'s later books would attribute his conversion to pacifism to a chance encounter he had at this point in time with some old [Quaker](#) man of [Providence](#). According to Wright's later account of the conversation, the old man's persuasive ploy in regard to the Peace Testimony of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was to twit or tease him: were he to kill someone in self-defense, obviously as a Christian he would need to do so "with love," no? (However, it is unlikely that Wright's conversion to pacifism was so sudden and single-caused as he later would make it out to have been, for in fact in the previous year he had begun a notebook on peace and war, and in this notebook we find that he was already thinking that Jesus's injunctions not to retaliate or do harm to others in response to their harmfulness to you were injunctions which applied not only to individuals but also to governments. For so long as governments maintained themselves by force, he had been theorizing, it would be improper for the Christian even to cast a ballot.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

➡ Publication of the WORKS of Friend [George Fox](#) in eight volumes:



Bring all into the worship of God. Plough up the fallow ground. Thresh and get out the corn; that the seed, the wheat, may be gathered into the barn; that to the beginning all people may come; to Christ, who was before the world was made. For the chaff is come upon the wheat by transgression. He that treads it out is out of transgression, fathoms transgression, puts a difference between the precious and the vile, can pick out the wheat from the tares, and gather into the garner; so brings to the lively hope the immortal soul, into God out of which it came. None worship God but who come to the principle of God, which they have transgressed. None are ploughed up but he who comes to the principle of God in him, that he hath transgressed. Then he doth service to God; then is the planting, wathering and increase from God. So the ministers of the spirit must minister to the spirit that is in prison, which hath been in captivity in everyone; that with the spirit of Christ people may be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of spirits, to serve him, and have unity with him, with the scriptures, and one with another. This is the word of the Lord God to you all, a charge to you all in the presence of the living God; be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your life and conduct may preach among all sorts of people, and to them. Then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you; then to the Lord God you shall be a sweet savour, and a blessing.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ Publication of [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s HISTORY, AUTHORITY AND USE OF THE SABBATH.





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 January 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 2 of 1 M 1831 / Silent in the Morning In the Afternoon
Wm Almy was here & large in testimony- I have no doubt his
preaching does good here*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 3, Monday: The Polish Diet issued a manifesto demanding the reunion of all of ancient Poland.

[Noah Webster, Esq.](#) delivered an hour-long lecture on the English language before the House of Representatives. 

The [negrero Comet](#) was, while carrying [slaves](#) from the District of Columbia to New Orleans, wrecked on the Bahama banks. The British would take its cargo of 164 slaves to the port of Nassau in New Providence, British West Indies and there set them free. Great Britain would eventually need to pay indemnity to the American [slavemasters](#) for having done such a naughty naughty deed (SENATE DOCUMENT, 24th Congress, 2d session II, No. 174; 25th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 216).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 January 4, Tuesday: [Noah Webster](#) wrote to his wife “Becca” that his lecture on the English language before the House of Representatives had been well received, and pointing out that former President John Quincy Adams had been in his audience.

 January 4, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 4 of 1 M / Recd this eveng a very comfortable letter
from our dear Son at Hudson –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 9, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 9th of 1st M 1831 / Our Mornng Meeting was silent In the
Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached a wonderful sermon from
the admirable one, preached on the Mount - grounding his remarks
on "Blessed are the Meek" &c to my mind it was one of the
greatest evidences of inspiration I ever heard from him. it was
calculated to do good & I am fully of the belief it did do good
& I was willing & desirous to take all of it that belonged to me*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 12, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 12th of 1st M 1831 / Silent Meeting, & to me a pretty
good one. – I desire to be thankful for all my favours. – They
are not a few – I know of no better way than to receive with
meekness the offers of present good – & if trials await us, &
come upon us, then appeal to Him who will sustain us, as our
confidence is placed in Him*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

His mercy & kind [Providence](#) is overall his works & does wonderfully help all who depend upon him. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 16, Sunday: The insurrection that had broken out at Göttingen in Germany on the 8th was suppressed.

This was the 3d and final day of the “Great Snowstorm” of 1831. Some three to three and a half feet had been deposited, with drifts of up to twelve feet. Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 16 of 1 M / It has been a Violent Snow Storm all Day. –
Silent Meetings. – to me they were pretty comfortable seasons. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 17, Monday: General Jozef Chlopicki resigned as dictator of Poland.

 January 18, Tuesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Spanish Slave Ship Fenix: Message from the President ... transmitting Documents in relation to certain captives on board the Spanish slave vessel, called the Fenix.” –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 21 Cong. 2 sess. III. No. 54; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, III. No. 435.

 January 19, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 19th of 1st M / Today our venerable friend [Moses Brown](#) came to see us & attended our Meeting - it was Silent & a good meeting –
This evening Wm Dow of Vassalborough came on a visit to his sister. – Wm was an old Scholar & an intimate of Johns.- he appears to respect him & speaks of the testimony with interest*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 January 20, Thursday: Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia set the boundaries of the Netherlands and Belgium and agreed to the perpetual neutrality of Belgium.

Six months after receiving a patent for the 1st (well, the 1st practical) [sewing](#) machine, [Barthélemy Thimonnier](#) was assaulted in his factory in the rue de Sevres district of Paris and forced to flee for his life. A mob of approximately 200 tailors ransacked the factory, destroying the machines.



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

5th day 20th of 1st M 1831 / Today we attended Meeting in Town - In the first Wm Almy preached very good - After which the Preparative Meeting & Select Meeting were held [held] - Today was buried Our Friend Lydia Wilkinson at Pawtuicket She was an Elder in Society & we regretted not being Able to attend her funeral as it was appointed at the hour of our Meeting in addition to which the travelling was so bad from the great quantity of snow which had fallen - that it was inconvenient for many to go who otherwise would have gone - She was about 85 Years of Age & the widow of Oziel Wilkinson -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23rd of 1st M / Tho the sky is clear, it has never the less been a driving Snow Storm - the Wind has been high at North West, & the Snow has blown violently - I apprehend a number of Small Meetings in this quarter may have fallen through - particularly [Smithfield](#) where no Man lives within a very considerable distanc

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 26, Wednesday: Children's author Mary Mapes Dodge was born in New-York.

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

4th dat 26 of 1 M / Today was Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) Wm Almy Preached particularly to the Scholars, the largest of whom attended - The travelling so bad that no acct

was recd from [Smithfield](#) Preparative Meeting –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 29, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 29 of 1 M 1831 / Today Arnold Paine was here from Cumberland & informed us of the decease of Old Jeremiah Wilkinson Aged 91 Years & that his funeral is to be this Afternoon. –There is also a funeral this Afternoon of an Aged Woman friend at Scituate

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 30, Sunday: A Polish national government was elected. Adam Czartoryski was made president.

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

1st day 30 of 1 M 1831 / Silent Meetings – The traveling hard & bad. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 31, Monday: Congressman Crockett started a fight in the US House of Representatives over which committee of the House would be the proper one to receive a petition that had been sent in by three Cherokees, that they be granted 640-acre land tracts.



Gaetano Donizetti left Milan for Rome. He would find his destination city in turmoil.

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

2nd day 31 of 1 M / Today our friends Edw & Elizabeth Wing arrived at the Institution after a very hard travel in Snow & cold - to attend Quarterly Meeting & the Meetings of the School committee we were glad to see them & feel their devotion to the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

cause. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February: The Quaker poet [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) developed the captivity narrative of Hannah Emerson Duston as recounted by the Reverend Cotton Mather and others, in his tale “The Mother’s Revenge” in his 1st book-length publication, LEGENDS OF NEW-ENGLAND IN PROSE AND VERSE. Not as convinced as the Reverend Mather had been in the previous century that the authority of ancient Jews was superior over the authority of the author of the Sermon on the Mount, this [Quaker](#) poet evaded some of the complexity of the narrative by masking the fact that six of the persons killed and scalped in that pre-dawn act of vengefulness had been children, and by masking the fact that these children before lying down to sleep that night had recited their Christian prayers.

 February 1, Tuesday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) entered into a contract with the librettist Scribe to produce an opera comque entitled Le Portefaix. The composer would be unhappy with the libretto and would back out.

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

3rd day 1st of 2 M / Our Sub-committee Meeting was small but enough to transact buisness. – The day passed pleasantly. – Our frd Edw & Elizabeth Wing were acceptably with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Wednesday: Bartolomeo Alberto-Mauro-Cappelari was elected Pope Gregory XVI. Among the crowd receiving his 1st blessing was a visiting German, [Felix Mendelssohn](#), on the eve of his 22nd birthday.

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

4th day 2nd of 2 M / Select Meeting was small but considering the travelling it was remarkable that so many were able to attend. – Dined with Wm Almy at his New residence & attended the Meeting for Sufferings in the Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

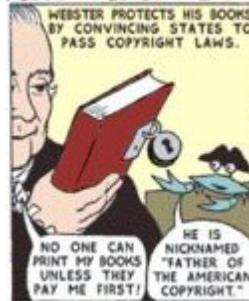
 February 3, Thursday: “Statutes relating the Theological Department in Harvard University” were confirmed by the Overseers of [Harvard College](#). With their adoption the functions of the Directors ceased and the “Society for promoting Theological Education in Harvard University” became disconnected from [Harvard University](#), under the name of the “Society for promoting Theological Education.”

The federal Congress amended the law of copyright, extending its term from 14 years to 28 years and allowing a renewal period of an additional 14 years, and permitting an author’s wife and children to file for such a renewal in the event of the demise of the author himself. [Noah Webster, Esq.](#) considered that in lobbying for this bill, he had done a service not only to his own financial interests but of course to all its future authors and hence to the Nation itself. Also, while he had been lobbying in Washington DC, 100 members of the Judiciary

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

and both Houses of Congress had endorsed “the whole Websterian series of books from the great DICTIONARY to the SPELLING BOOK.”



The Belgian Congress proclaimed Louis-Charles-Philippe-Raphael d’Orleans, duc de Nemours, son of King Louis-Philippe of France, as king (the father had refused the throne in favor of his son).

Revolution broke out in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States. Revolutionaries in the Duchy of Modena proclaimed the Duke of Reichstadt, [Napoléon](#)’s legitimate son, as king of Italy (this young gentleman was, however, at the time the prisoner of Metternich in Vienna).

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

5th day 3rd of 2 M / Quarterly Meeting well attended considering the travelling – Wm Almy Thomas Anthony & M B Allen labourers.-- Our friend John Wilbour has a weighty concern to visit England & Ireland which was committed to the consideration of a committee to report at next Quarterly Meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 4, Friday: Gioachino Rossini departed Paris for Spain in the company of the banker Alejandro Maria Aguado.

An insurrection began in Bologna, Italy in opposition to papal government and a provisional government was proclaimed (with the assistance of Austria the sovereignty of the Pope would be restored).

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

6th day 4th of 2nd M 1831 / Today was general committee Meeting which was well attended & the buisness pleasantly conducted. – My Wife I again renew’d our contract to Stay at the Institution another Year. – at present it Seems as if we are useful here, & in the way of laying up a little for advanced life - this we were never in the way before. - but in the closest times I never despaired - & have great cause to be thankful, & I believe I am in a good degree so that we have been mercifully preserved alive - from hunger, from cold, & from Nakedness - & also from the fear of it - but Most of all that we are yet favoured with some little spiritual life. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 6, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont were given an 18-month leave to study the penal system in the United States of America. Don't blow it, guys.



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

1st day 6th of 2 M / Silent Meetings. – Our friends all left us who were here at Qrly Meeting & Lydia Breed sick so that we had no preacher

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 7, Monday: A constitution was proclaimed for the Kingdom of Belgium. This called for a hereditary king, governing through ministers responsible to the legislature, a judiciary, freedom of religion, education, and press.

February 9, Wednesday: Inspired by last July's revolution in France, citizens of Reggio and Modena overthrew Duke Francesco IV d'Este and set up provisional governments.

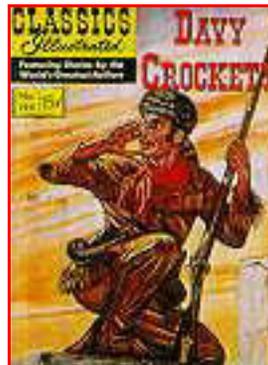
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 9 of 2 M / Silent Meetings again but a pretty good Meeting to me –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 13, Sunday: Gioachino Rossini conducted a production of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* before King Ferdinand and the Spanish court in Madrid, and became the toast of the court.

David Crockett wrote to a constituent: "There will be an explosion take place this week that will Tare their party into sunder Mr. Calhoun is coming out with a circular or a publication of the correspondence between him & the President that will blow their little Red Fox or aleaus Martin van buren into atoms." Crockett's optimism mirrored Calhoun's hopes of exposing Van Buren as a Machiavellian, who had orchestrated all his troubles.



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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 13 of 2 M / Silent in the Mornng - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had good service

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 14, Monday: In Ethiopia, Ras Marye of Yejju marched an army into Tigray and, although he himself did not survive, defeated the warlord Dejazmach Sabagadis of Agame at [Debre Abbay](#) (at the end of the battle Sabagadis, who surrendered, was executed).

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

2nd day 14th of 2 M / This eveng recd a long & intersting letter from Sister Ruth - She informs us that recent accounts from Richd Rodman are unfavourable to his health & that he is blind with one Eye -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 16, Wednesday: Representative Mercer moved that the rule of the US House of Representatives in regard to motions be temporarily suspended, so that he might submit a resolution requesting the Executive branch of the federal government “to enter into negotiations with the maritime Powers of Europe, to induce them to enact laws declaring the African slave trade [piracy](#), and punishing it as such.” The House would not, however, allow its rule to be thus suspended (Gales and Seaton, REGISTER OF DEBATES, VII. 726).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

4th day 16 of 2 M 1831 / I desire to inculcate in my own mind, & would in other's if I could, a disposition to take the benefit of present goods, without looking behind or before, at ills that have happened or that may be perceived may happen - the longer I live the more I feel the force & verity of the saying that "the present time is only ours" & believe it is our duty to improve it in the best manner we can & at all times & in all things labour after a thankful humble state.- I know from experience this is sometimes hard to arrive at, but I believe we may attain to much more than is generally practiced by a careful & watchful disposition to keep out & keep down, all which would destroy in Gods Holy Mountain - all which would arise to lay waste the precious seed of life in our hearts - I do not conceive this to be effected of our selves, but as we cultivate the disposition we shall be assisted thro' the assistance & Mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord & Saviour, to know an establishment which the Storms & probations incident to this life will not effect or remove - some times the center may be permitted to be shaken but as we keep to it we shall find it sufficiently under all circumstances. - May I, may all who have had this precious shield of faith committed to us, not cast it away, as tho' it had never been anointed with Oil. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 20, Sunday: After a 2-day battle at Grochow near Warsaw, 2,000 rebellious Poles and 7,000 Russians lay dead.

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 20 of 2 M / Our frd Wm Almy was here this Afternoon & preached an excellent Sermon, & in it gave a little history of the rise & progress of this Institution. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 22, Tuesday: A joint provisional government was formed for Modena and Reggio.

 February 23, Wednesday: Richard Wagner matriculated at Leipzig University as a music student.

Polish and Russian forces clashed at Grochow. They would fight for 3 days without strategic result.

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

4th day 23rd of 2nd M 1831 / Today is our Monthly Meeting at [Smithfield](#). - The travel is so bad that none of us from the Institution have attempted to go. - There is a large quantity of Snow remaining on the ground it rained most of last night, & is raining hard this Morning, so that it is neither Sleighing or Wheeling, & every step a horse takes will sink him (in many places) to his knee joints, & in some places worse than that - so that we have not ventured to undertake to go. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 24, Thursday: Paul Devaux replaced Charles Rogier as head of the provisional Belgian government.

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

5th day 24 of 2 M / We learn today that ten men & one woman were all that could get to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, yesterday at [Smithfield](#), - they adjourned the Meeting till three weeks from today, - to meet at [Providence](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 25, Friday: Erasme Louis, Baron Surlet de Chokier became regent and head of state for Belgium.

 February 26, Saturday: Albert Joseph Goblet d'Alviella replaced Paul Devaux as head of government for Belgium.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



February 27, Sunday: Etienne Constantin de Gerlache replaced Albert Joseph Goblet d'Alviella as head of government for Belgium.

[Captain John Biscoe](#) discovered the existence of land, farther to the south than Captain Cook had been able to go in his circuit about the South Pole in a high latitude in 1773 (in 1832 Biscoe would set foot on Graham's Land and in 1841 [Sir James Clark Ross](#) would discover a continent down there which would initially be termed "Victoria Land").

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

1st day 27th of 2 M / Wm Almy attended Meeting here in the Afternoon & had good service. - Both our meetings were Seasons of some favour to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 1, Tuesday: In the House of Commons, Lord John Russell introduced a "Great Reform Bill" intended to reduce the electoral dominance of the landed aristocracy.

The town of Newcastle had in 1599 volunteered to pay a duty of one shilling per chaldron on its coal to Queen Elizabeth on account of certain tax arrears, and because King Charles II had passed on this shilling per chaldron in 1677 to the duke of Richmond it had come to be referred to as "the Richmond shilling." The tax arrears of the town of Newcastle having long since been oversupplied, as of this date that duty shilling finally was relinquished.

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

3rd day 1 of 3 M 1831 / Today was our Sub-committee, there were but few of the committee here but enough to transact the buisness that was necessary. - The traveling is so bad that many could not get here. - Pliny Earl was agreed with as a teacher &

introduced to the School –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



➡ March 2, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 3 M 1831 / Silent solid Meeting & my mind was particularly solemnized under several considerations. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

“An Act making appropriations for the naval service,” etc. “For carrying into effect the acts for the suppression of the [slave trade](#),” etc., \$16,000 (STATUTES AT LARGE, IV. 460, 462).

➡ March 3, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3 of 3 M / Went to town & having Abby Rodman to see on board the Steam Boat for home I did not attend Meeting in town –perhaps it will be no more than honest to say that I forgot it till it was too late to go –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Inventor George Mortimer Pullman was born in Brocton, New York.

Representative Mercer moved that the US House of Representatives temporarily suspend its rules so that he could submit a resolution. The House voted 108 over 36 to suspend and Mr. Mercer's resolution passed by a vote of 118 over 32.

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to renew, and to prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the laws of nations, by the consent of the civilized world." HOUSE JOURNAL, 21st Congress, 2d session, pages 426-8.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 March 6, Sunday: La sonnambula, a melodramma by Vincenzo Bellini to words of Romani after Scribe and Aumer, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Carcano, Milan, to great success. A sojourning Russian, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, was in the audience. "Shterich and I ... embraced one another and shed a flood of tears from emotion and joy."

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

1st day 6th of 3 M / Wm Almy was here this Afternoon & had good service at Meeting -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 9, Wednesday: With a little help from some Austrian soldiers, Duke Francesco IV d'Este reasserted his power in Reggio and Modena, bringing to an end the month-old provisional government.

A day after his arrival in Rome Hector Berlioz met Felix Mendelssohn (the duo would over the following few weeks be spending a lot of time in each other's company).

[Nicolò Paganini](#) encountered wild enthusiasm as he performed at the Opera in Paris for the initial time. Luigi Cherubini, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Fromental Halevy, Adolphe Adam, Heinrich Heine, George Sand, and Victor Hugo were in the audience — which is to say, most of artistic Paris.

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

4th day 9 of 3 M / Mary B Allen attended our meeting today & was much favour'd in testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 13, Sunday: Casimir Pierre Perier replaced Jacques Lafitte as prime minister of France.

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

1st day 13th of 3rd M / Lydia Breed had acceptable service in our Morning Meeting - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached. - his ardent & faithful labours with the Scholars & inmates of this Institution I hope will be blessed to many, & I can hardly think that, so much good service can be wholly lost - I am induced to believe that it will be remembered by some &



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the effects of it felt when he may be removed from works to reward. -3rd day 15th of 3rd M / Recd a letter this eveng from Our friend Elisha Bates - by which it appears he is like to attend our approaching Yearly Meeting of which I am glad & have no doubt of its being right for him to make the Sacrifice - in coming so great a journey to see us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 16, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 16th of 3rd M 1831 / Silent but pretty good meeting at the [Institution](#) -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Victor Hugo's NÔTRE-DAME DE PARIS ([THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME](#)) appeared in print. One of its chapters had been misplaced and left out of this initial printing.

1st production of [Concord](#) playwright [John Augustus Stone](#)'s play *TANCRED, KING OF SICILY; OR, THE ARCHIVES OF PALERMO*,⁵² at the Park Theater in New-York, with the author in the cast.

After 36 hours of labor, Anna Bronson Alcott was born to Abba Alcott. For days after the birth, the husband and father [Bronson Alcott](#) never left the room. He was hunched over the table writing HISTORY OF AN INFANT: OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHENOMENA OF LIFE AS DEVELOPED IN THE PROGRESSIVE HISTORY OF AN INFANT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE (although this, and Bronson's observations of his other children, would amount to some 2,500 pages). Although it is arguably the first work of child psychology done in the United States of America, the manuscript has of course never been published. Bronson carefully recorded such things as the onset of the vowel sounds, and noted at what point the consonants f, g, k, j, and l could be distinguished. (Does this remind you of the "melting bank" section, in WALDEN? -It should.) To keep the family going, the Alcotts asked Abba's father for a loan of an additional \$300.⁰⁰

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



March 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 3 M / Today was an adjourment of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) - the walking was so bad that the girls did not go, but the boys did - It was a good Meeting & Wm Almy was engaged in a testimony of uncommon clearness, life & power - to the efficacy of the Christian Religion & the excellency of it as professed by our Society.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 18, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 18 of 3 M / Walked out to Wm Almys new habitation, dined & spent a few hours with him very pleasantly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

52. Note that this is a completely different play than 1827's *TANCRED; OR, THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH*, which never was performed.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell's REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:

The Bachelors' Fancy Ball, which had been the subject of great interest in the fashionable circle, took place at the City Hotel. In brilliancy and general success it met all expectation.

The Supreme Court of the United States of America handed down their decision in the case of the Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, refusing to grant the Cherokee Nation an injunction against the State of Georgia under the treaty of 1791, on the grounds that only a foreign nation could sue in a federal court, but no Indian tribe was a foreign nation, therefore the treaty with the Cherokee was not a treaty with a foreign nation, therefore the Cherokee could not sue.



"...The conflicts of Europeans with American-Indians, Maoris and other aborigines in temperate regions ... if we judge by the results we cannot regret that such wars have taken place ... the process by which the American continent has been acquired for European civilization [was entirely justified because] there is a very great and undeniable difference between the civilization of the colonizers and that of the dispossessed natives...."



— [Bertrand Russell](#),
THE ETHICS OF WAR, January 1915



March 20, Sunday: The Reverend Duncan M'Caig of the Church of Scotland had been observed to shoplift a Bible from a bookstore. Investigation of his home library had produced several other stolen books. Although he asked to be bailed so that he might prepare his sermon for this day, he was committed to confinement. The end result would be that he would be found guilty of this and eleven other distinct acts, and sentenced to transportation for a period of 14 years — one year for each of the volumes he had been proven to have purloined.

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

*1st day 20 of 3 M / Silent Meeting in the morning In the
Afternoon Wm Almy was here & much engaged for our welfare. —
his testimony plain powerful & prevalent
His preaching is very satisfactory to me & I have no doubt will
do much good to the youth of this Institution —
Moses Farnum & wife were also with us today —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 22, Tuesday: A new French law made National Guard service mandatory for all Frenchmen from the age of 20 to the age of 60.

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) departed Weimar for a 2d tour to England.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 March 23, Wednesday: Etienne Noel Joseph, chevalier de Sauvage replaced Albert Joseph Goblet d'Alviella as head of government for Belgium.

 March 24, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day & 5th day 23 & 24 of 3 M / On 4th day we held Meeting as usual at the Institution - on 5th day The Children went to Town to Preparative meeting - Wm Almy preached a memorable Sermon on the advantage our Society is to its younger Members. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 25, Friday: Austrian troops defeated liberal revolutionaries from Modena and Bologna at Rimini, effectively ending the United Italian Provinces of northern Italy.

 March 27, Sunday: Samuel Sebastian Wesley resigned his position as organist at St. John, Waterloo Road, London.

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

1st day 27th of 3 M 1831 / Mary B Allen attended our Meeting at the Institution this morning - she prayed for us in a lively manner & Lydia Breed preached. - In the Afternoon I felt an inclination to attend the Meeting in Town & went in to it - which was a solid Silent time. - walked home & found Wm Almy here who invited me to ride down to visit father Browns with him where I took tea & set part of the evening. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 28, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 28 of 3 M / Recd a letter from Brother Isaac today informing me that Our dear Aged Mother was quite weak & feeble -apparently on the decline, in consequence of which I think I must go to [Newport](#) tomorrow - but cannot feel certain about it till tomorrow comes

 March 29, Tuesday: The outbreak of the [Bosnian uprising of Muslims against the Ottoman Empire](#) (this would not be suppressed until 1850).

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

2nd day [sic] 29th of 3rd M / Took the Steam Boat & went to [Newport](#), found my Mother in a very low State, & apparently wearing our -She was very glad to see me as I was to see her. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 March 30, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 30 of 3 M / Spent this day with my dear Mother & in calling on some of my valuable friends & acquaintances
Have had much conversation with Mother in the course of the day
- find her resigned & not expecting to stay in this world long. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 31, Thursday: After struggling at Dembe-Wielkie from 5 in the afternoon until 10 at night, Polish forces routed Russian forces.

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

*5th day 31 of 3 M / Attended the Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Newport](#) -Ruth Freeborn preached comfortably & the buisness of the Meeting was conducted with the usual regularity & weight with which that Meeting conducts its buisness
But from some circumstances it was a season of depression. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Frederick Brown (1) died at New Richmond, Pennsylvania.

Professor [Charles Dexter Cleveland](#) and Miss Alison Nisbet McCoskry, a daughter of Dr. Samuel A. McCoskry, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania and a grand-daughter of Dickinson College's 1st president, Charles Nisbet, were wed. The couple would have nine children: Alison Nisbet Cleveland, Charles Dexter Cleveland, Samuel McCoskry Cleveland, Alison Nisbet Cleveland, Dexter Cleveland, Treadwell Cleveland, Wilberforce Cleveland, Eliza Cleveland, and Lucy Cleveland.



James Hale, in charge of exhibiting the [Chinese](#) "Siamese Twins" Chang and Eng Bunker, wrote from New-York: "We have not had forty ladies since we opened — they you know are our best customers, if we can get them — Our receipts have averaged but \$20 per day— and two nights at the Theatre paid \$50 per night amounting in all — 15 days to 425 dollars ... I expect to go to Philadelphia on Sunday next and try it there, and feel afraid on coming back we shall have to come down to 25 cents to make money."

HDT

WHAT?

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

SIAMSE



THE TWINS

For Day only.

THE
UNITED BROTHERS, CHANG-ENG,
Very respectfully acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of

THAT THEY WILL BE IN THAT PLACE ON

And will receive Visitors at the

The Hours of Admission will be from till in
the noon, and from till in the Evening.

ADMITTANCE 50 CENTS.

Pamphlets, containing an historical account of the Twins, with many interesting particulars never before published, can be purchased at their Room. Price, with an engraved likeness, 12 1-2 cents—with a lithograph, 18 3-4 cents.
The Twins have also a few copies of a very superior likeness, executed in lithograph, and suitable for framing.

NO RE-ADMISSION TO THE ROOM.

J. M. Elliott, Printer, 33 Liberty street, New York.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 April 1, Friday: Polish forces defeated Russians and captured Minsk Mazowiecki east of Warsaw, sending the Russians into retreat.

Worried about the lack of correspondence from his fiancée, [Hector Berlioz](#) left Rome making for Paris, and jeopardizing his Prix de Rome grant.

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

6th day 1st of 4th M 1831 / This Morning took a final leave of my dear Mother & took the Steam Boat for [Providence](#). - She was entirely willing I should leave her, not expecting (as she said) to see me again in this World - & circumstances made it very necessary for me to return to [Providence](#) & I was glad I did finding my dear wife in a very anxious State of mind about her family in [Newport](#) - her brother David having recently Failed in his buisness & in a low depressed State of mind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 2, Saturday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont embarked for America. When their ship *Havre* set sail from Le Havre, it promptly ran aground and did not get out to sea until after midnight.

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

7th day 2 of 4 M / Spent the day at the [Institution](#) writing up the books & in the Afternoon recd a letter from Brother Isaac informing me that our dear Aged Mother departed this life at about half past 10 OClock last eveng Aged 83 Years & about 11 Months. - I did not expect she would have failed quite so soon, but the news did not surprise me - nor Shock my feelings as it is an event I have long anticipated & when we parted Yesterday Morning it was considered a final parting by both of us. & I should not have left her but from very necessary considerations -it was comfortable & relieving to my dear H as she was very anxious to hear from her family at home & in particular from her Br David, whose situation & state of mind is a tried one at present. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 3, Easter Sunday: [Walton Felch](#) remarried in Hubbardston, Massachusetts with Mrs. Nancy Sullivan.

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

*1st day 3 of 4 M 1831 / Took the Steam Boat President went to [Newport](#). - found all my friends & relations as comfortable as could be expected
I was glad to find my dear Mothers remains look very natural &*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

composed, & I have no doubt of her being at rest. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 4, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 4th M / Today was the funeral of my dear Mother. – The setting was a quiet solid opportunity – the gathering was large, as she was a woman much known & highly respected by all classes of the community – She was really one of the honourable Women of her day – a practical christian, but never made a high profession of religious attainments, but always very humble in her pretensions. – Father Rodman made a short offering, which was pertinent & applicable to the living "Oh that my people were wise, that they understood this that they would consider their latter end &c

She was interd in the upper burying ground of friends Medow field on the South side of Fathers grave. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*day 5 of 4 M / Finding nothing to protract my stay in [Newport](#) – & it being necessary for me to be in [Providence](#), I took the Steam Boat & came home. – My reflections were of a serious cast on the Passage – but not depressed
Found the Sub committee had separated a little before I arrived & several gone to [New Bedford](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting to be held there tomorrow*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6 of 4 M 1831 / Silent Meeting at the Institution, but to me a solid good time

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 10, Sunday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) departed Rome for a 2-month visit to [Naples](#).

The Poles defeated the Russians at the village of Seidlice near Warsaw, capturing two standards and 15 cannon, and taking 6,000 prisoners.

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

1st day 10th of 4 M / Silent Meeting in the Mornng & in the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had a short testimony. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 13, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

4th day 13 of 4 M / Silent Meeting at the Institution but a pretty good one to me

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 14, Thursday: In Florence, [Hector Berlioz](#) received a letter from Mme Moke, stating that her daughter, his fiancée Camille Moke, was going to marry someone else. She suggested that he should not kill himself. He concocted a plan to arrive at their house in disguise and kill both of them. On this night he left for Paris.

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

*5th day 14 of 4 M / Rode into Town with my wife & called at Phebe Holders & for the first time saw her Mother aged 88 Years -She looked like a good quiet old woman & the visit was pleasant - then attended Meeting in [Providence](#) & a very solid good one it was to me - Wm Almy bore a short but I have no doubt living testimony. -
After Meeting we rode round the lower part of the town & came home. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 15, Friday: John Field left his home in Moscow for a concert tour of Europe.

 April 17, Sunday: At Genoa, on his desperate trip back to Paris from Florence, [Hector Berlioz](#), weak from not eating and lovesick despair, fell Ophelia-like off the ramparts into the ocean. After almost drowning, he was fished out and for awhile lay on the beach vomiting water.

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

*1st day 17th of 4 M / Silent in the Mornng - In the Afternoon
Wm Almy attended & was engaged in testimony. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 20, Wednesday: Wilhelm replaced Karl II as Duke of Brunswick.

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

*4th day 20 of 4 M / Meeting at School a good silent opportunity.
-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In England, the House of Commons's Reform Bill was defeated and the Parliament was dissolved. The gentry were arming their country houses with cannon against anticipated mobs. In the USA, the Washington Globe announced the resignations of John Eaton and Martin Van Buren. Van Buren's friends in New-York, unaware that he had something to do with engineering the whole thing, were worrying.

The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell's REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:

William Cullen Bryant, editor of the Evening Post, and William L. Stone, of the Commercial Advertiser, met in Broadway near Park Place, and a personal rencontre occurred, Bryant striking Stone with a cowhide, whereupon they closed and were parted by the bystanders. Stone prevailed, to the extent of carrying off the whip with which he had been attacked.



THE POET WITHOUT HIS WHIP

➔ April 21, Thursday: The Rochester, New York Savings Bank was incorporated.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 21 of 4 M / Preparative & Select Meeting in Town it was a very good Meeting - Wm Almy much favoured in testimony - The Scholars attended -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➔ April 23, Saturday: The reigning duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel having been expelled, and having taken refuge in England, his brother Augustus Lewis William assumed the sovereignty.

➔ April 24, Sunday: Johann Nepomuk Hummel arrived in London for a concert tour.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 24 of 4 M 1831 / Silent in the Morng - in the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & much favoured in testimony I consider Williams attendance at this meeting a favour to the whole Institution & particularly to the Scholars on whose acct he is much interested & seldom fails of having something specially for them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 April 27, Wednesday: A Polish force sent to raise support from the populace of southeast Poland, after meeting with general apathy, crossed the border and was interned in Austria.

King Carlo Felice of Sardinia died in Turin and was succeeded by [Carlo Alberto](#), son of Prince Charles of Savoy-Carignan.

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

4th day 27th of 4 M / Attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting at [Smithfield](#) Betsy Purinton favoured in testimony - Many of our Scholars took the pains to walk out to this Meeting & I may acknowledge their company & solid countenances was animating & strengthening to my Mind - Our last Meeting was a remarkable good one there was considerable buisness & among it was a communication from three who have lately failed in trade requesting to be restored to unity with the body. - Oh! how glad I was to find they had a disposition to stand well with the Church, & also to find the Affectionate disposition there was in all to receive them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 28, Thursday: [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) was accepted as a Friend and as a member of the Fourth and Arch Street monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (this was the monthly meeting of her sister, Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#)).

The [Duke of Wellington](#) wrote to Mrs Arbuthnot that “I learn from John that the mob attacked my House and broke about thirty windows. He fired two blunderbusses in the air from the top of the house, and they went off.”

 April 30, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 30 of 4 M 1831 / I have been the past week very closely engaged in making arrangements for the Annual Settlement of Accounts - which has strained my head exceedingly so that I was almost sick Yesterday. - I might have mentioned that on 3rd day last we had an unexpected visit from Benj Marshall & his son John who were bearers of a very acceptable letter from our son John who lives with them at Hudson. - Their account of John is favourable, & indeed we are truly thankful for it. - How greatly do I desire his preservation from evil & establishment in the unchangeable truth

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May: Friend Joseph Macy, a New-Yorker although born on [Nantucket Island](#), and two Hicksites from the midwest, guided the formation of a new 30-member [Hicksite](#) Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends on [Nantucket Island](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 May 1, Sunday: The [Duke of Wellington](#) wrote to Mrs Arbuthnot that “Matters appear to be going as badly as possible. It may be relied upon that we shall have a revolution. I have never doubted the inclination and disposition of the lower orders of the people. I told you years ago that they are rotten to the core. They are not bloodthirsty, but they are desirous of plunder. They will plunder, annihilate all property in the country. The majority of them will starve; and we shall witness scenes such as have never yet occurred in any part of the world.”

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

1st day 1 of 5 M 1831 / Silent in the Morning Meeting & in the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & had good service.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 3, Tuesday: Zampa, ou La fiancee de marbre, an opera comique by Ferdinand Herold to words of Melesville, was performed for the initial time, at the Theatre de Ventadour, Paris.

Wendell Phillips submitted a college requirement “Some beautiful results to which are led by the Differential Calculus in the development of Functions” (21 ¼ x 28 ¾ inches) that is still on file at [Harvard College](#): <<http://oasis.harvard.edu:10080/oasis/deliver/~hua17004>>

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

3rd day 3 of 5 M / Today was sub committee Meeting. The number present was small as it usually is the Meeting previous to the General committee. – enough however met to transact the buisness necessary to be done – & brotherly & sisterly love seemed prevalent. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 4, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4 of 5 M / Rode with my H to [Greenwich](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting. – The Select meeting was solid & good but there was not much preaching. – We dined at Mary Spencers. – After the Meeting for Sufferings we rode out to Daniel Howlands & lodged – here we met with divers of our friends who we loved & the time was spent pleasantly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 5th M – Our Quarterly Meeting at large was well attended by friends from the different Meetings & a large & respectable Number of Youth were present especially from Fall River Meeting – they have the convenience of a Steam Boat which renders it easy for them to attend. – Wm Almy was large & excellent in Testimony – & Rachael Thornton appeared – in Supplication. – In the Meeting for buisness our Friend John Wilbour opened his prospect of performing a religious visit to friends in Englan & Ireland, which was united with & he set at liberty to lay his prospect before the Select Yearly Meeting. --Our friend Rowland Greene returned the certificate granted him sometime ago to perform a visit to friends in York Yearly Meeting – which visit



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*he has now accomplished. –
After dining at Updikes we rode home.–*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 6, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 6 of 5 M 1831 / Today was the General committee, it was largely attended & the subjects before it resulted in harmony & I thought the conclusions were in wisdom
It was a day of much interest - as subjects of importance were acted upon. – The brethren present were glad to see each other.–*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 8, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 5th M / Our friend John Wilbour attended Meeting this Morning & preached excellently to us. – we were Silent & alone in the Afternoon but it was a pretty good meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 May 11, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in New-York harbor aboard “a tremendous steamship,” the *President*.



[Robert Schumann](#) mentioned for the 1st time a condition that may have been syphilis.

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) gave his 1st public concert on this tour to London, in the concert room of the King’s Theater, Haymarket. Attendance was lower than expected due to the ongoing election campaign.

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

4th day 11th of 5 M / Silent Meeting at the [Institution](#) & not a very lively one to me

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12 of 5 M / I went in & attended Meeting in Town - it was a very solid meeting & Hannah Robinson offered a short Prayer which seemed to me to be in the life. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 15, Sunday: In New-York, Alexis de Tocqueville's initial impression of Americans: "the Americans seem to us to carry national pride altogether too far. I doubt it is possible to draw from them the least truth



unfavourable to their country. ... In general it seems to me that there is much of the small town in their attitude and that they magnify objects like people who are not accustomed to seeing great things." He wrote in his diary about American preoccupation with business, and the busyness of Americans:

All the Americans whom we have encountered up to now, even to the simplest shop salesman, seem to have received, or wish to appear to have received, a good education. Their manners are grave, deliberate, reserved, and they all wear the same clothes.

All the customs of life show this mingling of the two classes which in Europe take so much trouble to keep apart. The women dress for the whole day at seven in the morning. At nine o'clock one can already make calls. At noon one is received everywhere. Everything bears the stamp of a very busy existence. We have not yet seen any fashionables. I even have the notion that good morals are here the result less of severity of principles than of the impossibility in which all the young people find themselves of thinking of love or busying themselves seriously with it.



Messa di San Alessandro by Simon Mayr was performed for the initial time, in Bergamop, for the entry of Bishop Gritti-Morlacchi.

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

1st day 15 of 5 M 1831 / Meeting silent in the Mornng - in the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had good service. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



May 18, Wednesday: There was a news account of the activities of the visitors Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont.



The Salon of 1831 opened in Paris. Among the works shown for the 1st time was the “Liberty Leading the People” of Eugene Delacroix.

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

4th day 18th of 5 M / We rode our to Cumberland to attend [Smithfield](#) Preparative Meeting held there. - we stoped at Davis Metcalfs before Meeting. - The Meeting was silent & very small - but rather comfotable. - We returned & dined at Davis Metcalfs & spent the Afternoon very pleasantly - our ride home was also very pleasant - we came thro' Central Falls a beautiful Manufacturing establishment that we never were at before. - My wife as well as myself enjoyed the scenery exceedingly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 19, Thursday: At a public dinner organized by Governor Hamilton at St. Andrew's Hall, George McDuffie gave a harangue, denominating the tariff as “a system of stupendous oppression under which we are steadily and rapidly sinking into utter and hopeless ruin,” and labeling the conceit that nullification would end in “blood-shed and civil war” as “utterly ridiculous.” “The Union ... is a foul monster, which those who worship ... are worthy of their chains. ...[S]hall we be frightened by mere phantoms of blood, when our ancestors, for less cause, encountered the dreadful reality? ...[Are we] to be frightened from the discharge of our most sacred duty ... by the mere nursery tales of raw-heads and bloody-bones?”

After having spent a month in Nice, which was as far as he got in his attempt to return to Paris to murder his former fiancee and her mother, and during which he composed his King Lear Overture, [Hector Berlioz](#) began his return journey to Rome.

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

5th day 19th of 5 M / It was exceedingly Rainy this MORning & the children could not go into Town to attend Preparative Meeting - Enoch & Lydia & My wife & I attended. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22 of 5 M / Silent meeting. - Enoch & Lydia at [Smithfield](#). - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached a truly encouraging & interesting sermon both to the children & those having the care of them. - his opening was "Train up a child in the way he should go &c. - Thos Howland & Geo Benson



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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were also at Meeting. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 25, Wednesday: The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 28th birthday.



Alexis de Tocqueville toured New York penitentiaries, and wrote to Abbe Leseur.



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

4th day 25 of 5 M / I was very unwell today & did not attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting – My wife went & as it was very rainy the Meeting was small, but enough to transact the buisness in a respectable manner. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 27, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 27th of 5 M 1831 / I took the Steam Boat Rush Light this Morning & went to [Newport](#) to attend to some management for Yearly Meeting - Found things in comfortable progress for accommodation - & our friends in as good spirits as could be expected considering the tried state some of them are in, particularly Father Rodman's family who on Davids account has much to bear. – in addition to the low state of his mind, has failed in buisness, & will come short of paying his creditors all that is due them. – on first day Morning I got on board the Steamer President & arrived at [Providence](#) in season to attend the Morning Meeting
After Meeting in the Afternoon I rode home with Wm Almy & took tea with him.–*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 31, Tuesday: Lt. James Clark Ross, R.N. reached the North Magnetic Pole on the Boothia Peninsula.

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

3rd day 31 of 5 M / Today was our Sub-School committee meeting - we had not a large, but comfortable Number & harmony was prevalent - Our friend Jared Pattison & his companion Henry Stanton from Ohio were here & sat with the committee. -- Jared held a meeting with us in the Meeting room at 3 OC PM & went to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Moses Browns](#) to tea. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 1, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 6 M 1831 / Went with our friend Jared Pattison to [Smithfield](#) Meeting - It was small but he had a close preaching testimony to the few present - his testimony was a remarkable one, & closely affected the minds of some present - & was a renewd evidence to my mind of the divine power in directing his Servants. - & showing them the ground & the paths they should persue, where they have not been - We dined at Aza Arnolds, & we returned to town & took tea with Dr Tobey

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 2, Thursday: [Hector Berlioz](#) arrived in Rome in the company of a group of monks travelling there for the Feast of Corpus Christi.

 June 4, Saturday: Leopold Georg Christian Friedrich, Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha was proclaimed king of Belgium.

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

7th day 4th of 6 M 1831 / Took the Steam Boat Fulton & went to [Newport](#) on a little buisness which I had preparatory to Y Meeting got there in Season to ride out to David Buffums where I took a dish of Tea & had an opportunity of setting a while with my aged friend Hapzibah Buffum the widow of our late Valued & beloved friend David Buffum decs. - Returned & in the eveng accomplished the little errands I had & lodged at our home - Aunt Nancy Carpenter being glad to see me -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Mornng rose early & got ready to take the first opportunity - the Chanselor Livingston was in early & by her I returned to [Providence](#) & arrived in season to be at our Morning Meeting. -

It is worthy to remark that the Steam Boat Fulton is the oldest boat of her kind, being built by Robert Fulton in NYork & has made a great many successful trips in the Sound, & from & to NYork & [Providence](#) She has now become so old that she has lately been sold, & is to be broken up - & the Trip she made on 7th day was to be her last, & when she left the wharf a gun was fired as a farewell signal - a gun was also fired when she left the head of the Long Wharf in [Newport](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 6, Monday: The 1st Annual Convention of the People of Color was convened in Philadelphia, at Wesleyan Church on Lombard Street. A major part of its platform was opposition to the colonization movement. Simeon Jocelyn, with the backing of Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison, all attending the convention, proposed a “Negro college” for New Haven CT, that municipality being selected in part on account of its “friendly, pious, generous, and humane” population.



 June 7, Tuesday: There was a news account of a visit by Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont to Greenburgh.



The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell’s REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:
 The boiler of the steamer General Jackson, while she was lying at Grassy Point on the North River, burst, and several persons were killed.

 June 8, Wednesday: [Robert Schumann](#), writing in his diary on his 21st birthday, mentioned for the 1st time one of his alter-egos, Florestan.

In London, the actress Sara Siddons died.

In consequence of the erection of fences to enclose the forest, a group of more than 2,000 assembled in Dean Forest in Gloucestershire to tear down such fences.

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

4th day 8 of 6 M 1831 / With my dear Wife got on board the Steam Boat & came to [Newport](#) - but I had not been five minutes in Newport before I found I had to return to [Providence](#) the same day, having left the Quarterly Select account & Answers - I accordingly returned on board the Rush Light in which we came & arrived at the School House Sometime before sunset. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 June 20, Monday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont were attending a trial.



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

2nd day 20th of 6th M 1831 / Today we have been engaged in parting with our friends & getting things in order which have



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

been neglected by our absence –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 21, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 21 of 6 M / Engaged pretty much as yesterday, & among others we had the company of our interesting young friend Sarah H Jenkins from Hudson who being an acquaintance of our Son John we took the opportunity of writing to him by her & forwarding a few things which will be interesting to him. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 22, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 22 of 6 M / Our friends Jonathon & Hannah Chapman Backhouse & Elizabeth Coggeshall attended our School Meeting – [Moses Brown](#) & A A Jenkins were also present – Eliza Coggeshall spoke a little very sweetly as did Hannah – & Jonathon appeared very sweetly in supplication — he alluded in his supplication to the Aged & venerable head who was with us, in a feeling & appropriate manner, then on behalf of the Caretakers, teachers & Scholars. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 23, Thursday: The opening of 44 miles of railroad track, from Boston to Worcester. The construction was “edge rails on cast-iron chairs, resting on wooden sleepers, bedded in trenches filled with stones.”

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

5th day 23 of 6 M / It was very Rainy & only a few of the larger Schollars attended the Preparative meeting in town. –Jonathon & Hannah Backhouse were there & were very acceptable in testimony & supplication

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 24, Friday: In England, the Whigs introduced a Reform Bill into the new Parliament.

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

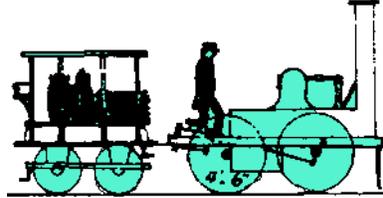
6th day 24th of 6th M / Jonathon & Hannah Backhouse set out for Boston Lynn & Salem – expecting to attend an appointed Meeting at Cumberland at 2 OC this Afternoon. – They were accompanied by My wife & Wm Jenkins –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 June 25, Saturday: A mechanic named David Matthews of the West Point Foundry having completed a steam locomotive named the *DeWitt Clinton*, constructed on the basis of plans drawn by John B. Jervis of the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad, on this day it was shipped up the Hudson River to Albany, New York:⁵³



Field Marshal I.F. Paskevich took command of the Russian forces in Poland.

John Caldwell Calhoun's Fort Hill Address appeared in the Pendleton Messenger.

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

7th day 25th of 6th M 1831 / I have not much to insert, but as I have retired to my room for the night & having pen in hand it seemd as if I might say, that I feel a desire to number my blessings, & feel that they are many & far beyond what I deserve - during our late Yearly Meeting I was favourd with a good degree of life - & a firmness of mind which enabled me, & also my dear wife to surmount some difficulties which pressed heavily on us. -particularly the tried state in which our brother David Rodman is in - but it would seem from present appearances that he is some better & I hope it may continue -which with the weight which Yearly Meeting always brings with it, & the many cares & much buisness which falls to our lot, occasioned us to go heavily to our Annual solemnity. - but it was cause indeed of humbling admiration, to feel the clouds disperse & the obstacles remove, as we entered into the work, & kept a single eye to what was before us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 26, Sunday: Eighteen articles signed by representatives of Austria, Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia in London recognized the independence of Belgium and its neutrality (the Netherlands would refuse to recognize this treaty).

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

1st day 26 of 6 M / Both Meeting to me were unusually lifeless seasons - Wm Almy was here in the Afternoon & preached a little Our collection in the eveng in the boys School, was a Solid season & I have no doubt the minds of the Scholars were solemnly impressed from the reading of that part of Thos Chalkleys Journal where he gives an account of the Doctors dream -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

53. When this engine got to Albany and they tried to get it to work, it was discovered that it had been designed wrong. The engine was without draft in its exhaust pipes and without back pressure in its stack, and the vibration of travel on rails caused water to surge up into the cylinders of the engine. Back to the drawing board!



June 27, Monday: Alexis de Tocqueville had an interview with Hugh Maxwell.



Grand Duke Konstantin, brother of Tsar Nikolai I and Viceroy of Poland, died of cholera.

Otto Nicolai sang the part of Jesus in a Berlin production of the St. Matthew Passion of [Johann Sebastian Bach](#).

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

2nd day 27th of 6th M 1831 / My wife being absent have felt a little lonesome today - tho' there is many around me, yet I have had a rather lonesome & rather low feeling hanging about me - this I know is weakness & I had almost said nonsense. - therefore away with it -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 29, Wednesday: In London, a British and Foreign Temperance Society was organized.

At St. James' Palace, Johann Nepomuk Hummel and [Nicolò Paganini](#) gave a joint concert before the King, Queen, and nobility (on his current visit to London, Paganini's presence was overshadowing Hummel; the two performers already knew each other, having shared a stage in Weimar a couple of years earlier).

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

4th day 29th of 6 M 1831 / Rode to [Smithfield](#) with Mary Lafavour to attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting. - Wm Almy, Betsy Purinton Dorcas Payne wife of Caleb all preached acceptably. - In consequence of the Rain the Meeting was small, but there were enough present to transact the buisness reputably & in order. - there however not much to do. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 30, Thursday: In Yonkers, Alexis de Tocqueville received a letter from Gustave de Beaumont (meanwhile, Beaumont was receiving a letter from de Tocqueville).



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

5th day 30th of 6 M / After dressing & washing this Mornng I set down at the Window with my face North, admiring the Scenery which presented of Trees in rich foliage, & the field of grass & Grain florishing in my view, a degree of humble gratitude & Worship arose in my mind to the Author of our Manifold mercies & blessings, which he bestows upon us. It would seem as if some tribute was due for the many favours He has bestowed on me - not only what I now enjoy, but for what I have recd & enjoyed all

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*my life long. - I desire to cherish a thankful remembrance of them. - & hope to as long as I live -
This Afternoon My dear wife & Wm Jenkins returned from their journey to Boston Lynn & Salem to accompany Jonathon & Hannah Backhouse they give a favourable acct of their excursion. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July: The *York*, designed and built by [Friend Phineas Davis](#) of York, Pennsylvania, a [Quaker](#) watchmaker who named it after his home town, won the \$4,000.⁰⁰ prize in the steam locomotive contest that had been sponsored by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This engine could be operated for as little as \$16.⁰⁰ a day, cutting the cost for a train pulled by horses by more than half, plus it would negotiate the sharpest curves on the track at a speed of 15 miles per hour and was able to get up to 35 miles per hour on the straighaways, something of which no dray nag could even dream. Friend Phineas, the watchmaker of York, was appointed Master Mechanic of the B&O RR and his engine began a schedule of one trip per day between [Baltimore](#) and Ellicott's Mills, pulling up to five cars. Somewhat later, they would extend this to the journey of some 40 miles between Baltimore and Parr's Ridge, which was part way to Frederickstown, Maryland. I don't have an illustration of the *York*, but this was the *West Point* of 1830-1831, built in the works near West Point by John Jervis (as drawn by Theodore West of Darlington in 1885), the first steam engine to be equipped with "swivel bogis" wheels:



 July 2, Saturday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in Albany, New York.



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

7th day 2nd of 7th M 1831 / This Afternoon our friend Doctor Wm Carey arrived in [Providence](#) from his visit to Dartmouth [New Bedford](#) & [Nantucket](#) - which he has performed since Yearly Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 July 3, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont attended a Shaker meeting.



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

1st day 3rd of 7 M / Our Morning Meeting was silent. - as was the Afternoon - Doctor Wm Carey a Minister in Society from NYork

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

State was here in the evening, & had the Scholars collected in the Meeting room & had a good & encouraging opportunity with them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 6, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Syracuse, New York, interviewing prison employees. There was an interview with Elam Lynds.



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 6 of 7 M / This Afternoon the News arrived in Providence that James Monroe late President of the United States died on the 4th inst in New York. - It is a very remarkable coincidence the three of our expresidents (Adams Jefferson & Monroe) should have died on the 4 day of the 7 Month. - When James Monroe visited New England soon after he was Elected President he was at Newport & I well remember of calling to see him & of shaking hands with him in company with Rowland Hazard. -I also well remember the embarrassment I felt on the occasion. - Our meeting at the Institution was a dull Heavy time to me. - This Afternoon our friend John Wilbour called a few minutes at the Institution & took leave of us preparatory to his leaving home, on his religious visit to Friends in Europe. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 7, Thursday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont departed from Syracuse, New York.



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 7 M 1831 / Today Nathan Hunt attends Meeting in town - & Elisha Bates is sick at Wm Jenkins. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 8, Friday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Frenchman's Island.



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

6th day 8th of 7 M / At 10 OC this forenoon Our frd [Moses Brown](#) came here with Nathen Hunt preposing to have an opportunity with the Scholars - we soon collected them in the Meeting room & Nathan had a great deal to say, all appropriate, feeling & good & a good opportunity it was. — After it was over I took him & his companion over the House & into the New Building, with which he seemed gratified & pleased — After tea we went to see our frd Elisha Bates & spent the evening with him at Wm Jenkins's - he is better & in hopes to be about tomorrow. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 10, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 10th of 7 M / Nathan Hunt was at [Smithfield](#) Meeting [Moses Brown](#) went with him as did Enoch & Lydia. — Our dear friend Elisha Bates came up & was with us at Meeting in the forenoon - his Sermon was very reaching & I have no doubt convincing to many minds both of the younger & more advanced scholars - all were serious & many in tears. — I have no doubt his visit here will be memorable to Many for years to come — he dined at the table with the Boys & noticed several of them in a way which pleased them & I have no doubt will be useful — The Afternoon Meeting at the Institution was silent. — The Meeting in Town was put off till five OClock on Elishas account & a general invitation extended to the Inhabitants of the Town. — Our teachers a number of older Scholars went into the Meeting. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s 15th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Tuesday, 1831.

During this period:

- Thomas Carlyle prepared [SARTOR RESARTUS](#).
- William Miller predicted the 2d advent of Jesus Christ and the end of the world as we now know it.
- Nat Turner led a servile insurrection and was hanged.
- Alexis de Tocqueville interviewed the president of Harvard College.
- In Boston, abolitionists formed an anti-slavery society.
- Concord's playwright John Augustus Stone had several more triumphs.
- Frederick Douglass figured out that the word "abolition" must mean no longer having slavery.
- Charles Darwin sailed aboard the *Beagle*.
- Joseph Smith was tarred and feathered.
- Waldo Emerson visited Ellen's tomb and opened the coffin.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The ordinary costume for boys over ten years of age, from 1830 when David Henry was 12, to 1835 when he was 17, was:



a suit of long, rather loose-fitting pantaloons, a waistcoat cut rather low and showing a white shirt underneath, and a short jacket reaching to the waist line. The hats for boys of the early part of the nineteenth century were extremely ugly. The jockey cap with a round crown and a visor ... from 1801 to 1810 ... [had been succeeded by] the stove-pipe hat, made of straw in summer and of beaver in winter, which was actually worn for several years even by little boys in frocks ... [which in turn had been succeeded by hats] with rather high crowns and strait brims. In 1830 high hats were worn by very fashionable boys in trousers ... which looked like inverted flower pots. Beauty and fitness seem not to have been considered.

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1831
BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1832



July 13, Wednesday: While leaving Auburn, New York, Alexis de Tocqueville made a journal entry about religion.



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 13th of 7th M / Silent but good meeting to me -6th day 15th of 7th M 1831 / This morning we had the company of Jeremiah Hubbard & wife & our dear Aged friend Moses Brown. -After a Social time in the family & walking over the house, Jeremiah had a mind to have the Scholars & family collected in the Meeting room. - We were soon together & a very favourd season it proved - he was much favourd in testimony & supplication & the children were very Solid & attentive -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



July 17, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville arrived in Batavia, New York. In Canandaigua, he interviewed John Canfield Spencer. On this day he and Gustave de Beaumont exchanged letters.



[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) departed from London for Germany with a gift from Queen Adelaide.

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

*1st day 17 of 7 M / Both our meetings at the [Institution](#) were silent. - The Mornng Meeting a season of some favour - in the Afternoon very lifeless - perhaps a bad feeling in my head & the Prospect of Phila might have contributed to it a little - At 5 OClock attended Jeremiah Hubbards Meeting in [Providence](#) which was very large & many of the Clergy & gentry of the Town were present & he preached & prayed an abundance. - & said much that was good, & a few things that I believe if unsaid his service would have been better. -
It is a great thing to be a great Minister & a thoroughly skilful Minister too. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 20, Wednesday: At this point Alexis de Tocqueville was stopping over in Erie, Pennsylvania.



[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin \(Frédéric François Chopin\)](#), seeing no future in Vienna, departed for München. His real goal was Paris, but the Russian ambassador would not grant him a passport for Paris so he obtained one for London knowing that this would take him through Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would in a few days summarize in his journal:

4th day 20 of 7 M 1831 / After attending Meeting at the Institution - I went on Board the Steam Boat for NYork intending for Philadelphia to attend the committee of general conference from several Yearly Meetings - Cornelius Howland[?] Mary B Allen & Lydia Breed of this Y Meeting & Jeremiah Hubbard & wife of N Carolina in company - We had a good Passage to NYork & I put up at Saml Woods where we were soon joined by our friend John Wilbourn who was on his way on his religious visit to England expecting to embark on first day the 24inst - - 5 & 6th days rested in NYork & on 7th day Mornng took leave of John Wilbourn & set out in the Steamboat for Phila - had a good passage down the Raratan & across in the Stage to Trenton - on board the Steamboat



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

at Borden town we had a heavy thunder gust - here I saw Joseph Bonaparts Observatory - we proceeded on our Passage & landed at Burlington sometime before sunsett & were very cordially recd at the house of our friend Wm Allenson by his sisters Elizabeth Mary & Sybel - Wm being from home when we first arrived, but soon returned. - The house of these dear friends seemed much like home - Elizabeth & Mary have been to New England & we had seen & been acquainted with them before. - Next morning being 1st day [Sunday] the 24th of 7 M before Meeting time Wm Almy Wm Jenkins & Charles & John Warren arrived in the Steam Boat & we all attended Meeting in Burlington. - Wm Almy took the service to me very satisfactorily - After meeting he & Wm Jenkins went to see Susan Smith & we dined at Wm Allensons - They went on to Philad in the Steam Boat & John Warren & I staid to the Afternoon Meeting - John had much & good Service - we lodged at Wm Allensons &

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 25, Monday: At 3:50AM, Maria Agata (Wolowska) Szymanowska died of cholera in St. Petersburg at the age of 41.

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

2nd day Morning the 25th of 7 M we took the Steam Boat & went down to Philad[elphia.] Took lodgings with Beulah Parker where my Nephew Richard Rodman boards - & at 10 OClock met with the committee at Arch Street Meeting - Dined at my lodgings & at 4 OC PM again met with the committee - took tea at my lodgings & in the evening walked round the City a little with Richard Rodman. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 26, Tuesday: John Caldwell Calhoun's Fort Hill Address appeared in the Pendleton Messenger.

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

3rd day 26 of 7 M The committee having adjourned till 4 OC PM I embraced the opportunity of walking round the City [Philadelphia] - called at Thos Kites Store [publisher] & went to the Hospital where I saw Wm Penns Statue & Wests painting of Christ healing the sick & then rode out to fair Mount to see the stupendous Water Works by which the whole City is supplied with Water. - Dined & took tea at Thomas Stewartsons. - The committee at their setting this PM agreed on a report to the Yearly Meetings & closed our buisness at this time - hence we were in readiness to make our Way home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 27, Wednesday: Hymne aux morts de juillet by Ferdinand Herold to words of Hugo was performed for the initial time, at the Pantheon of Paris, to mark the 1st anniversary of the Revolution of 1830.

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

4th day 27 of 9 [sic] M Took the Steam Boat & had a pleasant Sail to Trenton & from thence took Stage across to Frankford where we again took the Steam Boat & arrived in New York & were very Kindly recd by our friends there & particularly by Saml Wood & family where most of us lodged. – as there was no Steam Boat going on

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 28, Thursday: On the 1st anniversary of the July Revolution, [Hector Berlioz](#) wrote to Charles Duveyrier from Rome that he was devoted to the social reform program of the comte de Saint-Simon (this letter would be intercepted by agents of Prince von Metternich).

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

*5th day the 28th of 7 M We all attended Westbury Quarterly Meeting held in the City of NYork in which Wm Almy had good service. –
Feeling my mind much drawn to Hudson where our beloved son now resides & it being very convenient to go I did not feel easy to return with the rest of the committee & at 5 OC in the Afternoon went on board the North River Steam Boat & arrived in Hudson between 2 & 3 OC in the Morning & went immediately to Bryans Hotel where I took bed for the rest of the night - After breakfast I took a Chaise & boy to carry me out to the print Works & soon found John - & we were mutually glad to see each other - Spent the forenoon in walking round the place & returned to Benj Martials [Marshalls] House to dinner - In the Afternoon we had the company of Joseph Barton & his daughter Sarah Ashby & grand daughter Mary Ashby & one of their friends (Anna Comstock) who now lives in Ohio - These were agreeable acquaintances, being sound friends & Johns intimate associates & neighbours. – My health was poor & I did not enjoy all that I might on some occasions –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 30, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 30 of 7 M 1831 Passed an uncomfortable forenoon at home, but got so as to be able to Walk up to Joseph Bartons & drank tea with them, which was a very pleasant & interesting visit to me

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



July 31, Sunday: After 28 Menominee held a kind of anniversary celebration of their massacre of Fox the previous year, they fell into a drunken stupor. A large group of Fox were awaiting this stupor, and slaughtered the entire group. Black Hawk either participated in this action or helped plan it.

The Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, the 2d in the USA, began operations. Among the passengers on the partially completed route to Schenectady, New York were former governor Joseph C. Yates, former Albany mayor John Townsend, Schenectady mayor John I. De Graff, Albany police chief John Meigs, New-York police representative Jacob Hayes, and politician Thurlow Weed.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would summarize in his journal, after arriving back home in [Rhode Island](#):

1st day 31 of 7 M Rode with John into Hudson & attended the little gathering of sound friends who meet there. - Tho' it was small it did seem to me that the Meeting was not in vain, but if the few who assemble would Seek to have Salt in themselves that it would season others & the savour would spread very considerably - I dined with John at Bryans Hotel after which I called on James Nixon & took tea, then went to the Wharf & waited for the Arrival of the Steam Boat & while in waiting for that I had an opportunity of seeing an old acquaintance James Brown & his wife (Irish folks) who once lived in [Newport](#) & now in Athens opposite Hudson. - He is one of the Boatmen in the River & went across & brought his wife over to see me. - I parted with my dear son John on the Wharf not far from Sunset & arrived in NYork next morning, (2nd day [Monday] the 1 of 8 M 1831) & was very kindly recd at the house of our frd Saml Wood & sons & in the Afternoon at 5 OC took the Steam Boat Washington for home - & on 3rd day reached home in the forenoon while the subcommittee were sitting & was very glad & I trust thankful to find my dear wife & friends all well. - This journey has been quite an extension of my travels it is the first time I was ever up the North River to Hudson In going up the North River it was [a] matter of some regret to me that both passages up & down the River were mostly performed in the night that much of the beautiful scenery was lost to my view.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 3, Wednesday: James Walter Spooner was born in Plymouth MA to Ephraim Spooner and Marie Elizabeth Spooner.

Charles Marie de Brouckere replaced Etienne Noel Joseph, chevalier de Sauvage as head of government for Belgium.

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

4th day 3 of 8 M / My wife left yesterday after noon to attend the Quarterly Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) I was so fatigued & unwell that it did not seem best for me to go & she went in the Chaise with Thomas Howland. - I was glad again to meet our family, in our family Meeting & I have the satisfaction to believe that they were glad to see me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 14, Sunday: [Robert Schumann](#) played through the 1st movement of a piano concerto in F major for friends in Leipzig. They were very supportive, but he would never finish the work. “This seems to me like the 1st thing written in my style that inclines toward the romantic.”

[Mount Vesuvius](#) began to go through a period of activity that would last until December 23, 1832: “Effusiva — Terremoto il 14 agosto ed emissione intracraterica. Lave a SE verso Bosco (August 20, 1831); a SSE (September 20, 1831, continuing through 1831 unless otherwise indicated); verso Torre del Greco (November 20, 1831), Ercolano (December 25, 1831), Boscotrecase e Piano delle Ginestre (February 27, 1832), Ottaviano ed Eremo (July 23, 1832); verso W (August 8, 1832); verso Bosco (October-November 15, 1832); verso Torre del Greco (December 16-23, 1832).”



MOUNT VESUVIUS



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

1st day 14 of 8 M – Yesterday Brother David Rodman i& family were here & set out on their way to Lynn where they expect to reside for the present in hopes of getting into buisness - I do most affectionately wish them well & good success. - Morning Meeting Silent Wm Almy had good Service in the Afternoon - & Benjamin Clarke a [?end] Lawyer of New York attended - he appears to be a sound friend & tho' engaged in Law is said to support well his good standing in society

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 August 17, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in Buffalo.



The steam-packet *Rothsay Castle* between Liverpool and Beaumaris was wrecked near Beaumaris. Of the some 135 to 145 persons supposed to be on board only 22 would survive.

Jan, Count Krukowiecki was made dictator of Poland.

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

4th day 17 of 8 M 1831 / Silent & good Meeting with the Scholars

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 21, Sunday: The troops of Lisbon, Portugal revolted against Don Miguel, at a cost of 300 lives.

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

1st day 21 of 8 M / Our friend Anna A Jenkins attended our Meeting this Morning, her testimony & supplication were sweet & precious offerings, which I trust will be long remembered. – Silent Solid Meeting in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 24, Wednesday: The Reverend John Stevens Henslow, Professor of Botany at Cambridge University and founder of the [Botanic](#) Garden there, suggested that [Charles Darwin](#) travel with him aboard HMS *Beagle*, a 10-gun brig, for its 2d world voyage of exploration and charting.



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

4th day 24th of 8th M 1831 / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - it was to me a remarkably solid & good meeting - in the first Meeting Wm Almy bore a short testimony In the last we did not have much buisness but affairs were conducted in a solid manner I believe this was the first meeting I ever attended with [Moses Brown](#) where he was wholly silent in a Meeting for buisness. - he was pretty smart in health, but he told me after meeting that he had nothing special to offer tho' he took an interest in the subject before us -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 26, Friday: At the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the “[Moses Brown School](#),” in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) felt unwell, so he let some leeches attach themselves to his forehead and engorge themselves with his blood and drop away. After this he felt better (don't you wish you could have been there with a camera).

6th day 26th of 8 M / I have felt unwell today, my head much out of order, but I applied several leeches to my temples this Afternoon & feel better – Our frd [Moses Brown](#) & Wm Jenkins called at the Institution today. – Recd a letter this Afternoon from Sister Elizabeth Nichols giving us a pretty favourable acct of Brother David Rodman & family, in their new situation in Lynn affording some hope it may again be well with them –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



➡ August 28, Sunday: [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin \(Frédéric François Chopin\)](#) performed a morning concert in München.

At the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) farm home of Friend [Moses Brown](#) that night, a burglar or team of burglars made off with the usual sorts of portable goodies.

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

1st day 28th of 8th M 1831 / Silent meeting in the Morning Enoch & Lydia absent at [Smithfield](#) Meeting – In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & labour'd in the Gospel – After Meeting by his invitation I went home with him to tea – & returned in the eveng & finished a letter which I had begun some days ago, to Elisha Bates.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

“Citizens” communicated with Virginia Governor John Floyd in regard to the undesirability of permitting a religious meeting of the blacks:



His Excellency John Floyd

Governor of Virginia

Sir

There is at this moment a numerous meeting of the blacks from this place & the surrounding country, at the Rural Shades, for the purpose, as they allege, of Religious worship, the propriety of countenancing such a meeting at this time is respectfully submitted to your consideration by several

Citizens

A white man would find this letter written on this date, on the road south of the city of Richmond, and forward it to Virginia Governor John Floyd:

Richmond Aug. 28, 31.



To

Joe to "brother", no date

Dear brother I send you this by brother billy who can tel you more than I can rite you must beshore to rememer The day, for al dependes on that for you now tis the last Sunday in October we are al reddy down belo you mstnot be faint harted al depends on you if you deceve us we are al lost for ever your affecionat brother

Joe Dr.

Do burne This as soon as you receive it

[in another hand] Furnished by a gentleman near Richmond city after the insurrection. It was found in the road below the city five or six miles-John Floyd

“Anonymus” to Governor John Floyd in Richmond — posted from the town of Petersburg:



To the Governor of Virginia

Sir

It has been humbly & respectfully suggested that as Nat. Turner the leader & mover of the insurrection in Southampton has not been caught or killed that it would be adviseable to offer a large reward for him if caught by a white or free man, or manumission to any slave who will bring him dead or alive so that he may be punished. It is perhaps idle to think that this insurrection is ended until the Leader is killed

Aug 28th

Anonymus.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 29, Monday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) arrived in Dublin for a concert tour of Ireland. He would provide 23 concerts in 6 weeks.

Michael Faraday created the 1st electrical transformer, based upon electromagnetic induction.

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

2nd day 29 of 8 M / Last night some very wicked person or persons broke into the house of our friend [Moses Brown](#) & Stole his Watch from the head of his bed took some Money from his Pocket Book - opened several of his drawers & chests & rumaged over papers, & carried one of his small trunks some distance into his front yard where they broke it open, but left it & carried off his bunch of Keys. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Williamson Mann of Chesterfield wrote the following to "Ben Lee in Great hast mail speedily Richmond swift":



My old fellow

Chesterfield Aug 29 1831

Ben-

You will tell or acquaint every servant in Richmond & adjoining countys they all must be in a strik readiness, that this occourance will go through virignia with the slaves & whites if there had never been an assosiation & a visiting with the free & slaves this would never had of been they are put up by the free about their liberation I've wrote to norfolk amelia nottaway & several other countys to different slaves bob bill Miller Bowler John furguson fed roney & several other free fellow has put of Dr Crumps nor field Mr Scotts & a great many gentlemen private servants how they must act in getting in getting of their liberation they must set fire to the cyty begining at Shockoe hill then going through east west north south set fire to the briges they are aboutt to break out in fousland & in meclenburg Cyt & several other countys very shortly now there is a barber here in this place as [—ry] tells me a methodist of the name edwards has put a great many servants up how they should do & act by seting fire to this town I do wish they may succeed by so doing we poor whites can get work as well as the Slaves or collard This fellow edward the methodist says that judge J. F. Maz is no friend to the free & your Richmond free associates that you master Watkins Lee brokenberry Johnson Taylor of Norfolk & several other noble delegates is bitterly against them all Ruben Mr archers servant say that billy hickman has jest put him up how to revenge the whites all the brite molatoes of Rich wants to be white So boys you all must do the best you all can for your selves, only acquainted the servants how you all shall proceed as your friends has advise they has stopt your alls religeon edwards syas so you all ougght to get reveng Some way every white in this place is sceard to death except my slef & a few others this methodist has has put up a Great many slaves in this place how to do I can tell you to push on boys push on

Yor friend williamson Mann



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 31, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 31 of 8 M / Our meeting was silent but a pretyy solid gathering. –

In the Afternoon I went to Town.–

This is the last day of the Summer of 1831 I feel that my summers are fast passing away & that the Winter of Age is drawing on a pace & my concern is that I may be consistent in whatever Station or situation I am – that should I advance into Old age I may have the support of that religion which has been my stay in Youth & which has been the delight of my heart to live in — I can now in the more mature walks of life testify that the Religion of Jesus Christ is All sustaining

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ Fall: Andrew T. Judson and 17 other leading citizens of Canterbury, Connecticut set up a new female academy and hired a female teacher for that town's young white women. The young [Rhode Island](#) woman they selected, [Prudence Crandall](#), had completed a [Quaker](#) education⁵⁴ and joined the [Baptist](#) church, and was known in



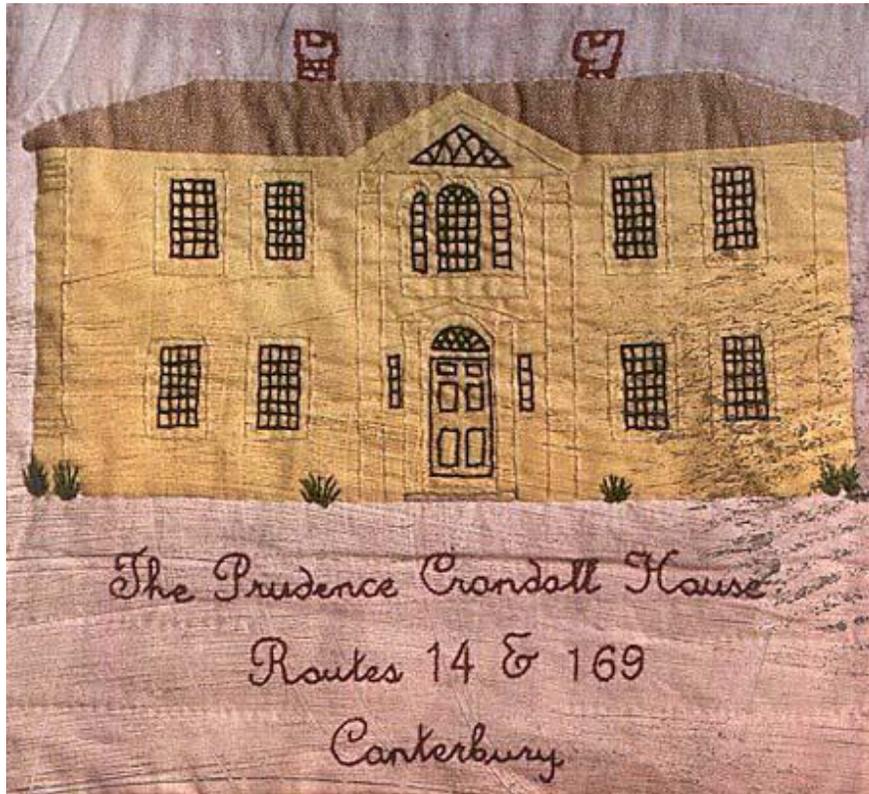
eastern Connecticut as a successful teacher. An available home was purchased for her school, in the center of Canterbury, and in its first year the school would thrive. Tuition at this boarding school “for young ladies and little misses” in Canterbury Green was \$18 a term and it offered a cultured education, including classes in moral philosophy, music, drawing and “French, taught by a gentleman.” (Sounds fairly innocent, huh? –Stay

54. It might be presumed that as part of this education at the [Moses Brown School](#) she “must have” attended Quaker worship at least once, but this is something, like the presumed or supposed Quaker origins of her family, in regard to which we have absolutely no direct evidence.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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tuned....)



 September 7, Wednesday: Gustave de Beaumont wrote a letter to Alexis de Tocqueville in Stockbridge.



Bonaventura Niemojewski replaced Jan, Count Krukowiecki as dictator of Poland.

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

4th day 7 of 9th M / Silent meeting at the [Institution](#) Brother Isaac & his son Nathan was here today & I was very glad to see them – they gave us a pleasant account of the welfare of our friends & relations in [Newport](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 September 14, Wednesday: In England, the gardening writer [John Claudius Loudon](#) and the science fiction author Jane C. Webb were wed. He was 47 and she 23. The couple would honeymoon in the Lake District and in Scotland. They would have a daughter, Agnes. The new wife would learn to act as her husband's secretary, copyist, researcher, and note taker, toward the preparation of the *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GARDENING* which would be published in 1834. [Jane Webb Loudon](#) would prepare *INSTRUCTIONS IN GARDENING FOR LADIES*, a nontechnical volume which would see nine editions and sell more than 20,000 copies.

Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited the prison in Charleston, Massachusetts.

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

4th day 14th 9 M / Attended Meeting at the [Institution](#) which was silent but a pretty good meeting –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 21, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville had an interview with Mr. Gray, a Senator of the State of Massachusetts, and confided to his diary as to the reasons for the relative moral purity of the American people:

American morals are, I believe, the purest existing in any nation, which may be attributed, it seems to me, to five principal causes:

- 1. Their physical constitution. They belong to a northern race, even though almost all living in a climate warmer than that of England.*
- 2. Religion still possesses there a great power over the souls. They have even in part retained the traditions of the most severe religious sects.*
- 3. They are entirely absorbed in the business of making money. There are no idle among them. They have the steady habits of those who are always working.*
- 4. There is no trace of the prejudices of birth which reign in Europe, and it is so easy to make money that poverty is never an obstacle to marriage. Thence it results that the individuals of two sexes unite ..., only do so from mutual attraction, and find themselves tied at a time in life when the man is almost always more alive to the pleasures of the heart than those of the senses. It is rare that a man is not married at 2-+ years.*
- 5. In general the women receive an education that is rational (even a bit raisonneuse.) The factors above enumerated make it possible without great inconvenience to allow them an extreme liberty; the passage from the state of young girl to that of a married woman has no dangers for her.*

*...
Mr Clay, who appears to have occupied himself with statistical researches on this point, told Gustave de Beaumont that at Boston the prostitutes numbered about 2000 (I have great difficulty believing this.) They are recruited among country girls who, after having been seduced, are obliged to flee their district and family, and find themselves without resource. It seems that the young blood of the city frequents them, but the*



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fact is concealed with extreme care, and the evil stops there, without ever crossing the domestic threshold or troubling the families. A man who should not be convicted but suspected of having an intrigue would immediately be excluded from society. All doors would be shut to him.

Mr. Dewight was saying to me that a venereal disease was a mark of infamy which was very hard to wash away. On the other hand, the police do not concern themselves in any way with the prostitutes. The Americans say that it would be to legitimate the evil to oppose to it such a remedy. Mr. Dewight said to us (what we had already had occasion to remark in the prison reports) that of all the prisoners those who most rarely reformed were the women of bad morals.

Norborne E. Sutton wrote to Governor John Floyd of Virginia:



Bowling Green Sept 21st 1831

Honorable John Floyd

Sir It is now certain that the slaves in this county was apprised of the insurrection which developed itself in South Hampton. Some Gentleman have enquired of these slaves as to this fact, (Mr. Campbels) in this immediate neighbourhood all admitted that they had received information of the intended insurrection but that it commenced two soon by eight days Yesterday a faithfull servant of Mr. Wm P Taylors gave him information that large meetings of slave were held in his neighbourhood for the purpose of concerting and effecting the best cours they should pursue to get clere of the whits Much excitment and much alarm has prevailed in the couty especally with the slaves of the county and it is now so obvious that the slaves design an attempt between this and the 1st of October I have concluded to suggest to you the proprity of furnishg the malitia with arms at least to some extent For one until the information in relation to Mr Taylors slaves was received I had not even had my gun in my room Because I did not apprehend any danger and I was certain it was calculatd to create a greater degree of alarm with my wife and I thought two it was giving an importance which might induce the negros in this neighborhood to immagine that I was alarmd I hope sir you will arm the Troop and a part of the companies in this county if not all I am as perfectly satisfied that those travling preachers and Pedlers have been instrumental to a great degree in producing the present state of things as that I am now addressng this letter to you And I do hope that the Legislature will at the next session at least pass a law which shall have for its object This That no man particularly a strangr shall preach in any County or Town untill he shall have produced sufficient evidence that he has been regularly ordained and of his moral worth and standing when he was received on his last place of residence I hope I shall be excused for suggestg other civils slaves should not be permitted to have preachng at any time nor should they be permitted to go about contracting for themselves I would make the Law in relation in relation to These matters more penal and I would make it the duty of every officer to arrest such slaves as are permitted to goe at large and sell him forthwith the result to be applied to the use of the County Again Sir it is now the practice at every Court House to see large numbrs of Carts some white and some black vending and trad in



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*various things there Sir although I have used my exertions to arrest the civil practice of court nights frequently the exhibition of whites and blacks mingling together Beggars description They have no law imposed upon them They are composed of the very dregs of the different Counties and what I ask is to be expected but disorder and consequences of the most dangerous and alarming results Last October or November Mr Blak had a valuable slave killd at these Carts white and black all engaged in the [encounter?] late at night I hope you will incur[?] these suggestions repectivly yours &c
Norborne E Sutton*

*P.S. I would suggest the propriety of arming the four companys immediably about this place wher information must be receve first on sight to be fully armed say Capt John Bellah Capt John Washington Captain Washington Carter and Capt W. Wrights these I think should be armed fully
N. E Sutton*

In [Rhode Island](#), as incendiary reports of a supposed massive slave revolt in [North Carolina](#) were appearing in the [Providence Journal](#) (slaves were maybe burning down the city of Wilmington; a white army was maybe gathering in Raleigh, etc.), there was another local race riot. In the white riot of 1824, the rioters had torn down several houses in the black district of Providence by Gaspee Street and the State House that was known as Hardscrabble. Again this was happening, fueled by [liquor](#) and property values, this time in Olneys Lane (now Olney Street) and in Snowtown, a hollow up against Smith Hill southwest of the Hardscrabble district, in the Charles/Orms Street area. The rioting was initiated by a mob of white sailors, continued with the throwing of stones between a group of blacks and a group of whites, and culminated with a black man stepping out of a house with a gun and warning the sailors away – “Is this the way the blacks are to live, to be obliged to defend themselves from stones?” – and then being forced to shoot dead one of the advancing white men. The mob, except for five sailors, retreated to the foot of the hill. After someone shot and wounded three of these sailors, the mob again advanced, and began systematically to knock down two houses and damage several others.

So, as a point of interest, here is the manner in which these events would be truncated in an almanac of 1844:

1831. A riot of four days continuance commenced Sept. 21, in Olney’s lane, North end. It originated with some sailors and the colored people living in the lane, one of the former being shot by a black man, and instantly killed. An immediate attack was made on the houses, and two were promptly destroyed. Each evening the mob increased in number, and violence. The efforts of the Town Council and the Sheriff to suppress it were ineffectual, and the services of the military were called into requisition by the Governor. On the fourth evening, the corps, near Shingle Bridge, were assailed by the crowd, with stones and other missiles, and were commanded to fire, which they did, and four men fell mortally wounded. The crowd dispersed, and quiet was restored. Nearly twenty small houses had been destroyed or badly injured. – At a town meeting, Nov. 22, more than three-fifths of the votes polled were in favor of a City Charter.

We can afford to let local citizen [William J. Brown](#) tell the story, for his account is remarkably detailed despite the fact that we have no reason to suspect that he himself had been present and remarkably tolerant despite the fact that he himself had no reason whatever to be objective about this tense racial confrontation:

PAGES 50-54: The feeling against the colored people was very



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bitter. The colored people themselves were ignorant of the cause, unless it could be attributed to our condition, not having the means to raise themselves in the scale of wealth and affluence, consequently those who were evil disposed would offer abuse whenever they saw fit, and there was no chance for resentment or redress. Mobs were also the order of the day, and the poor colored people were the sufferers....

Not long after this [an earlier gentrification mob action] there was another mob, commenced at the west end of Olney Street. Here were a number of houses built and owned by white men, and rented to any one, white or colored, who wanted to hire one or more rooms, rent payable weekly. Some of these places had bar-rooms, where liquors were dealt out, and places where they sold cakes, pies, doughnuts, etc. These they called cooky stands. In some houses dancing and fiddling was the order of the day. It soon became dangerous for one to pass through there in the day time that did not belong to their gang, or patronize them. Most all sailors who came into port would be introduced into Olney Street by some one who had an interest that way. I remember when a boy, passing up one day to my father's garden, which was on that street, in company with two other boys, looking at the people as we passed along. Some were sitting at the windows, some in their doorway, some singing, some laughing, some gossiping, some had their clay furnaces in front of their houses, cooking, and seeing us looking at them, said "What are you gawking at, you brats?" hurling a large stone at the same time, and we were obliged to run for our lives. This street had a correspondence with all the sailor boarding houses in town, and was sustained by their patronage. Vessels of every description were constantly entering our port, and sailing crafts were seen from the south side of the Great Bridge to India Point. It was the great shipping port of New England in those days, and although the smallest of all the States, Rhode Island was regarded as among the wealthiest, the Quakers occupying a large portion of the State....

There was a sailor boarding house in Power Street, kept by a man from Virginia by the name of Jimmie Axum. He was a sailor, every inch of him, and his wife, Hannah, was an Indian woman of the Narragansett tribe. Uncle Jimmie was a shipping master and a fiddler, and when he failed to entertain sailors, they all knew where to go - Olney Street was their next port of entry.

When a ship's crew of sailors came ashore they would all go to Uncle Jimmie's to board, and Uncle Jimmie, with his household, would entertain them with fiddle and tamborine. There would be drinking and dancing through the day and evening, and every half hour some one would take a pitcher and go after liquor, which they purchased by the quart or pint. The best of Jamaica rum then sold for nine pence a quart; gin at the same price. Brandy was twenty-five cents a quart.

In those days it was common to drink liquor; everybody used it. Ministers drank and Christians drank. If you were passing on Main or Water Street in the morning the common salutation was: "Good morning, Mr. A. or B., won't you walk in and take a glass of brandy or gin?" If men were at work on the wharf, at eleven in the morning and four in the afternoon grog was passed around, consisting of a jug of rum and a pail of water. Each one would help himself to as much as he wanted. Even the people that went



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out washing must be treated at eleven and four o'clock, and people were considered mean who would not furnish these supplies to those whom they employed. If a person went out to make a call or spend the evening and was not treated to something to drink, they would feel insulted. You might as well tell a man in plain words not to come again, for he surely would go off and spread it, how mean they were treated – not even so much as to ask them to have something to drink; and you would not again be troubled with their company.

The sailors often drank to excess. You could frequently see them on South Water Street lying at full length or seated against a building intoxicated.

After sailors had stayed at Uncle Jimmie's boarding-house long enough to be stripped of nearly all their money by Uncle Jimmie and his wife, and the females which hung around there, they would be suffered to stroll up to Olney Street to spend the rest of their money.

One night a number of sailors boarding at Uncle Jimmie's went up to Olney Street to attend a dance. It was about nine o'clock when they left the house, expecting to dance all night and have what they called a sailor's reel and breakdown. About ten o'clock there came to Uncle Jim's a large, tall and powerful looking black man to the door. He said, "Uncle Jimmie, where is the boys?" He answered, "You will find them up in Olney Street; they went up to a dance tonight." He replied, "I am going up there, and if anybody comes here and inquires for me tell them I am gone up to the dance in Olney Street." Uncle Jimmy said, "Who are you and what is your name?" The man replied, "I am the Rattler." No one took notice of him. Those that were on the floor continued their dancing. This man seeing no one noticed him went in amongst them and commenced dancing, running against one man and pushing against another, just as his fancy led him. There being at that time five or six large men calling themselves fighting men or bullies, came to the conclusion that they would not have their dance broke up in that shape by a stranger that nobody knew. One of the men by the name of James Treadwell, and known to be a great fighter, said to another large double-jointed man, so considered, by the name of Augustus Williams, "This fellow calls himself the Rattler, let's rattle his box." So they gathered three or four other men who would come to their assistance if needed. They approached the stranger and addressed him saying, "Who are you, stranger, and what do you want here?" He replied "I am the Rattler." They said to him, "If you don't clear out we will rattle your box." He replied, "That you can do as soon as you have a mind to." Without further ceremony they all pitched into him. The Rattler threw one man into the bar, another he threw across the room, some he slammed against the sides of the house, and in a few minutes he cleared the house, and as they had no power to resist him, they very wisely concluded that he was the devil in fine clothing. This story was told me by Augustus Williams, who was present and witnessed the whole affair and declared it to be the truth. The next visitation in Olney Street was made by two crews of sailors, one white and the other colored, consequently a fight was the order of the day, in which the blacks were the conquerors, and drove the whites out of the street. The white sailors not relishing this kind of treatment, doubled their forces the next night and paid



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Olney Street another visit, and had a general time of knocking down and dragging out. This mob conduct lasted for nearly a week. They greatly discomfited the saloonkeepers, drinking their liquors, smashing up the decanters and other furniture. One of their number was shot dead by a bar tender, which so enraged them that they began to tear down houses, threatening to destroy every house occupied by colored people. Their destructive work extended through Olney Street, Gaspee Street and a place called the Hollow, neither of which bore a very good reputation. They warned the better class of colored people to move out, and then went on with their work of destruction, calling on men of like principles, from other towns, to help, promising to share with them in the plunder, or take their pay from the banks. Governor Arnold hearing of this ordered out the military, thinking that their presence would quell the mob. They were not so easily frightened, and continued their work of ruin until the governor was compelled to order his men to fire. This had the desired effect; broke up the riot and dispersed the mob; but Olney Street had fallen to rise no more as a place of resort for rum shops, sailors and lewd women.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Here now is the same event, but as it would be described in William Read Staples's 1843 ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832:

The first outbreak of popular feeling was on the night of September 21. A number of sailors visited Olney's lane for the purpose of having a row with the blacks inhabiting there. After making a great noise there and throwing stones, a gun was fired from one of the houses. The greater part of the persons in the lane then retreated to the west end of it, and five sailors who had not been engaged in any of the previous transactions, went up the lane. A black man on the steps of his house, presented a gun, and told them to keep their distance. They in turn proposed taking his gun. This they did not attempt, but pursuing their walk a little further, then stopped. Here they were ordered by the black man "to clear out," or he would fire at them. This they dared him to do. He did fire, and one of their number was instantly killed. The first company, who were still at the foot of the lane, then returned, tore down two houses and broke the windows of the rest. During the next day there was a great excitement. The sheriff of the county with other peace officers were in Olney's lane early in the evening. As the mob increased in numbers and in violence of language, they were ordered to disperse, and seven taken in custody. Subsequently others were arrested, who were rescued from the officers. The sheriff then required military aid of the Governor of the state, and at midnight the First Light Infantry marched to his assistance. The mob, not intimidated by their presence, assaulted them with stones. Finding that they could effect nothing without firing upon them, the soldiers left the lane, followed by the mob, who then returned to their work, and demolished six more houses in the lane and one near Smith street, not separating until between three and four o'clock in the morning. On the morning of the



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23d, an attack on the jail being expected, the sheriff required military aid, and the Governor issued his orders to the Light Dragoons, the Artillery, the Cadets, the Volunteers, and the First Infantry, to be in arms at six o'clock in the evening. The mob appeared only in small force, and did little mischief. The military were dismissed until the next evening. On the evening of the 24th there was a great collection of persons in Smith street and its vicinity. Soon they commenced pulling down houses. Upon this, finding it impossible to disperse or stay them, the sheriff called again on the Governor, and the military were again assembled. During their march to Smith street they were assailed with stones. They marched up Smith street and took post on the hill. Here both the Governor and the sheriff remonstrated with the mob, and endeavored to induce them to separate, informing them that the muskets of the military were loaded with ball cartridges. This being ineffectual, the riot act was read, and they were required by a peace officer to disperse. The mob continued to throw stones both at the houses and soldiers. The sheriff then attempted to disperse them by marching the dragoons and infantry among them, but without success. He then ordered the military to fire, and four persons fell mortally wounded, in Smith street, just east of Smith's bridge. The mob immediately dispersed, and peace was restored.

This week, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and his wife had been visiting [Newport](#) from their current home at the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the "[Moses Brown School](#)" in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



6th day [Friday] 16th of 9 M 1831 / Having for sometime anticipated a visit to Newport We went on board the Steam Boat at 12 OC & arrived at our home about 3 OC PM. - I had not been there half an hour before I met with an accident which so lamed me that I was wholly unable to get about & 7th [Saturday] & 1st day [Sunday]s I was in Bed most of the time - on 2nd day [Monday] I was about a little & on 3rd day [Tuesday] we came home again to the Institution not a little disappointed in not being able to visit my friends & attend to many little things that was desirable to me. - But disappointment & trial is the lot of us all on this side of the grave, & I have much



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to be thankful for, in being favoured as I have. – Few have been more exempt from the disagreeables of life, while I may recount many bitter cups which I have had to take from time to time, yet I have been exempt from many which falls to the lot of Some in passing down the Stream of time. –

We found our friends & relations at Newport in good health & comfortable in situation - Father & Mother Rodman tho' aged are Smart & now free from some trials which recently awaited them in Davids state of mind & the situation of his family - he having removed to Lynn & is more comfortable in mind & a pretty good prospect of maintaining himself & family. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 22, Thursday: Alexis de Tocqueville made an entry in his journal about juries. He and Gustave de Beaumont heard from [Francis \(Franz\) Lieber](#): “We Europeans, we think to create republics by organizing a great political assembly. The Republic on the contrary, is of all the governments the one that depends most on every part of society ... If an obstacle embarrasses the public way, the neighbors will at once constitute themselves a deliberative body; they will name a commission and will remedy the evil by their collective force, wisely directed ... For my part, I feel myself inclined to believe ... that constitutions and political laws are nothing in themselves. They are dead creations to which the morals and the social position of the people alone can give life.”

They asked Lieber about the purity of American morals:

We asked him: Is it true that morals are as pure here as they pretend?

He replied: Morals are less good in the lower classes than among the enlightened; however, I think them superior to those of the same classes in Europe. As for the educated, their morals are as perfect as it is possible to imagine them. I don't believe that there is a single intrigue in Boston society. A woman suspected would be lost. The women there are, however, very coquettish; they even display their coquetry with greater boldness than with us because they know that they cannot go beyond a certain point, and that no one believes that they overstep that bound. After all, I like still better our women of Europe with their weaknesses, than the glacial and egotistical virtue of the Americans.

Q. To what do you attribute the unbelievable master that one obtains here over the passions?

A. To a thousand causes: to their physical constitution, to Puritanism, to their habits of industry, to the absence of an unemployed and corrupted class, such as a garrison for example, to the early marriages, to the very construction of the houses, which renders the secret of an illicit liaison almost impossible to keep.

Q. They say that the young men are not sages before marriage.

A. No. They are even, like the English, gross in their tastes, but like them they make a complete separation between the society in which they habitually live, and that which serves their pleasure. These are like two worlds which have nothing in common together. The young men never seek to seduce honest women.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In England, a Reform Bill passed in the House of Commons.

Hackney coaches had been introduced in London in 1625 to ply for hire, and in 1634 Captain Baily had placed four such coaches at the Maypole in the Strand. A Lost-and-Found Office had in 1815 been established to deal with items left accidentally in these public coaches. On this day all restrictions, as to the numbers of such coaches for hire that might ply the streets of the municipality, were lifted. Taxi!

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Providence Journal](#) ran a very small report at the end of its news columns of this fatal local “affray” involving a “large mob.” The newspaper’s primary focus remained, however, on the larger events of the “Insurrection in North Carolina.” Although it had not been confirmed that the blacks had burned the city of Wilmington, the current estimate was that half the whites of the town had been killed. The slaves were supposedly sweeping across two counties, burning and killing as they went. The [Journal](#) reprinted a letter praising white citizens who were taking “vigorous measures” against these black “offenders.” This letter concluded with “I foresee that this land must become a field of blood.” That day’s issue of the [American](#) provided a lengthier account of the Providence “RIOT AND MURDER,” blaming white sailors for having instigated this confrontation. That day, also, the [American](#) published a letter, apparently from one of the rioters, asserting that the “Negroes armed themselves and fired upon four sailors,” and that the crowd had destroyed only the homes of these “foul-blooded” murderers. As the neighborhood was “worse than the celebrated Five Points District in New York, our populace are determined to level” the remaining houses. The anonymous writer’s main argument, justifying the demolitions, was the one that was so successful in 1824: that the neighborhood evil could be remedied only by gentrification, on a scale not contemplated since King Philip’s War. That evening a mob of 700 or 800 whites destroyed six more of the properties along Olney’s Lane while the sheriff, constables, and Town Council watched, now and again ordering the rioters to cease and desist. Governor James Fenner called out a militia company, and late that night 25 militiamen arrived. Pausing only to free rioters whom the authorities arrested, the mob finished off Olney’s Lane and proceeded to Snow Town, which most likely was somewhere near what is now the University of Rhode Island. They destroyed two houses there, dispersing around 4AM. The militia succeeded in taking only seven of the white rioters into custody.

Having arrived back at the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the “[Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence](#) from his visit to his old haunts in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was settling in and taking care of business — and it becomes abundantly clear from his entry in his journal that in the nice white “Quaker close” of religious righteousness that they had set up for themselves, the fact that there were race riots going on in the less beautiful side of downtown Providence just across the river from the meetinghouse was none of their concern.

5th day 22 of 9 M / Preparative Meeting, the Boys attended but there was so much of a prospect of a Storm that the Girls staid at home — I have thought proper to stay most of this day in my chamber & keep my leg up —it has been more comfortable than Yesterday but is still poorly. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 23, Friday: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s AIDS TO REFLECTION, 2d edition.

AIDS TO REFLECTION

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Providence Journal](#) ran a two-inch article on “RIOT” at the end of its news columns, noting that a mob of hundreds had “defeated civil and military authority.” An article headed “NEGRO CONSPIRACY” revealed that actually there had been “no overt rebellion” in [North Carolina](#) at all — though most of the slaves in two counties there had indeed been plotting to embark upon such a course. This Providence newspaper offered its readers a reprint of an article from New Haven, Connecticut, to the effect that the blacks there had, notwithstanding many benevolent efforts to educate them, “imbibed the notion that they were oppressed.” Like the blacks of Providence, the blacks of New Haven had acquired this inordinate concern over their “dignity,” and they were now demanding an “equal standing in society.” They had actually purchased land in the city of New Haven, and were actually in the process of founding a black college! A New Haven city meeting had resolved unanimously that since such a black college would of course support the abolition of human slavery, for them to tolerate the creation of such a local institution would amount to violating the rights of the Southern states, for which slavery was a legal institution. Furthermore, having such a black institution in the town of New Haven would bring Yale College to ruination. The white citizens of the town were vowing to resist such nefarious activity “by every lawful means,” as well they should.

That day the seven jailed white rioters were released. However, a white mob, unaware that they had been released, was preparing to storm the jail to rescue them. There were six companies of militiamen around the jail, amounting to 130 soldiers. Finally the mob’s belligerent spokesmen were persuaded that the jail was already empty, and the mob dispersed.



September 24, Saturday: In [Rhode Island](#), the [Providence American](#) was pleased to report that “precautions” against new riots had “proved effectual.” It enjoined “every orderly citizen” to “lend his influence” to prevent further such disorder. The [Providence Journal](#) provided at the head of its news column a short, factual account of the local rioting. It also reprinted an uncompromising defense of the New Haven Negro college. The [Providence Patriot and Columbia Phenix](#) published a relatively calm account of the “RIOT,” beginning with the “murder” attributed to “some Negro inhabitant.” That night, however, nearly 1,000 white rioters marched across the Smith Street bridge and over Smith Hill to finish off Snow Town, trailed by about another 1,000 white spectators. As the militia of 130, including some cavalry and artillery, countermarched from the bridge to the hill and back, the crowd encompassed them, swallowed them up, and all but disintegrated their ranks. At one point a white citizen snatched a militia rifle and the two men tumbled down a 20-foot bank while struggling with each other. Several militiamen and dozens of rioters scrambled down to aid them, and the militia barely fought its way out. The rioters threw every stone they could find, injuring some members. The sheriff read the riot act as preparation for opening fire on the citizens. As before, the crowd responded with various insults, including “Fire and be damned.” Firing into the air merely enabled the abuse to continue. Half the crowd turned to destroying a house, while the others tormented the militia as they tried to form a line from the bridge up the hill. When the militia pleaded that they were about to disintegrate, the governor, sheriff, and officers announced that they would fire if the mob would not disperse. Greeted only with defiance, Governor Fenner gave the order to fire. The militia fired, one volley, and four young white men fell dead: a sailor, a bookbinder, a paperhanger, and an apprentice. The crowd then dispersed.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 September 25, Sunday: On a [Rhode Island](#) Sunday there were of course no newspapers, but a special Town Meeting was held in [Providence](#) that nevertheless succeeded in attracting 3,000 white citizens (most of them not property owners, and thus having no privilege to vote at such an assembly, but interested to hear anyway what was being decided in this tense interracial situation by their betters).

RACISM

Of course, this being the Lord's Day, and Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) being a [Quaker](#), we find there to be no concern of any kind expressed in his journal, in regard to these nearby political goings-on and racial anguishings:

*1st day 25 of 9 M / Silent Meetings all day - I sat in AM but
my Leg & knee were not very comfortable-*

God was in his Heaven, the Quakers were in their quietistic Close, and all was well!

 September 26, Monday: The [Providence American](#) emphasized the overriding issue for [Rhode Island](#), of respect for "interests and property" — even the interests and property of persons of "suspicious reputation." The [Providence Journal](#) wrote in favor of the rule of law, and heaped praise on the militia for having restored order. The Journal pointed out that the officials and militiamen had opened fire only with the greatest reluctance, and only when the crowd seemed ready to disarm them, thereby arming itself. The rioting citizens have been provided with adequate warning, and had even shouted, defiantly, "Fire if you dare!" It was good that we had "taught a rebellious portion of our community that they owed an allegiance to the laws." Thomas Sekell and Ezekiel Burr placed brief notices in the [Journal](#) denying rumors that they had secretly armed the mob. Burr pointed out, in proof of this, that he had himself owned one of the houses the mob had destroyed. At the convention of the Anti-Masonic Party in [Baltimore](#), 126 delegates approved a slate of candidates for the national election. This was one of the very first experiments in such nominations by convention.

The Conference of London granted to Greece a northern border going from Arta to Volos.

 September 27, Tuesday: The 1st passenger railroad in Scotland opened between Glasgow and Garnkirk.

[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin \(Frédéric François Chopin\)](#) arrived in Paris after a 2-week trip from Stuttgart.

The [Providence Journal](#) presented only a short, platitudinous editorial on the riots. [Newport, Rhode Island's Democratic Rhode Island Republican](#) praised Governor Fenner's decision to open fire on the white mob, explaining that liberty, law, and authority were "intimately blended" — were indeed as inseparable as the Holy Trinity. That newspaper provided extracts from Rhode Island's royal charter, still in effect, by which the governor had been authorized "to kill, slay and destroy, by all fitting ways" any who "enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance" of Rhode Islanders. The [American's](#) story of "Another Riot" was truly ambivalent, for while it lamented that "this neat and beautiful village has become one mass of ruin," and its "virtuous and orderly citizens deprived of their dwelling," the race it denounced was the black one that had been deprived, rather than the white one that had done the depriving. Providence's blacks, rather than its whites, were characterized as having been "unusually bold" and as having "repeatedly defied civil authority."

Of course, the Providence [Quaker](#) being safe in their quietistic "Close" up on College Hill, we find no concern whatever being expressed in the journal of Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) in regard to these nearby political goings-on and racial anguishings:

*3rd day 27th of 9th M 1831 / My leg & knee gets better so slowly,
that I hardly know whether to conclude it is better from Day to*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Day or not.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 28, Wednesday: Oliver Cromwell had in 1657 signed a writ of privy seal establishing a university at Durham in England, but this institution had upon the Restoration of the monarchy been suppressed. On this day a new university was founded in Durham by the bishop, by an act of chapter (the parliament sanctioned this, it would receive the royal assent during the following year, and the institution would be able to open its doors in 1833).

The Anti-Masonic convention in [Baltimore](#) nominated William Wirt for president and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for vice president. Those secretive Masons, for sure we weren't going to let them get away with anything!⁵⁵

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Democratic Patriot](#) sadly approved of the action of the local white militia. It was good that they had fired on the [Providence](#) mob. However, it was also fitting that the white mob had been allowed to deconstruct the black residences along Olneys Lane, that had been such an “annoyance” to “the most respectable part.”

No trace of an awareness of any general social problem is to be detected in this diary report by [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) of local [Quaker](#) goings-on:

4th day 28th of 9 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) was a good one all our Scholars [[the Quaker youths at the Institution](#)] attended - Wm Almy & Anna A Jenkins were very acceptable in testimony & Hannah Robinson also had a good little testimony to bear - & life was prevalent over the Meeting. - In the last Meeting the buisness was conducted in a solid Manner - two or three certificates were received & A friend applied for his children to be taken under care of Friends - A young man Also applied to be received into membership. -

 September 29, Thursday: Most [Rhode Island](#) papers printed with approbation the report of the investigating committee of notables that had been appointed at Sunday's [Providence](#) Town Meeting. The committee's report brought many facts together coherently, but cautioned that it had only heard the sailors' side of the argument, not the blacks' side. The setting of the riots was described as a Babylon of “indiscriminate mixtures of whites” and “idle blacks of the lowest stamp,” whose persistent “midnight revels” and “bloody affrays” had been disturbing the slumbers of the “respectable.” The report provided a list of the dead and wounded, and a list of the destroyed houses and who had owned them. One slumlord who had lost a rental property was William Staples, a lawyer who had represented the 1824 rioters and had risen to become Rhode Island's Chief Justice. Another of the slum rental properties in question, it turned out, was owned by Nicholas Brown. A series of Town Meetings would quickly prepare and approve a city charter, with councilmen elected by ward and a mayor who could jail anyone for 24 hours, search houses, and dissolve riots.

55. Wirt would obtain, basically from Mason-haters, only 100,715 votes, amounting to 7 electoral votes, whereas Andrew Jackson would obtain, basically from slavery-lovers, 701,780 votes, amounting to 219 electoral votes.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 October 1, Saturday: [Hector Berlioz](#) and two colleagues arrived in [Naples](#) where he immediately visited the tomb of [Virgil](#).

Alexis de Tocqueville had an interview with John Quincy Adams. He made a journal entry about the criminal justice system and other issues.

Clara Wieck played for [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) at his home in Weimar. He provided a cushion for her, since the piano bench was too low. She performed two works by Henri Herz, La Violetta and Bravura Variations op.20. He complemented her warmly and invited her back.

 October 2, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville made a journal entry based on an interview with a Mr. Henry Clay, a Georgia planter (not the Henry Clay of Virginia). He made journal entries about inheritance laws and religion.

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

1st day 2nd of 10th M / Silent Meeting in the Morning In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had good & acceptable Service. – Gilbert Congdon was here & staid the eveng & I had a very satisfactory opportunity with him in our room in the evening, previous to the collection of the [School](#), which we attended

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 3, Monday: Alexis de Tocqueville left Boston for Hartford, Connecticut.

 October 4, Tuesday: The final stragglers of the Polish army crossed into Prussia.

 October 5, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville toured the Connecticut State Prison. He wrote to his father, and to his mother, and made journal entries.

Under King William IV, the measuring of coal offered for fuel in London began to be regulated by law (on account of frauds practiced, the measuring of wood for fuel had been thus regulated since 1543 under King Henry VIII).

By the Equalization Act, foreign wines were to pay an English duty of 5s. 6d. per gallon, and Cape wines 2s. 9p.

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

4th day 5 of 10 M / Silent meeting & pretty solid I have of late had some favourd Seasons, some renewings of the Spirit of life for which I desire to be thankful. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 October 7, Friday: Alexis de Tocqueville made Journal entries and wrote to his father.

 October 8, Saturday: Alexis de Tocqueville left Hartford, Connecticut via steamboat for New-York.

When the House of Lords rejected the Reform Bill, in direct opposition to the House of Commons, riots, looting, and burning broke out through Britain, especially in the midlands.

 October 9, Sunday: The 1st head of an independent Greece, [Count Ioannis Antonios Kapodistrias](#), was assassinated on the steps of his church in Nafplion, Greece (there's still a bullet hole in a wall of the church, that they'll show you). It was a family revenge killing.

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

*1st day 9th of 10th M 1831 / Meeting in the Morning was silent,
& my mind lean & destitute - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended
& preached admirably well & to the point - but I could not attain
to so good a settlement as I could wish -
But this eveng, a precious covering has attended my feelings for
which I desire to be thankful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 10, Monday: In New-York, Alexis de Tocqueville made a journal entry about associations, and wrote to his cousin, Mme de Grancey.

 October 11, Tuesday: Alexis de Tocqueville left New-York by steamboat and stage for Philadelphia.

 November: For one last time [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) visited her home of origin in Charleston, South Carolina.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 November 13, Sunday: The abolitionists met in the law offices of Samuel Eliot Sewall on State Street in [Boston](#) to discuss the formation of an anti-slavery society in opposition to the gradualist agenda of the American Colonization Society.



STATE STREET, BOSTON

They agreed going in that it would be mandatory to secure at least a dozen positive votes to get this abolitionist society started. Present, besides of course Sewall whose offices these were, and William Lloyd Garrison, were:

- [David Lee Child](#), representing himself and also his spouse [Lydia Maria Child](#) who could of course not be present since this was an all-guys thing, a business meeting
- [Joshua Coffin](#)
- Isaac Knaap
- [Friend](#) Oliver Johnson
- Ellis Gray Loring
- The Reverend Samuel Joseph May
- The Reverend Moses Thacher

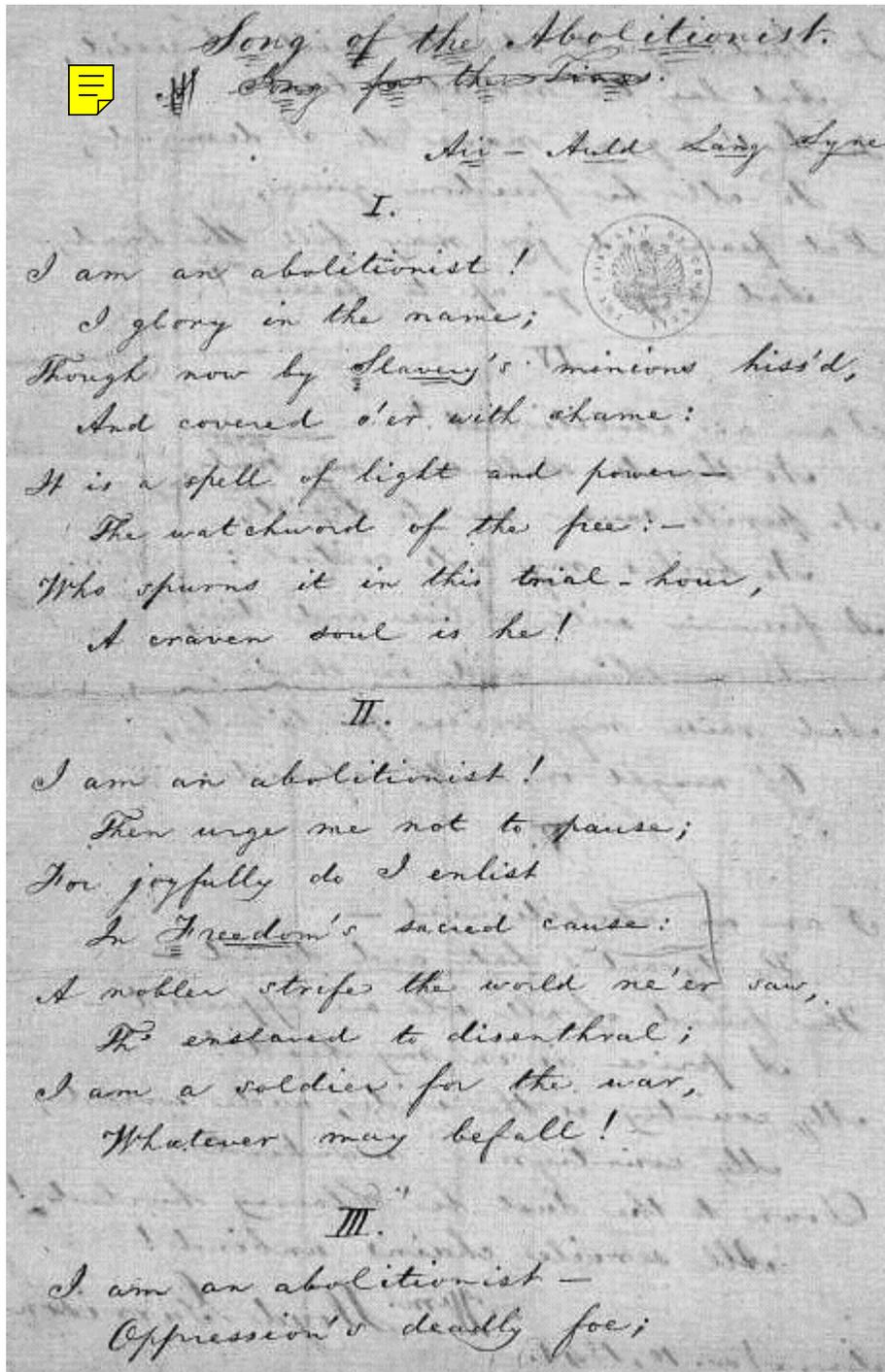
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of old [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#)



Their initial ballot unfortunately produced, among the fifteen who voted, only nine persons ready to proceed on an “immediatist” or “just do it” agenda rather than the agreed magic minimum number of twelve. They would therefore need to hold another meeting, in December,  and then three more such meetings, before they would be able to complete their agreement on January 1, 1832  and then confirm it with their dozen signatures, in the basement classroom of the African Meeting House on Belknap Street in the presence of black witnesses, on January 6, 1832. 





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 November 24, Thursday: Andrew Jackson Jr., adopted son of the president, got married in Philadelphia with Sarah Yorke, daughter of a formerly wealthy Philadelphia merchant (who had died just after losing his fortune). The couple would honeymoon in the White House, which would almost certainly be the initial meeting of the father with his new daughter-in-law: “Sarah became a joy and comfort to [President Andrew Jackson] for the rest of his days.”

Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in Pittsburgh.

Michael Faraday read the initial part of his paper “Experimental Researches on Electricity” to the Royal Society in London. This described his work over the last few months, during which he had pioneered the 1st electrical transformer and the 1st electric generator, and discovered the electromagnetic induction that would become the basis of our thinking in this new field.

 November 25, Friday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont began a steamboat journey down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, arriving on New Years Day, 1832.

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

6th day 25 of 11 M / Took the Steam Boat at 12 OC & went to [Newport](#) & carried Lydia P Nichols with me to visit our friends there. – found them well – The next day Doctor Hazard & I took Chaise & went out to Uncle Stantons where we dined & spent part of the Afternoon – returned & visited several of my friends –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 26, Saturday: During the night, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont were nearly drowned when *The Fourth of July* struck a reef — but the steamboat, though it was unable to remain on the surface, rested on the reef rather than submerging.

 November 27, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Attended both meetings, in [Newport](#) & father Rodman was engaged in Both to my edification & comfort – I was also comforted to find my beloved meeting was so well attended tho’ it was a very Stormy day – the place where I have enjoyed so many seasons of divine favour & where also I have known many trials & close baptisms of spirit. – I love Newport & hope it may yet increase in religious weight & stand as in days past, & tho’ Friends have much decreased & become few in Number, yet there is a goodly few left –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 28, Monday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day Morning in the Steamer Rush Light we returned to [Providence](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 November 29, Tuesday: [Frederick Townsend Ward](#) was born near the docks of Salem, Massachusetts (since most of his correspondence has been destroyed by a relative, we know very little about the earlier portions of this short life).

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

*3rd day 29 of 11 M 1831 / Our sub committee Meeting was held -
it was a pleasant time, & the buisness conducted harmoniously. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 8, Thursday: 1st Meeting for Worship of the new [Hicksite](#) branch of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#), in their new meetinghouse.

The committee overseeing the Royal Academy of Music forbade Dr. William Crotch to instruct female students (he had kissed one of the lasses whom he considered to be doing excellent work in harmony).

 December 9, Friday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrived in Paris from Dusseldorf.

 December 10, Saturday: The threat to Argentina having gone unheeded, the USS *Lexington* proceeded from Buenos Aires to the Falklands to make good on it.

 December 11, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 11th of 12 M 1831 / This morning about half past 3 Oclock
Mary Lefavour came to our Door & called my wife, an Alteration
having appeared in Mary W Townsend - & about half past 5 OC she
breathed her last so quietly & peacefully that it seemed
difficult to perceive the exact Moment she ceased to exist. -
She remained sensible & knew those around her & was evidently
in a most quiet frame of spirit & there can be no reason to doubt
her having centerd to a blessed state of immortality. -
She & we have been anxiously expecting her parents for several
days. - but they well now be disappointed of seeing her in this
life
Our Mornng Meeting was quiet & solid & in the Afternoon we had
the company of Wm Almy very acceptably & comfortably.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



December 12, Monday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) wrote from Paris about a conversation he had had with Frederic Kalkbrenner: “After studying me closely, he advised me to study with him for three years, and he will make of me someone really — really” He also wrote that he had been overwhelmed at a performance of [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)’s “[Robert le Diable](#).”

Lord John Russell introduced 3d Reform Bill in the House of Commons, to reduce the puissance of the British landed aristocracy. Gladstone attacked this reform at an Oxford Union debate.

The US House of Representatives was presented with 15 petitions for an end to slavery in the District of Columbia.

The national Republican convention met in the Atheneum of [Baltimore, Maryland](#).



December 14, Wednesday: Carlo Verdi petitioned Duchess Maria Luisa of Parma for support in his quest for a grant from the Monte de Pieta e d’Abbondanza in Busseto for his talented son, Giuseppe.

The 140 delegates to the national Republican convention meeting in the Atheneum of [Baltimore, Maryland](#) nominated Henry Clay for president and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for vice president.

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

*4th day 14th of 12 M / About an hour before meeting time
Abel W Townsend & wife arrived - They felt Most easy to set with
us in Meeting which was solid & solemn. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



December 28, Wednesday: As threatened earlier in the month, the USS *Lexington* under Commander Silas Duncan arrived in the Falkland Islands and looted settlements, disarming and carrying away inhabitants such as one of the governor's aides.

Calvin Edson, the living skeleton, placed himself on exhibit in [Boston](#) for an admission fee of 25 cents.⁵⁶



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

*4th day 28 of 12 M 1831 / My H being almost sick with a cold -
I rode to [Smithfield](#) with Deborah Ramsdell to attend Moy
[Monthly] Meeting -It was a rather low Meeting but we were
favoured to transact what little buisness we had with a good
degree of order
Most of those who have been head were absent*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 29, Thursday: Hereditary peerages were abolished in France, leaving only life peerages. This would provide the monarch with greater control over the Chamber of Peers.



December 30, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 30th of 12 M 1831 / This is a day which seldom if ever
passes unnoticed by me. - It is my Birthday & I am 50 Years old
- It does not seem as if I had lived half a century. tho' I have
kept more "note of time" than some others & perhaps can give
more account of events which have ocured from my childhood to*

56. Born in Stafford, Connecticut, Edson was 42 years of age and had a wife and three children. When he had served as a soldier during the Revolutionary War, his weight had been 135 pounds and he had been 5 foot 6 inches. Since then his height had shrunk by 3 inches and he had come to weigh but 58 pounds. He was able to ride horseback and would demonstrate that he was able to lift 150 pounds.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the present day. – I much desire so to live the rest of my allotted time as to be able to depart in peace when the time of my departure arrives, & tho' the Merits of Him, who died for us, be received with the rest prepared for the righteous. -- My life has been as free from keen affliction as most men, yet I have had many trials of Faith patience & even hope. – but have been favoured & sustained thro' all to the present day – & my mind is confirmed in the Faith that there is a hand Divine which rules & overules the destinies of men. & that this hand has sustained me I can truly acknowledge, & a sense therof has often drew forth the Silent & sometimes the vocal ascription of adoration & Praise. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1832



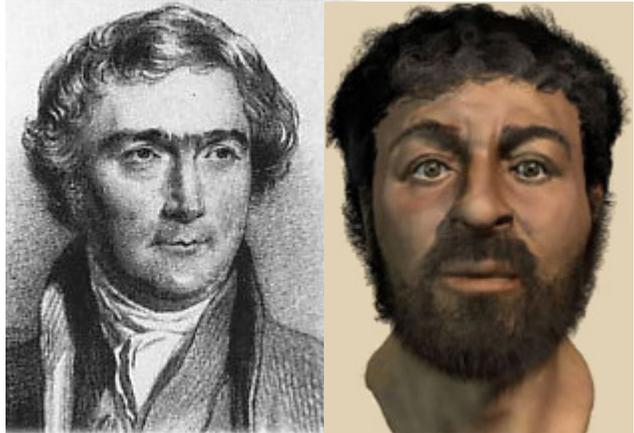
Friend Isaac T. Hopper published JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS OF ELIAS HICKS. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF



Publication of Friend Joseph John Gurney's THE MORAL CHARACTER OF JESUS CHRIST.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 Amid controversy, the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) hired Friend John Griscom to head up its new academic department (now known as the “Middle School”). One bone of contention was the salary which they had agreed to pay, which at \$1,500 per year⁵⁷ was roughly triple any other teacher’s salary⁵⁸ — but this extra pay would be made up by private subscription among a number of individual Friends.



1832. The City Government was organized, and Samuel W. Bridgham was elected Mayor, on the 4th Monday of April, being the first election under City Charter. He retained his office, by repeated elections, to December 1839, when he died, and was succeeded by Thomas M. Burgess, the present Mayor. The Asiatic Cholera made its appearance here in August. It had, for some time, been doing the work of death in New-York and Philadelphia, and other cities, and its appearance in this city occasioned universal dismay. The Board of Health had a daily session, a new hospital was built, and every precaution was adopted by the city authorities to prevent its spread. Its ravages, however were not so disastrous or fatal, as was apprehended, and after a few

57. To get a sense of what that amounted to in today’s money, consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

weeks, it entirely disappeared.

Principals (to 1919).⁵⁹

1832-1835.	Griscom, John.
1835.	Earle, Pliny.
1836-1838.	Lockwood, Moses B.
(School managed for a time by Superintendents, without Principals.)	
1852-1855.	Atherton, Charles, and Whittier, Gertrude E.
1855-1860.	Cartland, Joseph and Gertrude W.
1860-1879.	Smiley, Albert K.
1860-1868.	Smiley, Alfred H., Assoc.
1863-1879.	Smiley, Rebecca H.
1879-1904.	Jones, Augustine.
1904-	Gifford, Seth K. and Mary Amy.

58. I believe he had been running a Quaker school in Burlington, New Jersey and had acquired a reputation for great knowledge and competence. In 1824 the New York assembly had favorably considered his proposal for the creation of a New York Water-Works, for a Manhattan water supply. At any rate, he was a well-published author:

- The New-York expositor, or, Fifth book: being a collection of the most useful words in the English language / by Richard Wiggins; to which is added A vocabulary of scientific terms ; by John Griscom ; the whole selected, divided, accentuated and explained, with references to a key for their pronunciation, chiefly on the authorities of Johnson and Walker; for the use of schools. New York: Printed and sold by Samuel Wood, 1811; 1814; 1818; 1825
- Considerations relative to an establishment for perfecting the education of young men within the Society of Friends: in a letter from a member of the Society in New-York to several others in Philadelphia. New-York: Printed by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1815
- Hints relative to the most eligible method of conducting meteorological observations: read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York on the eight of December 1814 / by John Griscom. New-York: Printed by Van Winkle and Wiley, 1815
- Report of a committee on the subject of pauperism (chaired by John Griscom). New York, Printed by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1818
 - "Among the causes of vicious excitement in our city, none appear to be so powerful in their nature as theatrical amusements. The number of boys and young men who have become determined thieves, in order to procure the means of introduction to the theatres and circuses, would appall the feelings of every virtuous mind, could the whole truth be laid open before them."
- Geographical questions: containing, a copious and minute reference to the different parts of the globe: with a table of all the most considerable towns, rivers, mountains, capes, and islands: a table of latitudes and longitudes, and a comparative view of ancient and modern geography / by John Griscom. Edition Rev. and extended / by D. Griscom. New-York: Printed and sold by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1822
- A year in Europe: comprising a journal of observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the north of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819. / By John Griscom. New York: Published by Collins & Co. and H.C. Carey & J. Lea; [etc., etc.], 1823
- Monitorial instruction. An address, pronounced at the opening of the New-York high-school, with notes and illustrations, by John Griscom. New York, Printed by M. Day, 1825

An attitude expressed in this year toward [Quakers](#) in the arts:

“Ungrateful man! to error prone;
 Why thus thy Maker’s goodness wrong?
 And deem a Luxury alone,
 His great and noble gift of song.
 Hast thou not known, or felt, or heard,
 How oft the poet’s heav’n-born art,
 Feeling and thought afresh have stirr’d,
 To touch, and purify the heart?”

—Bernard Barton

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 [Joseph Emerson Worcester](#)’s ELEMENTS OF GEOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN: WITH AN ATLAS. A NEW EDITION (Illustrated by Alexander Anderson; Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Company). This text was required for admission to [Harvard College](#) and has been found in [Henry Thoreau](#)’s personal library.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

White Mountains.



ELEMENTS OF GEOGRAPHY

[Friend Luke Howard](#)’s ESSAY ON THE MODIFICATIONS OF CLOUDS. / BY LUKE HOWARD, F.R.S. &C. / [FIRST PUBLISHED 1803.] / LONDON: / PUBLISHED BY HARVEY AND DALTON, / GRACECHURCH-STREET. / MDCCCXXXII. At Widener Library of [Harvard University](#), this is now cataloged as “KE 31948” and bears the following inscriptions:

B Sept. 1856

[BOOKPLATE WITH OLD HARVARD SEAL] “Christo et Ecclesiæ” “Bought 59. “Principal” is here a term of art. It means that the person in charge was running the school on incentive compensation, and entitled to put into his own pocket half of the annual surplus of the school. “Principal” here indicates a person with a conflict of interest, because although formally **charged** with implementing the plan of the donor, is actually being **rewarded** not at all in accordance with whether he implements that plan (whatever it was, forget that noise), but solely in accordance with whether he is running the school in whatever manner will generate a maximal annual margin.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

/ with the Fund bequeathed by Horace A. Haven / of Portsmouth,
N.H. / (Class of 1842.) / Rec^d Dec. 2, 1851."
[ON TITLE PAGE] "From the Author - Manchester / 28 June 1842."

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

 The Salem [Friends](#) erected a meetinghouse (this is the one they would remodel in 1903, that would be consumed in the Great Salem Fire of June 25, 1914).

 [Friend Abby Kelley](#) was introduced to abolitionism by attending a lecture by William Lloyd Garrison in Worcester.

ABOLITIONISM

 January 1, Sunday: There would no longer be a duty on candles in England.

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

1st day 1st of 1st M 1832 / Our Morning meeting was silent In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & engaged in a very interesting testimony, which I hope will be long remembered by the Scholars as well as the rest of us. —⁶⁰



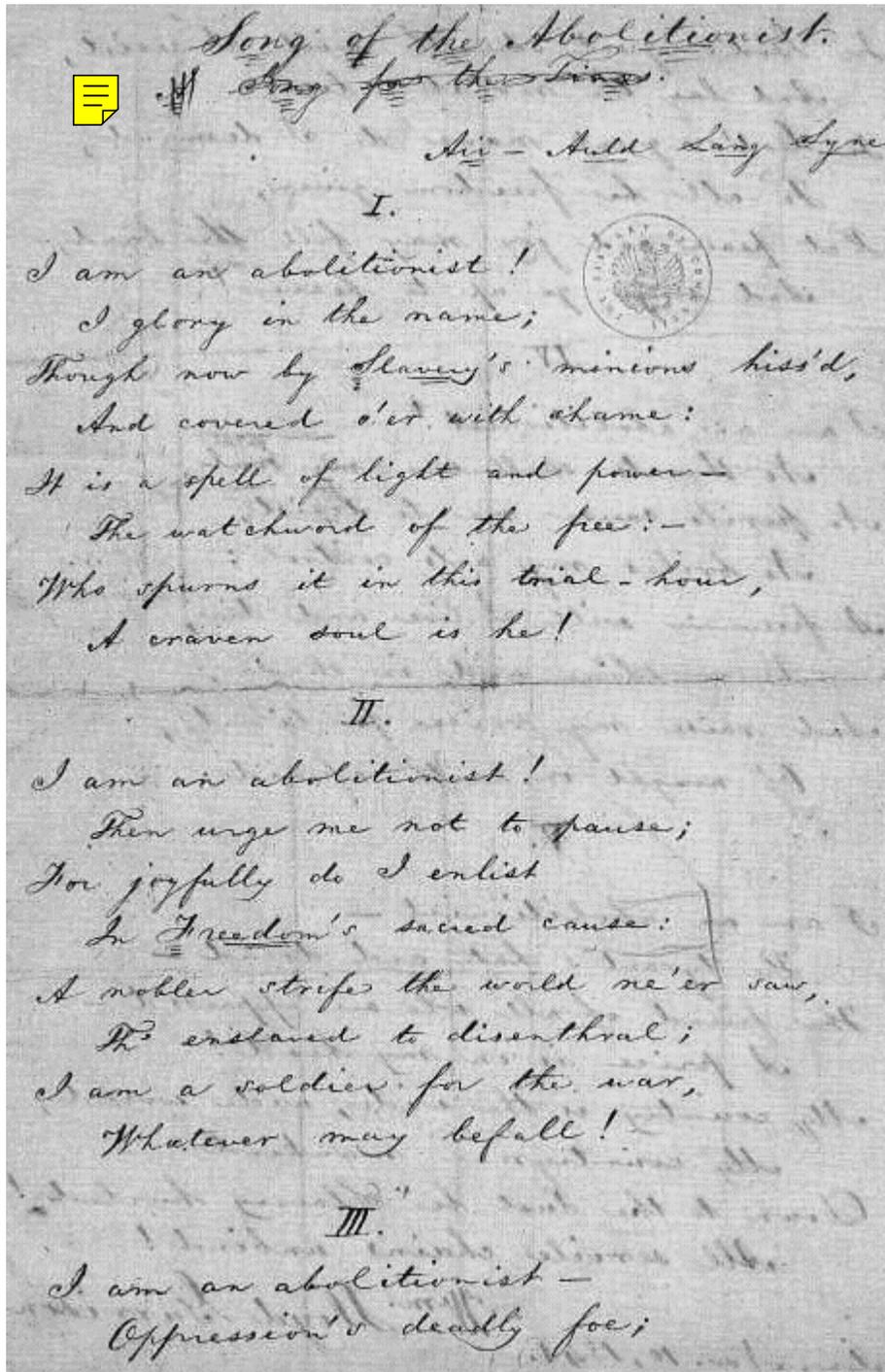
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 3, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

day 3rd of 1st M / Today was our Sub School committee, we had not much buisness to transact. -The Afternoon was spent in visiting the School in the Girls apartment Wm Almy Elizabeth Wing & Alice Rathbone had appropriate communications to make - Time did not admit much in the boys School. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

60. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1829-1832: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7



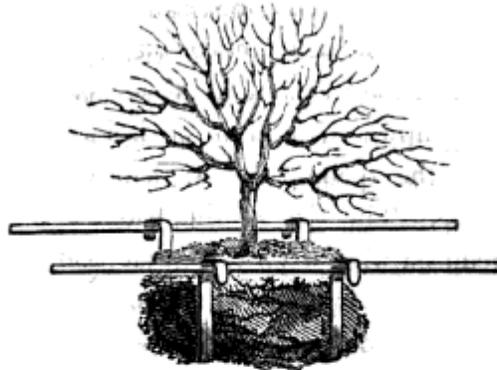
January 4, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 1st M / Elizabeth Wing & Alice Rathbone attended our Meeting today & had living & powerful testimonies to deliver. - This is certainly a place of favour.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ January 5, Thursday: [Edward Jesse](#)'s post as commissioner of hackney coaches at Windsor Palace was eliminated. During this year he issued his initial volume of GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY, WITH LOCAL RECOLLECTIONS ... TO WHICH ARE ADDED MAXIMS AND HINTS FOR AN ANGLER (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street).

TREE PLANTING.



be readily lifted. Cross levers may be used for larger trees which require more men, thus :—



so that as many men can conveniently apply their strength to it as are wanted, without being in each other's way. The whole is fixed and unfixed without

GLEANINGS IN NATURAL HISTORY

Vincenzo Bellini set out from Milan on a long journey to Naples and Sicily. Wherever he went this would become a “triumphal procession.”

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

5th Day 5 of 1 M / We have been informed today of the particulars of a most disgraceful & disgusting fall from Grace & reputation among men of a Man in Lynn, standing in the Station of an Elder & holding most important appointments in our Society -The Soul sickens at the appalling acct such a man standing as he did in our Society, nearly 60 Years of Age with a valuable wife, amiable children & grandchildren to attempt to commit Rape & for it to appear that he has for sometime been in the habit of gross improprieties among Women, why it is enough to make us all distrust ourselves & calls aloud for renew'd Watchfulness & care least we also become cast aways - But I do yet firmly believe in the principle & power of Truth to support & sustain all, & if it is kept to will preserve from falling -

 January 6, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 6th of 1st M 1832 / This evening recd a letter from my old & long loved friend Thomas Thompson of Liverpool it contained a pleasant acct of the travels of our friend John Wilbour now in that country on a religious visit as well of Stephen Grillett & Christo Healy - it also contained the information of the decease of our dear friend Jonathon Taylor of Ohio, in Ireland, who was also in that country on a religious Mission, I was comforted with receiving a letter from Thomas & think I shall now renew my correspondence with him. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

That evening 12 abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison and others, walked up “Nigger Hill” in Boston in a northeaster snowstorm to meet in the basement of the African Meeting House off Belknap Street and constitute themselves as a New England Anti-Slavery Society, in opposition to the agenda of the American Colonization Society which was seeking to return the freed Africans to Africa. There were “a number of colored citizens” present as observers as these white men filed to the front and placed their signatures in the meeting book. A number of black elders placed their names in a parallel column as a gesture of general support. [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of Old [Smithfield](#) and [Providence](#) became president. Garrison became corresponding secretary, but declined to allow the new society any control over the editorial policies of his newspaper.

AME

ABOLITIONISM

 January 7, Saturday: The Conference of London reinstated the northern Greek border of September 26th, from Arta to Volos.

 January 8, Sunday: Francisco Tadeo Calomarde Arria replaced Manuel Gonzalez Salmon y Gomez de Torres as First Secretary of State of Spain.

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

1st day 8th of 1st M / Silent Morning Meeting, & not a very poor one to me - In the Afternoon Wm Almy Attended & was favoured in a gospel Testimony. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 10, Tuesday: A paper called “Some Morbid Appearances of the Absorbent Glands and Spleen” was read to a meeting of the Medical and Surgical Society in London. Since the author, Thomas Hodgkin, was not a member, his paper needed to be read by the secretary. This was the 1st description of the disease which bears the author’s name.

 January 11, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 11th of 1 M / Silent & rather poor meeting - my mind was hardy [hardly] in a situation to Worship - but I labour'd to get on the right ground, & perhaps if I had labour'd harder I



might have been more successful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 12, Thursday: Michael Faraday read the 2d part of his paper “Experimental Researches in Electricity” to the Royal Society in London.

Commodore David Porter appointed [John Gliddon](#), an English merchant resident at Alexandria, [Egypt](#), as the 1st United States consular agent for that port.

Fausta, a melodramma by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Gilardoni and the composer, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, Naples. The work scored a major success.

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

5th day 12 1 M / Had an agreeable call from my friends Thos G Pitman & Michael Freeborn of [Newport](#) & James Chase of [Portsmouth](#) who have come up to attend the Gen'l Assembly now sitting in [Providence](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 January 13, Friday: [Horatio Alger, Jr.](#) was born to Olive Augusta Fenno Alger in North Chelsea, Massachusetts (which now is known as Revere), where his father the Reverend [Horatio Alger](#) was the [Unitarian](#) minister. (Although said town may not have produced its quota of Tattered Toms or Ragged Dicks, it has evidently managed to produce at least one reverend who couldn't keep his pants buttoned.)

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

6th day 13 of 1 M / Time passes swiftly & silently away - I feel that it is so & the necessity of a preparation for the end or conclusion of it -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 14, Saturday: The Monte de Pietà e d'Abbondanza in Busseto granted Giuseppe Verdi a scholarship.

 January 15, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 1st M 1832 / Silent Meeting in the monrg. In the Afternoon a favour'd testimony from Wm Almy on the Subject of Samuel the Prophet commencing with his early call from the Lord & Elis conversation with him on the subject - he beautifully illustrated the whole example given in scripture & with no small effect on the minds of many of his Audience - After Meeting I went home with Wm Almy & took tea, & set the eveng - Uncle Isaac Almy & Dr. Tobey were there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 17, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 17 of 1st M / This forenoon I set an hour with my beloved Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#) & was very glad to find him much better in health & very comfortable & pleasant. - This Afternoon Wm Almy Jona[thon] Farnum & L B Tobey spent sometime with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 18, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4 day 18 of 1 M / A Silent Meeting & a season of no small distress to some of us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 19, Thursday: Austrian troops occupied Ancona after unrest in the Papal States.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was created a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by King Louis Philippe.

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

5th day 19th of 1st M / My mind has been sorely exercised &



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

distressed on several accounts for some Days –When I went into Town I felt no abatement but concluded to go to meeting & get as near right as I could – Some good degree of favour was experienced from the preaching of Wm Almy & a prayer by Hannah Robinson & after the Preparative & Select meeting was over – I was sensibly relieved from the depression, & have remained so this evening which I am truly thankful –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 21, Saturday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was appointed a member of the Commission d'Enseignement du Conservatoire de Paris.

 January 22, Sunday: Molly Pitcher, who had distinguished herself in the battle of Monmouth during the Revolutionary War, died.

French police arrested leaders of the St. Simonians, an egalitarian religious-political group that numbered among its affiliates many top artists. Ferdinand Hiller and [Heinrich Heine](#) witnessed some of the arrests. Among their effects was Mendelssohn's Piano Quartet in b minor. Although [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was present in Paris, he was never himself associated with this group.

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

*1st day 22 of 1st M 1832 / Silent & hard meeting in the Morning
– In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached about the Devil.
& it is astonishing to me that some do not believe there is a
Devil when his works are so conspicuously seen –
It was an Admirable Sermon & I was very thankful we had such a
preacher as Wm Almy. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 25, Wednesday: First use of the majoritarian democratic term “To the Victors belong the spoils” — in a speech by US Senator William Learned Marcy of New York.

An act to abolish human [slavery](#), introduced into the Virginia legislature by an all-white grandson of [Thomas Jefferson](#), was defeated by only seven votes.⁶¹ This was the final defeat for all attempts to terminate the institution of slavery by legal means. Thomas Roderick Dew's REVIEW OF THE DEBATE IN THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE OF 1831-1832 contained an accounting of the considerations taken subsequent to the [Nat Turner](#) revolt, for the elimination of the institution of slavery. In the wake of the insurrection, Georgetown rigidified its black code, threatening to punish with exceptional severity any person of color found in possession of abolitionist literature. On the plantation, via the grapevine, Fred Bailey must have heard a whole lot about the Turner revolt, and at this point he had just figured out what the highly charged term “abolitionist” meant — a term that he had been too cautious to ask about, of anyone who might know.

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

*4th day 25 of 1st M / Attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in
Town the weather & traveling was such that it was a small
gathering – it however was a season of favour & Wm Almy & Hannah*

61. What, you didn't know that [Jefferson](#) had some all-white progeny?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Robinson were engaged in acceptable testimonies. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 26, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 26 of 1 M / Recd an acceptable & pleasant letter from
Saml T Hussey of Portland. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 27, Friday: Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (you know him as Lewis Carroll) was born in Daresbury, Cheshire.



➡ January 28, Saturday: Franz Liszt gave a highly successful charity concert in Rouen.

➡ January 29, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 29th of 1st M / Silent in the Morning - In the Afternoon
a favour'd sermon by Wm Almy*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 31, Tuesday: On Harrow Road at London, Kensal-Green Cemetery opened.

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

*1 M 31 3 day / The Sub School committee met & it was a pleasant
comfortable meeting. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ February 1, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

4th day 1st of 2nd M 1832 / Today was our Quarterly Meeting of Ministers & Elders - It was a season of favour & the preaching I thought was all good, & the buisness before us conducted harmoniously

Our Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#) was able to sit with us - & also attended the Meeting for Sufferings in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Thursday: In the year of the publication of the 5th edition,⁶² [Waldo Emerson](#) began [Gilbert White](#)'s [THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SELBORNE](#).

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

2nd of 2nd M 1832 / Quarterly Meeting - which has been a favoured one. - The public appearances were in rotation first a few Words by Anna D Wing - then Thomas Anthony in a favoured Gospel testimony followed in one & the same tenor by Susan Howland - then after pretty good communications from Danl Clapp & Hannah Dennis The Meeting closed. - & proceeded to buisness. -very considerable of Moment was before us - Rowland Greenes concern to pay a religious visit to the Yearly Meeting of Virginia & part of that of N Carolina was united with - several return certificates were granted to friends who had visited us in the Ministry some time past - And the appointment of Theophilus Shove by Swansey Moy [Monthly] Meeting to the Station of an Elder was concurred with - there were several acceptable religious communications in the last Meeting & some that probably might as well have been spared. - The Children all went to Meeting from the School. - The Girls were carried in Carraiges. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 3, Friday: George Crabbe died in Trowbridge, Wiltshire.

The *USS Lexington* reached Montevideo from the Falklands, with its prisoners, planning to detain them until Argentina acceded to United States demands.

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

6th day 3rd of 2nd M / A Large School committee & the buisness pretty well managed. - We engaged to stay at the [Institution](#) another year - which never looked so heavy in prospect before, but we must try to do the best we can, & perhaps we shall get through. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 4, Saturday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 4 of 2 M / Our friends left us this morning & tho' there

62. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE / BY THE LATE GILBERT WHITE; WITH ADDITIONS BY SIR WILLIAM JARDINE. New ed. London: Printed for Whittaker, Treacher & Co. Series title: Constable's miscellany ...; v. 45. I do **not** know that this was the edition which [Waldo Emerson](#) was consulting.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

are many in the house, the family seems Small now they are gone.

–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 5, Sunday: William Parkman died at the age of 91.

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

1st day 5th of 2nd M / Silent hard meeting & not much better in the Afternoon tho' Wm Almy & Ruth Freeborn were here & both preached –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 8, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 8th of 2nd M 1832 / My mind on a low key, but some favourd while sitting in Meeting
I have of late been looking through & read considerably in the Journal of our Ancient friend Thomas Chalkley. – by which my mind has been replenished with good, & I have been renewedly thankful that it was written & published to the World. I have no doubts that many hundreds & thousands have experienced like benefit from it, who have long since been numbered with the Silent dead. – I know it was a book often read comfortably by my Dear father in his life time & indeed I hardly remember of ever seeing him read in any other excepting Robert Barclays Apology & the Bible. – My Brother David who was a sea faring man & died while young in life in Savannah Georgia, would not go to Sea without Thos Chalkleys journal in his chest & I have heard my Mother say that her Grandmother Mary Clarke who remembered him well & loved him & The Truth sincerely – considered that the house was not destitute of an interesting book while that Journal was in it – that I am well assured it has proved a blessing to many, & I can say of a Truth that I greatly desire, our dear young Men & Women had a greater relish for reading that Book – I have no doubt it would prove as a hedge around their minds, by seasoning them with the same pure & christian spirit which so sweetly shone in his life, conduct & principles. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 9, Thursday: The Florida Legislative Council granted a charter for the city of Jacksonville.

 February 12, Sunday: The Galapagos Islands were annexed by Ecuador.

There was an outbreak of cholera in London, that would take at least 3,000 lives.

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

1st day 12 of 2 M 1832 / Our Morning meeting was silent & pretty good to me – In the Afternoon our Ancient fr Joseph Hoag attended & had good service. I thought there was a good deal of Gospel

Oil attending his communication & it was a very satisfactory & comfortable Meeting to me. – he also attended our collections in each [School](#) & had something to say in both all of which I thought was encouraging to the Scholars & had a good tendency H's companion was Amos Peasly a young man who has been a Scholar at this institution since we have been here, & now looks like a promising character in our society – He is from Sandwich Moy [Monthly] Meeting in the State of N Hampshire. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 15, Wednesday: Friedrich Wieck and his daughter Clara reached Paris, where they would meet [Nicolò Paganini](#), Friedrich Kalkbrenner, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Henri Herz, Felix Mendelssohn, and Frederic Chopin.

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

4th day 15th of 2 M / Silent Meeting but a pretty good one tho' attended with some distress –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 16, Thursday: On their way across the Atlantic Ocean to South America, the HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) arrived at the small equatorial group of islands known as St. Peter and St. Paul's Rocks (0°56'N, 29°21'W).

[Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) recorded his revelation that there were 3 degrees of glory in heaven. In addition he began teaching that all humans are “begotten sons and daughters unto God.”

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

5th day 16 of 2 M / Preparative Meeting most of the [Male Schoars](#) attended – Wm Almy as usual was much favoured in testimony. – I have often seen & been sensible of the efficacy of Religion, from inward experience, & the evidence that is a divine reality has of late been much renew'd & confirmed in my mind. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 19, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 19th of 2nd M 1832 / Silent & rather a distressed Meeting in the Morning. – Wm Almy was here & favoured in testimony but my mind still oppressed & tried –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 22, Wednesday: Antonio de Saavedra y Frigola, Conde de Alcudia replaced Francisco Tadeo Calomarde Arria as First Secretary of State of Spain.

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

4th day 22 of 2 M / We rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting – Wm Almy very satisfactorily engaged in



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*testimony. -there was but little buisness & the Meeting did not last long. -
It was a pleasant day & a pleasant ride. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Ground was broken for Indiana's [Wabash and Erie Canal](#), to connect the Ohio River with Lake Erie.

There was a dinner party in Washington DC on this, the centennial birthday of George Washington. When the cloth was removed after the banquet, Senator [Daniel Webster](#) of Massachusetts had the honor of calling for the official toast:⁶³

I rise, Gentlemen, to propose to you the name of that great man, in commemoration of whose birth, and in honor of whose character and services, we are here assembled.

I am sure that I express a sentiment common to every one present, when I say that there is something more than ordinarily solemn and affecting in this occasion.

We are met to testify our regard for him whose name is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country. That name was of power to rally a nation, in the hour of thick-thronging public disasters and calamities; that name shone, amid the storm of war, a beacon light, to cheer and guide the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor, to repel her foes. That name, in the days of peace, was a loadstone, attracting to itself a whole people's confidence, a whole people's love, and the whole world's respect. That name, descending with all time, spreading over the whole earth, and uttered in all the languages belonging to the tribes and races of men, will for ever be pronounced with affectionate gratitude by every one in whose breast there shall arise an aspiration for human rights and human liberty.

We perform this grateful duty, Gentlemen, at the expiration of a hundred years from his birth, near the place, so cherished and beloved by him, where his dust now reposes, and in the capital which bears his own immortal name.

All experience evinces that human sentiments are strongly influenced by associations. The recurrence of anniversaries, or of longer periods of time, naturally freshens the recollection, and deepens the impression, of events with which they are historically connected. Renowned places, also, have a power to awaken feeling, which all acknowledge. No American can pass by the fields of Bunker Hill, Monmouth, and Camden, as if they were ordinary spots on the earth's surface. Whoever visits them feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit that belonged to the transactions which have rendered these places distinguished still hovered round, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them.

But neither of these sources of emotion equals the power with which great moral examples affect the mind. When sublime virtues cease to be abstractions, when they become embodied in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, we should be false to our own nature, if we did not indulge in the spontaneous effusions of our gratitude and our admiration. A true lover of

63. Edwin P. Whipple's THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879).



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the virtue of patriotism delights to contemplate its purest models; and that love of country may be well suspected which affects to soar so high into the regions of sentiment as to be lost and absorbed in the abstract feeling, and becomes too elevated or too refined to glow with fervor in the commendation or the love of individual benefactors. All this is unnatural. It is as if one should be so enthusiastic a lover of poetry, as to care nothing for Homer or Milton; so passionately attached to eloquence as to be indifferent to Tully and Chatham; or such a devotee to the arts, in such an ecstasy with the elements of beauty, proportion, and expression, as to regard the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo with coldness or contempt. We may be assured, Gentlemen, that he who really loves the thing itself, loves its finest exhibitions. A true friend of his country loves her friends and benefactors, and thinks it no degradation to commend and commemorate them. The voluntary outpouring of the public feeling, made to-day, from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, proves this sentiment to be both just and natural. In the cities and in the villages, in the public temples and in the family circles, among all ages and sexes, gladdened voices to-day bespeak grateful hearts and a freshened recollection of the virtues of the Father of his Country. And it will be so, in all time to come, so long as public virtue is itself an object of regard. The ingenuous youth of America will hold up to themselves the bright model of Washington's example, and study to be what they behold; they will contemplate his character till all its virtues spread out and display themselves to their delighted vision; as the earliest astronomers, the shepherds on the plains of Babylon, gazed at the stars till they saw them form into clusters and constellations, overpowering at length the eyes of the beholders with the united blaze of a thousand lights.

Gentlemen, we are at a point of a century from the birth of Washington; and what a century it has been! During its course, the human mind has seemed to proceed with a sort of geometric velocity, accomplishing for human intelligence and human freedom more than had been done in fives or tens of centuries preceding. Washington stands at the commencement of a new era, as well as at the head of the New World. A century from the birth of Washington has changed the world. The country of Washington has been the theatre on which a great part of that change has been wrought, and Washington himself a principal agent by which it has been accomplished. His age and his country are equally full of wonders; and of both he is the chief.

If the poetical prediction, uttered a few years before his birth, be true; if indeed it be designed by Providence that the grandest exhibition of human character and human affairs shall be made on this theatre of the Western world; if it be true that,

"The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last";-

how could this imposing, swelling, final scene be appropriately opened, how could its intense interest be adequately sustained, but by the introduction of just such a character as our Washington?

Washington had attained his manhood when that spark of liberty



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was struck out in his own country, which has since kindled into a flame, and shot its beams over the earth. In the flow of a century from his birth, the world has changed in science, in arts, in the extent of commerce, in the improvement of navigation, and in all that relates to the civilization of man. But it is the spirit of human freedom, the new elevation of individual man, in his moral, social, and political character, leading the whole long train of other improvements, which has most remarkably distinguished the era. Society, in this century, has not made its progress, like Chinese skill, by a greater acuteness of ingenuity in trifles; it has not merely lashed itself to an increased speed round the old circles of thought and action; but it has assumed a new character; it has raised itself from **beneath** governments to a participation **in** governments; it has mixed moral and political objects with the daily pursuits of individual men; and, with a freedom and strength before altogether unknown, it has applied to these objects the whole power of the human understanding. It has been the era, in short, when the social principle has triumphed over the feudal principle; when society has maintained its rights against military power, and established, on foundations never hereafter to be shaken, its competency to govern itself.

It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted, in revolutionary times, with the supreme military command, and having fulfilled that trust with equal renown for wisdom and for valor, he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made on a large scale to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of a written constitution and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established, without a throne, without an aristocracy, without castes, orders, or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy, existing and acting within the walls of a single city, was to be extended over a vast country, of different climates, interests, and habits, and of various communions of our common Christian faith. The experiment certainly was entirely new. A popular government of this extent, it was evident, could be framed only by carrying into full effect the principle of representation or of delegated power; and the world was to see whether society could, by the strength of this principle, maintain its own peace and good government, carry forward its own great interests, and conduct itself to political renown and glory.

By the benignity of Providence, this experiment, so full of interest to us and to our posterity for ever, so full of interest, indeed, to the world in its present generation and in all its generations to come, was suffered to commence under the guidance of Washington. Destined for this high career, he was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man toward man. In entering on the untried scenes, early disappointment and the premature extinction of all hope of success would have been certain, had it not been that there did exist throughout the country, in a most extraordinary degree, an unwavering trust in him who stood at the helm.

I remarked, Gentlemen, that the whole world was and is interested in the result of this experiment. And is it not so? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment the



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career which this government is running is among the most attractive objects to the civilized world? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment that love of liberty and that understanding of its true principles which are flying over the whole earth, as on the wings of all the winds, are really and truly of American origin?

At the period of the birth of Washington, there existed in Europe no political liberty in large communities, except in the provinces of Holland, and except that England herself had set a great example, so far as it went, by her glorious Revolution of 1688. Everywhere else, despotic power was predominant, and the feudal or military principle held the mass of mankind in hopeless bondage. One half of Europe was crushed beneath the Bourbon sceptre, and no conception of political liberty, no hope even of religious toleration, existed among that nation which was America's first ally. The king was the state, the king was the country, the king was all. There was one king, with power not derived from his people, and too high to be questioned; and the rest were all subjects, with no political right but obedience. All above was intangible power, all below quiet subjection. A recent occurrence in the French Chambers shows us how public opinion on these subjects is changed. A minister had spoken of the "king's subjects." "There are no subjects," exclaimed hundreds of voices at once, "in a country where the people make the king!"

Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched its course into the midst of the nations. Like an emanation from Heaven, it has gone forth, and it will not return void. It must change, it is fast changing, the face of the earth. Our great, our high duty is to show, in our own example, that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficiency to secure individual rights, social relations, and moral order, is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free states may be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of Washington.

Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of mankind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one, not of encouragement, but of terror, not fit to be imitated, but fit only to be shunned, where else shall the world look for free models? If this great **Western Sun** be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world?

There is no danger of our overrating or overstating the important part which we are now acting in human affairs. It should not flatter our personal self-respect, but it should reanimate our patriotic virtues, and inspire us with a deeper



and more solemn sense, both of our privileges and of our duties. We cannot wish better for our country, nor for the world, than that the same spirit which influenced Washington may influence all who succeed him; and that the same blessing from above, which attended his efforts, may also attend theirs.

The principles of Washington's administration are not left doubtful. They are to be found in the Constitution itself, in the great measures recommended and approved by him, in his speeches to Congress, and in that most interesting paper, his Farewell Address to the People of the United States. The success of the government under his administration is the highest proof of the soundness of these principles. And, after an experience of thirty-five years, what is there which an enemy could condemn? What is there which either his friends, or the friends of the country, could wish to have been otherwise? I speak, of course, of great measures and leading principles.

In the first place, all his measures were right in their intent. He stated the whole basis of his own great character, when he told the country, in the homely phrase of the proverb, that honesty is the best policy. One of the most striking things ever said of him is, that **"he changed mankind's ideas of political greatness."**⁶⁴ To commanding talents, and to success, the common elements of such greatness, he added a disregard of self, a spotlessness of motive, a steady submission to every public and private duty, which threw far into the shade the whole crowd of vulgar great. The object of his regard was the whole country. No part of it was enough to fill his enlarged patriotism. His love of glory, so far as that may be supposed to have influenced him at all, spurned every thing short of general approbation. It would have been nothing to him, that his partisans or his favorites outnumbered, or outvoted, or outmanaged, or outclamored, those of other leaders. He had no favorites; he rejected all partisanship; and, acting honestly for the universal good, he deserved, what he has so richly enjoyed, the universal love.

His principle it was to act right, and to trust the people for support; his principle it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends, nor to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for such a course. Born for his country and for the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is, that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement, and temporary circumstances, and casual combinations, have raised into transient notoriety, sink again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, Washington's fame is like the rock which bounds that ocean, and at whose feet its billows are destined to break harmlessly for ever.

The maxims upon which Washington conducted our foreign relations were few and simple. The first was an entire and indisputable impartiality towards foreign states. He adhered to this rule of public conduct, against very strong inducements to depart from it, and when the popularity of the moment seemed to favor such a departure. In the next place, he maintained true dignity and unsullied honor in all communications with foreign states. It was among the high duties devolved upon him, to introduce our

64. See Works of Fisher Ames, pp. 122, 123.



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new government into the circle of civilized states and powerful nations. Not arrogant or assuming, with no unbecoming or supercilious bearing, he yet exacted for it from all others entire and punctilious respect. He demanded, and he obtained at once, a standing of perfect equality for his country in the society of nations; nor was there a prince or potentate of his day, whose personal character carried with it, into the intercourse of other states, a greater degree of respect and veneration.

He regarded other nations only as they stood in political relations to us. With their internal affairs, their political parties and dissensions, he scrupulously abstained from all interference; and, on the other hand, he repelled with spirit all such interference by others with us or our concerns. His sternest rebuke, the most indignant measure of his whole administration, was aimed against such an attempted interference. He felt it as an attempt to wound the national honor, and resented it accordingly.

The reiterated admonitions in his Farewell Address show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our counsels through the channels of domestic dissension, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers, he most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected with its welfare and happiness, to resist, at the very beginning, all tendencies towards such connection of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness nowhere else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says, "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be **constantly** awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Lastly, on the subject of foreign relations, Washington never forgot that we had interests peculiar to ourselves. The primary political concerns of Europe, he saw, did not affect us. We had nothing to do with her balance of power, her family compacts, or her successions to thrones. We were placed in a condition favorable to neutrality during European wars, and to the enjoyment of all the great advantages of that relation. "Why, then," he asks us, "why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Indeed, Gentlemen, Washington's Farewell Address is full of truths important at all times, and particularly deserving consideration at the present. With a sagacity which brought the future before him, and made it like the present, he saw and pointed out the dangers that even at this moment most imminently threaten us. I hardly know how a greater service of that kind could now be done to the community, than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to re-peruse and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among citizens, touching; and



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the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental advice.

The domestic policy of Washington found its pole-star in the avowed objects of the Constitution itself. He sought so to administer that Constitution, as to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. These were objects interesting, in the highest degree, to the whole country, and his policy embraced the whole country.

Among his earliest and most important duties was the organization of the government itself, the choice of his confidential advisers, and the various appointments to office. This duty, so important and delicate, when a whole government was to be organized, and all its offices for the first time filled, was yet not difficult to him; for he had no sinister ends to accomplish, no clamorous partisans to gratify, no pledges to redeem, no object to be regarded but simply the public good. It was a plain, straightforward matter, a mere honest choice of men for the public service.

His own singleness of purpose, his disinterested patriotism, were evinced by the selection of his first Cabinet, and by the manner in which he filled the seats of justice, and other places of high trust. He sought for men fit for offices; not for offices which might suit men. Above personal considerations, above local considerations, above party considerations, he felt that he could only discharge the sacred trust which the country had placed in his hands, by a diligent inquiry after real merit, and a conscientious preference of virtue and talent. The whole country was the field of his selection. He explored that whole field, looking only for whatever it contained most worthy and distinguished. He was, indeed, most successful, and he deserved success for the purity of his motives, the liberality of his sentiments, and his enlarged and manly policy.

Washington's administration established the national credit, made provision for the public debt, and for that patriotic army whose interests and welfare were always so dear to him; and, by laws wisely framed, and of admirable effect, raised the commerce and navigation of the country, almost at once, from depression and ruin to a state of prosperity. Nor were his eyes open to these interests alone. He viewed with equal concern its agriculture and manufactures, and, so far as they came within the regular exercise of the powers of this government, they experienced regard and favor.

It should not be omitted, even in this slight reference to the general measures and general principles of the first President, that he saw and felt the full value and importance of the judicial department of the government. An upright and able administration of the laws he held to be alike indispensable to private happiness and public liberty. The temple of justice, in his opinion, was a sacred place, and he would profane and pollute it who should call any to minister in it, not spotless in character, not incorruptible in integrity, not competent by talent and learning, not a fit object of unhesitating trust.

Among other admonitions, Washington has left us, in his last



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communication to his country, an exhortation against the excesses of party spirit. A fire not to be quenched, he yet conjures us not to fan and feed the flame. Undoubtedly, Gentlemen, it is the greatest danger of our system and of our time. Undoubtedly, if that system should be overthrown, it will be the work of excessive party spirit, acting on the government, which is dangerous enough, or acting **in** the government, which is a thousand times more dangerous; for government then becomes nothing but organized party, and, in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, it may come at last, perhaps, to exhibit the singular paradox of government itself being in opposition to its own powers, at war with the very elements of its own existence. Such cases are hopeless. As men may be protected against murder, but cannot be guarded against suicide, so government may be shielded from the assaults of external foes, but nothing can save it when it chooses to lay violent hands on itself.

Finally, Gentlemen, there was in the breast of Washington one sentiment so deeply felt, so constantly uppermost, that no proper occasion escaped without its utterance. From the letter which he signed in behalf of the Convention when the Constitution was sent out to the people, to the moment when he put his hand to that last paper in which he addressed his countrymen, the Union,—the Union was the great object of his thoughts. In that first letter he tells them that, to him and his brethren of the Convention, union appears to be the greatest interest of every true American; and in that last paper he conjures them to regard that unity of government which constitutes them one people as the very palladium of their prosperity and safety, and the security of liberty itself. He regarded the union of these States less as one of our blessings, than as the great treasure-house which contained them all. Here, in his judgment, was the great magazine of all our means of prosperity; here, as he thought, and as every true American still thinks, are deposited all our animating prospects, all our solid hopes for future greatness. He has taught us to maintain this union, not by seeking to enlarge the powers of the government, on the one hand, nor by surrendering them, on the other; but by an administration of them at once firm and moderate, pursuing objects truly national, and carried on in a spirit of justice and equity.

The extreme solicitude for the preservation of the Union, at all times manifested by him, shows not only the opinion he entertained of its importance, but his clear perception of those causes which were likely to spring up to endanger it, and which, if once they should overthrow the present system, would leave little hope of any future beneficial reunion. Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities. Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once; the event stands out as a prominent exception to all ordinary history; and unless we suppose ourselves running into an age of miracles, we may not expect its repetition.

Washington, therefore, could regard, and did regard, nothing as of paramount political interest, but the integrity of the Union itself. With a united government, well administered, he saw that



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we had nothing to fear; and without it, nothing to hope. The sentiment is just, and its momentous truth should solemnly impress the whole country. If we might regard our country as personated in the spirit of Washington, if we might consider him as representing her, in her past renown, her present prosperity, and her future career, and as in that character demanding of us all to account for our conduct, as political men or as private citizens, how should he answer him who has ventured to talk of disunion and dismemberment? Or how should he answer him who dwells perpetually on local interests, and fans every kindling flame of local prejudice? How should he answer him who would array State against State, interest against interest, and party against party, careless of the continuance of that **unity of government which constitutes us one people?**

The political prosperity which this country has attained, and which it now enjoys, has been acquired mainly through the instrumentality of the present government. While this agent continues, the capacity of attaining to still higher degrees of prosperity exists also. We have, while this lasts, a political life capable of beneficial exertion, with power to resist or overcome misfortunes, to sustain us against the ordinary accidents of human affairs, and to promote, by active efforts, every public interest. But dismemberment strikes at the very being which preserves these faculties. It would lay its rude and ruthless hand on this great agent itself. It would sweep away, not only what we possess, but all power of regaining lost, or acquiring new possessions. It would leave the country, not only bereft of its prosperity and happiness, but without limbs, or organs, or faculties, by which to exert itself hereafter in the pursuit of that prosperity and happiness.

Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty.

But let us hope for better things. Let us trust in that gracious Being who has hitherto held our country as in the hollow of his hand. Let us trust to the virtue and the intelligence of the people, and to the efficacy of religious obligation. Let us trust to the influence of Washington's example. Let us hope that that fear of Heaven which expels all other fear, and that regard to duty which transcends all other regard, may influence public



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men and private citizens, and lead our country still onward in her happy career. Full of these gratifying anticipations and hopes, let us look forward to the end of that century which is now commenced. A hundred years hence, other disciples of Washington will celebrate his birth, with no less of sincere admiration than we now commemorate it. When they shall meet, as we now meet, to do themselves and him that honor, so surely as they shall see the blue summits of his native mountains rise in the horizon, so surely as they shall behold the river on whose banks he lived, and on whose banks he rests, still flowing on toward the sea, so surely may they see, as we now see, the flag of the Union floating on the top of the Capitol; and then, as now, may the sun in his course visit no land more free, more happy, more lovely, than this our own country!
Gentlemen, I propose— "THE MEMORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON."

 February 23, Thursday: French ships landed a force to seize the port of Ancona to counter Austrian intervention in the Papal States.

 February 26, Sunday: Tsar Nikolai I signed an "Organic Statute" establishing direct Russian rule over Poland and abolishing that nation's constitution.

[Frédéric François Chopin](#) gave his initial concert in Paris, in the Salle Pleyel. The performance had been organized by Frederic Kalkbrenner and Camille Pleyel and was praised by Franz Liszt and [Felix Mendelssohn](#). The hall was only a third full and many of the patrons were Polish emigres. The program included [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s Quintet op.29, Chopin's F minor piano concerto, and Introduction March and Grand Polonaise for six pianos by Kalkbrenner (Chopin and Kalkbrenner took part). Antoni Orlowski would profess grandly that "All Paris was stupefied!" Chopin had "mopped up the floor with every one of the pianists here."

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

*1st day 26th of 2 M / Silent in the Mornng - In the Afternoon
Lydia Breed bore a short testimony - In the eveng with Enoch &
Lydia had a long conference in our room relating to the affairs
of the [Institution](#) which resulted satisfactorily*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 28, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 28th of 2nd M / Sub-committee Meeting - subjects relating
to the [Institution](#) was pleasantly resulted - the company was
small but an agreeable number*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 29, Wednesday: The 1st Constitution of the State of New Granada (Colombia) was adopted.

[Charles Darwin](#) was able to visit a jungle near Bahia, Brazil.

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



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4th day 29 of 2 M / Mary Shove was here & attended Meeting, she bore a short testimony under a good concern & I felt unity with her offering -

We have been informed today of the wicked conduct of RR. - certainly trials of various kinds await us & it would seem that Father & Mother Rodmans cup was near full as any I know of or almost ever heard of - was it not for the support which is afforded them from releston, & with which they were early acquainted, I dont see how they could be sustained. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March: [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of Old [Smithfield](#) and [Providence, Rhode Island](#) initiated the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which would be based in [Boston](#) and of which he would become the 1st president.

Some mystery attends the [disownment](#) by Smithfield, Rhode Island, meeting of Arnold Buffum, a European American abolitionist and one of the most visible and vocal radicals in New England. Buffum had converted to the cause after buying the first issue of the [Liberator](#) and meeting Garrison. Though numerous sources refer to his disownment, none provide dates for the event, and monthly meeting minutes record no such act. Still, Buffum himself once stated that the Smithfield meeting had disowned him, and his daughter Elizabeth Buffum Chace recalled that the meeting told Buffum the matter might be "amicably settled, if he would give up this abolition lecturing."⁶⁵



March 5, Monday: [Isaac Israel Hayes](#) was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania. With a name like that, one might presume that this Hayes family was Jewish — but no, this family was Orthodox [Quaker](#), out of Oxfordshire in England.

His education would be at the Westtown Academy, a school of the Religious Society of Friends.

65. Page 89 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Juley's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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March 4, Sunday: [Jean-François Champollion](#) died in Paris. For his immense symbolic significance during the period of Thoreau's life, it would be good to refer to John T. Irwin's "The Symbol of the Hieroglyphics in the American Renaissance." [American Quarterly](#) 26 (1974):103-26.

WALDEN: Thus it seemed that this one hillside illustrated the principle of all the operations of Nature. The Maker of this earth but patented a leaf. What Champollion will decipher this hieroglyphic for us, that we may turn over a new leaf at last? This phenomenon is more exhilarating to me than the luxuriance and fertility of vineyards. True, it is somewhat excrementitious in its character, and there is no end to the heaps of liver lights and bowels, as if the globe were turned wrong side outward; but this suggests at least that Nature has some bowels, and there again is mother of humanity. This is the frost coming out of the ground; this is Spring. It precedes the green and flowery spring, as mythology precedes regular poetry. I know of nothing more purgative of winter fumes and indigestions. It convinces me that Earth is still in her swaddling clothes, and stretches forth baby fingers on every side. Fresh curls springs from the baldest brow. There is nothing inorganic. These foliaceous heaps lie along the bank like the slag of a furnace, showing that Nature is "in full blast" within. The earth is not a mere fragment of dead history, stratum upon stratum like the leaves of a book, to be studied by geologists and antiquaries chiefly, but living poetry like the leaves of a tree, which precede flowers and fruit, -not a fossil earth, but a living earth; compared with whose great central life all animal and vegetable life is merely parasitic. Its throes will heave our exuvia from their graves. You may melt your metals and cast them into the most beautiful moulds you can; they will never excite me like the forms which this molten earth flows out into. And not only it, but the institutions upon it, are plastic like clay in the hands of the potter.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION

[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

In the year 1832 died Cuvier, Scott, Mackintosh, Goethe, Champollion, Leslie.

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

1st day 4 of 3 M 1832 / Silent Meetings & to me pretty good ones - Trials & I may add tribulations await us - the Conduct of R R in NYork has been such as all true sensibility sickens & revolts at the Idea of. - I am more & more confirmed that The religion of Jesus Christ is the only firm Anchorage for the mind & that as it is lived in, will support under every affliction & will lead & guide in such way & manner as will satisfy the mind of the course to be persued both to obtain happiness here & in an after State - I have many times rejoiced in this & been consoled



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in time of streight & trial

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 April 10, Tuesday: It was the height of the cholera epidemic in Paris, 2,000 people dying on this day (the morticians ran out of coffins).

After Mehmet Ali demands Syria for helping the Turks against the Greeks, the Ottoman Empire declares war on [Egypt](#).

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

4th M 10 - 1832 / My journal has been neglected Much longer than common. - I now resume it to insert the decease of my Last Aunt on my fathers side Vizt Hannah Gould who departed this life in [Newport](#) on 5th day evening the 5th inst about 11 OC in the evening In the 84th Year of her Age She was the last of three Maiden Sisters, & I believe was the last great Granchild of Old Daniel Gould, from whom our family sprung - on 7 day [Saturday] I went down to Newport to attend her funeral which was on first day, her remains being carried to the Meeting house in the Morning & after Meeting were decently interd in Friend burying ground near the Meeting House to the North of her Sisters Martha & Mary who deceased before her. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 12, Saturday: L'elisir d'amore, a melodramma giocoso by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Romani after Scribe, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Canobbiana, Milan. The work scored an immediate success.

 May 13, Sunday: [Georges Cuvier](#) died in Paris.

According to [The Observer](#), "At a quarter past twelve o'clock, the Royal carriage in which their Majesties were seated, without attendants, reached the village of Hounslow. The postillions passed on at a rapid rate till they entered the town of Brentford; where the people, who had assembled in great numbers, expressed by groans, hisses, and exclamations, their disapprobation of his Majesty's conduct with respect to the Administration. The [Duke of Wellington](#) had entered the Palace in full uniform about a quarter of an hour before the Majesties, and had been assailed by the people with groans and hisses. The [Duke](#), after remaining more than three hours with his Majesty, left about a quarter-past four, amidst groans and hisses even more vehement than when he arrived. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence was received with the same disapprobation, and loud cries of 'Reform'."

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

1st day 13 of 5 M 1832 / Enoch & Lydia went to Scituate Meeting - The charge of our Meeting at the Institution of course fell on my wife & I - both were solid & silent. - My diary has been unusually neglected partly arising from an apprehension that there is but little use in keeping it up - there is a constant sameness in events or occurrences of my life. - or at any rate there is not much of Interest to record, & yet I do not feel easy wholly to omit it. - While I am far from being exempt from trials - there is much in my life which I have cause to be humbly thankful for to Him whose hand of love & power has



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*thro' the various turnings & courses which I have experienced
has indeed been visible & often extended for my help. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 17, Thursday: In [Concord](#), the formation of the Concord Mozart Society, replacing the Concord Harmonic Society, which had been a choir.

The *Concord Harmonic Society* was formed about 1800, for the purpose of improvement in sacred music. For several years past it has not been under regular organization. May 17, 1832, the *Concord Mozart Society* was formed, and takes place of the other. Ephraim Willey was chosen President, Elijah Wood and Francis Hunt, Vice-Presidents, and [Phineas Allen](#), Secretary.⁶⁶

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

5th day 17 of 5 M / In the Steam Boat Rush Light this Mornng We went to [Newport](#) to make some preparations for yearly Meeting. - Found our friends Well & the House which we continue to hire of Aunt Nancy Carpenter, & in which our goods still remain - in as good order as could be expected, considering it has been left for a Year - On our arrival we were informd that our Son Jn S Gould had passed us in the NYork Boat from NYork on his way to Hudson to see us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 18, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On 6th day he returned to [Newport](#) & we spent the time we staid very pleasantly in preparing our house - making some arrangements & visiting our friends, & on 7th day we had a very comfortable family visit at Edw W Lawtons - On first day attended our Native Meeting which tho Smaller than years ago & many whom we loved in life, removed & I trust at rest from their labours -it still however remains to be a respectable & comfortable Meeting & in the Mornng Father Rodman was engaged in a lively & pertinent testimony. - Silent in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 21, Monday: [Washington Irving](#) arrived from Spain, in New-York.

In a storm at the delta of the Ganges River, eight to ten thousand people drowned.

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

On Second day we again took the Rush Light & returned to [Providence](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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 May 22, Tuesday: Giuseppe Verdi was issued a passport by the Duchy of Parma for travel to Milan (he would depart during late June).

 May 23, Wednesday: In the wrap-up of the unsuccessful slave revolt that had begun on December 27, 1832 on the island of Jamaica, Sam Sharpe was hanged, proclaiming that “I would rather die upon yonder gallows than live in slavery.” (In 1834 the Abolition Bill would be passed by the British Parliament and in 1838 slavery would be abolished.)

 May 24, Thursday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) in Weimar wrote to [Robert Schumann](#) in Leipzig.

French balloonist Francois Arban made his initial ascent.

Schumann wrote twice to Hummel asking for a critique of his opp. 1 and 2. Hummel found Schumann talented but said he was “trying too hard to achieve originality, by which I mean something strange.” He encouraged Schumann but said nothing about taking him as a pupil.

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

*5th day 24th of 5th M 1832 / Attended Preparative meeting in
[Providence](#) - it was silent. but a pretty good Meeting*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 26, Saturday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) departed London for Berlin, two weeks before the production there of Robert le diable.

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

7th day 26th of 5 M / The weather having been mostly Rainy & uncomfortable for the last week - We have been mostly confined within doors & John has not had an opportunity to call on some of his friends with [which] duty & inclination prompted to This Morning we passed an interesting hour at the Mansion of our friend [Moses Brown](#) & went to Wm Almys & Dined & in the evening he called on Wm Jenkins. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 27, Sunday: Egyptian forces of Ibrahim, son of Mohammed Ali, took Acre after a siege. [Egypt](#) annexed Syria, although both were nominally under Turkish rule.

20,000-30,000 [German](#) liberals met at Neustadt and marched to the ruins of an old castle near Hambach. They listened to speeches calling for patriotism and political reform.

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

1st day 27 of 5 M / This being the day John had fixed to return to [Newport](#) on his way back to Hudson, we rose early & got him to the Steam Boat which went at 7 OC - & after taking leave in



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

much concern for his welfare every way we parted, not expecting to see him again very soon if ever. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 28, Monday: [Hector Berlioz](#) crossed from Italy into France. Although he did not now know it, he would never see Italy again.

 May 29, Tuesday: [George Burder](#) died.

 May 30, Wednesday: In Germany, the *Hambaucher Fest* demonstration for civil liberties and national unity came to an end — without accomplishing any change.

In eastern Ontario, Canada, the Rideau Canal opened.

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

4th day 30th of 5th M 1832 / Attended Monthly Meeting held in [Providence](#). – Wm Almy preached a good Sermon - In the last we had some exercise, but the Meeting finished pretty well. – Today Mary Griscom left in the Steamboat B Franklin for NYork & John was to join her at [Newport](#) on his way to Hudson This evening We recd a pleasant letter from John dated at Newport this Morning - by which he appears to have had a pleasant visit among his friends & kinsfolks at his Native home & was expecting to take the boat this PM - tho' it was a hard rainstorm when Mary Griscom left [Providence](#) - before the boat got to Newport it cleared off & they appeared to have a fine time round Point Judith. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 31, Thursday: Giacomo Meyerebeer arrived in Berlin from London.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



June 1, Friday: William Lloyd Garrison attacked the proslavery duplicity of the American Colonization Society in his self-published 236-page THOUGHTS ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION: OR AN IMPARTIAL EXHIBITION OF THE DOCTRINES, PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, TOGETHER WITH THE RESOLUTIONS, ADDRESSES AND REMONSTRANCES OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR. These folks were, he amply demonstrated on the basis of their own writings, a group of people who rather than desiring the wellbeing of abused Americans of color, desired merely to eliminate the danger posed to slavery by the local presence of free persons of color by getting rid of these free persons of color, an agenda which was entirely due to cupidity and to “an antipathy to blacks.” 2,275 copies were produced and placed on sale at \$0.⁶² each, one of them winding up in the hands of a student in the Lane Seminary of [Cincinnati](#), [Theodore Dwight Weld](#).



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

6th day 1st of 6th M 1832 / Today an Indian Man by the name of Wamsley was hung for Murder, about two miles South of the Road to Pawtucket - I happened in town as he was going to the Gallows & saw him at a distance - it was a most affecting scene to see so many thousands flocking after the Miserable man. - such executions are in my opinion not calculated to effect any moral & certainly no religious good - for among the crowd were many who were drunk, some staggering & others laying. - my heart was deeply affected with the scene & I could but deplore the fate of the poor object, & intercede that we might all be preserved from crime. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 8, Friday: For some reason the Reverend Daniel Starr Southmayd preached his final sermon before [Concord](#)'s Trinitarian Congregationalists and asked to be released from the pulpit. (He had been their pastor since 1827. There had been some sort of controversy that had alienated one member of the church, Joseph C. Green, to the extent that an article describing the conflict had been placed a Boston religious publication, which had led to this member's formal trial before the congregation and his excommunication. The next time we hear news of this man, he will be attending the foundational meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia in 1833, representing himself as of Lowell, Massachusetts, and then we will see him functioning as a Presbyterian missionary, and schoolteacher, in the general vicinity of Mexico's Texas province that today is known as Houston.)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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The Rev. DANIEL S. SOUTHMAYD was born at Castleton, Vermont, February 11, 1802, graduated at Middlebury College in 1822, and at the Theological Seminary at Andover in 1826. After sustaining the pastoral office a little over five years, he asked for a dismissal, June 8, 1832, which was granted by the church, and confirmed by a council on the 15th, consisting of the Rev. Samuel Stearns of Bedford, moderator, the Rev. Elijah Demond of Lincoln, scribe, the Rev. Sewall Harding of Waltham, the Rev. Leonard Luce of Westford, and delegates from their respective churches. From the time the church was organized to Mr. Southmayd's ordination, 6 members were added to the church, and during his ministry 77, (53 by original profession, and 30 by letter from other churches,) and 30 were males and 53 females; 4 have been dismissed, 2 excommunicated, and 5 have died; present [1835] number of members 88, of whom 30 are males. Several, however, have removed from town. Mr. Southmayd administered 46 baptisms, and married 26 couples. He now [1835] lives at Lowell. ... Deacon John White bequeathed to this church \$700, and Miss Sarah Thoreau \$50, which has been vested as a fund for its use.⁶⁷

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

6th M 8th 1832 6 day of the week 1832 / This Morning We went down to Newport to attend the Yearly Meeting - We took quarters with Aunt Nancy Carpenter, & had the privilege of using our rooms as usual - Many called to see us in the course of the YMeeting [Yearly Meeting] & we had a precious favoured Meeting through out. - In the Morng of first day there was not as much preaching as usual - a large preportion of it however was good, & in particular the testimonies from our friends Hannah C Backhouse & John Meader, stood high in my estimation - In the Afternoon our friends Joseph Bowne was large & powerful -I do not feel like undertaking to record many particulars of the transactions of the Meeting suffice it to say it was a season of favour & tho' some trying things were under consideration, I believe the Minds of Friends were engaged to cultivate love & harmony & labour for the maintainance of the good cause After repeated settings the Meeting closed on 6th day forenoon & the School committee & the meeting for Sufferings sat in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 9, Saturday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On 7th day Morning we returned to [Providence](#) & resumed our labours at the School

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 June 17, Sunday: [John James Babson](#) got married with Mary Coffin Rogers, daughter of Timothy Rogers. The couple would produce four children only one of whom would survive to maturity.

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

1st day 17th of 6th M 1832 / Our friend Margaret Parker accompanied by her Husband Benj Parker, & her Sister Sybel Allenson were at Meeting with us this Afternoon, & Margaret had acceptable Service. - In the Morning we were silent.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 18, Monday: King Ludwig of Bavaria appointed Prince Wrede to govern the Palatinate, with half of the Bavarian army to impose order. Wrede would declare martial law and arrest liberal dissenters, including the speakers of May 27th.

 June 19, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), all the physicians assembled at the summons of Dr. Levi Wheaton, and by the request of the mayor, in the Senate chamber, to plan what might be done in regard to the current outbreak of the Asiatic cholera.

 June 20, Wednesday: A new US charge d'affaires, Robert Baylies, arrived in Buenos Aires to try to resolve the Falklands dispute. The Argentines required reparations before any negotiations.

Robert der Teufel by [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was produced in Berlin.

La tentation, an opera-ballet by Fromental Halevy and Gide to words of Cave and Coralli, was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Opera.

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

4th day 20th of 6th M / Our friend Ann Taylor & her companions from Ohio were at Meeting at the Institution & had good service. Ann in Testimony & supplication. they dined & spent the Afternoon in examining the house &c. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 21, Thursday: William Crotch resigned as 1st principal of the Royal Academy of Music.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#) who was a follower of [Friend Elias Hicks](#) ("the Sitting of an Hixite," a visiting [Hicksite](#)) managed to attend a midweek meeting for worship without his or her presence having been detected in advance by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#):

5th day 21 of 6 M / Our above mentioned friends [Ann Taylor & her companions from Ohio, Margaret Parker accompanied by her Husband Benj Parker, & her Sister Sybel Allenson] attended Meeting in town - & had good service - Lydia Breed also preached acceptably. - In the Preparative Meetg we had no buisness - but was imposed on by the Sitting of an Hixite, which was not known

till after the Meeting rose. -



 July 3, Tuesday: Count Sormani-Andreani, director of Milan Conservatory, reported the unfavorable results of Giuseppe Verdi's entrance examination. Giuseppe Corbari, a civil clerk, included comments that Verdi was too old, lived outside Lombardy and Venetia, and did badly on the piano examination.

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

*3rd day 3rd of 7 M 1832 / Today was our Sub-committee Meeting
The Subject of the existance of Cholera in the City of NYork
were introduced early in our being together & engaged our close
& very Serious attention - Our friends [Moses Brown](#) Wm Almy &
Thomas Howland were of the opinion the School ought to be
immediately vacated, & as some doubted whether this committee
had power to cause a suspension & dispension of it - It was
concluded to call a Meeting for Sufferings to act in the case
which was accordingly done - to meet tomorrow at 10 OC at the
Meeting house in [Providence](#). -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

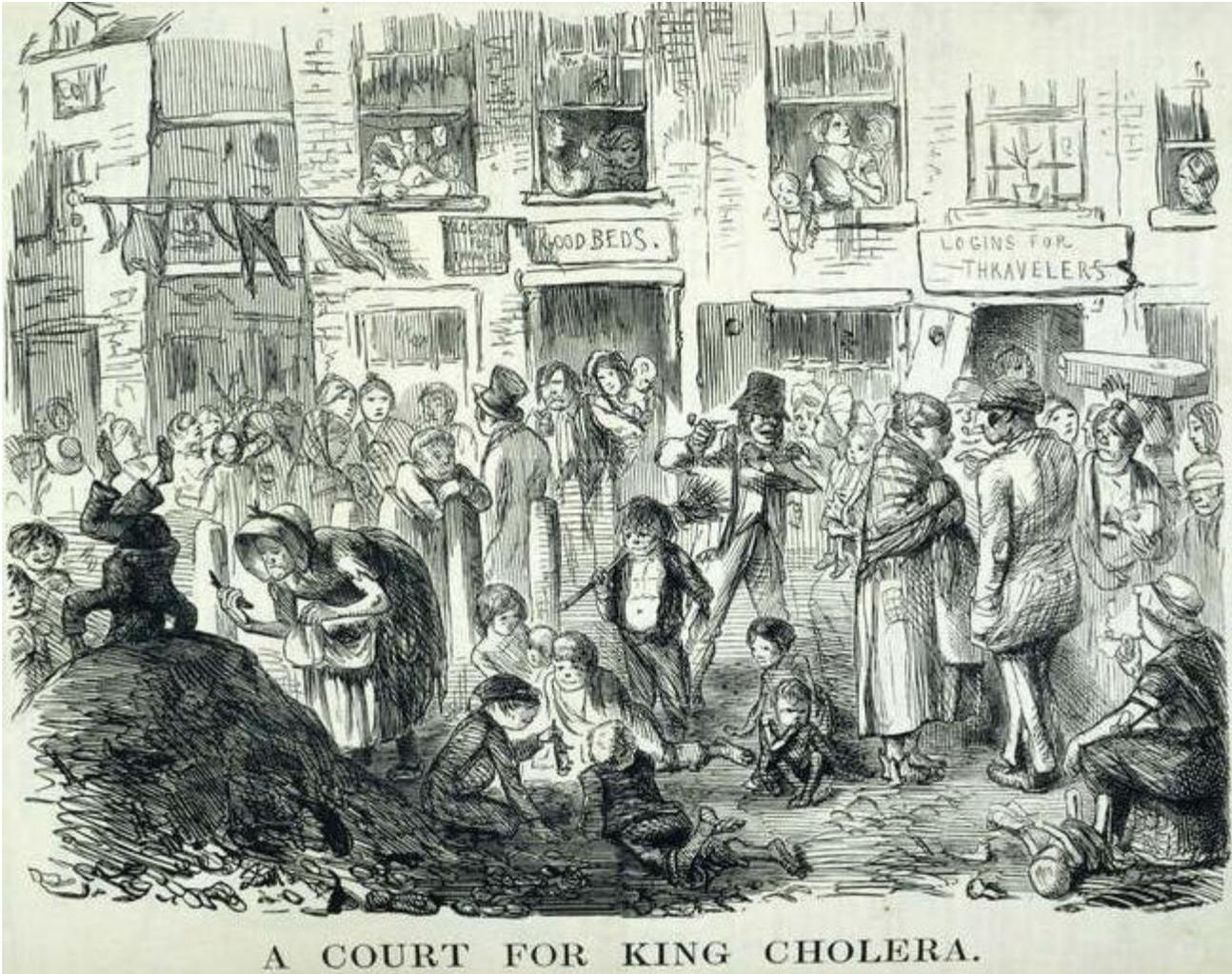
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 28th birthday.

The song "America" that had been jotted down by Dr. Samuel Smith on a scrap of paper was performed by Boston schoolchildren.

In New-York, Fourth of July celebrations were subdued due to a cholera epidemic.



On the bank of the Potomac River, Henry Clay was guest of honor at a National Republican Celebration.



In England, the Durham University founded by Lord Protector Cromwell had been suppressed at the Restoration. At this point re-opening of that University was authorized by the monarch.

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

4th day the 4th of 7 M – The Meeting for Sufferings Met at the time & place, & entered into a feeling & solemn view of the Subject of the Cholera in NYork & the probability of it appearance in [Providence](#), & fully Authorised the School committee to Vacate the [School](#) in case it should appear



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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necessary. –
In the Afternoon the committee again met & on examining the evidence before us, it did not appear that the disorder had increased in NYork & it was concluded to meet again next 7th day Afternoon, again to consider the subject & act as wisdom & prudence might then dictate
I attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the Meeting House in Town. – Those who attended our Week day meeting at the Insitution report it to have been a remarkable solemn meeting & I did not learn there was any preaching

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 5, Thursday: The HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) sailed from Rio de Janeiro.

The [German](#) Diet enacted a “Ten Articles” document which reinstated restrictions on speech and press, and on political organizations. The [German](#) states pledged their mutual assistance in dealing with the current situation of popular unrest.

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

5th day 5 of 7 M / Some who attended the Week Day Meeting in Town, report it to have been a very Solemn Meeting, Wm Almy in testimony & Anna A Jenkins in Supplication both alluded to the very serious & affecting season of Sickness which visits our Land.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 6, Friday: The Mexican Emperor Maximilian was born — although, of course, as Maximilian rather than as the Mexican Emperor.

Having returned to England from France, [Nicolò Paganini](#) offered a concert in London’s Covent Garden (he would perform there a dozen times over the following 6 weeks).

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

6th day 6 of 7 M 18312 / Accounts from NYork are no more favourable, - the Sickness spreads & increases. – All we can do is to prepare in the best manner we can as to the outward, and keep our minds quiet & centered on the All sufficiency of the Power that sent it, & can when he pleases stay the destroying pestilance when he pleases. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 7, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 7 of 7th M / Today the committee met again & came to a conclusion to Vacate the School for the present. In the evening the Scholars were collected in the Lecture room & informed of the conclusion, & the reason of it & much suitable advice was given on the Occasion by Wm Almy [Moses Brown](#) & Anna A Jenkins it was a time of solemnity, but we did not get to that state of



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feeling which was very desirable. – In short life did not rise into dominion as I have sometimes seen & felt it to do. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 8, Sunday: A force of 7,500 Portuguese liberals led by Dom Pedro, former emperor of Brazil, sailing from the Azores, landed unopposed at the mouth of the River Mindelo, north of Porto. Their intention was to place Pedro's daughter Maria, who was deposed in 1828, back on the throne.

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

1st day 8 of 7 M / Silent Meeting in the Morning In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had much to communicate but the life in my mind was at a Low Ebb— Yesterday while the committee was gathering we had a few drips of Rain, some distant Thunder & the Tempest passed off South & appeared to settle over [Rhode Island](#) [Aquidneck] - it looked to us that it was very heavy that way - This evening our Neighbour Gideon Palmer came in & informed us that the lightning Struck Job Shermans house in [Newport](#) & killed his daughter Rebecca - this is a most solemn & effecting event. - the house was thought to be on fire & in searching for that they found Rebecca at one of the Windows which she had gone too to shut, but the lightning had killed her & her cloaths were on fire. - as they lived next door to Aunt Nancy Carpenter was of course our neighbour. - they were kind affectionate & sincere & we loved them Much. - Rebecca was one of the most useful Girls in sickness & spaired no pains, but applied her bodily strength & other means in rendering assistance where she could - This is a most affecting event in the neighbourhood, the young & old are affectionate & Kind to each other & take much comfort in friendly intercourse. - I feel for my Brothers family who lives opposite & for our dear Aunt Nancy CARPENTER who lives next door, about whom I have thought much in the course of this day How Solemn the Truth and how it is realised in this instance - "In the midst of life we are in Death"— [Moses Brown](#) attended our evening collection in the Girls part, & had a good deal to say to them in a very lively & appropriate manner - Lydia Breed also preached & was engaged in supplication

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 9, Monday: A force of Portuguese liberals entered Porto unopposed.

Within the US War Department, a "Commissioner of Indian Affairs" office was created.

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

2nd day 9 of 7 M / The accounts from NYork are no more favourable, the pestilence spreads & many flee to places which they hope will be more healthy, but to what, & whom shall we flee. Why, He who directeth its course, will undoubtedly send it where he pleases, & may We be favoured, to rest our hopes & confidence in His holy all protecting Arm. - The times on which



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we have fallen are indeed, big with great & momentous events, which call with a loud voice to all & on all, to renew their devotion & come up with increased faithfulness to the Cause of Truth & Righteousness

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 11, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 11 of 7 M / Our Meeting was silent & solemn The rhumor of Cholera has excited the feelings of thousands. – We are in the Lords hand

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

President Andrew Jackson vetoed the renewal of the charter of the Second Bank of the United States (he claimed the bank was elitist, and favored northeastern interests), thus causing the birth of the Whig Party. [Daniel Webster](#) addressed the US Senate:

Mr. President,— No one will deny the high importance of the subject now before us. Congress, after full deliberation and discussion, has passed a bill, by decisive majorities, in both houses, for extending the duration of the Bank of the United States. It has not adopted this measure until its attention had been called to the subject, in three successive annual messages of the President. The bill having been thus passed by both houses, and having been duly presented to the President, instead of signing and approving it, he has returned it with objections. These objections go against the whole substance of the law originally creating the bank. They deny, in effect, that the bank is constitutional; they deny that it is expedient; they deny that it is necessary for the public service.

It is not to be doubted, that the Constitution gives the President the power which he has now exercised; but while the power is admitted, the grounds upon which it has been exerted become fit subjects of examination. The Constitution makes it the duty of Congress, in cases like this, to reconsider the measure which they have passed, to weigh the force of the President's objections to that measure, and to take a new vote upon the question.

Before the Senate proceeds to this second vote, I propose to make some remarks upon those objections. And, in the first place, it is to be observed, that they are such as to extinguish all hope that the present bank, or any bank at all resembling it, or resembling any known similar institution, can ever receive his approbation. He states no terms, no qualifications, no conditions, no modifications, which can reconcile him to the essential provisions of the existing charter. He is against the bank, and against any bank constituted in a manner known either to this or any other country. One advantage, therefore, is certainly obtained by presenting him the bill. It has caused the President's sentiments to be made known. There is no longer any mystery, no longer a contest between hope and fear, or between those prophets who predicted a **veto** and those who foretold an approval. The bill is negatived; the President has assumed the responsibility of putting an end to the bank; and the country must prepare itself to meet that change in its concerns which the expiration of the charter will produce. Mr. President, I



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will not conceal my opinion that the affairs of the country are approaching an important and dangerous crisis. At the very moment of almost unparalleled general prosperity, there appears an unaccountable disposition to destroy the most useful and most approved institutions of the government. Indeed, it seems to be in the midst of all this national happiness that some are found openly to question the advantages of the Constitution itself and many more ready to embarrass the exercise of its just power, weaken its authority, and undermine its foundations. How far these notions may be carried, it is impossible yet to say. We have before us the practical result of one of them. The bank has fallen, or is to fall.

It is now certain, that, without a change in our public counsels, this bank will not be continued, nor will any other be established, which, according to the general sense and language of mankind, can be entitled to the name. Within three years and nine months from the present moment, the charter of the bank expires; within that period, therefore, it must wind up its concerns. It must call in its debts, withdraw its bills from circulation, and cease from all its ordinary operations. All this is to be done in three years and nine months; because, although there is a provision in the charter rendering it lawful to use the corporate name for two years after the expiration of the charter, yet this is allowed only for the purpose of suits and for the sale of the estate belonging to the bank, and for no other purpose whatever. The whole active business of the bank, its custody of public deposits, its transfer of public moneys, its dealing in exchange, all its loans and discounts, and all its issues of bills for circulation, must cease and determine on or before the third day of March, 1836; and within the same period its debts must be collected, as no new contract can be made with it, as a corporation, for the renewal of loans, or discount of notes or bills, after that time.

The President is of opinion, that this time is long enough to close the concerns of the institution without inconvenience. His language is, "The time allowed the bank to close its concerns is ample, and if it has been well managed, its pressure will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce distress, the fault will be its own." Sir, this is all no more than general statement, without fact or argument to support it. We know what the management of the bank has been, and we know the present state of its affairs. We can judge, therefore, whether it be probable that its capital can be all called in, and the circulation of its bills withdrawn, in three years and nine months, by any discretion or prudence in management, without producing distress. The bank has discounted liberally, in compliance with the wants of the community. The amount due to it on loans and discounts, in certain large divisions of the country, is great; so great, that I do not perceive how any man can believe that it can be paid, within the time now limited, without distress. Let us look at known facts. Thirty millions of the capital of the bank are now out, on loans and discounts, in the States on the Mississippi and its waters; ten millions of which are loaned on the discount of bills of exchange, foreign and domestic, and twenty millions on promissory notes. Now, Sir, how is it possible that this vast amount can be collected in so short a period without suffering,



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by any management whatever? We are to remember, that, when the collection of this debt begins, at that same time the existing medium of payment, that is, the circulation of the bills of the bank, will begin also to be restrained and withdrawn; and thus the means of payment must be limited just when the necessity of making payment becomes pressing. The whole debt is to be paid, and within the same time the whole circulation withdrawn. The local banks, where there are such, will be able to afford little assistance; because they themselves will feel a full share of the pressure. They will not be in a condition to extend their discounts, but, in all probability, obliged to curtail them. Whence, then, are the means to come for paying this debt? and in what medium is payment to be made? If all this may be done with but slight pressure on the community, what course of conduct is to accomplish it? How is it to be done? What other thirty millions are to supply the place of these thirty millions now to be called in? What other circulation or medium of payment is to be adopted in the place of the bills of the bank? The message, following a singular train of argument, which had been used in this house, has a loud lamentation upon the suffering of the Western States on account of their being obliged to pay even interest on this debt. This payment of interest is itself represented as exhausting their means and ruinous to their prosperity. But if the interest cannot be paid without pressure, can both interest and principal be paid in four years without pressure? The truth is, the interest has been paid, is paid, and may continue to be paid, without any pressure at all; because the money borrowed is profitably employed by those who borrow it, and the rate of interest which they pay is at least two per cent lower than the actual value of money in that part of the country. But to pay the whole principal in less than four years, losing, at the same time, the existing and accustomed means and facilities of payment created by the bank itself, and to do this without extreme embarrassment, without absolute distress, is, in my judgment, impossible. I hesitate not to say, that, as this **veto** travels to the West, it will depreciate the value of every man's property from the Atlantic States to the capital of Missouri. Its effects will be felt in the price of lands, the great and leading article of Western property, in the price of crops, in the products of labor, in the repression of enterprise, and in embarrassment to every kind of business and occupation. I state this opinion strongly, because I have no doubt of its truth, and am willing its correctness should be judged by the event. Without personal acquaintance with the Western States, I know enough of their condition to be satisfied that what I have predicted must happen. The people of the West are rich, but their riches consist in their immense quantities of excellent land, in the products of these lands, and in their spirit of enterprise. The actual value of money, or rate of interest, with them is high, because their pecuniary capital bears little proportion to their landed interest. At an average rate, money is not worth less than eight per cent per annum throughout the whole Western country, notwithstanding that it has now a loan or an advance from the bank of thirty millions, at six per cent. To call in this loan, at the rate of eight millions a year, in addition to the interest on the whole, and to take away, at the same time, that circulation which



constitutes so great a portion of the medium of payment throughout that whole region, is an operation, which, however wisely conducted, cannot but inflict a blow on the community of tremendous force and frightful consequences. The thing cannot be done without distress, bankruptcy, and ruin, to many. If the President had seen any practical manner in which this change might be effected without producing these consequences, he would have rendered infinite service to the community by pointing it out. But he has pointed out nothing, he has suggested nothing; he contents himself with saying, without giving any reason, that, if the pressure be heavy, the fault will be the bank's. I hope this is not merely an attempt to forestall opinion, and to throw on the bank the responsibility of those evils which threaten the country, for the sake of removing it from himself. The responsibility justly lies with him, and there it ought to remain. A great majority of the people are satisfied with the bank as it is, and desirous that it should be continued. They wished no change. The strength of this public sentiment has carried the bill through Congress, against all the influence of the administration, and all the power of organized party. But the President has undertaken, on his own responsibility, to arrest the measure, by refusing his assent to the bill. He is answerable for the consequences, therefore, which necessarily follow the change which the expiration of the bank charter may produce; and if these consequences shall prove disastrous, they can fairly be ascribed to his policy only, and the policy of his administration.

Although, Sir, I have spoken of the effects of this **veto** in the Western country, it has not been because I considered that part of the United States exclusively affected by it. Some of the Atlantic States may feel its consequences, perhaps, as sensibly as those of the West, though not for the same reasons. The concern manifested by Pennsylvania for the renewal of the charter shows her sense of the importance of the bank to her own interest, and that of the nation. That great and enterprising State has entered into an extensive system of internal improvements, which necessarily makes heavy demands on her credit and her resources; and by the sound and acceptable currency which the bank affords, by the stability which it gives to private credit, and by occasional advances, made in anticipation of her revenues, and in aid of her great objects, she has found herself benefited, doubtless, in no inconsiderable degree. Her legislature has instructed her Senators here to advocate the renewal of the charter, at this session. They have obeyed her voice, and yet they have the misfortune to find that, in the judgment of the President, **the measure is unconstitutional, unnecessary, dangerous to liberty, and is, moreover, ill-timed.**

But, Mr. President, it is not the local interest of the West, nor the particular interest of Pennsylvania, or any other State, which has influenced Congress in passing this bill. It has been governed by a wise foresight, and by a desire to avoid embarrassment in the pecuniary concerns of the country, to secure the safe collection and convenient transmission of public moneys, to maintain the circulation of the country, sound and safe as it now happily is, against the possible effects of a wild spirit of speculation. Finding the bank highly useful,



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Congress has thought fit to provide for its continuance. As to the **time** of passing this bill, it would seem to be the last thing to be thought of, as a ground of objection, by the President; since, from the date of his first message to the present time, he has never failed to call our attention to the subject with all possible apparent earnestness. So early as December, 1829, in his message to the two houses, he declares, that he "cannot, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present the subject to the deliberate consideration of the legislature, in order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy, in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests." Aware of this early invitation given to Congress to take up the subject, by the President himself, the writer of the message seems to vary the ground of objection, and, instead of complaining that the time of bringing forward this measure was premature, to insist, rather, that, after the report of the committee of the other house, the bank should have withdrawn its application for the present! But that report offers no just ground, surely, for such withdrawal. The subject was before Congress; it was for Congress to decide upon it, with all the light shed by the report; and the question of postponement, having been made in both houses, was lost, by clear majorities, in each. Under such circumstances, it would have been somewhat singular, to say the least, if the bank itself had withdrawn its application. It is indeed known to everybody, that neither the report of the committee, nor any thing contained in that report, was relied on by the opposers of the renewal. If it has been discovered elsewhere, that that report contained matter important in itself, or which should have led to further inquiry, this may be proof of superior sagacity; for certainly no such thing was discerned by either house of Congress.

But, Sir, do we not now see that it was time, and high time, to press this bill, and to send it to the President? Does not the event teach us, that the measure was not brought forward one moment too early? The time had come when the people wished to know the decision of the administration on the question of the bank? Why conceal it, or postpone its declaration? Why, as in regard to the tariff, give out one set of opinions for the North, and another for the South?

An important election is at hand, and the renewal of the bank charter is a pending object of great interest, and some excitement. Should not the opinions of men high in office, and candidates for re-election, be known on this, as on other important public questions? Certainly, it is to be hoped that the people of the United States are not yet mere man-worshippers, that they do not choose their rulers without some regard to their political principles, or political opinions. Were they to do this, it would be to subject themselves voluntarily to the evils which the hereditary transmission of power, independent of all personal qualifications, inflicts on other nations. They will judge their public servants by their acts, and continue or withhold their confidence, as they shall think it merited, or as they shall think it forfeited. In every point of view, therefore, the moment had arrived, when it became the duty of Congress to come to a result, in regard to this highly important measure. The interests of the government, the



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interests of the people, the clear and indisputable voice of public opinion, all called upon Congress to act without further loss of time. It has acted, and its act has been negated by the President; and this result of the proceedings here places the question, with all its connections and all its incidents, fully before the people.

Before proceeding to the constitutional question, there are some other topics, treated in the message, which ought to be noticed. It commences by an inflamed statement of what it calls the "favor" bestowed upon the original bank by the government, or, indeed, as it is phrased, the "monopoly of its favor and support"; and through the whole message all possible changes are rung on the "gratuity," the "exclusive privileges," and "monopoly," of the bank charter. Now, Sir, the truth is, that the powers conferred on the bank are such, and no others, as are usually conferred on similar institutions. They constitute no monopoly, although some of them are of necessity, and with propriety, exclusive privileges. "The original act," says the message, "operated as a gratuity of many millions to the stockholders." What fair foundation is there for this remark? The stockholders received their charter, not gratuitously, but for a valuable consideration in money, prescribed by Congress, and actually paid. At some times the stock has been above **par**, at other times below **par**, according to prudence in management, or according to commercial occurrences. But if, by a judicious administration of its affairs, it had kept its stock always above **par**, what pretence would there be, nevertheless, for saying that such augmentation of its value was a "gratuity" from government? The message proceeds to declare, that the present act proposes another donation, another gratuity, to the same men, of at least seven millions more. It seems to me that this is an extraordinary statement, and an extraordinary style of argument, for such a subject and on such an occasion. In the first place, the facts are all assumed; they are taken for true without evidence. There are no proofs that any benefit to that amount will accrue to the stockholders, nor any experience to justify the expectation of it. It rests on random estimates, or mere conjecture. But suppose the continuance of the charter should prove beneficial to the stockholders; do they not pay for it? They give twice as much for a charter of fifteen years, as was given before for one of twenty. And if the proposed **bonus**, or premium, be not, in the President's judgment, large enough, would he, nevertheless, on such a mere matter of opinion as that, negative the whole bill? May not Congress be trusted to decide even on such a subject as the amount of the money premium to be received by government for a charter of this kind?

But, Sir, there is a larger and a much more just view of this subject. The bill was not passed for the purpose of benefiting the present stockholders. Their benefit, if any, is incidental and collateral. Nor was it passed on any idea that they had a **right** to a renewed charter, although the message argues against such right, as if it had been somewhere set up and asserted. No such right has been asserted by anybody. Congress passed the bill, not as a bounty or a favor to the present stockholders, nor to comply with any demand of right on their part; but to promote great public interests, for great public objects. Every bank must have some stockholders, unless it be such a bank as



the President has recommended, and in regard to which he seems not likely to find much concurrence of other men's opinions; and if the stockholders, whoever they may be, conduct the affairs of the bank prudently, the expectation is always, of course, that they will make it profitable to themselves, as well as useful to the public. If a bank charter is not to be granted, because, to some extent, it may be profitable to the stockholders, no charter can be granted. The objection lies against all banks.

Sir, the object aimed at by such institutions is to connect the public safety and convenience with private interests. It has been found by experience, that banks are safest under private management, and that government banks are among the most dangerous of all inventions. Now, Sir, the whole drift of the message is to reverse the settled judgment of all the civilized world, and to set up government banks, independent of private interest or private control. For this purpose the message labors, even beyond the measure of all its other labors, to create jealousies and prejudices, on the ground of the alleged benefit which individuals will derive from the renewal of this charter. Much less effort is made to show that government, or the public, will be injured by the bill, than that individuals will profit by it. Following up the impulses of the same spirit, the message goes on gravely to allege, that the act, as passed by Congress, proposes to make a **present** of some millions of dollars to foreigners, because a portion of the stock is held by foreigners. Sir, how would this sort of argument apply to other cases? The President has shown himself not only willing, but anxious, to pay off the three per cent stock of the United States at **par**, notwithstanding that it is notorious that foreigners are owners of the greater part of it. Why should he not call that a donation to foreigners of many millions?

I will not dwell particularly on this part of the message. Its tone and its arguments are all in the same strain. It speaks of the certain gain of the present stockholders, of the value of the monopoly; it says that all monopolies are granted at the expense of the public; that the many millions which this bill bestows on the stockholders come out of the earnings of the people; that, if government sells monopolies, it ought to sell them in open market; that it is an erroneous idea, that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right either to the favor or the bounty of government; that the stock is in the hands of a few, and that the whole American people are excluded from competition in the purchase of the monopoly. To all this I say, again, that much of it is assumption without proof; much of it is an argument against that which nobody has maintained or asserted; and the rest of it would be equally strong against any charter, at any time. These objections existed in their full strength, whatever that was, against the first bank. They existed, in like manner, against the present bank at its creation, and will always exist against all banks. Indeed, all the fault found with the bill now before us is, that it proposes to continue the bank substantially as it now exists. "All the objectionable principles of the existing corporation," says the message, "and most of its odious features, are retained without alleviation"; so that the message is aimed against the bank, as it has existed from the first, and against any and all others



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resembling it in its general features.

Allow me, now, Sir, to take notice of an argument founded on the practical operation of the bank. That argument is this. Little of the stock of the bank is held in the West, the capital being chiefly owned by citizens of the Southern and Eastern States, and by foreigners. But the Western and Southwestern States owe the bank a heavy debt, so heavy that the interest amounts to a million six hundred thousand a year. This interest is carried to the Eastern States, or to Europe, annually, and its payment is a burden on the people of the West, and a drain of their currency, which no country can bear without inconvenience and distress. The true character and the whole value of this argument are manifest by the mere statement of it. The people of the West are, from their situation, necessarily large borrowers. They need money, capital, and they borrow it, because they can derive a benefit from its use, much beyond the interest which they pay. They borrow at six per cent of the bank, although the value of money with them is at least as high as eight. Nevertheless, although they borrow at this low rate of interest, and although they use all they borrow thus profitably, yet they cannot pay the interest without "inconvenience and distress"; and then, Sir, follows the logical conclusion, that, although they cannot pay even the interest without inconvenience and distress, yet less than four years is ample time for the bank to call in the whole, both principal and interest, without causing more than a light pressure. This is the argument.

Then follows another, which may be thus stated. It is competent to the States to tax the property of their citizens vested in the stock of this bank; but the power is denied of taxing the stock of foreigners; therefore the stock will be worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than to residents, and will of course inevitably leave the country, and make the American people debtors to aliens in nearly the whole amount due the bank, and send across the Atlantic from two to five millions of specie every year, to pay the bank dividends.

Mr. President, arguments like these might be more readily disposed of, were it not that the high and official source from which they proceed imposes the necessity of treating them with respect. In the first place, it may safely be denied that the stock of the bank is any more valuable to foreigners than to our own citizens, or an object of greater desire to them, except in so far as capital may be more abundant in the foreign country, and therefore its owners more in want of opportunity of investment. The foreign stockholder enjoys no exemption from taxation. He is, of course, taxed by his own government for his incomes, derived from this as well as other property; and this is a full answer to the whole statement. But it may be added, in the second place, that it is not the practice of civilized states to tax the property of foreigners under such circumstances. Do we tax, or did we ever tax, the foreign holders of our public debt? Does Pennsylvania, New York, or Ohio tax the foreign holders of stock in the loans contracted by either of these States? Certainly not. Sir, I must confess I had little expected to see, on such an occasion as the present, a labored and repeated attempt to produce an impression on the public opinion unfavorable to the bank, from the circumstance that foreigners are among its stockholders. I have no hesitation in



saying, that I deem such a train of remark as the message contains on this point, coming from the President of the United States, to be injurious to the credit and character of the country abroad; because it manifests a jealousy, a lurking disposition not to respect the property, of foreigners invited hither by our own laws. And, Sir, what is its tendency but to excite this jealousy, and create groundless prejudices?

From the commencement of the government, it has been thought desirable to invite, rather than to repel, the introduction of foreign capital. Our stocks have all been open to foreign subscriptions; and the State banks, in like manner, are free to foreign ownership. Whatever State has created a debt has been willing that foreigners should become purchasers, and desirous of it. How long is it, Sir, since Congress itself passed a law vesting new powers in the President of the United States over the cities in this District, for the very purpose of increasing their credit abroad, the better to enable them to borrow money to pay their subscriptions to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal? It is easy to say that there is danger to liberty, danger to independence, in a bank open to foreign stockholders, because it is easy to say any thing. But neither reason nor experience proves any such danger. The foreign stockholder cannot be a director. He has no voice even in the choice of directors. His money is placed entirely in the management of the directors appointed by the President and Senate and by the American stockholders. So far as there is dependence or influence either way, it is to the disadvantage of the foreign stockholder. He has parted with the control over his own property, instead of exercising control over the property or over the actions of others. And, Sir, let it now be added, in further answer to this class of objections, that experience has abundantly confuted them all. This government has existed forty-three years, and has maintained, in full being and operation, a bank, such as is now proposed to be renewed, for thirty-six years out of the forty-three. We have never for a moment had a bank not subject to every one of these objections. Always, foreigners might be stockholders; always, foreign stock has been exempt from State taxation, as much as at present; always, the same power and privileges; always, all that which is now called a "monopoly," a "gratuity," a "present," have been possessed by the bank. And yet there has been found no danger to liberty, no introduction of foreign influence, and no accumulation of irresponsible power in a few hands. I cannot but hope, therefore, that the people of the United States will not now yield up their judgment to those notions which would reverse all our best experience, and persuade us to discontinue a useful institution from the influence of vague and unfounded declamation against its danger to the public liberties. Our liberties, indeed, must stand upon very frail foundations, if the government cannot, without endangering them, avail itself of those common facilities, in the collection of its revenues and the management of its finances, which all other governments, in commercial countries, find useful and necessary.

In order to justify its alarm for the security of our independence, the message supposes a case. It supposes that the bank should pass principally into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and that we should be involved in war with



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that country, and then it exclaims, "What would be our condition?" Why, Sir, it is plain that all the advantages would be on our side. The bank would still be our institution, subject to our own laws, and all its directors elected by ourselves; and our means would be enhanced, not by the confiscation and plunder, but by the proper use, of the foreign capital in our hands. And, Sir, it is singular enough that this very state of war, from which this argument against a bank is drawn, is the very thing which, more than all others, convinced the country and the government of the necessity of a national bank. So much was the want of such an institution felt in the late war, that the subject engaged the attention of Congress, constantly, from the declaration of that war down to the time when the existing bank was actually established; so that in this respect, as well as in others, the argument of the message is directly opposed to the whole experience of the government, and to the general and long-settled convictions of the country.

I now proceed, Sir, to a few remarks upon the President's constitutional objections to the bank; and I cannot forbear to say, in regard to them, that he appears to me to have assumed very extraordinary grounds of reasoning. He denies that the constitutionality of the bank is a settled question. If it be not, will it ever become so, or what disputed question ever can be settled? I have already observed, that for thirty-six years out of the forty-three during which the government has been in being, a bank has existed, such as is now proposed to be continued.

As early as 1791, after great deliberation, the first bank charter was passed by Congress, and approved by President Washington. It established an institution, resembling, in all things now objected to, the present bank. That bank, like this, could take lands in payment of its debts; that charter, like the present, gave the States no power of taxation; it allowed foreigners to hold stock; it restrained Congress from creating other banks. It gave also exclusive privileges, and in all particulars it was, according to the doctrine of the message, as objectionable as that now existing. That bank continued twenty years. In 1816, the present institution was established, and has been ever since in full operation. Now, Sir, the question of the power of Congress to create such institutions has been contested in every manner known to our Constitution and laws. The forms of the government furnish no new mode in which to try this question. It has been discussed over and over again, in Congress; it has been argued and solemnly adjudged in the Supreme Court; every President, except the present, has considered it a settled question; many of the State legislatures have instructed their Senators to vote for the bank; the tribunals of the States, in every instance, have supported its constitutionality; and, beyond all doubt and dispute, the general public opinion of the country has at all times given, and does now give, its full sanction and approbation to the exercise of this power, as being a constitutional power. There has been no opinion questioning the power expressed or intimated, at any time, by either house of Congress, by any President, or by any respectable judicial tribunal. Now, Sir, if this practice of near forty years, if these repeated exercises of the power, if this solemn adjudication of the



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Supreme Court, with the concurrence and approbation of public opinion, do not settle the question, how is any question ever to be settled, about which any one may choose to raise a doubt? The argument of the message upon the Congressional precedents is either a bold and gross fallacy, or else it is an assertion without proofs, and against known facts. The message admits, that, in 1791, Congress decided in favor of a bank; but it adds, that another Congress, in 1811, decided against it. Now, if it be meant that, in 1811, Congress decided against the bank on constitutional ground, then the assertion is wholly incorrect, and against notorious fact. It is perfectly well known, that many members, in both houses, voted against the bank in 1811, who had no doubt at all of the constitutional power of Congress. They were entirely governed by other reasons given at the time. I appeal, Sir, to the honorable member from Maryland, who was then a member of the Senate, and voted against the bank, whether he, and others who were on the same side, did not give those votes on other well-known grounds, and not at all on constitutional ground?

General Smith here rose, and said, that he voted against the bank in 1811, but not at all on constitutional grounds, and had no doubt such was the case with other members.⁶⁸

We all know, Sir, the fact to be as the gentleman from Maryland has stated it. Every man who recollects, or who has read, the political occurrences of that day, knows it. Therefore, if the message intends to say, that in 1811 Congress denied the existence of any such constitutional power, the declaration is unwarranted, and altogether at variance with the facts. If, on the other hand, it only intends to say, that Congress decided against the proposition then before it on some other grounds, then it alleges that which is nothing at all to the purpose. The argument, then, either assumes for truth that which is not true, or else the whole statement is immaterial and futile.

But whatever value others may attach to this argument, the message thinks so highly of it, that it proceeds to repeat it. "One Congress," it says, "in 1815, decided against a bank, another, in 1816, decided in its favor. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favor of the act before me." Now, Sir, since it is known to the whole country, one cannot but wonder how it should remain unknown to the President, that Congress **did not** decide against a bank in 1815. On the contrary, that very Congress passed a bill for erecting a bank, by very large majorities. In one form, it is true, the bill failed in the House of Representatives; but the vote was reconsidered, the bill recommitted, and finally passed by a vote of one hundred and twenty to thirty-nine. There is, therefore, not only no solid ground, but not even any plausible pretence, for the assertion, that Congress in 1815 decided against the bank. That very Congress passed a bill to create a bank, and its decision, therefore, is precisely the other way, and is a direct practical precedent in favor of the constitutional power. What are we to think of a constitutional argument which deals in this way with

68. Edwin P. Whipple's THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879).



historical facts? When the message declares, as it does declare, that there is nothing in precedent which ought to weigh in favor of the power, it sets at naught repeated acts of Congress affirming the power, and it also states other acts, which were in fact, and which are well known to have been, directly the reverse of what the message represents them. There is not, Sir, the slightest reason to think that any Senate or any House of Representatives, ever assembled under the Constitution, contained a majority that doubted the constitutional existence of the power of Congress to establish a bank. Whenever the question has arisen, and has been decided, it has always been decided one way. The legislative precedents all assert and maintain the power; and these legislative precedents have been the law of the land for almost forty years. They settle the construction of the Constitution, and sanction the exercise of the power in question, so far as these effects can ever be produced by any legislative precedents whatever.

But the President does not admit the authority of precedent. Sir, I have always found, that those who habitually deny most vehemently the general force of precedent, and assert most strongly the supremacy of private opinion, are yet, of all men, most tenacious of that very authority of precedent, whenever it happens to be in their favor. I beg leave to ask, Sir, upon what ground, except that of precedent, and precedent alone, the President's friends have placed his power of removal from office. No such power is given by the Constitution, in terms, nor anywhere intimated, throughout the whole of it; no paragraph or clause of that instrument recognizes such a power. To say the least, it is as questionable, and has been as often questioned, as the power of Congress to create a bank; and, enlightened by what has passed under our own observation, we now see that it is of all powers the most capable of flagrant abuse. Now, Sir, I ask again, What becomes of this power, if the authority of precedent be taken away? It has all along been denied to exist; it is nowhere found in the Constitution; and its recent exercise, or, to call things by their right names, its recent abuse, has, more than any other single cause, rendered good men either cool in their affections toward the government of their country, or doubtful of its long continuance. Yet there is **precedent** in favor of this power, and the President exercises it. We know, Sir, that, without the aid of that **precedent**, his acts could never have received the sanction of this body, even at a time when his voice was somewhat more potential here than it now is, or, as I trust, ever again will be. Does the President, then, reject the authority of all precedent except what it is suitable to his own purpose to use? And does he use, without stint or measure, all precedents which may augment his own power, or gratify his own wishes?

But if the President thinks lightly of the authority of Congress in construing the Constitution, he thinks still more lightly of the authority of the Supreme Court. He asserts a right of individual judgment on constitutional questions, which is totally inconsistent with any proper administration of the government, or any regular execution of the laws. Social disorder, entire uncertainty in regard to individual rights and individual duties, the cessation of legal authority, confusion, the dissolution of free government,—all these are the inevitable



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consequences of the principles adopted by the message, whenever they shall be carried to their full extent. Hitherto it has been thought that the final decision of constitutional questions belonged to the supreme judicial tribunal. The very nature of free government, it has been supposed, enjoins this; and our Constitution, moreover, has been understood so to provide, clearly and expressly. It is true, that each branch of the legislature has an undoubted right, in the exercise of its functions, to consider the constitutionality of a law proposed to be passed. This is naturally a part of its duty; and neither branch can be compelled to pass any law, or do any other act, which it deems to be beyond the reach of its constitutional power. The President has the same right, when a bill is presented for his approval; for he is, doubtless, bound to consider, in all cases, whether such bill be compatible with the Constitution, and whether he can approve it consistently with his oath of office. But when a law has been passed by Congress, and approved by the President, it is now no longer in the power, either of the same President, or his successors, to say whether the law is constitutional or not. He is not at liberty to disregard it; he is not at liberty to feel or to affect "constitutional scruples," and to sit in judgment himself on the validity of a statute of the government, and to nullify it, if he so chooses. After a law has passed through all the requisite forms; after it has received the requisite legislative sanction and the executive approval, the question of its constitutionality then becomes a judicial question, and a judicial question alone. In the courts that question may be raised, argued, and adjudged; it can be adjudged nowhere else. The President is as much bound by the law as any private citizen, and can no more contest its validity than any private citizen. He may refuse to obey the law, and so may a private citizen; but both do it at their own peril, and neither of them can settle the question of its validity. The President may **say** a law is unconstitutional, but he is not the judge. Who is to decide that question? The judiciary alone possesses this unquestionable and hitherto unquestioned right. The judiciary is the constitutional tribunal of appeal for the citizens, against both Congress and the executive, in regard to the constitutionality of laws. It has this jurisdiction expressly conferred upon it, and when it has decided the question, its judgment must, from the very nature of all judgments that are final, and from which there is no appeal, be conclusive. Hitherto, this opinion, and a correspondent practice, have prevailed, in America, with all wise and considerate men. If it were otherwise, there would be no government of laws; but we should all live under the government, the rule, the caprices, of individuals. If we depart from the observance of these salutary principles, the executive power becomes at once purely despotic; for the President, if the principle and the reasoning of the message be sound, may either execute or not execute the laws of the land, according to his sovereign pleasure. He may refuse to put into execution one law, pronounced valid by all branches of the government, and yet execute another, which may have been by constitutional authority pronounced void.

On the argument of the message, the President of the United States holds, under a new pretence and a new name, a **dispensing**



power over the laws as absolute as was claimed by James the Second of England, a month before he was compelled to fly the kingdom. That which is now claimed by the President is in truth nothing less, and nothing else, than the old dispensing power asserted by the kings of England in the worst of times; the very climax, indeed, of all the preposterous pretensions of the Tudor and the Stuart races. According to the doctrines put forth by the President, although Congress may have passed a law, and although the Supreme Court may have pronounced it constitutional, yet it is, nevertheless, no law at all, if he, in his good pleasure, sees fit to deny it effect; in other words, to repeal and annul it. Sir, no President and no public man ever before advanced such doctrines in the face of the nation. There never before was a moment in which any President would have been tolerated in asserting such a claim to despotic power. After Congress has passed the law, and after the Supreme Court has pronounced its judgment on the very point in controversy, the President has set up his own private judgment against its constitutional interpretation. It is to be remembered, Sir, that it is the present law, it is the act of 1816, it is the present charter of the bank, which the President pronounces to be unconstitutional. It is no bank **to be created**, it is no law proposed to be passed, which he denounces; it is the **law now existing**, passed by Congress, approved by President Madison, and sanctioned by a solemn judgment of the Supreme Court, which he now declares unconstitutional, and which, of course, so far as it may depend on him, cannot be executed. If these opinions of the President be maintained, there is an end of all law and all judicial authority. Statutes are but recommendations, judgments no more than opinions. Both are equally destitute of binding force. Such a universal power as is now claimed for him, a power of judging over the laws and over the decisions of the judiciary, is nothing else but pure despotism. If conceded to him, it makes him at once what Louis the Fourteenth proclaimed himself to be when he said, "I am the State."

The Supreme Court has unanimously declared and adjudged that the existing bank **is** created by a constitutional law of Congress. As has been before observed, this bank, so far as the present question is concerned, is like that which was established in 1791 by Washington, and sanctioned by the great men of that day. In every form, therefore, in which the question can be raised, it has been raised and has been settled. Every process and every mode of trial known to the Constitution and laws have been exhausted, and always and without exception the decision has been in favor of the validity of the law. But all this practice, all this precedent, all this public approbation, all this solemn adjudication directly on the point, is to be disregarded and rejected, and the constitutional power flatly denied. And, Sir, if we are startled at this conclusion, our surprise will not be lessened when we examine the argument by which it is maintained. By the Constitution, Congress is authorized to pass all laws "necessary and proper" for carrying its own legislative powers into effect. Congress has deemed a bank to be "necessary and proper" for these purposes, and it has therefore established a bank. But although the law has been passed, and the bank established, and the constitutional validity of its charter solemnly adjudged, yet the President pronounces it



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unconstitutional, because some of the powers bestowed on the bank are, in his opinion, not necessary or proper. It would appear that powers which in 1791 and in 1816, in the time of Washington and in the time of Madison, were deemed "necessary and proper," are no longer to be so regarded, and therefore the bank is unconstitutional. It has really come to this, that the constitutionality of a bank is to depend upon the opinion which one particular man may form of the utility or necessity of some of the clauses in its charter! If that individual chooses to think that a particular power contained in the charter is not necessary to the proper constitution of the bank, then the act is unconstitutional!

Hitherto it has always been supposed that the question was of a very different nature. It has been thought that the policy of granting a particular charter may be materially dependent on the structure and organization and powers of the proposed institution. But its general constitutionality has never before been understood to turn on such points. This would be making its constitutionality depend on subordinate questions; on questions of expediency and questions of detail; upon that which one man may think necessary, and another may not. If the constitutional question were made to hinge on matters of this kind, how could it ever be decided? All would depend on conjecture; on the complexional feeling, on the prejudices, on the passions, of individuals; on more or less practical skill or correct judgment in regard to banking operations among those who should be the judges; on the impulse of momentary interests, party objects, or personal purposes. Put the question in this manner to a court of seven judges, to decide whether a particular bank was constitutional, and it might be doubtful whether they could come to any result, as they might well hold very various opinions on the practical utility of many clauses of the charter.

The question in that case would be, not whether the bank, in its general frame, character, and objects, was a proper instrument to carry into effect the powers of the government, but whether the particular powers, direct or incidental, conferred on a particular bank, were better calculated than all others to give success to its operations. For if not, then the charter, according to this sort of reasoning, would be unwarranted by the Constitution. This mode of construing the Constitution is certainly a novel discovery. Its merits belong entirely to the President and his advisers. According to this rule of interpretation, if the President should be of opinion, that the capital of the bank was larger, by a thousand dollars, than it ought to be; or that the time for the continuance of the charter was a year too long; or that it was unnecessary to require it, under penalty, to pay specie; or needless to provide for punishing, as forgery, the counterfeiting of its bills,—either of these reasons would be sufficient to render the charter, in his opinion, unconstitutional, invalid, and nugatory. This is a legitimate conclusion from the argument. Such a view of the subject has certainly never before been taken. This train of reasoning has hitherto not been heard within the halls of Congress, nor has any one ventured upon it before the tribunals of justice. The first exhibition, its first appearance, as an argument, is in a message of the President of the United States. According to that mode of construing the Constitution which was



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adopted by Congress in 1791, and approved by Washington, and which has been sanctioned by the judgment of the Supreme Court, and affirmed by the practice of nearly forty years, the question upon the constitutionality of the bank involves two inquiries. First, whether a bank, in its general character, and with regard to the general objects with which banks are usually connected, be, in itself, a fit means, a suitable instrument, to carry into effect the powers granted to the government. If it be so, then the second, and the only other question is, whether the powers given in a particular charter are appropriate for a bank. If they are powers which are appropriate for a bank, powers which Congress may fairly consider to be useful to the bank or the country, then Congress may confer these powers; because the discretion to be exercised in framing the constitution of the bank belongs to Congress. One man may think the granted powers not indispensable to the particular bank; another may suppose them injudicious, or injurious; a third may imagine that other powers, if granted in their stead, would be more beneficial; but all these are matters of expediency, about which men may differ; and the power of deciding upon them belongs to Congress.

I again repeat, Sir, that if, for reasons of this kind, the President sees fit to negative a bill, on the ground of its being inexpedient or impolitic, he has a right to do so. But remember, Sir, that we are now on the constitutional question; remember that the argument of the President is, that, because powers were given to the bank by the charter of 1816 which he thinks unnecessary, that charter is unconstitutional. Now, Sir, it will hardly be denied, or rather it was not denied or doubted before this message came to us, that, if there was to be a bank, the powers and duties of that bank must be prescribed in the law creating it. Nobody but Congress, it has been thought, could grant these powers and privileges, or prescribe their limitations. It is true, indeed, that the message pretty plainly intimates, that the President should have been **first** consulted, and that he should have had the framing of the bill; but we are not yet accustomed to that order of things in enacting laws, nor do I know a parallel to this claim, thus now brought forward, except that, in some peculiar cases in England, highly affecting the royal prerogative, the assent of the monarch is necessary before either the House of Peers, or his Majesty's faithful Commons, are permitted to act upon the subject, or to entertain its consideration. But supposing, Sir, that our accustomed forms and our republican principles are still to be followed, and that a law creating a bank is, like all other laws, to originate with Congress, and that the President has nothing to do with it till it is presented for his approval, then it is clear that the powers and duties of a proposed bank, and all the terms and conditions annexed to it, must, in the first place, be settled by Congress.

This power, if constitutional at all, is only constitutional in the hands of Congress. Anywhere else, its exercise would be plain usurpation. If, then, the authority to decide what powers ought to be granted to a bank belong to Congress, and Congress shall have exercised that power, it would seem little better than absurd to say, that its act, nevertheless would be unconstitutional and invalid, if, in the opinion of a third party, it had misjudged, on a question of expediency, in the



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arrangement of details. According to such a mode of reasoning, a mistake in the exercise of jurisdiction takes away the jurisdiction. If Congress decide right, its decision may stand; if it decide wrong, its decision is nugatory; and whether its decision be right or wrong, another is to judge, although the original power of making the decision must be allowed to be exclusively in Congress. This is the end to which the argument of the message will conduct its followers.

Sir, in considering the authority of Congress to invest the bank with the particular powers granted to it, the inquiry is not, and cannot be, how appropriate these powers are, but whether they be at all appropriate; whether they come within the range of a just and honest discretion; whether Congress may fairly esteem them to be necessary. The question is not, Are they the fittest means, the best means? or whether the bank might not be established without them; but the question is, Are they such as Congress, *bona fide*, may have regarded as appropriate to the end? If any other rule were to be adopted, nothing could ever be settled. A law would be constitutional to-day and unconstitutional to-morrow. Its constitutionality would altogether depend upon individual opinion on a matter of mere expediency. Indeed, such a case as that is now actually before us. Mr. Madison deemed the powers given to the bank, in its present charter, proper and necessary. He held the bank, therefore, to be constitutional. But the present President, not acknowledging that the power of deciding on these points rests with Congress, nor with Congress and the then President, but setting up his own opinion as the standard, declares the law now in being unconstitutional, because the powers granted by it are, in his estimation, not necessary and proper. I pray to be informed, Sir, whether, upon similar grounds of reasoning, the President's own scheme for a bank, if Congress should do so unlikely a thing as to adopt it, would not become unconstitutional also, if it should so happen that his successor should hold his bank in as light esteem as he holds those established under the auspices of Washington and Madison?

If the reasoning of the message be well founded, it is clear that the charter of the existing bank is not a law. The bank has no legal existence; it is not responsible to government; it has no authority to act; it is incapable of being an agent; the President may treat it as a nullity to-morrow, withdraw from it all the public deposits, and set afloat all the existing national arrangements of revenue and finance. It is enough to state these monstrous consequences, to show that the doctrine, principles, and pretensions of the message are entirely inconsistent with a government of laws. If that which Congress has enacted, and the Supreme Court has sanctioned, be not the law of the land, then the reign of law has ceased, and the reign of individual opinion has already begun.

The President, in his commentary on the details of the existing bank charter, undertakes to prove that one provision, and another provision, is not necessary and proper; because, as he thinks, the same objects proposed to be accomplished by them might have been better attained in another mode; and therefore such provisions are not necessary, and so not warranted by the Constitution. Does not this show, that, according to his own mode of reasoning, his ~~own~~ scheme would not be constitutional,



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since another scheme, which probably most people would think a better one, might be substituted for it? Perhaps, in any bank charter, there may be no provisions which may be justly regarded as absolutely indispensable; since it is probable that for any of them some others might be substituted. No bank, therefore, ever could be established; because there never has been, and never could be, any charter, of which every provision should appear to be indispensable, or necessary and proper, in the judgment of every individual. To admit, therefore, that there may be a constitutional bank, and yet to contend for such a mode of judging of its provisions and details as the message adopts, involves an absurdity. Any charter which may be framed may be taken up, and each power conferred by it successively denied, on the ground, that, in regard to each, either no such power is "necessary or proper" in a bank, or, which is the same thing in effect, some other power might be substituted for it, and supply its place. That can never be necessary, in the sense in which the message understands that term, which may be dispensed with; and it cannot be said that any power may not be dispensed with, if there be some other which might be substituted for it, and which would accomplish the same end. Therefore, no bank could ever be constitutional, because none could be established which should not contain some provisions which might have been omitted, and their place supplied by others.

Mr. President, I have understood the true and well-established doctrine to be, that, after it has been decided that it is competent for Congress to establish a bank, then it follows that it may create such a bank as it judges, in its discretion, to be best, and invest it with all such power as it may deem fit and suitable; with this limitation, always, that all is to be done in the *bona fide* execution of the power to create a bank. If the granted powers are appropriate to the professed end, so that the granting of them cannot be regarded as usurpation of authority by Congress, or an evasion of constitutional restrictions, under color of establishing a bank, then the charter is constitutional, whether these powers be thought indispensable by others or not, or whether even Congress itself deemed them absolutely indispensable, or only thought them fit and suitable, or whether they are more or less appropriate to their end. It is enough that they are appropriate; it is enough that they are suited to produce the effects designed; and no comparison is to be instituted, in order to try their constitutionality, between them and others which may be suggested. A case analogous to the present is found in the constitutional power of Congress over the mail. The Constitution says no more than that "Congress shall have power to establish post-offices and post-roads"; and, in the general clause, "all powers necessary and proper" to give effect to this. In the execution of this power, Congress has protected the mail, by providing that robbery of it shall be punished with death. Is this infliction of capital punishment constitutional? Certainly it is not, unless it be both "proper and necessary." The President may not think it necessary or proper; the law, then, according to the system of reasoning enforced by the message, is of no binding force, and the President may disobey it, and refuse to see it executed.

The truth is, Mr. President, that if the general object, the



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subject-matter, properly belong to Congress, all its incidents belong to Congress also. If Congress is to establish post-offices and post-roads, it may, for that end, adopt one set of regulations or another; and either would be constitutional. So the details of one bank are as constitutional as those of another, if they are confined fairly and honestly to the purpose of organizing the institution, and rendering it useful. One **bank** is as constitutional as another **bank**. If Congress possesses the power to make a bank, it possesses the power to make it efficient, and competent to produce the good expected from it. It may clothe it with all such power and privileges, not otherwise inconsistent with the Constitution, as may be necessary, in its own judgment, to make it what government deems it should be. It may confer on it such immunities as may induce individuals to become stockholders, and to furnish the capital; and since the extent of these immunities and privileges is matter of discretion, and matter of opinion, Congress only can decide it, because Congress alone can frame or grant the charter. A charter, thus granted to individuals, becomes a contract with them, upon their compliance with its terms. The bank becomes an agent, bound to perform certain duties, and entitled to certain stipulated rights and privileges, in compensation for the proper discharge of these duties; and all these stipulations, so long as they are appropriate to the object professed, and not repugnant to any other constitutional injunction, are entirely within the competency of Congress. And yet, Sir, the message of the President toils through all the commonplace topics of monopoly, the right of taxation, the suffering of the poor, and the arrogance of the rich, with as much painful effort, as if one, or another, or all of them, had something to do with the constitutional question.

What is called the "monopoly" is made the subject of repeated rehearsal, in terms of special complaint. By this "monopoly," I suppose, is understood the restriction contained in the charter, that Congress shall not, during the twenty years, create another bank. Now, Sir, let me ask, Who would think of creating a bank, inviting stockholders into it, with large investments, imposing upon it heavy duties, as connected with the government, receiving some millions of dollars as a **bonus** or premium, and yet retaining the power of granting, the next day, another charter, which would destroy the whole value of the first? If this be an unconstitutional restraint on Congress, the Constitution must be strangely at variance with the dictates both of good sense and sound morals. Did not the first Bank of the United States contain a similar restriction? And have not the States granted bank charters with a condition, that, if the charter should be accepted, they would not grant others? States have certainly done so; and, in some instances, where no **bonus** or premium was paid at all; but from the mere desire to give effect to the charter, by inducing individuals to accept it and organize the institution. The President declares that this restriction is not necessary to the efficiency of the bank; but that is the very thing which Congress and his predecessor in office were called on to decide, and which they did decide, when the one passed and the other approved the act. And he has now no more authority to pronounce his judgment on that act than any other individual in society. It is not his province to decide



on the constitutionality of statutes which Congress has passed, and his predecessors approved. There is another sentiment in this part of the message, which we should hardly have expected to find in a paper which is supposed, whoever may have drawn it up, to have passed under the review of professional characters. The message declares, that this limitation to create no other bank is unconstitutional, because, although Congress may use the discretion vested in them, "they may not limit the discretion of their successors." This reason is almost too superficial to require an answer. Every one at all accustomed to the consideration of such subjects knows that every Congress can bind its successors to the same extent that it can bind itself. The power of Congress is always the same; the authority of law always the same. It is true, we speak of the Twentieth Congress and the Twenty-first Congress, but this is only to denote the period of time, or to mark the successive organizations of the House of Representatives under the successive periodical election of its members. As a politic body, as the legislative power of the government, Congress is always continuous, always identical. A particular Congress, as we speak of it, for instance, the present Congress, can no farther restrain itself from doing what it may choose to do at the next session, than it can restrain any succeeding Congress from doing what it may choose. Any Congress may repeal the act or law of its predecessor, if in its nature it be repealable, just as it may repeal its own act; and if a law or an act be irrepealable in its nature, it can no more be repealed by a subsequent Congress than by that which passed it. All this is familiar to everybody. And Congress, like every other legislature, often passes acts which, being in the nature of grants or contracts, are irrepealable ever afterwards. The message, in a strain of argument which it is difficult to treat with ordinary respect, declares that this restriction on the power of Congress, as to the establishment of other banks, is a palpable attempt to amend the Constitution by an act of legislation. The reason on which this observation purports to be founded is, that Congress, by the Constitution, is to have exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia; and when the bank charter declares that Congress will create no new bank within the District, it annuls this power of exclusive legislation! I must say, that this reasoning hardly rises high enough to entitle it to a passing notice. It would be doing it too much credit to call it plausible. No one needs to be informed that exclusive power of legislation is not unlimited power of legislation; and if it were, how can that legislative power be unlimited that cannot restrain itself, that cannot bind itself by contract? Whether as a government or as an individual, that being is fettered and restrained which is not capable of binding itself by ordinary obligation. Every legislature binds itself, whenever it makes a grant, enters into a contract, bestows an office, or does any other act or thing which is in its nature irrepealable. And this, instead of detracting from its legislative power, is one of the modes of exercising that power. The legislative power of Congress over the District of Columbia would not be full and complete, if it might not make just such a stipulation as the bank charter contains. As to the taxing power of the States, about which the message



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says so much, the proper answer to all it says is, that the States possess no power to tax any instrument of the government of the United States. It was no part of their power before the Constitution, and they derive no such power from any of its provisions. It is nowhere given to them. Could a State tax the **coin** of the United States at the mint? Could a State lay a stamp tax on the process of the courts of the United States, and on custom-house papers? Could it tax the transportation of the mail, or the ships of war, or the ordnance, or the muniments of war, of the United States? The reason that these cannot be taxed by a State is, that they are means and instruments of the government of the United States. The establishment of a bank exempt from State taxation takes away no existing right in a State. It leaves it all it ever possessed. But the complaint is, that the bank charter does not **confer** the power of taxation. This, certainly, though not a new, (for the same argument was urged here,) appears to me to be a strange, mode of asserting and maintaining State rights. The power of taxation is a sovereign power; and the President and those who think with him are of opinion, in a given case, that this sovereign power should be conferred on the States by an act of Congress. There is, if I mistake not, Sir, as little compliment to State sovereignty in this idea, as there is of sound constitutional doctrine. Sovereign rights held under the grant of an act of Congress present a proposition quite new in constitutional law.

The President himself even admits that an instrument of the government of the United States ought not, as such, to be taxed by the States; yet he contends for such a power of taxing property connected with this instrument, and essential to its very being, as places its whole existence in the pleasure of the States. It is not enough that the States may tax all the property of all their own citizens, wherever invested or however employed. The complaint is, that the power of State taxation does not reach so far as to take cognizance over persons out of the State, and to tax them for a franchise lawfully exercised under the authority of the United States. Sir, when did the power of the States, or indeed of any government, go to such an extent as that? Clearly never. The taxing power of all communities is necessarily and justly limited to the property of its own citizens, and to the property of others, having a distinct local existence as property, within its jurisdiction; it does not extend to rights and franchises, rightly exercised, under the authority of other governments, nor to persons beyond its jurisdiction. As the Constitution has left the taxing power of the States, so the bank charter leaves it. Congress has not undertaken either to take away, or to confer, a taxing power; nor to enlarge, or to restrain it; if it were to do either, I hardly know which of the two would be the least excusable.

I beg leave to repeat, Mr. President, that what I have now been considering are the President's objections, not to the policy or expediency, but to the constitutionality, of the bank; and not to the constitutionality of any new or proposed bank, but of the bank as it now is, and as it has long existed. If the President had declined to approve this bill because he thought the original charter unwisely granted, and the bank, in point of policy and expediency, objectionable or mischievous, and in that view only had suggested the reasons now urged by him, his



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argument, however inconclusive, would have been intelligible, and not, in its whole frame and scope, inconsistent with all well-established first principles. His rejection of the bill, in that case, would have been, no doubt, an extraordinary exercise of power; but it would have been, nevertheless, the exercise of a power belonging to his office, and trusted by the Constitution to his discretion. But when he puts forth an array of arguments such as the message employs, not against the expediency of the bank, but against its constitutional existence, he confounds all distinctions, mixes questions of policy and questions of right together, and turns all constitutional restraints into mere matters of opinion. As far as its power extends, either in its direct effects or as a precedent, the message not only unsettles every thing which has been settled under the Constitution, but would show, also, that the Constitution itself is utterly incapable of any fixed construction or definite interpretation, and that there is no possibility of establishing, by its authority, any practical limitations on the powers of the respective branches of the government.

When the message denies, as it does, the authority of the Supreme Court to decide on constitutional questions, it effects, so far as the opinion of the President and his authority can effect it, a complete change in our government. It does two things: first, it converts constitutional limitations of power into mere matters of opinion, and then it strikes the judicial department, as an efficient department, out of our system. But the message by no means stops even at this point. Having denied to Congress the authority of judging what powers may be constitutionally conferred on a bank, and having erected the judgment of the President himself into a standard by which to try the constitutional character of such powers, and having denounced the authority of the Supreme Court to decide finally on constitutional questions, the message proceeds to claim for the President, not the power of approval, but the primary power, the power of originating laws. The President informs Congress, that **he** would have sent them such a charter, if it had been properly asked for, as they ought to confer. He very plainly intimates, that, in his opinion, the establishment of all laws, of this nature at least, belongs to the functions of the executive government; and that Congress ought to have waited for the manifestation of the executive will, before it presumed to touch the subject. Such, Mr. President, stripped of their disguises, are the real pretences set up in behalf of the executive power in this most extraordinary paper.

Mr. President, we have arrived at a new epoch. We are entering on experiments, with the government and the Constitution of the country, hitherto untried, and of fearful and appalling aspect. This message calls us to the contemplation of a future which little resembles the past. Its principles are at war with all that public opinion has sustained, and all which the experience of the government has sanctioned. It denies first principles; it contradicts truths, heretofore received as indisputable. It denies to the judiciary the interpretation of law, and claims to divide with Congress the power of originating statutes. It extends the grasp of executive pretension over every power of the government. But this is not all. It presents the chief



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magistrate of the Union in the attitude of arguing away the powers of that government over which he has been chosen to preside; and adopting for this purpose modes of reasoning which, even under the influence of all proper feeling towards high official station, it is difficult to regard as respectable. It appeals to every prejudice which may betray men into a mistaken view of their own interests, and to every passion which may lead them to disobey the impulses of their understanding. It urges all the specious topics of State rights and national encroachment against that which a great majority of the States have affirmed to be rightful, and in which all of them have acquiesced. It sows, in an unsparing manner, the seeds of jealousy and ill-will against that government of which its author is the official head. It raises a cry, that liberty is in danger, at the very moment when it puts forth claims to powers heretofore unknown and unheard of. It affects alarm for the public freedom, when nothing endangers that freedom so much as its own unparalleled pretences. This, even, is not all. It manifestly seeks to inflame the poor against the rich; it wantonly attacks whole classes of the people, for the purpose of turning against them the prejudices and the resentments of other classes. It is a state paper which finds no topic too exciting for its use, no passion too inflammable for its address and its solicitation.

Such is this message. It remains now for the people of the United States to choose between the principles here avowed and their government. These cannot subsist together. The one or the other must be rejected. If the sentiments of the message shall receive general approbation, the Constitution will have perished even earlier than the moment which its enemies originally allowed for the termination of its existence. It will not have survived to its fiftieth year.



July 14, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 14th of 7 M 1832 / The sub-committee met this Afternoon & found the [School](#) reduced to about 16 of a side & not finding much to do, did not set long, & adjourned to next 7th day. - This afternoon recd a very good letter from Sister Ruth - & Also one from our dear son John.- it appears he has lately been to Albany & witnessed the progress of several cases of Cholera, & the examination of one after death, - I feel sorry he should expose himself to the infection unnecessarily. - but I must leave it, he is in the hands of Him who governs all things & will do right

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 15, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 7 M / Our Meeting was smaller than I ever saw it in this House - it was a time of much solemnity in the Morning Anna A Jenkins attended & was engaged in a very solemn testimony & also in Supplication. - it was a time not soon to be forgotten by most that were present. - Thos Howland was also at Meeting -



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*In the Afternoon we were silent but solid & rather solemn -
Abraham Tucker was at Meeting with us. -
Our collection in the [school](#) was also a time of seriousness.-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 23, Monday: A flow of lava came out of [Mount Vesuvius](#) toward Ottaviano ed Eremo.

MOUNT VESUVIUS

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

*2nd day 23 of 7 M 1832 / No other person appearing to be a leisure
to accompany Joseph Bowne on his proposed visit to the Meetings
to the South in this Qrty Meeting I set out with him this Morning
& attended Meeting at Cranston & then rode to Asa Sissons to
dinner & attended another appointed Meeting in the Afternoon at
[Greenwich](#) & lodged at Daniel Howlands. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 24, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day attended an appointed Meeting at Wickford & dined at
Avis & Ann Smiths then rode to So Kingston & lodged at James
Robinsons &c. - 4th day had an appointed Meeting at Tower Hill
Meeting -Dined at John B Dockrays & took tea at Wm Robinsons
& returned to J B Dockrays to lodge*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 25, Wednesday: The first deaths due to the Asiatic cholera in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

 July 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5 day had an appointed Meeting at Western Meeting House - on our
way to it stoped at the house of our friend Amy Knowles & at
Christo[pher] Brownells, at this House he told us Geo Fox had
a Meeting before the Meeting House was built - after the Meeting
we dined at Hezekiah Babcocks & then went on to Kingston
(formerly Little Rest) & attended an appointed Meeting at that
place held in the Presbyterian Meeting House & lodged at
John T Nichols's*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 28, Saturday: A correspondent to [The New-York Mirror: A Weekly Journal, Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts](#) had recently toured the general burying-ground situated upon a pretty slope with a view of the harbor at the upper end of the town of [Newport, Rhode Island](#). He of course reported on the granite obelisk that had been there erected to the memory of Commodore [Oliver Hazard Perry](#), who had died of the yellow fever at sea in 1819 — a monument which had not as yet been inscribed with his name and would not for many decades sport the present bronze statue:

It is, as yet, unfinished at the base. His remains were



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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reinterred last fall, between those of his child and his father and mother. There is nothing to mark the spot where the commodore and his child lie, but two small mounds of earth, already overgrown with briars. It is intended, I understand, to disinter and bury him near his monument. There are two plain marble slabs over the spot where the commodore's father and mother are buried. The inscriptions are simply that Christopher Perry, a captain in the United States navy, died June first, 1818, aged fifty-nine years; that Sarah Perry, died December fourth, 1830, aged sixty-two years. At this place I could not avoid reflecting that there, mouldered into dust, lies the gallant hero of Erie. I imagined him on his favorite element, in the pride and glory of his youth, hurling death and defiance at a foe claiming to be mistress of the ocean; I saw him leaving a ship, that had done more then [sic] her duty, in an open boat, amidst showers of shot, waving his banner proudly in the air. In my mind's eye I beheld him trying his fortunes anew in another ship, manoeuvring [sic] the enemy according to his own tactics, breaking his line, and from starboard and larboard dealing out his slaughtering messengers to a gallant but inveterate foe, until the lion crouched beneath the pinions of the eagle, and owned his supremacy; but these things have ceased to be – the grasshopper and cricket alone chant his requiem, amid the solitude of this rural and interesting abode of the dead; but let him rest, "Au plaisir fort de Dieu."

Then his attention had been attracted, he reported, by a tombstone near the centre of the enclosure, and with difficulty he had deciphered the following:

Here lyeth the body of John Cranston, Esq. Governor of the colony of Rhode Island, &c. He departed this life March twelfth 1683, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.⁶⁹

Beside this inscription, on the same stone, he deciphered the following (with blanks left for words quite obliterated by time):

Here lyeth the body of Samuel Cranston, Esq. Late governor of this colony, aged sixty-eight years, and departed this life March the twenty-sixth, A. D. 1727. He was son to John Cranston, Esq. who also was governor here in 1680. He is descended from the noble Scottish Lord Cranston, and carried in his veins the stream of the ancient blood of Crawford, Bothwell, and _____; having had for his grandfather clerk chaplain of king Charles the first; his great grandfather was John Cranston, of _____; this last was son to James Cranston, Esq. Which James was son to William Lord Cranston.⁷⁰

"_____ happy now brave Briton without end,
Thy country's father and thy country's friend."

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

6th day [Friday] had a Meeting at Richmon [Richmond] at this Meeting three women attended having their infants in their Arms

69. By another account, considerably more accurate, this inscription reads instead as follows:

Here lyeth interred the body of Major John Cranston esq. Governor who deceased this life the 12 day of March in the 55th yeare of his age, 1680.



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*& the one of them was restless & cryed, it was seemingly no disturbance – We rode aftermeeting [sic] about ten Miles to Jabez Collins's & dined & from thence to Abel Collins's in Stonington & on 7 day [Saturday] we had a Meeting in the New Meeting House which friends have just built in Hopkinton. – & dined at Ethan Fosters – then rode to Coventry & lodged at Perez Pecks. –
On first day [Sunday] I attended Meeting there with Joseph & after dinner left him & returned to the Institution & Joseph went on attended by Perez to Warwick to attend a Meeting appointed there at 5 O'clock. –
All the Meetings have been seasons of great favour the people being very attentive & Joseph remarked that he had rarely attended a course of Meetings where there appeared to be greater seriousness & more tenderness of spirit
I may here acknowledge that I have never before been out on so extensive a journey of the kind – & am well paid for it*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 15, Wednesday:



August 16, Thursday:



August 17, Friday: China ceased production of iron shuriken (bladed weapons, to be thrown).



August 18, Saturday:



August 19, Sunday: Unable to resolve the Falklands dispute, US charge d'affaires Robert Baylies departed Buenos Aires for home.

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

1st day 19th of 8th M 1832 / Last eveng Thos Howland returned from Lynn & passed the day with us & attended our Meetings, & the Collection of the family in the eveng – at the close of which he encouraged us to continue in the practice of reading the Scripture &c. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

70. By another account, somewhat more accurate, this inscription reads instead as follows:

Here lies the body of Samuel Cranston, Esq., late Governour of this colony; aged 68 years; and departed this life April ye 26, A.D. 1727. He was the son of John Cranston, Esq., who was also Governour here, 1680. He was decended from the noble Scottish Lord Cranston, and carried in his veins a stream of the ancient Earls of Crawford, Bothwell, and Traquairs. Having had for his grandfather James Cranston, clerk, Chaplain to King Charles the First. His great-grandfather was John Cranston, of Bool, Esq. This last was son to James Cranston, Esq., which James was son to William Lord Cranston.



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 August 21, Tuesday:

 August 22, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 22 of 8 M / Our family Meeting was Silent & Small, but solid & quiet -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23 of 8 M / We attended Meeting in Town, it being preparative Meeting. - Hannah Robinson appeared in a sound & lively testimony which did me some good - Towards the close Wm Almy & [Moses Brown](#) had short offerings, but neither of the reached my feelings & State as Hannah did. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 24, Friday:

 August 26, Sunday: Messe in D-Dur for soloists, chorus and orchestra by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

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

*1st day 26 of 8 M / Silent Meetings at the Institution
In the eveng our beloved friend [Moses Brown](#) came & set a while with us & Attended our evening Collection & after the Scripture was read he felt engaged to make divers pertinent remarks -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 9th M 1832 / Silent Meeting & seasons of some solemnity. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 4, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 4th of 9th M / Today was the Meeting of the Sub committee & also the adjournment of the General Committee. - It really seemed pleasant, to have a company of Friends round us again & it was till within a few days the expectation that the School would be reopened again at this time but on the First of the M the Cholera appeared again in [Providence](#), & when the committee



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got together again, it was their unanimous sentiment that the time had not come, to call the children together as there was no knowing to what extent it might rage. – We had the company of Thos Howland Thos Anthony & Wm Reynolds last night & Thos Howland will stay tonight

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 5, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5 of 9 M / We had the Company of Thos Howland at Meeting which was silent & pretty solid. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6th of 9th M 1832 / Tho' I was not very well Yesterday nor today, yet Feeling an inclination I walked into Town & sat Meeting with them there & it was a pretty good silent opportunity but Meeting of late have not been to me as I could desire – leanness & barrenness has fallen much to my lot. – This evening we recd a very satisfactory letter from our Moses A Cortland, who has gone home on a visit to his friends –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 7, Friday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) and his wife arrived back in Paris after a circuitous journey from Berlin.

September 9, Sunday: “It is my desire ... to do nothing which I cannot do with my whole heart.” What [Waldo Emerson](#) was after, in resigning from his pulpit over reluctance to administer the sacraments, as he made clear in his journal,⁷¹ was nothing more or less than **power**.



If he never spoke or acted but with the full consent of his understanding, if the whole man acted always, **how powerful** would be every act & every deed. Well then or ill then **how much power he sacrifices** by conforming himself to say & do in other folks' time instead of his own! ... & this accommodation is, I say, a loss of so much integrity & of course **so much power**.



“Emersonians are all alike; every Thoreauvian is Thoreauvian in his or her own way.”
– Austin Meredith



71. JOURNALS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTEBOOKS III:318-9.

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I am the one, of course, who has supplied this boldface emphasis on the word “power,” not Emerson. Of course the reason why this obsession with unitary power would bother someone now but did not bother Emerson then is, we’ve had an opportunity as Emerson had not, to hear Nazi talk about doing things with their “whole heart,” Nazi talk about the “whole man” and his powerful integrity of purpose and function and being. Some Emersonians may take offense at my remarks here, but I will defend myself by pointing out that I am painting their Emerson in famous company for these remarks that I have made about the Sage of Concord hold with equal force for the Rector of Freiberg. It has been pointed out by Mary C. Turpie as long ago as 1944⁷² that Emerson could not have been very serious about the various arguments he gave his congregation for why he needed to leave them, for he cribbed these reasons mostly from [Friend Thomas Clarkson](#)’s A PORTRAITURE OF [QUAKERISM](#)



(see the article review on the next screen)

some time after he became disaffected and shortly before resigning. Note also that Emerson did not resign from the ministry, but only from his contractual obligation to minister to a particular congregation for a salary, and that he did not do this until he expected to be relieved for the rest of his life from financial need, and that he did this almost immediately after forming this expectation, and that he promptly went off as a tourist to the Continent.

72. “A [Quaker](#) Source for Emerson’s Sermon on The Lord’s Supper,” [New England Quarterly](#) 17.



Turpie, Mary C. "A [Quaker](#) Source for Emerson's Sermon on the Lord Supper."
New England Quarterly 17:1 (March 1944): 95-101:

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Richard Grusin cites this essay as an important one regarding Emerson's source for his June 1832 proposal for the modification of the communion rite. According to Turpie, this piece of writing is the only one in which Emerson uses exegesis and the last time that he acknowledged "orthodox custom" to such an extent. He borrowed Volumes 1 and 2 of [Thomas Clarkson's](#) PORTRAITURE OF [QUAKERISM](#) from the local lyceum before journeying to the White Mountains and he gave his sermon soon after his return. His sermon on the Lord Supper is, in effect, a rewriting of Clarkson's version.

Turpie notes that Emerson's motive for making the sermon goes beyond a kinship he evidently felt for the Quaker text. However, her concern is with his source rather than his reasons for using it. During the course of her article, she includes segments from both works side-by-side and they are surprisingly close in their development. Emerson's beginning helps to prove Turpie's theory:

That he was led to this conclusion by the Quakers is suggested by the close of his introductory paragraph: "It is now near two hundred years since the Society of Quakers denied the authority of the rite altogether, and gave good reasons for disusing it." But neither the extent to which he employs Quaker reasons nor the existence of his debt to the particular account of them has been recognized. (950)

Turpie emphasizes that Emerson's sermon is superior to his source because he edited it to get rid of unimportant details and repetitious passages.

(Kathryn C. Mapes, March 8, 1992)



THE LORD'S SUPPER

**The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but
righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.
— ROMANS XIV. 17.**

In the history of the Church no subject has been more fruitful of controversy than the Lord's Supper. There never has been any unanimity in the understanding of its nature, nor any uniformity in the mode of celebrating it. Without considering the frivolous questions which have been lately debated as to the posture in which men should partake of it; whether mixed or unmixed wine should be served; whether leavened or unleavened bread should be broken; the questions have been settled differently in every church, who should be admitted to the feast, and how often it should be prepared. In the Catholic Church, infants were at one time permitted and then forbidden to partake; and, since the ninth century, the laity receive the bread only, the cup being reserved to the priesthood. So, as to the time of the solemnity. In the fourth Lateran Council, it was decreed that any believer should communicate at least once in a year – at Easter. Afterwards it was determined that this Sacrament should be received three times in the year – at Easter, Whitsuntide, and [Christmas](#). But more important controversies have arisen respecting its nature. The famous question of the Real Presence was the main controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The doctrine of the Consubstantiation taught by Luther was denied by Calvin. In the Church of England, Archbishops Laud and Wake maintained that the elements were an Eucharist or sacrifice of Thanksgiving to God; Cudworth and Warburton, that this was not a sacrifice, but a sacrificial feast; and Bishop Hoadley, that it was neither a sacrifice nor a feast after sacrifice, but a simple commemoration. And finally, it is now near two hundred years since the Society of Quakers denied the authority of the rite altogether, and gave good reasons for disusing it.

I allude to these facts only to show that, so far from the supper being a tradition in which men are fully agreed, there always been the widest room for difference of opinion upon this particular.

Having recently given particular attention to this subject, I was led to the conclusion that Jesus did not intend to establish an institution for perpetual observance when he ate the Passover with his disciples; and, further, to the opinion, that it is not expedient to celebrate it as we do. I shall now endeavor to state distinctly my reasons for these two opinions.

I. The authority of the rite.

An account of the last supper of Christ with his disciples is given by the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

In St. Matthew's Gospel (Matt. XXVI. 26-30) are recorded the words of Jesus in giving bread and wine on that occasion to his disciples, but no expression occurs intimating that this feast was hereafter to be commemorated.

In St. Mark (Mark XIV. 23) the same words are recorded, and still with no intimation that the occasion was to be remembered.

St. Luke (Luke XXII. 15), after relating the breaking of the bread, has these words: This do in



remembrance of me.

In St. John, although other occurrences of the same evening are related, this whole transaction is passed over without notice.

Now observe the facts. Two of the Evangelists, namely, Matthew and John, were of the twelve disciples, and were present on that occasion. Neither of them drops the slightest intimation of any intention on the part of Jesus to set up anything permanent. John, especially, the beloved disciple, who has recorded with minuteness the conversation and the transactions of that memorable evening, has quite omitted such a notice. Neither does it appear to have come to the knowledge of Mark who, though not an eye-witness, relates the other facts. This material fact, that the occasion was to be remembered, is found in Luke alone, who was not present. There is no reason, however, that we know, for rejecting the account of Luke. I doubt not, the expression was used by Jesus. I shall presently consider its meaning. I have only brought these accounts together, that you may judge whether it is likely that a solemn institution, to be continued to the end of time by all mankind, as they should come, nation after nation, within the influence of the Christian religion, would have been established in this slight manner — in a manner so slight, that the intention of commemorating it should not appear, from their narrative, to have caught the ear or dwelt in the mind of the only two among the twelve who wrote down what happened.

Still we must suppose that the expression, “*This do in remembrance of me,*” had come to the ear of Luke from some disciple who was present. What did it really signify? It is a prophetic and an affectionate expression. Jesus is a Jew, sitting with his countrymen, celebrating their national feast. He thinks of his own impending death, and wishes the minds of his disciples to be prepared for it. “When hereafter,” he says to them, “you shall keep the Passover, it will have an altered aspect to your eyes. It is now a historical covenant of God with the Jewish nation. Hereafter, it will remind you of a new covenant sealed with my blood. In years to come, as long as your people shall come up to Jerusalem to keep this feast, the connection which has subsisted between us will give a new meaning in your eyes to the national festival, as the anniversary of my death.” I see natural feeling and beauty in the use of such language from Jesus, a friend to his friends; I can readily imagine that he was willing and desirous, when his disciples met, his memory should hallow their intercourse; but I cannot bring myself to believe that in the use of such an expression he looked beyond the living generation, beyond the abolition of the festival he was celebrating, and the scattering of the nation, and meant to impose a memorial feast upon the whole world.

Without presuming to fix precisely the purpose in the mind of Jesus, you will see that many opinions may be entertained of his intention, all consistent with the opinion that he did not design a perpetual ordinance. He may have foreseen that his disciples would meet to remember him, and that with good effect. It may have crossed his mind that this would be easily continued a hundred or a thousand years — as men more easily transmit a form than a virtue — and yet have been altogether out of his purpose to fasten it upon men in all times and all countries.

But though the words, *Do this in remembrance of me,* do occur in Matthew, Mark, or John, and although it should be granted us that, taken alone, they do not necessarily import so much as is usually thought, yet many persons are apt to imagine that the very striking and personal manner in which this eating and drinking is described, indicates a striking and formal purpose to found a festival. And I admit that this impression might probably be left upon the mind of one who read only the passages under consideration in the New Testament. But this impression is removed by reading any narrative of the mode in which the ancient or the modern Jews have kept the Passover. It is then perceived that the leading circumstances in the Gospels are only a faithful account of that ceremony. Jesus did not celebrate the Passover, and afterwards the Supper, but the Supper *was* the Passover. He did with his disciples exactly what every master of a family in Jerusalem was doing at the same hour with his household. It appears that the Jews ate the lamb and the unleavened bread, and drank wine after a prescribed manner. It was the custom for the master of the feast to break the bread and to bless it, using this formula, which the Talmudists have preserved to us, “Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the King of the world, who hast produced this food from the earth,” — and to give it to every one at the table. It was the custom of the master of the family to take the cup which contained the wine, and to bless it, saying, “Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who givest us the fruit of the vine,” — and then to give the cup to all. Among the modern Jews who in their dispersion retain the Passover, a hymn is



also sung after this ceremony, specifying the twelve great works done by God for the deliverance of their fathers out of Egypt.

But still it may be asked, why did Jesus make expressions so extraordinary and emphatic as these — “This is my body which is broken for you. Take; eat. This is my blood which is shed for you. Drink it.” — I reply they are not extraordinary expressions from him. They were familiar in his mouth. He always taught by parables and symbols. It was the national way of teaching and was largely used by him. Remember the readiness which he always showed to spiritualize every occurrence. He stooped and wrote on the sand. He admonished his disciples respecting the leaven of the Pharisees. He instructed the woman of Samaria respecting living water. He permitted himself to be anointed, declaring that it was for his interment. He washed the feet of his disciples. These are admitted to be symbolical actions and expressions. Here, in like manner, he calls the bread his body, and bids the disciples eat. He had used the same expression repeatedly before. The reason why St. John does not repeat his words on this occasion, seems to be that he had reported a similar discourse of Jesus to the people of Capernaum more at length already (John VI. 27). He there tells the Jews, “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.” And when the Jews on that occasion complained that they did not comprehend what he meant, he added for their better understanding, and as if for our understanding, that we might not think his body was to be actually eaten, that he only meant, *we should live by his commandment*. He closed his discourse with these explanatory expressions: “The flesh profiteth nothing; the *words* that I speak to you, they are spirit and they are life.”

Whilst I am upon this topic, I cannot help remarking that it is not a little singular that we should have preserved this rite and insisted upon perpetuating one symbolical act of Christ whilst we have totally neglected all others — particularly one other which had at least an equal claim to our observance. Jesus washed the feet of his disciples and told them that, as he had washed their feet, they ought to wash one another’s feet; for he had given them an example, that they should do as he had done to them. I ask any person who believes the Supper to have been designed by Jesus to be commemorated forever, to go and read the account of it in the other Gospels, and then compare with it the account of this transaction in St. John, and tell me if this be not much more explicitly authorized than the Supper. It only differs in this, that we have found the Supper used in New England and the washing of the feet not. But if we had found it an established rite in our churches, on grounds of mere authority, it would have been impossible to have argued against it. That rite is used by the Church of Rome, and by the Sandemanians. It has been very properly dropped by other Christians. Why? For two reasons: (1) because it was a local custom, and unsuitable in western countries; and (2) because it was typical, and all understand that humility is the thing signified. But the Passover was local too, and does not concern us, and its bread and wine were typical, and do not help us to understand the redemption which they signified.

These views of the original account of the Lord’s Supper lead me to esteem it an occasion full of solemn and prophetic interest, but never intended by Jesus to be the foundation of a perpetual institution.

It appears however in Christian history that the disciples had very early taken advantage of these impressive words of Christ to hold religious meetings, where they broke bread and drank wine as symbols.

I look upon this fact as very natural in the circumstances of the church. The disciples lived together; they threw all their property into a common stock; they were bound together by the memory of Christ, and nothing could be more natural than that this eventful evening should be affectionately remembered by them; that they, Jews like Jesus, should adopt his expressions and his types, and furthermore, that what was done with peculiar propriety by them, his personal friends, with less propriety should come to be extended to their companions also. In this way religious feasts grew up among the early Christians. They were readily adopted by the Jewish converts who were familiar with religious feasts, and also by the Pagan converts whose idolatrous worship had been made up of sacred festivals, and who very readily abused these to gross riot, as appears from the censures of St. Paul. Many persons consider this fact, the observance of such a memorial feast by the early disciples, decisive of the question whether it ought to be observed by us. For my part I see nothing to wonder at in its originating with them; all that is surprising is that it should exist among us. There was good reason for his personal



friends to remember their friend and repeat his words. It was only too probable that among the half converted Pagans and Jews, any rite, any form, would find favor, whilst yet unable to comprehend the spiritual character of Christianity.

The circumstance, however, that St. Paul adopts these views, has seemed to many persons conclusive in favor of the institution. I am of opinion that it is wholly upon the epistle to the Corinthians, and not upon the Gospels, that the ordinance stands. Upon this matter of St. Paul's view of the Supper, a few important considerations must be stated.

The end which he has in view, in the eleventh chapter of the first epistle is, not to enjoin upon his friends to observe the Supper, but to censure their abuse of it. *We* quote the passage now-a-days as if it enjoined attendance upon the Supper; but he wrote it merely to chide them for drunkenness. To make their enormity plainer he goes back to the origin of this religious feast to show what sort of feast that was, out of which this riot of theirs came, and so relates the transactions of the Last Supper. "*I have received of the Lord,*" he says, "*that which I delivered to you.*"

By this expression it is often thought that a miraculous communication is implied; but certainly without good reason, if it is remembered that St. Paul was living in the lifetime of all the apostles who could give him an account of the transaction; and it is contrary to all reason to suppose that God should work a miracle to convey information that could so easily be got by natural means. So that the import of the expression is that he had received the story of an eye-witness such as we also possess.

But there is a material circumstance which diminishes our confidence in the correctness of the Apostle's view; and that is, the observation that his mind had not escaped the prevalent error of the primitive church, the belief, namely, that the second coming of Christ would shortly occur, until which time, he tells them, this feast was to be kept. Elsewhere he tells them, that, at that time the world would be burnt up with fire, and a new government established, in which the Saints would sit on thrones; so slow were the disciples during the life, and after the ascension of Christ, to receive the idea which we receive, that his second coming was a spiritual kingdom, the dominion of his religion in the hearts of men, to be extended gradually over the whole world.

In this manner we may see clearly enough how this ancient ordinance got its footing among the early Christians, and this single expectation of a speedy reappearance of a temporal Messiah, which kept its influence even over so spiritual a man as St. Paul, would naturally tend to preserve the use of the rite when once established.

We arrive then at this conclusion, *first*, that it does not appear, from a careful examination of the account of the Last Supper in the Evangelists, that it was designed by Jesus to be perpetual; *secondly*, that it does not appear that the opinion of St. Paul, all things considered, ought to alter our opinion derived from the evangelists.

One general remark before quitting this branch of the subject. We ought to be cautious in taking even the best ascertained opinions and practices of the primitive church, for our own. If it could be satisfactorily shown that they esteemed it authorized and to be transmitted forever, that does not settle the question for us. We know how inveterately they were attached to their Jewish prejudices, and how often even the influence of Christ failed to enlarge their views. On every other subject succeeding times have learned to form a judgment more in accordance with the spirit of Christianity than was the practice of the early ages.

But it is said: "Admit that the rite was not designed to be perpetual. What harm doth it? Here it stands, generally accepted, under some form, by the Christian world, the undoubted occasion of much good; is it not better it should remain?"

II. This is the question of expediency.

I proceed to state a few objections that in my judgment lie against its use in its present form.

1. If the view which I have taken of the history of the institution be correct, then the claim of authority should be dropped in administering it. You say, every time you celebrate the rite, that Jesus enjoined it; and the whole language you use conveys that impression. But if you read the New Testament as I do, you do not believe he did.

2. It has seemed to me that the use of this ordinance tends to produce confusion in our views of the relation of the soul to God. It is the old objection to the doctrine of the Trinity, — that the true worship was transferred from God to Christ, or that such confusion was introduced into the soul, that an undivided worship was given nowhere. Is not that the effect of the Lord's



Supper? I appeal now to the convictions of communicants — and ask such persons whether they have not been occasionally conscious of a painful confusion of thought between the worship due to God and the commemoration due to Christ. For, the service does not stand upon the basis of a voluntary act, but is imposed by authority. It is an expression of gratitude to Christ, enjoined by Christ. There is an endeavor to keep Jesus in mind, whilst yet the prayers are addressed to God. I fear it is the effect of this ordinance to clothe Jesus with an authority which he never claimed and which distracts the mind of the worshipper. I know our opinions differ much respecting the nature and offices of Christ, and the degree of veneration to which he is entitled. I am so much a Unitarian as this: that I believe the human mind cannot admit but one God, and that every effort to pay religious homage to more than one being, goes to take away all right ideas. I appeal, brethren, to your individual experience. In the moment when you make the least petition to God, though it be but a silent wish that he may approve you, or add one moment to your life, — do you not, in the very act, necessarily exclude all other beings from your thought? In that act, the soul stands alone with God, and Jesus is no more present to the mind than your brother or your child.

But is not Jesus called in Scripture the Mediator? He is the mediator in that only sense in which possibly any being can mediate between God and man — that is an Instructor of man. He teaches us how to become like God. And a true disciple of Jesus will receive the light he gives most thankfully; but the thanks he offers, and which an exalted being will accept, are not *compliments* — commemorations, — but the use of that instruction.

3. Passing other objections, I come to this, that the *use of the elements*, however suitable to the people and the modes of thought in the East, where it originated, is foreign and unsuited to affect us. Whatever long usage and strong association may have done in some individuals to deaden this repulsion, I apprehend that their use is rather tolerated than loved by any of us. We are not accustomed to express our thoughts or emotions by symbolical actions. Most men find the bread and wine no aid to devotion and to some, it is a painful impediment. To eat bread is one thing; to love the precepts of Christ and resolve to obey them is quite another.

The statement of this objection leads me to say that I think this difficulty, wherever it is felt, to be entitled to the greatest weight. It is alone a sufficient objection to the ordinance. It is my own objection. This mode of commemorating Christ is not suitable to me. That is reason enough why I should abandon it. If I believed that it was enjoined by Jesus on his disciples, and that he even contemplated making permanent this mode of commemoration, every way agreeable to an eastern mind, and yet, on trial, it was disagreeable to my own feelings, I should not adopt it. I should choose other ways which, as more effectual upon me, he would approve more. For I choose that my remembrances of him should be pleasing, affecting, religious. I will love him as a glorified friend, after the free way of friendship, and not pay him a stiff sign of respect, as men do to those whom they fear. A passage read from his discourses, a moving provocation to works like his, any act or meeting which tends to awaken a pure thought, a flow of love, an original design of virtue, I call a worthy, a true commemoration.

4. Fourthly, the importance ascribed to this particular ordinance is not consistent with the spirit of Christianity. The general object and effect of this ordinance is unexceptionable. It has been, and is, I doubt not, the occasion of indefinite good; but an importance is given by Christians to it which never can belong to any form. My friends, the apostle well assures us that “the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy, in the Holy Ghost.” I am not so foolish as to declaim against forms. Forms are as essential as bodies; but to exalt particular forms, to adhere to one form a moment after it is out-grown, is unreasonable, and it is alien to the spirit of Christ. If I understand the distinction of Christianity, the reason why it is to be preferred over all other systems and is divine is this, that it is a moral system; that it presents men with truths which are their own reason, and enjoins practices that are their own justification; that if miracles may be said to have been its evidence to the first Christians, they are not its evidence to us, but the doctrines themselves; that every practice is Christian which praises itself, and every practice unchristian which condemns itself. I am not engaged to Christianity by decent forms, or saving ordinances; it is not usage, it is not what I do not understand, that binds me to it — let these be the sandy foundations of falsehoods. What I revere and obey in it is its reality, its boundless charity, its deep interior life, the rest it gives to my mind, the echo it returns to my thoughts, the perfect accord it makes with my reason through all its representation of God and His Providence; and the persuasion and courage that



come out thence to lead me upward and onward. Freedom is the essence of this faith. It has for its object simply to make men good and wise. Its institutions, then, should be as flexible as the wants of men. That form out of which the life and suitableness have departed, should be as worthless in its eyes as the dead leaves that are falling around us.

And therefore, although for the satisfaction of others, I have labored to show by the history that this rite was not intended to be perpetual; although I have gone back to weigh the expressions of Paul, I feel that here is the true point of view. In the midst of considerations as to what Paul thought, and why he so thought, I cannot help feeling that it is time misspent to argue to or from his convictions, or those of Luke and John, respecting any form. I seem to lose the substance in seeking the shadow. That for which Paul lived and died so gloriously; that for which Jesus gave himself to be crucified; the end that animated the thousand martyrs and heroes who have followed his steps, was to redeem us from a formal religion, and teach us to seek our well-being in the formation of the soul. The whole world was full of idols and ordinances. The Jewish was a religion of forms. The Pagan was a religion of forms; it was all body — it had no life — and the Almighty God was pleased to qualify and send forth a man to teach men that they must serve him with the heart; that only that life was religious which was thoroughly good; that sacrifice was smoke, and forms were shadows. This man lived and died true to this purpose; and now, with his blessed word and life before us, Christians must contend that it is a matter of vital importance — really a duty, to commemorate him by a certain form, whether that form be agreeable to their understandings or not.

Is not this to make vain the gift of God? Is not this to turn back the hand on the dial? Is not this to make men — to make ourselves — forget that not forms, but duties; not names, but righteousness and love are enjoined; and that in the eye of God there is no other measure of the value of any one form than the measure of its use?

There remain some practical objections to the ordinance into which I shall not now enter. There is one on which I had intended to say a few words; I mean the unfavorable relation in which it places that numerous class of persons who abstain from it merely from disinclination to the rite. Influenced by these considerations, I have proposed to the brethren of the Church to drop the use of the elements and the claim of authority in the administration of this ordinance, and have suggested a mode in which a meeting for the same purpose might be held free of objection.

My brethren have considered my views with patience and candor, and have recommended unanimously an adherence to the present form. I have, therefore, been compelled to consider whether it becomes me to administer it. I am clearly of opinion I ought not. This discourse has already been so far extended, that I can only say that the reason of my determination is shortly this: — It is my desire, in the office of a Christian minister, to do nothing which I cannot do with my whole heart. Having said this, I have said all. I have no hostility to this institution; I am only stating my want of sympathy with it. Neither should I ever have obtruded this opinion upon other people, had I not been called by my office to administer it. That is the end of my opposition, that I am not interested in it. I am content that it stand to the end of the world, if it please men and please heaven, and I shall rejoice in all the good it produces.

As it is the prevailing opinion and feeling in our religious community, that it is an indispensable part of the pastoral office to administer this ordinance, I am about to resign into your hands that office which you have confided to me. It has many duties for which I am feebly qualified. It has some which it will always be my delight to discharge, according to my ability, wherever I exist. And whilst the recollection of its claims oppresses me with a sense of my unworthiness, I am consoled by the hope that no time and no change can deprive me of the satisfaction of pursuing and exercising its highest functions.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

NOTE: There are a number of situations in the Kouroo database in which we can examine what happens when a congregation disapproves of one of its pastor's beliefs. We can, for instance, study the situation in which the Reverend Moncure Daniel Conway spoke out to his congregation from his pulpit in Washington DC in opposition to human slavery, whereupon he was dismissed from his post. The fact is that the congregation in Boston had expressed no problem whatever with their assistant pastor Waldo Emerson's beliefs. They thought he was doing just fine. They were happy as clams with him. It is therefore an interesting question why this assistant pastor, soon after becoming wealthy, elected to step forward and announce the existence of doctrinal disagreements. Was he looking for a face-saving way to quit his job, one that would make other people wrong? Why not just slip out the back, Jack? Why not just make a new plan, Stan?

The problem is all inside your head, she said to me
The answer is easy if you take it logically
I'd like to help you in your struggle to be free
There must be fifty ways to leave your lover

She said its really not my habit to intrude
Furthermore, I hope my meaning won't be lost or misconstrued
But I'll repeat myself at the risk of being crude
There must be fifty ways to leave your lover
Fifty ways to leave your lover

Just slip out the back, Jack
Make a new plan, Stan
You don't need to be coy, Roy
Just get yourself free
Hop on the bus, Gus
You don't need to discuss much
Just drop off the key, Lee
And get yourself free

Just slip out the back, Jack
Make a new plan, Stan
You don't need to be coy, Roy
Just get yourself free
Hop on the bus, Gus
You don't need to discuss much
Just drop off the key, Lee
And get yourself free

She said it grieves me so to see you in such pain
I wish there was something I could do to make you smile again
I said I appreciate that and would you please explain
About the fifty ways

She said why don't we both just sleep on it tonight
And I believe in the morning you'll begin to see the light
And then she kissed me and I realized she probably was right
There must be fifty ways to leave your lover
Fifty ways to leave your lover

Just slip out the back, Jack
Make a new plan, Stan
You don't need to be coy, Roy
Just get yourself free
Hop on the bus, Gus



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

You don't need to discuss much
Just drop off the key, Lee
And get yourself free

You just slip out the back, Jack
Make a new plan, Stan
You don't need to be coy, Roy
Just get yourself free
Hop on the bus, Gus
You don't need to discuss much
Just drop off the key, Lee
And get yourself free

 September 11, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 11th of 9th M / This morning I got on board the Steam Boat Rush Light & went to [Newport](#) Found our friends well - Spent 4th day in transacting some buisness & visiting my friends

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 13, Thursday: [Henry Swasey McKean](#) sent his recommendations to Charles Beck in regard to the minimum of Latin study required for a degree from [Harvard College](#). (Clearly, since McKean of the Class of 1828 would have known Marshall Tufts of the Class of 1827, such a communication would have been provoked by the publication earlier that month of the anonymous book by the eccentric Tufts, denouncing the study of ancient languages such as Greek and Latin at Harvard as being without value.)

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

5th day attended the Week day Meeting which was a solid good one to me - finished my buisness & called on divers relations & old friends

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 14, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day I again took the Rush Light & returned to [Providence](#) stoping at [Warren](#) on our way to take Passengers who had been there to attend a [Baptist](#) Convention. - We had a great many on board, & among them was my old neighbour Robert Rogers. - it was a pleasant Passage, & with James W Kinzey a young man of [Newport](#) & a [Baptist](#) Preacher - I had considerable conversation, which I apprehend was not hurtful but might tend to usefulness. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 15, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 15th of 9th M 1832 / My wife today seems quite unwell, threatend with the disentary

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



October: The [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) opened for its educational year, as described by Friend Pliny Earle of the English Department: “The school-house was opened on Sunday last, pursuant to notice. In course of the week ten girls were admitted, and three boys in the Classical Department; while we [in the English Department] received so many that, were the number to double each succeeding week till April 1 (twenty-two weeks), we should then have no less than 4,194,304 pupils, more than the whole population of New England and New York combined. To save you the trouble of computation, I may as well add that we have just one solitary scholar, George Taber, a little fellow from New Bedford, who has been crying because he has been lonely, and picking potatoes for amusement.”



To the building and furnishing of the school at [Providence](#) Obadiah Brown gave four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars besides a supporting fund of one thousand dollars a year for five years. By the provisions of his will there was added to the funds of the school the munificent sum of one hundred thousand dollars, said to have been the largest single bequest made to an institution of learning in America up to that time. He also left to the school his splendid library of books and maps valued at more than six hundred and fifty dollars.

1833



In the pages of [The Friend](#), or [Square Friend](#), a gazette of the Arch Street Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, there appeared an article signed by “S.A.” of New Paltz, which we take to have been [Friend Samuel Adams](#) of New Paltz Landing in Ulster County. This article purported to report remarks made by George Dillwyn during a sermon at Burlington, Pennsylvania, which speaker was passing along an account by another rather than making any claim of personal eyewitness:

Robert Nisbet, who lived, at that time, at East Hoosack, about thirty miles distant, felt a concern to walk through the ten wilderness country, and sit with Friends at their week-day meeting. As they were sitting in meeting with their door open, they discovered an Indian peeping round the door-post.

When he saw Friends sitting without word or deed, he stepped forward and took a full view of all that was in the house; then he and his company, placing their arms in a corner of the room, took seats with Friends and so remained till the meeting closed.

Zebulon Hoxie, one of the Friends present, then invited them to his house, put a cheese and what bread he had on the table, and invited them to help themselves: they did so and went quietly and harmlessly away.

Before their departure, however, Robert Nesbit, who could speak and understand the French tongue, had a conversation with their leader, in French.

He told Robert, that they surrounded the house, intending to destroy all that were in it; “but,” said he, “when we saw you sitting with your door open, and without weapons of defense, we had no disposition to hurt you – we would have fought for you.”

This party had human scalps with them.⁷³

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➔ In a voyage to the islands of the South Seas, Friend Milo Calkins of the Nantucket Island whaler *Independence* had his mind opened up to an entirely different conception of the past, the present, and the future of humankind. “Many of my preconceived notions imbibed from my sectarian teachings were swept away and my faith in others badly shaken,” he would write with frankness.



73. The above hearsay would have to do, of course, with a fave Quaker kiddie story, “Fierce Feathers.” You might want to study about this because in some respects the tale has expanded and expanded until it has become quite problematic (even, in some tellings, markedly racist).

“FIERCE FEATHERS”
A SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



The Female Anti-Slavery Society was founded at [Boston](#) by [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and others.

From this year until about 1838, Frederick Goddard Tuckerman would be attending the Boston Latin School.

F.W.P. Greenwood's A HISTORY OF [KING'S CHAPEL](#) IN [BOSTON](#).



[Francis Joseph Grund](#)'s EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC ([Boston](#)).

EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC

[Grund](#)'s POPULAR LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY ON A NEW PLAN: IN WHICH SOME OF THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENCE ARE ILLUSTRATED BY ACTUAL COMPARISONS, INDEPENDENT OF THE USE OF NUMBERS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee & Co. 33 pages).

LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY

[Grund](#)'s ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY, WITH PRACTICAL EXERCISES, ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD. FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee and Co.).

ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY

(The above volume would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).)

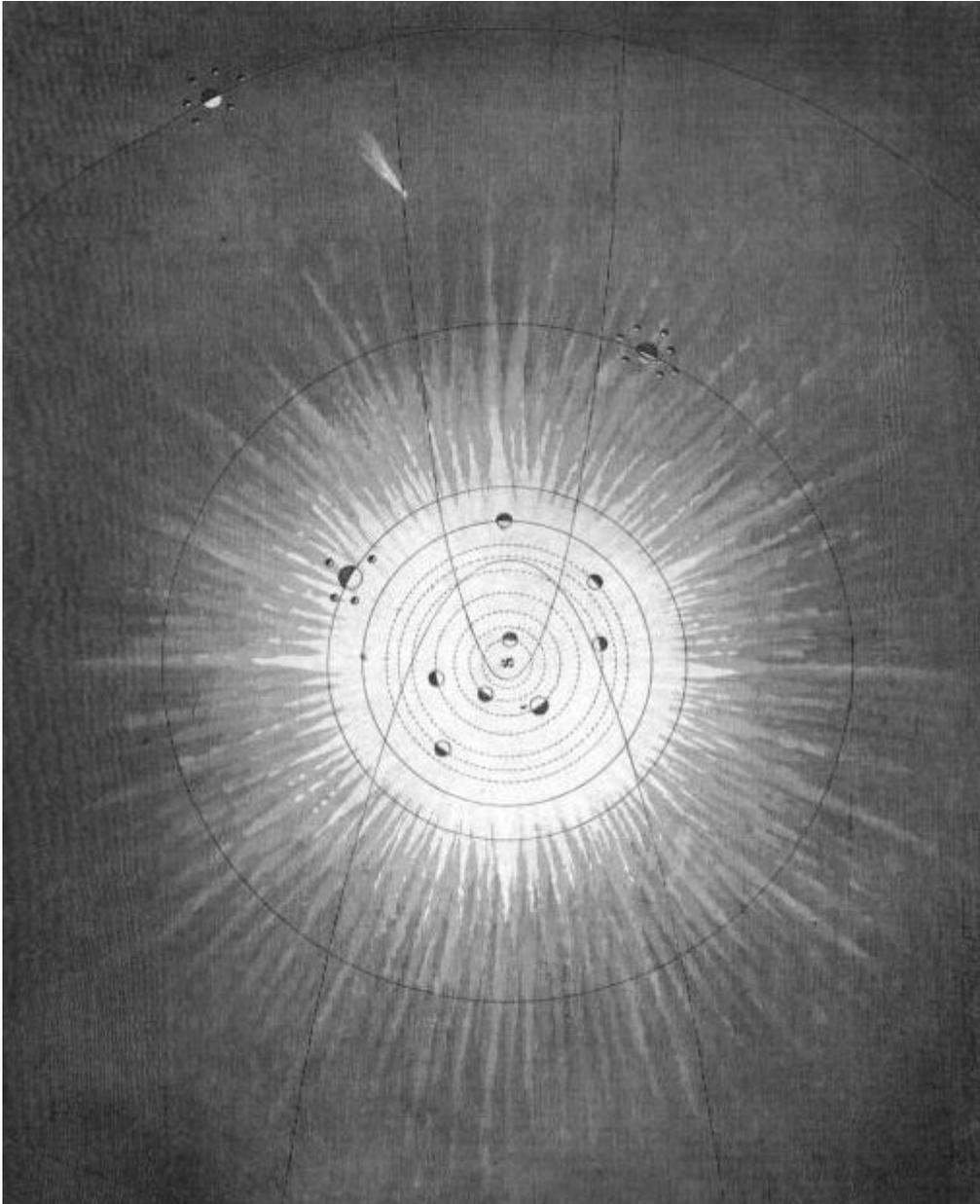
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WHAT?

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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



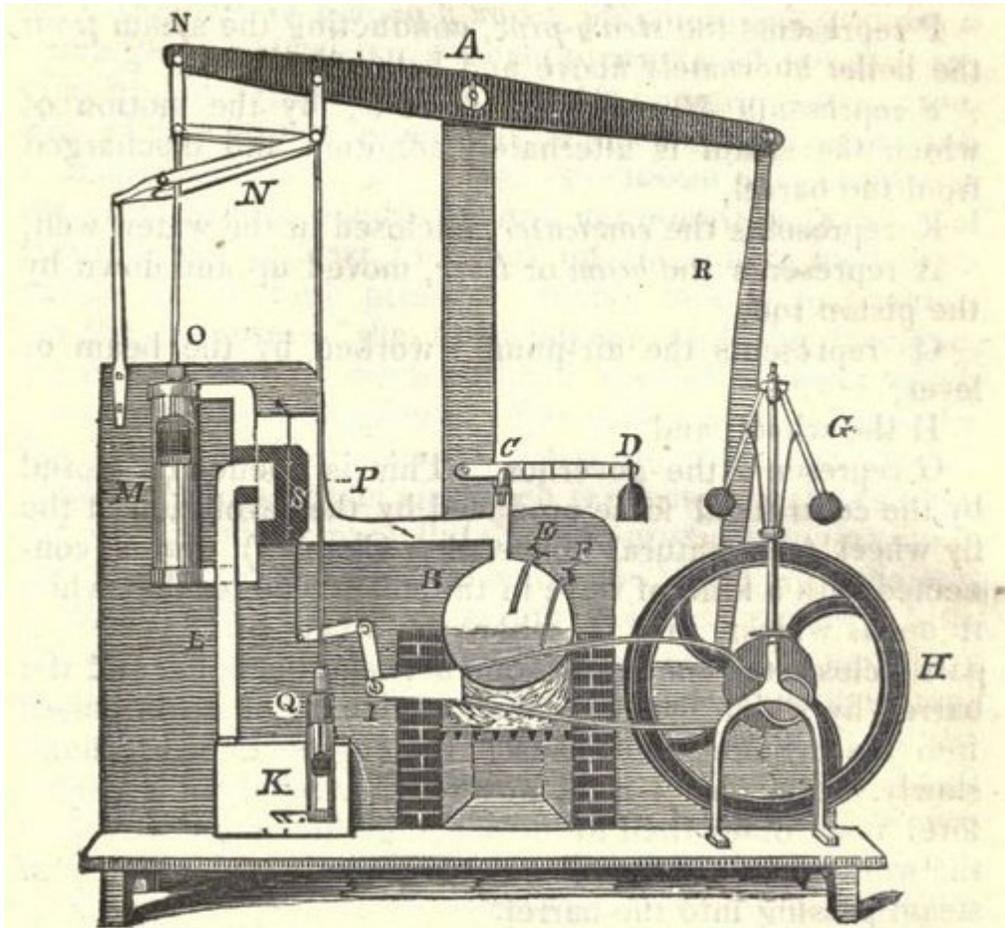


Fig. CXLI represents the connexion between the different parts of the engine we have just described.

B represents the *boiler*.

C represents the *safety valve*.

F, E are what mechanics call *steam* and *water gauges* respectively. They consist of hollow tubes provided with stop-cocks. The gauge F, as may be seen from the figure, has its lower end immersed in the water; but the gauge E, does not communicate with the surface of the liquid. When the stop-cock of the gauge E is opened, nothing but steam must rush forth, otherwise it is a sign that there is too much water in the boiler; but when the stop-cock of the gauge F is opened, no steam must pass, else it is a sign that the water is too high.

M represents the *cylinder* or *barrel*.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➡ Nathan Johnson attended the 4th National Convention for the Improvement of Free People of Color in Philadelphia with black merchant Richard Johnson, evidently not related to him but also from [New Bedford](#), and was named one of four honorary members. Abraham Shadd was elected president of the Convention. At the age of 10, his mulatto daughter Mary Ann Shadd began attending the [Quaker](#) Boarding School run by Miss Phoebe Darlington in West Chester, Pennsylvania. She would take a six-year course.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

➡ The rates for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) had been cut down from \$100 per year per scholar to \$50, but due to increasing expenses were raised in this year to \$60 for [Quakers](#) (plus, for non-Friends, a surcharge).

Wanting money for general purposes, the [Rhode Island](#) state government dipped into its handy school fund — a forced loan.

The Orthodox Friends of Pennsylvania created a “school for advanced learning,” known now as Haverford College. This institution was for males and offered an education based upon Latin, Greek, science, ancient history, and literature.

QUAKER EDUCATION

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

➔ [Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#) had married a “wellborn Bostonian” writer who had helped her get some pieces published and who had introduced her to Boston intellectual society. In this year her husband died. They had had no children. The widow would return to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and publish essays promoting a range of Transcendentalist ideas, along with some poetry. She became interested in spiritualism, seances, mesmerism, and other metaphysical topics of the time.



➔ In Montevideo, Uruguay’s National University of the Republic was founded, and in Philadelphia the [Religious Society of Friends](#) founded Haverford College.

[Professor Richard Harlan](#) was one of three Americans to attend the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He presented a paper on the fossil reptiles of the United States.

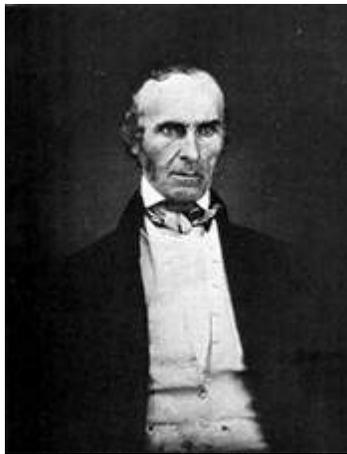
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 [Elizur Wright, Junior](#) would go to New-York upon being appointed secretary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) published, at his own expense, while serving in the Massachusetts legislature, a pamphlet titled “Justice and Expediency”:

In 1833 I printed at my own expense, an edition of my first pamphlet, "Justice and Expediency." With the exception of a few dollars from the "Democratic Review" and "Buckingham's Magazine," I received nothing for my poems and literary articles. Indeed, my pronounced views on Slavery made my name too unpopular for a publisher's uses.



He represented the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the 1st meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁷⁴

In 1833 I was a delegate to the first National Anti-Slavery Convention, at Philadelphia. I was one of the Secretaries of the Convention and signed its Declaration.

He prepared a poem about Toussaint L'Ouverture, who in 1791 as a slave on the plantation “de Libertas,” had not begun to participate in the revolution until he had aided the white owner M. Bayou and his family to escape to [Baltimore](#).⁷⁵

74. [Friend John](#) would later indicate that drafting and signing the resolutions of this convention meant more to him than having his name on any of his books.

Strictly speaking, Whittier did not care much for literature.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



'T WAS night. The tranquil moonlight smile
 With which Heaven dreams of Earth, shed down
 Its beauty on the Indian isle, —
 On broad green field and white-walled town;
 And inland waste of rock and wood,
 In searching sunshine, wild and rude,
 Rose, mellowed through the silver gleam,
 Soft as the landscape of a dream.
 All motionless and dewy wet,
 Tree, vine, and flower in shadow met:
 The myrtle with its snowy bloom,
 Crossing the nightshade's solemn gloom, —

The white cecropia's silver rind
 Relieved by deeper green behind,
 The orange with its fruit of gold,
 The lithe paullinia's verdant fold,
 The passion-flower, with symbol holy,
 Twining its tendrils long and lowly,
 The rhexias dark, and cassia tall,
 And proudly rising over all,
 The kingly palm's imperial stem,
 Crowned with its leafy diadem,
 Star-like, beneath whose sombre shade,
 The fiery-winged cucullo played!

How lovely was thine aspect, then,
 Fair island of the Western Sea!
 Lavish of beauty, even when
 Thy brutes were happier than thy men,
 For they, at least, were free!
 Regardless of thy glorious clime,
 Unmindful of thy soil of flowers,
 The toiling negro sighed, that Time

75. William Wordsworth would address a sonnet to L'Ouverture during his confinement in France:

Toussaint! — thou most unhappy man of men!
 Whether the whistling rustic tends his plough
 Within thy hearing, or thou liest now
 Buried in some deep dungeon's earless den;
 O miserable chieftain! — where and when
 Wilt thou find patience? — Yet, die not, do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow;
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
 Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
 Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies, —
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee; thou hast great allies.
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
 And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

No faster sped his hours.
 For, by the dewy moonlight still,
 He fed the weary-turning mill,
 Or bent him in the chill morass,
 To pluck the long and tangled grass,
 And hear above his scar-worn back
 The heavy slave-whip's frequent crack:
 While in his heart one evil thought
 In solitary madness wrought,
 One baleful fire surviving still
 The quenching of the immortal mind,
 One sterner passion of his kind,

Which even fetters could not kill,
 The savage hope, to deal, ere long,
 A vengeance bitterer than his wrong!

Hark to that cry! long, loud, and shrill,
 From field and forest, rock and hill,
 Thrilling and horrible it rang,
 Around, beneath, above;
 The wild beast from his cavern sprang,
 The wild bird from her grove!
 Nor fear, nor joy, nor agony
 Were mingled in that midnight cry;
 But like the lion's growl of wrath,
 When falls that hunter in his path
 Whose barbed arrow, deeply set,
 Is rankling in his bosom yet,
 It told of hate, full, deep, and strong,
 Of vengeance kindling out of wrong;
 It was as if the crimes of years —
 The unrequited toil, the tears,
 The shame and hate, which liken well
 Earth's garden to the nether hell—
 Had found in nature's self a tongue,
 On which the gathered horror hung;
 As if from cliff, and stream, and glen
 Burst on the startled ears of men
 That voice which rises unto God,
 Solemn and stern, —the cry of blood!
 It ceased, and all was still once more,
 Save ocean chafing on his shore,
 The sighing of the wind between
 The broad banana's leaves of green,
 Or bough by restless plumage shook,
 Or murmuring voice of mountain brook.

Brief was the silence. Once again
 Pealed to the skies that frantic yell,
 Glowed on the heavens a fiery stain,
 And flashes rose and fell;
 And painted on the blood-red sky,
 Dark, naked arms were tossed on high;
 And, round the white man's lordly hall,
 Trod, fierce and free, the brute he made;
 And those who crept along the wall,
 And answered to his lightest call
 With more than spaniel dread,
 The creatures of his lawless beck,
 Were trampling on his very neck!
 And on the night-air, wild and clear,
 Rose woman's shriek of more than fear;
 For bloodied arms were round her thrown,
 And dark cheeks pressed against her own!

Then, injured Afric! for the shame
 Of thy own daughters, vengeance came
 Full on the scornful hearts of those,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Who mocked thee in thy nameless woes,
And to thy hapless children gave
One choice,—pollution or the grave!

Where then was he whose fiery zeal
Had taught the trampled heart to feel,
Until despair itself grew strong,
And vengeance fed its torch from wrong?
Now, when the thunderbolt is speeding;
Now, when oppression's heart is bleeding;
Now, when the latent curse of Time
Is raining down in fire and blood,
That curse which, through long years of crime,

Has gathered, drop by drop, its flood, —
Why strikes he not, the foremost one,
Where murder's sternest deeds are done?

He stood the aged palms beneath,
That shadowed o'er his humble door,
Listening, with half-suspended breath,
To the wild sounds of fear and death,
Toussaint L'Ouverture!
What marvel that his heart beat high!
The blow for freedom had been given,
And blood had answered to the cry
Which Earth sent up to Heaven!
What marvel that a fierce delight
Smiled grimly o'er his brow of night,
As groan and shout and bursting flame
Told where the midnight tempest came,
With blood and fire along its van,
And death behind! he was a Man!

Yes, dark-souled chieftain! if the light
Of mild Religion's heavenly ray
Unveiled not to thy mental sight
The lowlier and the purer way,
In which the Holy Sufferer trod,
Meekly amidst the sons of crime;
That calm reliance upon God
For justice in His own good time;
That gentleness to which belongs
Forgiveness for its many wrongs,
Even as the primal martyr, kneeling
For mercy on the evil-dealing;
Let not the favored white man name
Thy stern appeal, with words of blame.

Has he not, with the light of heaven
Broadly around him, made the same?
Yea, on his thousand war-fields striven,
And gloried in his ghastly shame?
Kneeling amidst his brother's blood,
To offer mockery unto God,
As if the High and Holy One
Could smile on deeds of murder done!
As if a human sacrifice
Were purer in His holy eyes,
Though offered up by Christian hands,
Than the foul rites of Pagan lands!

.....
Sternly, amidst his household band,
His carbine grasped within his hand,
The white man stood, prepared and still,
Waiting the shock of maddened men,
Unchained, and fierce as tigers, when
The horn winds through their caverned hill.
And one was weeping in his sight,



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The sweetest flower of all the isle,
The bride who seemed but yesternight
Love's fair embodied smile.
And, clinging to her trembling knee,
Looked up the form of infancy,
With tearful glance in either face
The secret of its fear to trace.

"Ha! stand or die!" The white man's eye
His steady musket gleamed along,
As a tall Negro hastened nigh,
With fearless step and strong.

"What, ho, Toussaint!" A moment more,
His shadow crossed the lighted floor.
"Away!" he shouted; "fly with me,
The white man's bark is on the sea;
Her sails must catch the seaward wind,
For sudden vengeance sweeps behind.
Our brethren from their graves have spoken,
The yoke is spurned, the chain is broken;
On all the hills our fires are glowing,
Through all the vales red blood is flowing!
No more the mocking White shall rest
His foot upon the Negro's breast;
No more, at morn or eve, shall drip
The warm blood from the driver's whip:
Yet, though Toussaint has vengeance sworn
For all the wrongs his race have borne,
Though for each drop of Negro blood
The white man's veins shall pour a flood;
Not all alone the sense of ill
Around his heart is lingering still,
Nor deeper can the white man feel
The generous warmth of grateful zeal.
Friends of the Negro! fly with me,
The path is open to the sea:
Away, for life!" He spoke, and pressed
The young child to his manly breast,
As, headlong, through the cracking cane,
Down swept the dark insurgent train,
Drunken and grim, with shout and yell
Howled through the dark, like sounds from hell.

Far out, in peace, the white man's sail
Swayed free before the sunrise gale.

Cloud-like that island hung afar,
Along the bright horizon's verge,
O'er which the curse of servile war
Rolled its red torrent, surge on surge;
And he, the Negro champion, where
In the fierce tumult struggled he?
Go trace him by the fiery glare
Of dwellings in the midnight air,
The yells of triumph and despair,
The streams that crimson to the sea!

Sleep calmly in thy dungeon-tomb,
Beneath Besançon's alien sky,
Dark Haytien! for the time shall come,
Yea, even now is nigh,
When, everywhere, thy name shall be
Redeemed from color's infamy;
And men shall learn to speak of thee
As one of earth's great spirits, born
In servitude, and nursed in scorn,
Casting aside the weary weight
And fetters of its low estate,



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In that strong majesty of soul
Which knows no color, tongue, or clime,
Which still hath spurned the base control
Of tyrants through all time!
Far other hands than mine may wreath
The laurel round thy brow of death,
And speak thy praise, as one whose word
A thousand fiery spirits stirred,
Who crushed his foeman as a worm,
Whose step on human hearts fell firm:
Be mine the better task to find
A tribute for thy lofty mind,
Amidst whose gloomy vengeance shone
Some milder virtues all thine own,
Some gleams of feeling pure and warm,
Like sunshine on a sky of storm,
Proofs that the Negro's heart retains
Some nobleness amid its chains, —
That kindness to the wronged is never
Without its excellent reward,
Holy to human-kind and ever
Acceptable to God.

In 1874 [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would reminisce about “The Anti-Slavery Convention of 1833” (published originally in Whittier’s “Prose Works,” the following is merely an excerpt — he reviews how the convention’s “Declaration of Sentiments” came into being and his narrative evokes the earnest and solemn nature of the occasion):

Committees were chosen to draft a constitution for a national Anti-Slavery Society, nominate a list of officers, and prepare a declaration of principles to be signed by the members. Dr. A.L. Cox of New York, while these committees were absent, read something from my pen eulogistic of William Lloyd Garrison; and Lewis Tappan and Amos A. Phelps, a Congregational clergyman of Boston, afterwards one of the most devoted laborers in the cause, followed in generous commendation of the zeal, courage, and devotion of the young pioneer. The president, after calling James McCrummell, one of the two or three colored members of the convention, to the chair, made some eloquent remarks upon those editors who had ventured to advocate emancipation. At the close of his speech a young man rose to speak, whose appearance at once arrested my attention. I think I have never seen a finer face and figure; and his manner, words, and bearing were in keeping. “Who is he?” I asked of one of the Pennsylvania delegates. “Robert Purvis, of this city, a colored man,” was the answer. He began by uttering his heart-felt thanks to the delegates who had convened for the deliverance of his people. He spoke of Garrison in terms of warmest eulogy, as one who had stirred the heart of the nation, broken the tomb-like slumber of the Church, and compelled it to listen to the story of the slave’s wrongs. He closed by declaring that the friends of colored Americans would not be forgotten. “Their memories,” he said, “will be cherished when pyramids and monuments shall have crumbled in dust. The flood of time, which is sweeping away the refuge of lies, is bearing on the advocates of our cause to a glorious immortality.”

The committee on the constitution made their report, which after discussion was adopted. It disclaimed any right or intention of interfering, otherwise than by persuasion and Christian exhortation, with slavery as it existed in the States, but affirming the duty of Congress to abolish it in the District of



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Columbia and Territories, and to put an end to the domestic slave-trade. A list of officers of the new society was then chosen: Arthur Tappan, of New York, president, and Elizur Wright, Jr., William Lloyd Garrison, and A.L. Cox, secretaries. Among the vice-presidents was Dr. Lord, of Dartmouth College, then professedly in favor of emancipation, but who afterwards turned a moral somersault, a self-inversion which left him ever after on his head instead of his feet. He became a querulous advocate of slavery as a divine institution, and denounced woe upon the abolitionists for interfering with the will and purpose of the Creator. As the cause of freedom gained ground, the poor man's heart failed him, and his hope for Church and State grew fainter and fainter. A sad prophet of the evangel of slavery, he testified in the unwilling ears of an unbelieving generation, and died at last, despairing of a world which seemed determined that Canaan should no longer be cursed, nor Onesimus sent back to Philemon.

The committee on the declaration of principles, of which I was a member, held a long session discussing the proper scope and tenor of the document. But little progress being made, it was finally decided to intrust the matter to a sub-committee, consisting of William Lloyd Garrison, S.J. May, and myself; and, after a brief consultation and comparison of each other's views the drafting of the important paper was assigned to the former gentleman. We agreed to meet him at his lodgings in the house of a colored friend early the next morning. It was still dark when we climbed up to his room, and the lamp was still burning by the light of which he was writing the last sentence of the declaration. We read it carefully, made a few verbal changes, and submitted it to the large committee, who unanimously agreed to report it to the convention.

The paper was read to the convention by Dr. Atlee, chairman of the committee, and listened to with the profoundest interest. Commencing with a reference to the time, fifty-seven years before, when, in the same city of Philadelphia, our fathers announced to the world their [Declaration of Independence](#),—based on the self-evident truths of human equality and rights,—and appealed to arms for its defence, it spoke of the new enterprise as one "without which that of our fathers is incomplete," and as transcending theirs in magnitude, solemnity, and probable results as much "as moral truth does physical force." It spoke of the difference of the two in the means and ends proposed, and of the trifling grievances of our fathers compared with the wrongs and sufferings of the slaves, which it forcibly characterized as unequalled by any others on the face of the earth. It claimed that the nation was bound to repent at once, to let the oppressed go free, and to admit them to all the rights and privileges of others; because, it asserted, no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother; because liberty is inalienable; because there is no difference in principle between slave-holding and man-stealing, which the law brands as piracy; and because no length of bondage can invalidate man's claim to himself, or render slave laws anything but "an audacious usurpation."

It maintained that no compensation should be given to planters emancipating slaves, because that would be a surrender of fundamental principles. "Slavery is a crime, and is, therefore,



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not an article to be sold"; because slave-holders are not just proprietors of what they claim; because emancipation would destroy only nominal, not real, property; and because compensation, if given at all, should be given to the slaves. It declared any "scheme of expatriation" to be "delusive, cruel, and dangerous." It fully recognized the right of each state to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery within its limits, and conceded that Congress, under the present national compact, had no right to interfere, though still contending that it had the power, and should exercise it, "to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several states," and "to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction." After clearly and emphatically avowing the principles underlying the enterprise, and guarding with scrupulous care the rights of persons and states under the Constitution, in prosecuting it, the declaration closed with these eloquent words: -

We also maintain that there are at the present time the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free states to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern states; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-holder to vote on three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection: and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger. It must be broken up.

These are our views and principles, - these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the [Declaration of Independence](#) and the truths of divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock.

We shall organize anti-slavery societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen over that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth,



justice, reason, humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country and of the friends of liberty all over the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth, to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon, and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans, come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations, whether we live to witness the triumph of justice, liberty, and humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

The reading of the paper was followed by a discussion which lasted several hours. A member of the Society of Friends moved its immediate adoption. "We have," he said, "all given it our assent: every heart here responds to it. It is a doctrine of Friends that these strong and deep impressions should be heeded." The convention, nevertheless, deemed it important to go over the declaration carefully, paragraph by paragraph. During the discussion one of the spectators asked leave to say a few words. A beautiful and graceful woman, in the prime of life, with a face beneath her plain cap as finely intellectual as that of Madame Roland, offered some wise and valuable suggestions, in a clear, sweet voice, the charm of which I have never forgotten. It was Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia. The president courteously thanked her, and encouraged her to take a part in the discussion. On the morning of the last day of our session the declaration, with its few verbal amendments, carefully engrossed on parchment, was brought before the convention. Samuel J. May rose to read it for the last time. His sweet, persuasive voice faltered with the intensity of his emotions as he repeated the solemn pledges of the concluding paragraphs. After a season of silence, David Thurston, of Maine, rose as his name was called by one of the secretaries, and affixed his name to the document. One after another passed up to the platform, signed, and retired in silence. All felt the deep responsibility of the occasion: the shadow and forecast of a lifelong struggle rested upon every countenance.

Our work as a convention was now done. President Green arose to make the concluding address. The circumstances under which it was uttered may have lent it an impressiveness not its own; but, as I now recall it, it seems to me the most powerful and eloquent speech to which I have ever listened. He passed in review the work that had been done, the constitution of the new society, the declaration of sentiments, and the union and earnestness which had marked the proceedings. His closing words will never



be forgotten by those who heard them:—

Brethren, it has been good to be here. In this hallowed atmosphere I have been revived and refreshed. This brief interview has more than repaid me for all that I have ever suffered. I have here met congenial minds. I have rejoiced in sympathies delightful to the soul. Heart has beat responsive to heart, and the holy work of seeking to benefit the outraged and despised has proved the most blessed employment.

But now we must retire from these balmy influences, and breathe another atmosphere. The chill hoar frost will be upon us. The storm and tempest will rise, and the waves of persecution will dash against our souls. Let us be prepared for the worst. Let us fasten ourselves to the throne of God as with hooks of steel. If we cling not to him, our names to that document will be but as dust.

Let us court no applause, indulge in no spirit of vain boasting. Let us be assured that our only hope in grappling with the bony monster is in an Arm that is stronger than ours. Let us fix our gaze on God, and walk in the light of his countenance. If our cause be just, — and we know it is, — his omnipotence is pledged to its triumph. Let this cause be entwined around the very fibres of our hearts. Let our hearts grow to it, so that nothing but death can sunder the bond.

He ceased, and then, amidst a silence broken only by the deep-drawn breath of emotion in the assembly, lifted up his voice in a prayer to Almighty God, full of fervor and feeling, imploring his blessing and sanctification upon the convention and its labors. And with the solemnity of this supplication in our hearts we clasped hands in farewell, and went forth each man to his place of duty, not knowing the things that should befall us as individuals, but with a confidence never shaken by abuse and persecution in the certain triumph of our cause.



[Friend Luke Howard](#)'s *THE CLIMATE OF LONDON: DEDUCED FROM METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE IN THE METROPOLIS AND AT VARIOUS PLACES AROUND IT / BY LUKE HOWARD* appeared in a 2d, much enlarged and improved edition, as three volumes rather than two, in which the observations were continued to the year MDCCCXXX; illustrated by engravings on wood and copper (London: Harvey and Darton, J. and A. Arch, Longman, Hatchard, S. Highley [and] R. Hunter, 1833). Friend Luke by this point recognized that human cities were capable of significantly altering the local weather. One impact of cities on the weather, what we now term "smog," he termed "city fog," and this is how he described the London atmosphere of January 10, 1812:

...the sky, where any light pervaded it, showed the aspect of bronze. Such is, occasionally, the effect of the accumulation of smoke between two opposite gentle currents, or by means of a misty calm. I am informed that the fuliginous cloud was visible, in this instance, for a distance of forty miles.

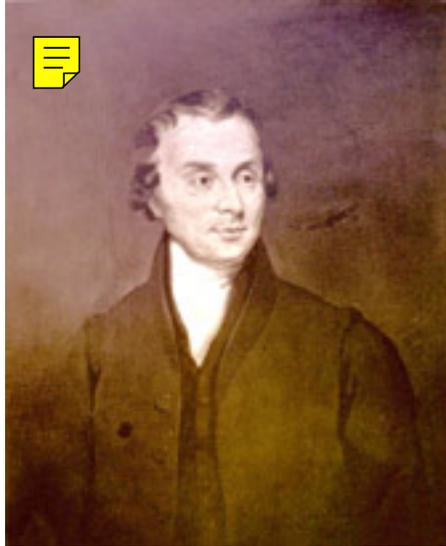
This is how he described the smog above London on January 16, 1826:

At one o'clock yesterday afternoon the fog in the city was as dense as we ever recollect to have known it. Lamps and candles were lighted in all shops and offices, and the carriages in the street dared not exceed a foot pace. At the same time, five miles

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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from town the atmosphere was clear and unclouded with a brilliant sun.



By this point, it would appear, Friend Luke had acquired a rudimentary understanding of what in the 20th Century our TV news weatherpeople would come to speak of as “fronts,” and was able to provide a detailed description of the sort of cloudiness and precipitation changes which typically accompany the replacement of a warmer air mass by a cooler one, or of a cooler air mass by a warmer one:

...if fine hail should fall after a period of damp, sultry weather during which thunderclouds with lightning gather gradually, to be followed by large hail and, finally, rain, and it after this a cold westerly or northerly wind begins to blow, then I would be quite certain that the latter, as a cold body, had suddenly replaced *en masse* the warm air which was there before the beginning of the thunderstorm.

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS



An attitude expressed in this year by [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#), toward Quakers in the arts, was: “My observation of human nature and the different things that affect it frequently leads me to regret that we as a Society so wholly give up delighting the ear by sound. Surely He who formed the ear and the heart would not have given these tastes and powers without some purpose for them.”⁷⁶

76. Britain Yearly Meeting, QUAKER FAITH AND PRACTICE, (1994), from extract 21.30



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January 1, Tuesday: The initial issue of Knickerbocker Magazine was published, in New-York.

Sidney Smith began publishing Rochester, New York's Evening Advertiser (he would soon turn it into a morning newspaper, to distinguish it from its afternoon rival the Daily Advertiser).

Concert Piece op.113 for clarinet, basset horn and piano by Felix Mendelssohn was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

Leitch Ritchie began a Library of Romance series (Smith and Elder).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about his work at the Quaker Yearly Meeting Boarding School in Providence, Rhode Island:

1st M 1833 / My old Book being full, at the end of the Month [12th Month, December 1832] I have concluded to make a new one for the purpose of occasional journalizing, concluding I may be less frequent in my entrys in it than for many years heretofore. — I do not feel quite satisfied to omit it altogether. — There is much of a Sameness in my daily round since I have been attached to the Yearly Meeting boarding School where we have now lived over four Years & how much longer we shall be here is uncertain - Another week may decide that we take a residence else where - & at present I am not anxious about it, tho' I may acknowledge, our being here has been very advantageous to us in a pecuniary point of view & our outward circumstances much improved for which I desire to be thankful, & believe I am really & even humbly so. —In the course of this M we have had diverse good Meetings, & I have been out to Johnson with Wm Almy to attend the funeral of a widow Waterman Aged 88 Years, & tho' some trials await me it has been a time of favour.
___77

“MOSES BROWN SCHOOL”



77. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1833-1836: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 15: January 1, 1833-August 28, 1836; also on microfilm, see Series 7

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➡ March 9, Saturday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) met Queen Consort Adelaide Amelia Louise Theresa Caroline at Windsor Castle, and played the organ for her. In the evening he played for both her and King William IV.

[Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of old [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, representing the New England Anti-Slavery Society, appeared at the Canterbury, Connecticut town meeting



with instructions from Headmistress [Prudence Crandall](#) to agree to any reasonable compromise — and got absolutely nowhere.

It is clear from the record that the spectre that was terrifying the white elders of the town of Canterbury was that of racial intermarriage. Prudence, let us be frank, did not disdain to pour fuel on these flames:

Moses had a black wife.

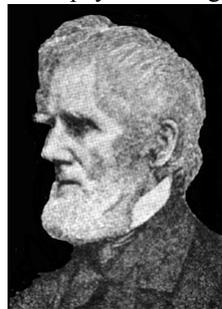
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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Further negotiation became impossible. The town's whitebread leaders, outraged by this frank acceptance of race mingling, would not stop short of the collapse of her academy.



Arthur Tappan would contact her and offer to pay all her legal expenses.



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→ Spring: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) began her travels as a “Public Friend” by making a speaking trip through the Quaker meetings of New York State, then took a boat to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) with a stop-over at her original home on [Nantucket Island](#), then traveled up through Bedford, Lynn, and Salem speaking in the various monthly meetings.⁷⁸



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

(I dont’ have a record that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was at all interested in Mott’s visit to Salem. In June, however, when President Jackson also visited Salem, Hawthorne would be present in the crowd, and cheering.)

→ June: When President Andrew Jackson visited [Newport](#) and stayed overnight at [Providence, Rhode Island](#)’s City Hotel, [Friend Moses Brown](#) managed to visit him despite his 95 years and despite his severe and debilitating vertigo, mentioning that he had come down to meet him simply because he’d “met all the others.” The aged man “thee’d” and “thou’d” Old Hickory after the Quaker manner, and invited him to visit the [Yearly Meeting School](#), an invitation which the President was able to honor on the following day. The next morning, the Pawtucket artillery’s salute shattered a number of windows (repair costs would be reimbursed). As the President reached the bridge at the state line of Massachusetts, he was welcomed by Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Passing through Boston, the president was ill, and was unable to view the new figurehead of the USS *Constitution*, shaped in his image.

When President Jackson arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, a large parade had been organized, but he was ill and was taken directly to his hotel. The people who cheered the presidential carriage were not aware that in the dusk they were cheering merely the shadowy bowing figures of Josiah Quincy, Jr. and Martin Van Buren inside the carriage, rather than the President himself. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was present and cheered with the deluded crowd, for he happened to believe that this genocidal racist, this precursor of [Adolf Hitler](#), was

the greatest man we ever had; and his native strength, as well of intellect as character, compelled every man to be his tool that came within his reach; and the cunninger the individual might be, it served only to make him the sharper tool.

But then, Hawthorne never had much judgment in these matters, as witness the fact that later in life he was willing to write a campaign biography for a drunkard who couldn’t even stay on a horse, and lie about this

78. I do not know whether she made it to Boston or to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know.



Pretty Boy Admires His Hero

man’s racist attitudes, and help him become President of the United States, not out of any belief that he was the best person for the job but because of a personal connection (Franklin Pierce had been a “college buddy”) and purely out of the expectation and hope that thereby he would receive a personal and magnificent reward.

President Jackson, in making his triumphal tour of the North, was escorted by Josiah Quincy, Jr., son of the Josiah Quincy who had been the president of [Harvard College](#). Jackson’s appearance in Cambridge to pick up his obligatory, honorary Harvard degree became something of a spectacle when, as a man of the people, he mocked an address in Latin by spouting nonsense Latin.⁷⁹

[NOTE: Compare and contrast this episode with Thoreau’s later remark about John Brown, with regard to the comparative unimportance of being able to set a Greek accent remark at the correct slant, versus being able to prop a fallen human being into an upright posture.]

June 13, Thursday: Il fato, a cantata by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti composed for the name day of Count Lozano, was performed for the initial time, in Rome.

June 14, Friday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6 M 14 6th day 1833 / This day we took the Institution horse & Chaise & went to [Portsmouth](#) for my wife to attend a committee on the Removal of the Y Meeting appointed last Year After which we went to Uncle Stantons & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 15, Saturday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 15th - Attended the Select Meeting held at [Portsmouth](#) & in the Afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings - then Rode into

79. Quincy, Josiah, Jr. “President Jackson Gives ‘Em a Little Latin,” pages 364-7 in THE HARVARD BOOK: SELECTIONS FROM THREE CENTURIES. Bentinck-Smith, William, ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, revised edition 1982).



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Newport & took quarters with Aunt Nancy Carpenter & at our home, the part of the house where we occupy when in Newport being fitted to receive company.

The Several sittings of the Yearly Meeting continued till 6th day the 21st inst & were seasons of favour & refreshment with a little exception & tho' no small portion of Mental Suffering awaited me, I can truly say I believe I was the better for my attendance of the Meeting. –

On 7th day we returned to the Institution in the Steam Boat.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 16, Sunday: Johann Nepomuk Hummel arrived at Ostende, having departed from England for the final time.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day Rode to Smithfield with my friend Benj Fry & attended Meeting there Benj was engaged in Supplication & testimony much to Satisfaction & comfort of the Audience
After Meeting I rode part of the way home with Aza Arnold - & walked the rest

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 28, Friday: The French legislature ordained primary education for every community in France. Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot would, as head of the department of public instruction, implement this law with extraordinary vigor).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day [sic] 28th of 9 M 1833 / Much time has passed away since I have made an entry in my Diary.

Since that time there has many events occur'd which have been greatly interesting to me some of them have been of a comfortable kind & many of an afflictive nature, which has caused me to Mourn & even tremble for my own state as well as the State of society both in Europe & America. – Altho' in some places in some instances, there is some encouragement to hope that the true seed of Quakerism is not extinct, but Yet retains a greenness which would induce the hope, & strengthen the desire that it may yet live, be known in Judah & great in Israel but what of Infidelity on the One hand, formality & outward profession on the other, together with on an intemperate Zeal, and in some instances a total want of zeal & in others a disposition to return to the beggarly elements, placing the letter above the spirit &c - I confess I do not see where our poor society will land at last. –

This evening by the Newport Mercury I learn the decease of our Ancient & beloved Friend RICHARD MITCHELL of Middletown Aged 79 years died the 26 inst. I have known him from a child - he was one of those worthy Elders in society who was an ornament to the Station, & ever on the Alert for the good & prosperity of the Society at large, having been under all the appointments which is usual in Rhode Island Moy [Monthly] Meeting - he was for many

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years a zealous, judicious & well concerned Overseer - for many years a faithful Trustee of the Property of that Moy [Monthly] Meeting & labour'd carefully for its outward Interests as well as a more spiritual interest - I have been associated with him in many appointments & always prefered his judgement & experience to my own, but ever found in him a disposition to listen to & weigh well the feelings & views of those younger & of less experience - tho' having attained to a good old Age & to a period of life when much more Service activity had ceased for a year or two, yet his place in the Church will be vacant & his former services remembered. - he had been mostly confined to his house for the last Year & from a complication of affliction which had awaited him, his natural powers of mind were much abated. - his bodily suffering for years had also been great having been afflicted with a gravelly complaint which at time occasioned much pain. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December: Abba Alcott, wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and again-pregnant mommy of an infant author-to-be, helped Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and [Harriet Purvis](#), the wife of [Robert Purvis](#), form the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia.



Eventually Abba would be a member of three such antislavery societies, not only this one in Philadelphia but also the ones that would be formed in Boston and in Concord!

December 4, Wednesday: The Calculational Engine project had soaked up to date some £17,000 in tax revenues, a truly enormous sum of money, and there was nothing whatever to show for it. Charles Babbage ordered his contractor Joseph Clement, as preparations for removal of the engine were completed: To move all parts of the engine except the large platform for the calculating end and the large columns; all the drawings, (the 27 still attached to drawing boards were not be taken off them, the contractor was to include cost of the boards if necessary); all the rough sketches, small notebook on contrivances determined upon and the several loose sheets of mechanical notations of the Calculational Engine; and all the patterns from which castings had been made and thus were no longer required. He was to oil and pack all steel parts to avoid rust, and list the parts remaining at his workshop that were the property of the Government (these materials would be removed in 1843 to King's College, London).

In Philadelphia, a group of black and white male abolitionists organized the American Anti-Slavery Society and Arthur Tappan became its 1st president. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May attended, and William Lloyd



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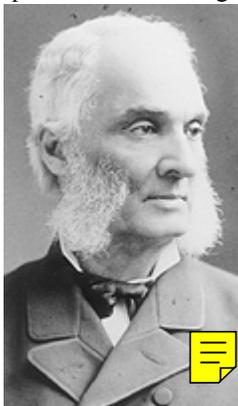
Garrison, and also [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), Lewis Tappan and Arthur Tappan, Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), etc. Of the about 60 people in attendance only 21 were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), because conservative Quakers would have been keeping their distance from all involvement in outside organizations, even those such as this one whose aims they generally greatly respected. The Reverend Daniel Starr Southmayd, not of Concord but “of Lowell, Massachusetts,” was a delegate. On the last day of the meeting, the new society urged that white females should also set up their own auxiliary anti-slavery societies. In that period the claim was being made, that True Womanhood would restrict itself to the home, and this claim was being hotly contested by women who would insist that the True Woman was merely following her natural True Womanly inclination, in seeking to succor the defenseless in such institutions as the Samaritan Asylum for Indigent Colored Children in Boston.

As wives and mothers, as sisters and daughters, we are bound to urge men to cease to do evil.

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There were three blacks present, including a Philadelphia barber and dentist named James McCrummill and the well-to-do [Robert Purvis](#) of Philadelphia — who although he appeared white:



was known locally to be actually not a white man at all.⁸⁰ Purvis signed the Declaration of Sentiments.



(Notice that although white men of this period generally feared social contamination by inferior blacks, even an intimate touching, as by a barber, could be permissible, as depicted here in a Virginia barbershop — so long as the relationship was one clearly marked as an intransitive one, between a superior or customer and an inferior or servant.)

80. This would be by way of contrast with Senator Daniel Webster, who was so dark-complected that once he was actually turned away by a commercial establishment that imagined it was dealing with a black American, but who was generally known to be, actually, a white man through and through.

There were two or three Unitarians. At one point during the convention a young man at the door was speaking of his desire to dip his hand in Garrison's blood but the Philadelphia police, rather than take such a person into detention, warned the convention organizers that the path of discretion would be for them to meet only during hours of daylight.



Garrison authored the broadside “Declaration of Sentiments” of the meeting (Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention), which under an image of Samson strangling the lion included a renunciation of “the use of carnal weapons” and a declaration that “doing evil that good may come” represented the antithesis of Christian ethics. At one point [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) rose to suggest from the back of the room that in the draft of this resolution, the mention of God be placed before rather than after the mention of the [Declaration of Independence](#). As a woman and a non-delegate she spoke with such diffidence that the chairman had to encourage her. This could very well have been the 1st time that many in the room had heard a woman speak in a public meeting.⁸¹

After silence in the [Quaker](#) manner, it was time for the actual delegates, that is, the menfolk, to file forward and affix their signatures to the declaration — this would be the signature that Whittier would later say he was more proud of, than of his signature on the title page of any of his books.

The broadside manifesto “Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention Assembled in Philadelphia, December 4, 1833,” as so nicely illustrated by Rueben S. Gilbert of Merrihew & Gunn (his work excerpted above), announced the reasons for formation of the society and enumerated its goals:

81. As a woman she would not of course have been officially a delegate to this convention, but a mere spectator accompanying her spouse. Of course no-one thought of the idea of having women as delegates, let alone to solicit the signatures of women, nor is it likely that any of the women even contemplated the possibility of a woman's adding her own signature. Such things were not just unheard-of, in this period, but also, very clearly, they went unthought as well. For a woman to have sported a signature would have been like for a woman to have sported a beard. During this month Abba Alcott, pregnant wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and mother of an infant author-to-be [Louisa May Alcott](#), was helping [Lucretia Mott](#) form the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

HDT

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Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas, our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the [Declaration of Independence](#), "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the World, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas, Slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union, and liberties of the States; and whereas, we believe it the duty and interest of the masters immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas, we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of Slavery in any part of the Republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of Slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas, we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of Slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following Constitution: -

ARTICLE I. - This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. - The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which Slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic Slave trade, and to abolish Slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, -- and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ARTICLE III. - This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV. - Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a Slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled

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to vote at the meetings....

1834

→ [Mary Howitt](#)'s SKETCHES OF NATURAL HISTORY, a book of verse.



→ London publication of the 7th edition, revised, of [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, retitled less offensively as OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISTINGUISHING VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

STUDY THE 7TH EDITION





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What appears below in the blue box is part of an extended dialogue, by Mason Locke Weems, over the first couple of questions of the catechism allegedly between a preschool [William Penn](#) and his mommy — something that was first published in this year:

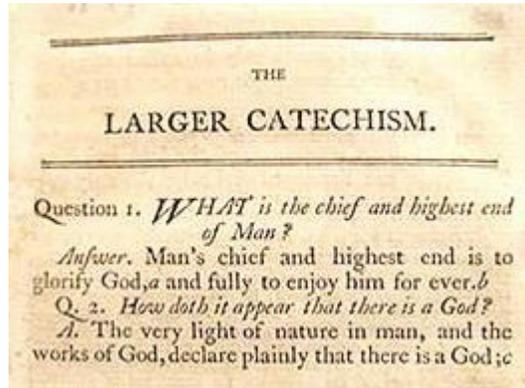
"No indeed, my son, no more than that stone there. When I married your dear father, I did not know any better than that stone, whether I was to have you or not. Or whether you were to be a little boy or not; or whether you were to have fine black eyes or not. I make you, indeed, William! when I cannot make even "one hair of your head white or black." And O how could I have made so fearful and wonderful a frame as yours, when even now that it is made, it is all a perfect mystery to me. See! I place my hand upon my son's heart, and I feel it beating against my fingers; but still I know nothing about how it beats. I put my hand upon his sweet bosom, and feel it heaving as he breathes, but still I am ignorant of it all. And when I look at him every morning, as he breakfasts on his little basin of milk and bread, Oh I'm lost! I'm lost! I'm lost!"

"Heigh, for what, mother?" cried William, surprised. Why for wonder how his milk and bread, white as snow, should be turned into blood red as crimson; and how that blood soft as milk should be turned, some into sweet little teeth, white and hard as ivory; and some into soft flowing hair like silk; some into sweet polished cheeks like rose buds; and some into bright shining eyes like diamonds! "Could I have made you, William, after this wonderful manner? Oh no my son, no — not all the men on earth, nor all the angels in heaven, could have done it. No, none but the great God could have made you."

As good Mrs. Penn uttered these words, which she did with great emphasis, William appeared lost in thought; however, after some silence, and with a deep sigh, he looked up to his mother, and thus went on with his questions again.

"Well, mother, what did God make me for?"

"Why, for his goodness' sake, my son, which loved you so, he wanted to make you happy."



This year also saw the 12th reissue of Friend [William Penn](#)'s classic 1695 account of the history of his [Quakers](#):

**A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE
CALLED QUAKERS,
IN WHICH THEIR
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE,
DOCTRINES, WORSHIP, MINISTRY,
AND DISCIPLINE, ARE PLAINLY DECLARED.**

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→ Nathan Johnson and the Reverend Jacob Perry, minister of the African Christian Church (New Bedford's first black religious congregation — remember, Johnson had in 1822 → petitioned the all-white Quakers for membership in the Religious Society of Friends, and had of course been utterly stonewalled on account of his race) and president of the New-Bedford Union Society (its first antislavery society, formed not by the all-white New Bedford Friends but by the local free people of color), attended the 5th National Negro Convention in Philadelphia. This Convention adopted a nonviolent declaration similar to the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as written by half-black William Whipper of Pennsylvania.



SERVILE INSURRECTION

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

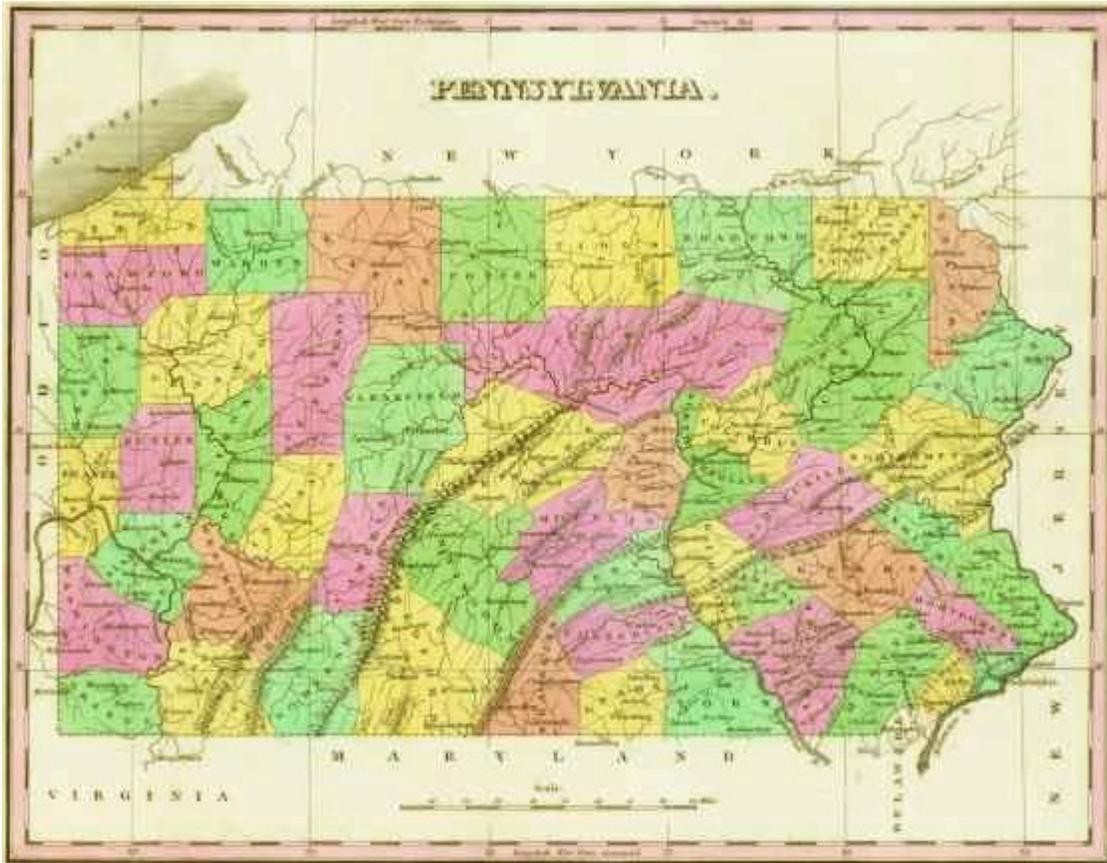
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 There were 170 young scholars enrolled at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#). Enrollment would begin to decline.

In the previous year the government of [Rhode Island](#) had been in need of some extra cash, and so of course it had forced itself a loan out of its educational fund. By this point the state owed the fund \$12,884.30. (By 1838 it would “owe” its education fund \$14,662.)

The “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia” that had been proposed in 1818 by [Friend](#) Roberts Vaux, an overseer of [Quaker](#) schools, was at this point enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature. The bill provided for schoolhouses, teachers, and supervision by state controllers.

This is likely to have been the map of Pennsylvania available to Henry Thoreau, from the atlas of Anthony Finley:





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 This year produced the 1st of a number of investigations into [Eastern State Penitentiary](#)'s finances, punishment practices, and deviations from the Pennsylvania System of confinement.

There had never been more than about a hundred “Free Quakers,” even during the Revolution. At this point there were only two of the [disowned](#) “Free Quakers,” or “Pretend Quakers,” still regularly attending at the special meetinghouse constructed in 1783 in Philadelphia — Friend “Betsy” Ross and Friend John Price Wetherill. There was no longer any attempt being made, to hold meetings for worship. In this year these two permanently closed the doors of their meetinghouse, so that it could be rented out and converted successively into a school, a apprentice library, and then a plumbing warehouse, as a source of income for them.⁸²

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 1 M 1834 / Attended Preparative Meeting in Town - Wm Almy preached in the first meeting - In the last for the concerns of society - the Queries were Answered & a young man brought forward by the Overseers for Marrying out of the Order of Society

The Select Meeting which followed was a season of searching & distress to most present - indeed I believe it will be safe to say all were brought into a State of feeling on acct of the State of Society & particularly the state of the Ministry in various parts of this Continent & in England. - There are doctrines advanced in writing, in the Gallery, & in private conversation, which are at variance with the Doctrines of the Gospel as professed & preached by our dear Ancient Friends whose memory & spirit is precious to me - & if on acct of this, & some other things, the ways of Zion do not Mourn & distress is felt within her borders, then I do not understand the bleating of Sheep & the loing [lowing] of the Oxen which I hear in mine ears. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 February 4, Tuesday: The [negrero](#) *Encomium*, carrying a cargo of 45 [slaves](#) from Charleston, South Carolina, to New Orleans, was wrecked near Fish Key, Abaco, and the slaves were carried to Nassau, in New Providence, British West Indies and there set free. Naughty, naughty Great Britain would eventually need to pay the American owners an indemnity for having so mishandled their slave properties (SENATE DOCUMENT, 24th Congress, 2d session II, No. 174; 25th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 216).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

3rd day 4th M 2nd 1834 / Sub Committee Meeting. - A pretty pleasant Day - & my mind very quiet. - We hear by those who come from [Rhode Island](#) that Sister Ruth is no better - her case pretty decidedly a Cancer in the breast.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

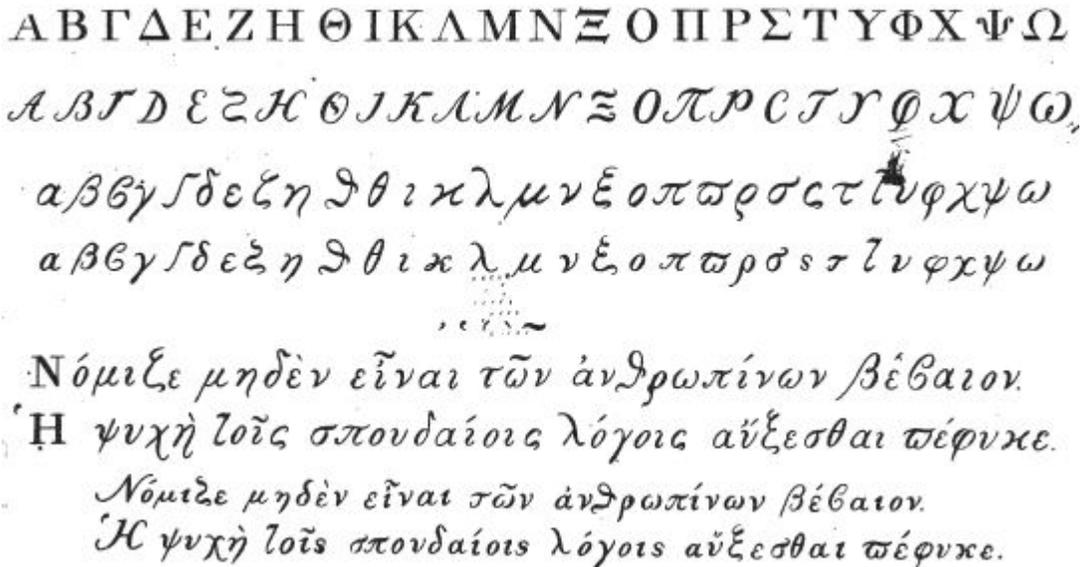
82. The persons who would continue to be members of this group would continue only for purposes of property ownership, out of their entitlement to a share in the brick building at the corner of 5th Street and Arch Street in Philadelphia. Presently it is the headquarters for the Junior League of Philadelphia, although annually the descendants of the Free Quakers meet there to decide upon the distribution of funds generated by rental of the hall and income invested for charitable purposes. Inside are two of the original benches, and an original window exists nearly intact. The balcony is a recent addition. Among the exhibits is the 5-pointed star tissue pattern that Friend Betsy had allegedly used in making the 1st American flag (but the legend of her making such a flag is simply that, a legend and nothing more).

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February 5, Wednesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), GREEK EXERCISES; CONTAINING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE GREEK SYNTAX, ILLUSTRATED BY PASSAGES FROM THE BEST GREEK AUTHORS, TO BE WRITTEN OUT FROM THE WORDS GIVEN IN THEIR SIMPLEST FORM. BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FISK. CONSUETUDO ET EXERCITATIO FACILITATEM MAXIME PARIT. QUINTIL (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1831).⁸³

IT'S ALL GREEK TO ME



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

4th day 5th of 2nd M 1834 / Our Select Meeting to day was to me a comfortable time. - I had good Unity with Lydia Breeds testimony & also with Mary B Allens. - Our Meeting for Sufferings was also a time of Some favour & freedom, this Afternoon & I have enjoyed the company here this evening some of whom have come from Salen Lynn & ware to attend Quarterly Meeting &c at this time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6th of 2nd M 1834 / Our Quarterly Meeting was a truly good one throughout - it was a Season of favour & there was Much good preaching - Our friends Danl Howland Thos Anthony - Anna A Jenkins Hannah Dennis & Mary B Allen bore testimony in succession & there was a prayer by a female which I could not hear one word of & I apprehend was heard by few & those who were near to her - We had but little buisness in the last Meeting, but harmony was prevalent. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 9, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

⁸³. Benjamin Franklin Fisk graduated from Harvard College with the Class of 1824 (Elias Hasket Derby, Edward Bliss Emerson, John Mark Gourgas, and died in 1832.



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1st day 9th of 2n M 1834 / Silent meetings & rather poor as to life but solid setting & I apprehend some were favoured. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 11, Tuesday: New-York's Platt Street opened.

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

3rd day 11 of 2 m Rode in the Stage to Pawtucket to attend the funeral of Timothy Greene – I learn Timothy was much favoured in his last illness & apparently made a good close. – his corpse was singularly tranquil in countenance, & to me this has seemed an earnest of a quiet spirit in an after state – for tho' I have known some instances of this kind where it was justifiable to entertain doubts of future well being – yet not knowing how far the Mediational office of Jesus Church may prevail with the Father – I feel most satisfied to consider the countenance of Corpse Somewhat of an Index of an After State – The setting was a solid one – Lydia Breed was much favoured in testimony & many people were present. – After the funeral I walked back to the [Institution](#) thro' the New turnpike rode

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 16, Sunday: A new law went into effect in France giving local officials wide authority to refuse permits to sell newspapers and pamphlets.

Ernst Haeckel was born.

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

1st day 16th of 2nd M 1834 / Our friend John Wilbur was at Meeting this Morning & engaged in testimony in a manner that was consoling to some Minds present as well as instructive to the Scholars – Silent in the Afternoon sitting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 20, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20 of 2 M / Attended Meeting in Town it being Preparative Meeting. – Wm Almy preached pretty well. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 23 of 2 M / Silent Meeting & measurably favoured. –Rote to Thomas Shillitoe
There is now great distress in the Monied community & yesterday Saml Shove failed in [Providence](#) – in [New Bedford](#) the pressure is unparalleled - over Fifty failures having occurred in a few Weeks & where it will end is uncertain. –
I thank the Lord that I owe nothing & am no where responsible*



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in away but that I can answer at a Moments Warning that. I know of no responsibility beyond this nor do I apprehend any. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 24, Monday: In defiance of the law of February 16, three newspapers were sold in the Place de la Bourse, Paris. Scuffles ensued for hours, ended by mounted police. There would be more arrests on the following day.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 26, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 26th of 2nd M 1834 / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting It was quiet Solid & Silent - The Morning was cold & the riding rough, but softened & a little better on our return. - There was very little buisness in the last Meeting & it held but little time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 27, Thursday: Rosmonda d'Inghilterra, a melodramma serio by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Romani, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Pergola, Florence.

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

5th day 27 of 2 M / More trouble in the Monied concerns - We are told today that Otis Barlett of [Smithfield](#) has failed & assigned his property for the benefit of his creditors. - This is a hard Stroke for a Man advanced in life & a large dependant family. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 5, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5th of 3rd M / Yesterday was subcommittee & divers of our friends were here - it was a pretty pleasant day & I hope the labours of the committee will be productive of good particularly in the New School where care & labour is much needed. - This Mornng my wife went in the Steam Boat President to [Newport](#) to see Sister Ruth who is very poorly & in a distressed State from a Can[C]erous affliction in her breast. - Being obliged to Carry my wife to town in time to take the Steam Boat - I could not attend our Meeting which I was sorry for, as our friends Edw & Elizabeth Wing was here & attended Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 March 21, Friday: Le Tribunal de Premiere Instance de la Seine ordered that the annuity promised to Gioachino Rossini by King Charles X be paid in perpetuity.

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

7th day 22 of 3rd M / Recd a letter from my wife in [Newport](#), & if Sister Ruth is no worse she expects to return to the Institution 3rd day next. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 23rd of 3 M / Our Morning Meeting was silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached a good sermon & was much fuller than common for him on the subject of spirituality It was a good testimony. -
Oh that our society may be preserved on the Ancient foundation - in the Doctrine of Ancient Friends who I firmly believe knew the Truth & lived & Died in it -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27th of 3rd M / By the Steam Boat this forenoon my dear wife returned from [Newport](#) where she has been the last three Weeks with Our dear & well beloved Sister Ruth Rodman who is in an afflicted state with a Cancer on her breast - I am grieved, sorely grieved on her account - there appears to be no prospect of her being better -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 30, Easter Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 3rd M / In our Morning Meeting Lydia Breed was engaged in a lively sound & pertinent testimony In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & addressed the Scholars on the subject of Morality & religion. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 12th day of 5th month, Monday: Extracts from the will of Friend [Moses Brown](#) dated 12th day of fifth month, 1834, and from the codicil to the said will dated the 25th day of sixth month, 1835, relating to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend John R. Kellam](#) during October 2007 and February 2008:

Essential Summary of Items in last Will of Moses Brown. Executed 12th of 5th Month, 1834, and subsequent Codicil Executed 25th d, 6th Month, 1835; Approved for Probate as received October 11, 1836.

Docket No. A5706

Item 1st. To grand daughter Avis L. Harris, my Brick House Farm in Providence (city since 1832) and North Providence where



William Earl now lives, containing about 175 acres

...

Item 33rd. To the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, either by sea or by land, for the manumission of slaves and for the protection of the free people of colour, – acting under the Charter granted by the Legislature of this State, one share in Providence Banke.

Item 34th. I give to Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends, as a legal body, two shares in Providence Banke as a fund, the dividends, or income of which to be applied to the education of Friends' children belonging to said Meeting, in Friends School in this City.

I also give to said Monthly Meeting, one hundred dollars' worth of Friends' Books, for their library, to be kept in this City.

[Item] 35th. I give and bequeath, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, a note of hand and mortgage, signed by Joseph Hawes, John Brewer, Henry Holden, Joshua B. Woods, and their wives, for the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, – as a fund, the interest of which only, to be appropriated and used for the following purposes, –

One third part thereof to be added to the charitable fund of Friends' Boarding School in Providence, excepting so much of the income thereof as may be sufficient to pay the schooling herein given to divers persons, and such others as may be scholars in said School at my expense, at the time of my decease, which is to be paid out of this third part, – the interest of the said third part thereafter to be applied by the School Committee, as a charitable fund, for the schooling of such members of the Society as are actually poor, supported or not, as such, by the respective Monthly Meetings; – and females are to have equal advantage of the whole of this legacy, as males.

One other third part of the income of the said note and mortgage is to be applied towards paying the teachers in the respective departments, who dwell in the said school house, and have the care of the scholars out of, as well as in, school hours, watching over their morals in love for their good – equally to each of them.

11. The other third part, or Five Thousand Dollars, together with the interest thereof, to be reserved until there shall be offered a tract of land suitable for the institution, in its vicinity, which can be purchased for its value. – The School Committee are then, notwithstanding the foregoing restriction to the use of the interest only, hereby authorized to appropriate the said sum, or any part thereof, as may appear to them necessary, – to the purchase of the same, to belong to the said Institution, in fee simple forever. – And whereas it is most likely that the interest on the last mentioned Five Thousand Dollars may



accumulate, therefore, notwithstanding the foregoing limitations and directions for the disposing of the same, it is my Will, that in case a larger Meeting House should be required in this City, sufficient to hold Yearly Meetings in, the said interest to be applied to that purpose, – and the said School Committee are hereby authorized to appropriate the same accordingly.

[Item] 36th. I further give to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, for their Boarding School, all such books as I have marked in my catalogue for that purpose. –

And I intend to leave directions, in writing, with my executors and executrixes, for the disposal of such other parts of my library of books, maps, papers and apparatus, as are not herein disposed of; – but in case I do not leave directions, the same are to be considered as embraced in the residuary Item of this Instrument.

[Item] 37th. I also give to the said Yearly Meeting, to remain as an appendage to the same School Institution forever, about two acres of land, with the dwelling house and shop thereon, – where Joseph Cole now lives, divided and separated from the school house lot by the road on the East of said school house lot.

[Item] 38th. I give and devise to my son in-law William Almy, my four and a quarter shares of thatch-beds lying near his salt-marsh, in the Cove above Weybosset Bridge, one of which was my father's; the other three and a quarter rights I purchased of sundry persons as per Deeds, to him, his heirs and assigns.

[Item] 39th. I give to Charles William Jenkins son of William Jenkins and his deceased wife Hannah, two shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

[Item] 40th. I give to William B. Tobey and Samuel B. Tobey sons of my grand daughter Sarah Lockwood Tobey deceased and Doct. Samuel B. Tobey, eight shares in Smithfield Union Bank; committing the same to the care, control and management of their said father – by selling and investing the same in some other safe Institution, or otherwise, at his discretion, until they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; when the said sons are to receive the same, together with the dividends, interest or income thereof, equally between them, which their father is to pay them, as and for their legacy.

[Item] 41st. It is my Will, that in all Legacies of notes or hands or mortgages, herein given, all the unpaid interest go with the same, to the legatees; and also the dividends on Bank and Turnpike stocks, declared after my decease, go with the stocks.

[Item] 42^d. I give to my great grand children, Sarah Brown Jenkins, and Anna Almy Jenkins, children of William Jenkins and Anna Almy Jenkins, – ten shares in Central Bridge, equally between them; and commit them to the care of their said father, until they become of age.



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[Item] 43^d. I give to my amiable grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins, and daughter of my daughter Sarah deceased, wife of William Almy, – the occupancy, use and improvement of my Homestead Farm where I now live, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, – containing two hundred and fifty acres, be the same more or less, – and to her children after her, – for and during her and their natural lives: – and in case her children or any of them survive and are living to and at the age of twenty-one years, – or marry or have a child or children, – then and in either of those cases, my Will and Testament is, that they, or either of them who live to the age of twenty-one years, or marry and have a child or children, shall have, and I hereby give and devise to them, the said Farm, after their mother's life time, in fee simple forever. But in case there shall not be any such child of my said grand-daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, surviving to the age of twenty-one years, or that has or have a child or children living, – then and in that case my Will and Testament is, and I hereby give and devise the Reversionary Fee Simple of my Homestead Farm mentioned, after the decease of my said grand daughter and her said children, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, to be by them applied to and as, and for an additional appendage to the Institution of the Boarding School standing on the Lot I heretofore gave for the erection of the same thereon. And it is my will, that the same and all the estates herein given to them, do vest in and remain to, the Yearly Meeting and their successors holding the same Christian faith and doctrines, as exemplified in the writings of George Fox, George Whitehouse, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, professors of the Christian Religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, both as to his outstanding manifestations in the body, and inward Divine Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, for the conversion, regeneration, preservation and sanctification of the mind and soul of man, and is truly taught in the Scriptures when opened by the same divine spirit which superintended the writers thereof, for the very great benefit, strength and comfort of all pious people who read them, – and especially for the instruction and edification of religious, seeking minds of both young and old.

[Item] 44th. I also give to my said grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, for and during her natural life, the following Estates, viz: –

My farm in Seekonk, containing about three hundred acres more or less, whereon my tenant parol Adam Comstock now lives: –

My lot of land, of thirty-six acres, now under lease to Jonathan Niles: –

My lot, and my stores standing thereon, nearly opposite the Providence Bank, extending from the Main Street to the lot I gave my son Obadiah Brown deceased, on which he caused a block of brick stores to be built and which he left to his niece, the said Anna Almy Jenkins, and are now in her possession: And after her decease, my Will is, and I hereby give the said Estates, to her surviving children, equally between them, their heirs and assigns, forever. – And should any of the said estates, by the decease of my said grand-daughter, become the property of any of her said children during their minority, – my Will is, that



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their father, William Jenkins, have the care, use, and improvement of the same, or of such minors proportion thereof, until they shall respectively become of age.

[Item] 45th. I give and devise unto my said grand daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, the following lots or parcels of land, to her, heirs and assigns, forever; viz, – my House and Lot, – my Seven Acre and Hat-Factory Lots, – with the shop lately occupied by Arnold Wilkinson, – my Watered Meadow Lot, a little farther Northward, extending from the Main Street to the river, containing, by estimation, three acres, more or less, and is bounded Southerly by a lot of her father's, and Northerly by a road leading to Thurber's Mills, as the fence stands, – all situated at the Northerly part of this City: – My bleach-yard lot, adjoining the Old Cotton Mill Lot, and the lot rented to the Fire Engine Company in Pawtucket, in North Providence X my house and lot in Seekonk, near Central Bridge; – my Ridge Hill Lot, South thereof; my Gravelly-Hill Lot, South of the Creek flowing between this and the last-mentioned lot; – my Long Meadow Lot, still further South; – all purchased by Deeds: – the latter belonging to my predecessor, is included in the Deed of my House Farm; – my lots bounded Easterly by the stone wall lately through the Swamp meadow, from Angell Street to Old Gaol Lane (dividing between these lots and the lots hereinbefore given to Avis L. Harris,) and extending Westward from said stone wall to old Prospect Street, on the hill, leaving ten feet to widen said Street on the East side: (these lots are bounded on the North, partly by Friends Burial Ground:) – Also the small barn standing on one of the said lots: – the lots Westward of said Prospect Street, to Mathew Watson's and John Smith's house-lots, which said last-mentioned lot I sold to Benjamin Smith, son of the said John Smith; – leaving to the City, the correction of the mistake of leaving two avenues from Angell Street into Prospect Street. I say mistake – for it so appeared to the Town Council and to others – on considering my memorial to them on the subject: – and it was proposed to correct the same by widening the old street Eastward, to fifty feet; – but the business is not yet finished, but I trust will be regulated: – Also twenty seventy-one parts of the house and about ten acres of land belonging to the old proprietors of Central Bridge.

I also give my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, five shares in the Central Bridge, – a silver tankard, marked I. A. A., – a pint silver porringer, marked the same: – a pint silver-can, marked O.B to A.B., and a silver pepper-box marked the same: – all my undisposed of shares in Providence Bank, – all my undisposed of shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

And I furthermore express my will and decree that both my grand daughters herein mentioned, do their endeavours, as far as they can, to leave the Bank Shares, or the amount thereof, to their own heirs, without the control or disposal of any other person.

[Item] 46th. Finally, – I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my said grand-daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, all the residue and remainder of my estate and estates, real, personal and mixed, wheresoever lying and being, after all my just debts are paid out of the same; – which are few and small, – to her, her heirs



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and assigns.

I hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my friends and kinsmen Bates Harris, William Jenkins and William J. Harris, my executors, and my grand children Anna Almy Jenkins and Avis L. Harris my executrixes to this my Last Will and Testament, who are to receive, out of my Estate, ample compensation for their services.

In Witness whereof, I the said Moses Brown hereunto set my hand and affix my seal, this 12th day of the fifth month, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four. 1834.

s/ Moses Brown {L.S.}

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and	}
declared, by the said Moses Brown, as and	}
for his Last Will and Testament, in the	}
presence of us, who, at the time, at his	}
request, in his presence and in the	}
presence of each other hereunto set	}
our names as witnesses to the same.	}
Edward M. Robinson.	}
Welcome Congdon.	}
George C. Arnold.	}
William L. Patten.	}

I, Moses Brown of Providence in the County of Providence, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Do make and ordain this Instrument as and for a codicil to my Last Will and Testament bearing date the twelfth day of the fifth month, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, - as follows, -

Whereas, my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins since the execution of my Last Will and Testament, aforesaid, has borne a son, born on or about the seventh day of the second month, this year, whose name is Moses Brown Jenkins, and whom I am desirous, if it be the Divine Will, may survive to enjoy a part of the estate his will has placed in my hands to dispose of; - and it is my Will, that in case he the said Moses Brown Jenkins should live to the twenty-one years, or marry and have a child, he should have, and I hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto him, the whole of my homestead farm where I now live, in Providence Neck, after the life time of my grand daughter his mother, to whom the same farm is given in my said Will and Testament during her natural life - any thing proposed or written in my said Will to the contrary notwithstanding. - And it is my further Will and pleasure, if he survive as aforesaid, that he have an equal share and part of my other estate given in my aforesaid Last Will to his mother and to his two sisters Sarah Brown and Anna Almy Jenkins as fully as though my Will was re-drawn and now executed including the same. And my meaning is, that the three children be otherwise equal in my estate, save this grant and devise to my namesake, as aforesaid.

And whereas, in Item 33 of my said Will, I have given one share in Providence Bank, to the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, tr, "as by Charter established," - and it not



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appearing probable that there may be another meeting of said Society legally convened, I do therefore make null and void that particular legacy as therein bequeathed; and do hereby give unto my trusty friends George W. Benson and Hugh H. Brown, in Trust, for the use of the Providence AntiSlavery Society, the said one share.

[Subscribing witnesses to codicil: William L. Patten, Jonathan Freeborn, James P. Hoskins, and Perry J. Chace.

Both instruments, will and codicil were adjudged to be proved by Albert G. Greene, Clerk, and with a letter testamentary recorded on 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 in Will Book 14, pages 23-28.]

July 8, Tuesday morning: Samuel Ringgold Ward and four other men of color had spent the night in the New-York city jail, for having been victims of the white rioters. In the morning, however, although no-one had appeared to press any charges against them, still they were not released — as the white rioters had not yet completed their work:

In the morning we were brought before the police magistrate, with other prisoners. Those against whom no one appeared, or whom no one charged with any offence, were discharged. None appeared against us. The watchman who arrested us had no charge to bring: he simply said, in the chaste diction of a New York official, "Thur was a row in Chatham Chapel last night, and these niggers was there." The magistrate, a sample specimen of the New York Dogberry, abused us, and, instead of discharging us according to law and custom, remanded us to Bridewell, to give parties an opportunity of appearing against us. I never knew the same course taken in any other case. To Bridewell we went, and were put into a cell with nineteen others. In a most filthy state was that cell. All the occupants, besides my four companions, were charged with crime — one with killing a man; and though we were searched before we were incarcerated, this man had, and showed us, the knife with which he had inflicted the murder. The murderer, Johnson, had been fettered in the same cell, and we saw the chain by which he had been fastened to the floor. When the prison cup was offered us to drink from, and when the prison food was brought us, feeling our innocence and our dignity (lads of seventeen seldom lack the latter), we refused both. About ten o'clock, my father and G.A. Ward, Esq., procured my liberation, by paying the turnkey. As an innocent subject, unrighteously doomed to a felon's prison, without either accuser or trial, when liberated, I should have gone out free. My fellow prisoners were liberated soon after. That imprisonment initiated me into the anti-slavery fraternity.



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July 9, Wednesday: The administration of Earl Grey had been formed in England soon after the resignation of the Wellington administration, on November 16, 1830. At this point the Grey administration was dissolved (a new administration would form under Viscount Melbourne).

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

2nd day 9 of 7 M 1834 [a problem here, for Monday 2nd day was the 7th of July] / Went to [Newport](#) in the Steam Boat Rush Light this morning to settle the Yearly Meeting Accounts & to attend to some other buisness which was of importance to me I also visited some of my friends & acquaintances & had a pleasant time - returned to [Providence](#) in the Rush Light on 4th day Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 7th M 1834 / Hannah Backhouse attended Meeting at the Institution & preached & prayed In the Morning - In the Afternoon Dugan Clarke & his wife Asseaneth were here - Asseaneth preached & also Dugan - then Asseaneth prayed & it felt to me, they were in the life & power of the Gospel - their company & services were comfortable and strengthening to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 20, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) preached temperance to the Native Americans at Stillwater, Maine.

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

1st day 20th of 7 M / Sat our meetings in weakness & poverty, but not as distressing as at some times - In our School Collection this eveng an acct of a friend was read from Piety Promoted who appeared to have lived a long life of Virtue & closed in peace - after the reading closed & the pause continued - I felt desirous for a little help from the fountain of life & turning my mind to it more closely I felt the veil withdrawn & access given in a manner that was comfortable & encouraged my Spirit. -

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July 24, Thursday: In Portugal, the Liberal Wars came to an end.

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

5th day 24th of 7th M 1834 / It is Preparative Meeting & Also Select Meeting, but being very unwell this Mornng my head & bowels much out of order, I did not go to Meeting tho' I dressed & thought I would go till nearly Meeting time, when I found my head particularly so poorly that I dare not risk the hot sun. - my mind has been often with them & sometimes almost regret I did not attempt to go

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 July 30, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 30th of 7 M 1834 / Attended Monthly Meeting held in town. It was a time of favour - no common favour - Wm Almy was first engaged in testimony then Hannah Robinson then Dorcas Paine & the Anna A Jenkins. -then Lydia Breed in supplication -It was not so much from the general outpouring, that I count the remarkable feeling of life & love which seemed to prevail, tho I do consider some of the communications were as Diamonds of the first water & calculated to do much good particularly to the youth. -but there was that over the Meeting which seemed to carry the evidence that Silence is Worship as well as vocal communication. -There was not much buisness to engage the attention of the last Meeting & it closed after a short setting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September: Thomas Grimké, a brother of [Friends Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#), visited Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and they had a debate with one another in regard to human [slavery](#).

 September 6, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 6 of 7th M 1834 / We recd this Afternoon a letter from [Newport](#) informing that our Aged Aunt Anna Carpenter was taken in a fit & was very low, & our company necessary, we accordingly made ready & on First 1st day [Sunday] Mornng went down in the Steam Boat & found her some revived so that she new Hannah, but I was not sensible that she knew me - On 2nd day [Monday] finding her comfortable for her situation & considerably revived I left & returned to [Providence](#) to prepare to leave for a longer time if it should be found Necessary - but by the Mail on 3rd day I recd a letter informing me She was much worse & My wife requested my return to Newport immediately. Accordingly at 12 OC on 4th day I set out & on my way to the Steam Boat recd a letter from Brother Isaac Mentioning that she Died that Morning about 5 OC the 10th of 9th M 1834 in the 89th Year of her Age. - I arrived there in the Afternoon, & found her whom I had seen in the Same place & loved from a child removed from time; No more to be Seen of Men -on 6th day the 12th inst her remains were interd in friends burying ground between the graves of her Husband Caleb Carpenter, & her daughter Mary after a Solid Silent Sitting at the house

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 13, Saturday: For his 13th and final flight in the clouds, Charles Ferson Durant soared the distance from Boston to Lincoln in 2 hours and 20 minutes. This brought his career to an abrupt termination, as he had pledged that he would hang up his talaria in exchange for a vow from a certain young lady to love, honor, and obey (the middle-aged Louis Lauriat may have witnessed this adolescent derring-do and the reaction of the masses).

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

On 7th day following after making some preparation to leave [Newport](#) - on 1st day [Sunday] Morning I took the Steam Boat &



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returned to [Providence](#), leaving my wife in Newport on Account of her Mother whom she did not feel easy to leave being taken quite sick the night before - however on 2nd day [Monday] finding her Mother Better She returned in the Steam Boat in the Afternoon. -

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September 18, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 18th of 9th M 1834 / We have this day Mentioned to our friends here, that in consequence of the decease of our Aged Aunt Anna Carpenter we have come to the conclusion to leave the Institution & [Providence](#), & return to [Newport](#) to live, it was her request two years ago that we should do so - & now her boarders are all desirous we should come & occupy the house & make a family with them, which after due deliberate consideration we have concluded to do - Aunt Nancy Carpenter having by her Will so provided that we can do it, to some advantage & convenience to our Selves - that Is - she has given to My wife the South half of her house in which we have lived & paid rent for, & after her, she has given it to our son John. The other half the house she has given her brother Clarke Rodman during his life & after him to Mary Rodman during her life, & after her decease to our Son John in fee Simple he paying Twelve Hundred Dollars, that is to say Six hundred to David Rodman & Six hundred to John Rodmans children that may be living at Marys decease, or at Fathers decease whichever event may last occur - So that we think it best for us to return & occupy the whole House with her boarders & as by her Will she has ordered that her family shall not be immediately broken up; We shall have time to prepare -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 20, Saturday: Queen Maria II of Portugal came of age and the regency ended.



September 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21 of 9 M 1834 / Just before we went into Meeting this Morning Edmond Breed Died Aged 21 Years - he had been a Scholar here & had been hired to work on the farm, was taken Sick between two & three Weeks ago of a fever - his illness tho' slow in progress & his departure at last rather sudden, it having taken an unfavourable turn on his stomach & bowels - about an half an hour before his final close he requested the whole family called and gave us all his hand & bid us farewell & in the course of the Morning Sent Messages to his parents & brothers, & also to Several of his acquaintances & to some who was around his bed he gave suitable advice, it was indeed a solemn Scene & our Meeting was a season to be remembered tho' not a word was utterd. -

In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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November 14, Friday: Hughes Bernard Maret, duc de Bassano replaced Etienne Maurice, comte Gerard as prime minister of France.

In Parma, [Nicolò Paganini](#) played his 1st concert in Italy since he left in 1828.

The *Pilgrim* entered the Pacific Ocean and began to turn toward the north:

Friday, Nov. 14th. We were now well to the westward of the Cape, and were changing our course to the northward as much as we dared, since the strong south-west winds, which prevailed then, carried us in towards Patagonia. At two, P.M., we saw a sail on our larboard beam, and at four we made it out to be a large ship steering our course, under single-reefed topsails. We at that time had shaken the reefs out of our topsails, as the wind was lighter, and set the main top-gallant sail. As soon as our captain saw what sail she was under, he set the fore top-gallant sail and flying jib; and the old whaler- for such, his boats and short sail showed him to be- felt a little ashamed, and shook the reefs out of his topsoils, but could do no more, for he had sent down his top-gallant masts off the Cape. He ran down for us, and answered our hail as the whale-ship, *New England*, of Poughkeepsie, one hundred and twenty days from New York. Our captain gave our name, and added ninety-two days from Boston. They then had a little conversation about longitude, in which they found that they could not agree. The ship fell astern, and continued in sight during the night. Toward morning, the wind having become light, we crossed our royal and skysail yards, and at daylight, we were seen under a cloud of sail, having royals and skysails fore and aft. The "spouter," as the sailors call a whalerman, had sent out his main top-gallant mast and set the sail, and made signal for us to heave to. About half-past seven their whale-boat came alongside, and Captain Job Terry sprang on board, a man known in every port and by every vessel in the Pacific ocean. "Don't you know Job Terry? I thought everybody knew Job Terry," said a green-hand, who came in the boat, to me, when I asked him about his captain. He was indeed a singular man. He was six feet high, wore thick cowhide boots, and brown coat and trowsers, and, except a sun-burnt complexion, had not the slightest appearance of a sailor; yet he had been forty years in the whale trade, and, as he said himself, had owned ships, built ships, and sailed ships. His boat's crew were a pretty raw set, just set out of the bush, and, as the sailor's phrase is, "hadn't got the hayseed out of their hair." Captain Terry convinced our captain that our reckoning was a little out, and, having spent the day on board, put off in his boat at sunset for his ship, which was now six or eight miles astern. He began a "yarn" when he came aboard, which lasted, with but little intermission, for four hours. It was all about himself, and the Peruvian government, and the *Dublin* frigate, and Lord James Townshend, and President Jackson, and the ship *Ann M'Kim* of Baltimore. It would probably never have come to an end, had not a good breeze sprung up, which sent him off to his own vessel. One of the lads who came in his boat, a thoroughly countrified-looking fellow, seemed to care very little about the vessel, rigging, or anything else, but went round looking at the live stock, and leaned over the pig-sty, and said he wished he was back again tending his father's pigs.



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At eight o'clock we altered our course to the northward, bound for Juan Fernandez.

This day we saw the last of the albatrosses, which had been our companions a great part of the time off the Cape. I had been interested in the bird from descriptions which I had read of it, and was not at all disappointed. We caught one or two with a baited hook which we floated astern upon a shingle. Their long, flapping wings, long legs, and large staring eyes, give them a very peculiar appearance. They look well on the wing; but one of the finest sights that I have ever seen, was an albatross asleep upon the water, during a calm, off Cape Horn, when a heavy sea was running. There being no breeze, the surface of the water was unbroken, but a long, heavy swell was rolling, and we saw the fellow, all white, directly ahead of us, asleep upon the waves, with his head under his wing; now rising on the top of a huge billow, and then falling slowly until he was lost in the hollow between. He was undisturbed for some time, until the noise of our bows, gradually approaching, roused him, when, lifting his head, he stared upon us for a moment, and then spread his wide wings and took his flight.



November 14, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 11M 14 1834 / After a residence of Six Years lacking 8 days My wife left the [Institution](#) today in the Steam Boat President for [Newport](#) where we expect to reside for a time - I expect to follow her in a few days & join in the cares of our family

Aunt Nancy Carpenter having requested in her life time that we would keep her family together & also left me one of the Executors of her Will renders it necessary we should be in [Newport](#) - we therefore resigned our Standing in the Institution at [Providence](#) at the last Meeting of the General Committee

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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Mid-November: Toward the middle of the month the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) substituted for his cousin the Reverend Orville Dewey at the [New Bedford Unitarian Church](#).⁸⁴ While in New Bedford, Massachusetts he boarded with Friend Deborah Brayton, a [Quaker](#) who used “thee” and “thou” and “First Day” and “First Month.” When this task was completed the Reverend Emerson settled in the town of [Concord](#), Massachusetts.



November 22, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22nd of 11th M 1834 / It is just Six Years today, the same day of the Month & Week, since we Came to [Providence](#) to reside at the [yearly Meeting School](#) - I am still here, but my wife returned to [Newport](#) more than a Week ago - our things are packed up or nearly so, & I am waiting for the Packet to come up & take them on board, to convey them to our Native town & former residence.

Alas what changes have taken place there since we left it, many whom we loved in life were intimately associated with, have gone to their long homes, to be Seen of men no more, yet some are left who we shall be glad to greet again as friends & neighbours on this side of the grave. - Since our residence at [Providence](#) we have enjoyed much & suffered much, & after all have much to be thankful for.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 26, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On the 26th of 11th M I left the [Institution](#) after taking leave of both Schools, the Help in the Kitchen, & those who usually are occupants of the setting room - at 12 OC went on board the Steam boat Benj Franklin & returned to [Newport](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On the 27th was Monthly Meeting held in [Newport](#) at which I saw many of my old friends & Acquaintance. - The first Meeting was a time of favour, Father Rodman, Hannah Dennis & Elizabeth Wing were lively pertinent & solemn in testimony - In the last Meeting the buisness was conducted solidly & regularly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

84.Note that the Reverend Emerson had given up his church, but not his position in society as a minister and not his title.



The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), sailed north along the East coast of South America, day after day in waters without islands, entirely out of sight of the continent.

Thursday, Nov. 27th, upon coming on deck in the morning, we were again upon the wide Pacific, and saw no more land until we arrived upon the western coast of the great continent of America.

As we saw neither land nor sail from the time of leaving Juan Fernandez until our arrival in California, nothing of interest occurred except our own doings on board. We caught the south-east trades, and ran before them for nearly three weeks, without so much as altering a sail or bracing a yard. The captain took advantage of this fine weather to get the vessel in order for coming upon the coast. The carpenter was employed in fitting up a part of the steerage into a trade-room; for our cargo, we now learned, was not to be landed, but to be sold by retail from on board; and this trade-room was built for the samples and the lighter goods to be kept in, and as a place for the general business. In the mean time we were employed in working upon the rigging. Everything was set up taut, the lower rigging rattled down, or rather rattled up, (according to the modern fashion,) an abundance of spun-yarn and seizing-stuff made, and finally, the whole standing rigging, fore and aft, was tarred down. This was my first essay at this latter business, and I had enough of it; for nearly all of it came upon my friend S _____ and myself. The men were needed at the other work, and M _____, the other young man who came out with us, was laid up with the rheumatism in his feet, and the boy Sam was rather too young and small for the business; and as the winds were light and regular, he was kept during most of the daytime at the helm; so that nearly all the tarring came upon us. We put on short duck frocks, and taking a small bucket of tar and a bunch of oakum in our hands, went aloft, one at the main royal-masthead and the other at the fore, and began tarring down. This is an important operation, and is usually done about once in six months in vessels upon a long voyage. It was done in our vessel several times afterwards, but by the whole crew at once, and finished off in a day; but at this time, as most of it came upon two of us, and we were new at the business, it took us several days. In this operation they always begin at the mast-head and work down, tarring the shrouds, back-stays, standing parts of the lifts, the ties, runners, etc., and go out to the yard-arms, and come in, tarring, as they come, the lifts and footropes. Tarring the stays is more difficult, and is done by an operation which the sailors call "riding down." A long piece of rope—topgallant—studding—sail halyards, or something of the kind—is taken up to the masthead from which the stay leads, and rove through a block for a girt-line, or, as the sailors usually call it, a gant-line; with the end of this a bowline is taken round the stay, into which the man gets with his bucket of tar and a bunch of oakum, and the other end being fast on deck, with some one to tend it, he is lowered down gradually, and tars the stay carefully as he goes. There he "swings aloft 'twixt heaven and earth," and if the rope slips, breaks, or is let go, or if the bowline slips, he falls overboard or breaks his neck. This, however, is a thing which never enters into a sailor's calculation. He only thinks of leaving no holydays, (places not tarred,) for in case he should, he would have to go over the whole again; or of dropping no tar upon the deck, for then there would be a soft word in his ear from the mate. In this manner I tarred down all the headstays, but found the rigging about the jib-booms, martingale, and spritsail yard, upon which I was afterwards put, the hardest. Here you have to hang on with your eyelids and tar with your hands.

This dirty work could not last forever, and on Saturday night we finished it, scraped all the spots from the deck and rails, and, what was of more importance to us, cleaned ourselves thoroughly, rolled up our tarry frocks and trousers and laid them away for the next occasion, and put on our clean duck clothes, and had a good comfortable sailor's Saturday night. The next day was pleasant, and indeed we had but one unpleasant Sunday during the whole voyage, and that was off Cape Horn, where we could expect nothing better. On Monday we commenced painting, and getting the vessel ready for port. This work, too, is done by the crew, and every sailor who has been on long voyages is a little of a painter, in addition to his other accomplishments. We painted her, both inside and out, from the truck to the water's edge. The outside is painted by lowering stages over the side by ropes, and on those we sat, with our brushes and paint-pots by us, and our feet half the time in the water. This must be done, of course, on a smooth day when the vessel does not roll much. I remember very well being over the side painting in this way, one fine afternoon, our vessel going quietly along at the rate of four or five knots, and a pilot-fish, the sure precursor of a shark, swimming alongside of us. The captain was leaning over the rail watching him, and we went quietly on with our work.

→ December 7, Sunday: Andante spianato for piano by [Frédéric François Chopin](#) was performed for the initial time, by the composer at a Berlioz concert in the Paris Conservatoire.

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

1st day 7th of 12 M 1834 / Pretty good Meetings - with a little exception in the Afternoon - A young man wellmeaning delivered a testimony & being not a member, was alluded to in a manner by a friend, which I thought & felt did more hurt than the young mans testimony - when shall we be all Wise.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ December 11, Thursday: A commando party from the Cape government killed a Xhosa chief. (An army of 10,000 men led by his brother Maqoma would cross into the Cape Colony pillaging and torching homesteads. This 6th Xhosa War would include clashes between white settlers and Bantu peoples in Cape Colony. Dutch-speaking settlers would colonize the area north of the Orange River.)

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

5th day 11th of 12th M 1834 / Silent solid meeting In the evening we went to Henry Goulds & passed the time pleasantly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ December 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14th of 12 M 1834 / Silent & solid Meetings It was a stormy day & the gathering small

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ December 21, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Blessed is the day when the youth discovers that Within and Above are synonyms.

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

1st day 21 of 12 M / Our Meetings were both times of some favour, especially in the Morning - Father Rodman was engaged in testimony in both & I thought with useful effect - It is now a time of great stir among the religious professors in many places & [Newport](#) comes in for its share. - I hope some good will arise from it, but it is greatly to be feared many will take up with a false rest, as rest short of that which is in God thro' Jesus Christ - Many have gone into the water today & been Baptised, who I fear have not yet known that of the Holy Ghost & Fire to have passed in them. - Oh! that people knew that true Religion does not consist in their



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own willing & runnings, & that of themselves they can do nothing aright but that all must come from God thro' Jesus Christ, that is able to effect salvation & that not in the Whirlwind & Fire, but the small still voice must be known & heard, before true progress can be made in Religion –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 22, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 22nd of 12 M 1834 / This has been a remarkably fine & pleasant Day for the season of the Year - In the forenoon I took a walk round the Hill & called to see Old Ceasar Wanton who is now wanting a few Months of 90 Years of Age - he has been a very respectable black man all his life & was Servant to old Gideon Wanton who died in this Town in the year [blank] Ceasar seemed very tender in spirit & sensible of his time in this World being very short, he assented to his dependence on God thro' Jesus Christ & said he prayed for patience to wait for his close. - he is so as to walk about his room & the house - but seemed very weak & feeble, & as if it would not be long before he will leave this world of pain & tribulation, & I have no doubt when the Change comes it will be peaceful & Happy. - It felt to me while sitting with him, that the present state of his mind is an earnest of that which will follow in an After State. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 23, Tuesday: The patenting of British architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom's invention, a cabriolet two-wheeled "patent safety cab" for driver and two passengers, that would begin to replace an earlier, lighter version of cab in which the passenger needed to sit alongside the driver. In the new version, the "Hansom cab," the driver sat above and behind for safe isolation of females from males and customers of quality from workers.

Thomas Robert Malthus died in St. Catherine, Somerset.



December 24, Wednesday: [Robert Schumann](#) purchased all publication rights to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, making him the sole owner.

Little more than a year after he entered the Paris Conservatoire, Jacques Offenbach was officially removed from the list of students, voluntarily.

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

4th day 24th of 12 M 1834 / I have lately recd a letter from Wm Rickman of Rochester England now in the 90th Year of his Age it was written in a fair & pretty firm hand, tho' the tremulous hand of Age appears in some parts of it - yet it evinces a lively frame of spirit & shows that the religion of his youth is not Lost in old age & that he yet occasionally travels in the Ministry & in the course of the last summer took a circuit of many Miles & attended three Quarterly Meetings. - I have this Afternoon recd a letter from My dear friend [Moses Brown](#), now in



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the 97th Year of his age in a hand writing nearly as good as W Rickmans & evincing the same greenness in old age & liveliness of Spirit which convinced him of Friends principles in the Morning of life & is now the guide & staff of his old age. – I shall keep these letters as precious mementos of these venerable Friends the first I was acquainted with when here on a religious visit in the Year [blank] And with the latter I have been long intimately & interestingly acquainted before I lived in Providence & while there was much united in travel of spirit for the welfare of society & the Institution, with which we were connected.

It is not likely I shall ever have many more letters from those Friends, tho' if M B continues in Mutability I may occasionally get one from him. –& I am willing here to record that he has been my long tried & well proven Friend – I love & venerate his name

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1835

→ Amos Farquhar, father of [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#), died.

→ [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#)'s deceased brother Thomas had been a member of the American Peace Society, and had been able to accept no form of warfare, not even “defensive” warfare, and Sarah had been deeply affected by his attitudes. When, however, Friend Sarah attempted to organize her fellow Quakers to join in such a Peace Society, she encountered resistance and needed to discontinue all of this sort of activity. (Typically, the Friends of that era were opposing any and all efforts to entangle them in any and all affiliation groups which also included any non-Friend member, just as they would disown any Friend who married outside their religion. Their emphasis was upon maintaining their own purity by remaining a people who had set themselves apart.)

Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) wrote to William Lloyd Garrison, identifying the antislavery struggle as an opportunity for martyrdom rather than as a legitimation for murder. This letter became public and some people urged her to recant:

It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction that this is a cause worth dying for.... YES! LET IT COME – let us suffer, rather than insurrections should arise.

(For this Satan-inspired attitude, Angelina's [Quaker](#) worship group would of course disown her.)

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➡ A trapper named George Ewing encountered, in the Indiana territory, a gray-haired woman named *Maconaquah* who related to him that she had been born in the white settlements. Initially he was dubious, because pretty much all she was able to remember was that her father had worn a hat with a broad brim. At that point she couldn't even remember what her Christian name had been. Despite her reluctance to have her story spread around, Ewing wrote to the [Quaker](#) settlement in Lancaster, Pennsylvania telling them what he had learned.

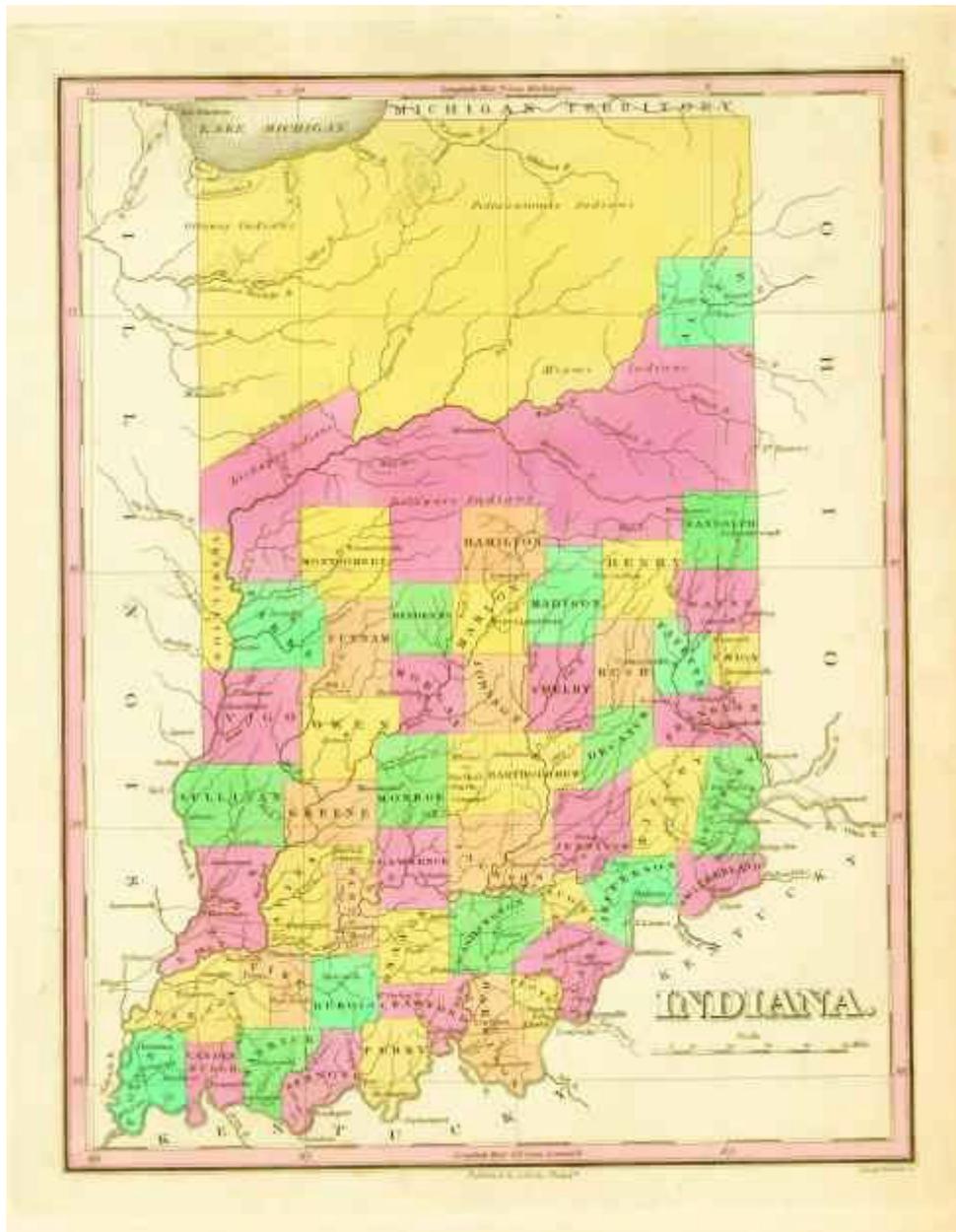
FRANCES SLOCUM



This is likely to have been the map of Indiana that was available to Henry Thoreau, out of the atlas of Anthony Finley:

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➡ [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), who had been born a Coffin on [Nantucket Island](#), held four appointed meetings and two meetings for worship on the island. For one of these appointed meetings, all island blacks were specifically invited to attend.



[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was elected to the Massachusetts legislature.

➡ By the mid-1830s, Nathan Johnson’s catering and Mary “Polly” Johnson’s confectionery business were well known in [New Bedford](#). They were living in their own place, which is now the rear section of 21 Seventh Street. The New Bedford [Mercury](#) was carrying the couple’s advertisements that at their Seventh Street establishment one might obtain eat-in “refreshments,” and in addition “Fresh Bordeaux Almonds; superior (French) Olives, Olive Oil, Prunes, Cocoa Nuts Oranges, Lemons, Lemon Syrup, shelled Almonds, Spices, &c. &c. Confect[ion]s, Jellies, Ice Cream, Cake, Candies” were being offered for sale. [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) would report that Nathan Johnson “and his worthy wife, ‘Polly,’ were the *sine qua none* at all the fashionable parties of our place, as caterers and waiters.” The papers of [Friend](#) Charles Waln Morgan at the Mystic Seaport Museum provide an account of a year’s worth of purchases from this establishment, delicacies such as sponge cake, loaf cake, and short cake, oranges, the fashionable, molded, jelly-like dessert known as *blanc mange*, macaroons, ice cream, candy (their confections reportedly were made with the use of “free labor sugar” — that is, sugar harvested and processed by free employees rather than by slave labor), and the sort of calves’ feet jelly which hostesses then often served on a bed of lettuce with slices of hard-boiled egg on top — the Johnson’s may not have been of the right race to be allowed to join the New Bedford monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (Nathan had applied in 1822, ➡ but his petition had of course been stonewalled), but everybody sure liked the way they could cook! The Reverend Samuel Joseph May, visiting New Bedford, observed that Johnson had acquired “the respect of the community in which he dwells ... by his uniformly upright conduct and modest manners,” and that through industry and thrift he had built up “a very pretty estate, and has found time to attend to the cultivation of his mind.”

➡ [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s nephew Nicholas Brown was one out of a very long list of vice-presidents of a newly founded Providence Anti-Abolition Society. For information about the agenda of this curious group, you may want to refer to “Anti-abolition Meeting,” an article in the [Providence Daily Journal](#) for November 4th, 1835 which is to be found on the website of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice at <<http://dl.lib.brown.edu/slaveryandjustice/>>:

Resolved, That we regard the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Societies as most injurious to the welfare of the slaves; that, in our opinion, all such efforts lead to



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exasperate their passions, to agitate their minds with fallacious hopes; to render necessary their subjection to unwonted restraints; and, more than all, to postpone to an indefinite period all such changes in their condition as their owners, under the direction of an enlightened benevolence, might aim to accomplish.

Resolved, That, although the Anti-Slavery Societies disclaim all intention to excite servile insurrections, yet we believe that the tendency of their exaggerated statements and inflammatory appeals is, not only to create feverish discontent among the slaves, but to cause such an explosion of their worst passions as would spread havoc and consternation over entire regions of our country.⁸⁵

SERVILE INSURRECTION

85. Page 417 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

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At the racially segregated [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that had been created by Friend [Moses Brown](#), things were not going swimmingly. Finding that the governing committees of the Yearly Meeting resisted his expenditures to develop the school, Friend John Griscom resigned from his position as headmaster of the academic department.



Two other teachers also left: Samuel Gummere was hired by a school that had been founded in 1833 in Haverford, Pennsylvania,



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and Pliny Earle decided to attend Medical College in Philadelphia.



The average annual enrollment of pupils would continue to decline.

In this year Friends Enoch Breed and Lydia Breed were replaced as superintendents by Friends Seth Davis and Mary Davis.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, Hannah , Asst. Supts.
1835-1836.	Davis, Seth and Mary.
1837.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1838-1839.	Rathbun, Rowland and Alice.
1840-1844.	Wing, Allen and Olive.
1845-1846.	Thompson, Olney and Lydia.
1847.	Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia.
1847-1852.	Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.



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 January 11, Sunday: [Mrs. Mary Mercy Moor Ellis](#) died. This missionary couple had produced four children. The Reverend Ellis would prepare a biography of his deceased wife.

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

*1st day 11 of 1st M / Meetings well attended for Winter & Father RODman engaged in a more than commonly solemn Testimony in the Morning, & a few words in the Afternoon - At the close of the Mornng Meeting Job Sherman read the Notice of the Funeral of Uncle Isaac Almy at [Portsmouth](#) on 4th day next - Which was the first we had heard of his death or Sickness - It appears he had been unwell with the Influenza for some days & last night ate a hearty supper of minced pie & went to bed as usual but in the night was taken unwell & got up with a view of making a fire & fell & died instantly. - How true indeed it is that in the Midst of life we are in death, & how great & forcibly is the necessity suggested of a state of preparation to meet the summons in its sudden presentation
He was a man who promised to live long as his constitution was favourable to it & his ancestors lived long. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 25, Sunday: [Hector Berlioz](#) began his duties as concert critic at the [Journal des Debats](#), a post he would hold for the following 28 years.

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

1st day 25th of 1st M / In the Morning Meeting, Father Rodman was engaged in a short but good testimony & the Meeting was well attended - Silent in the PM. - I have been very unwell with a heavy cold attended with some fever for several Days & it is as much as ever it was prudent for me to be at Meeting this Afternoon as it Rained. - I hope my indisposition will not prevent my being at [Providence](#) Qrtly Meeting next week - but hope to be content, be it as it may. - I do not feel much stimulous about going, but should be unwilling to be absent, having several appointments to answer.

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 January 28, Wednesday: [George Cuvier Harlan](#) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, son of [Professor Richard Harlan](#).

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

4th day 28th of 1st M / I have been out a little today but find it safest & most comfortable to keep mostly within doors. - my cough continues & I seem to take cold very easy. - My mind has been favoured with quiet. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 February 5, Thursday: Having completed his introductory lecture “Tests of Great Men” at Boston’s Masonic Temple for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, [Waldo Emerson](#) began the substance of his new “Biography” series of lectures with an account of [Michael Angelo Buonaroti](#): on succeeding Thursdays he would deal with Martin Luther, [John Milton](#), Friend [George Fox](#), and [Edmund Burke](#).



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

5th day The Public & Private Meeting was large & a pretty good Meeting - Sophrona Page had the weight of Service in the Ministry & Mary B Allen appeared in Supplication

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Friday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

Spent 6th day Mostly at the School House & on 7th day took the Steam Boat & returned home. -

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 February 8, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 2 M 1835 / Good Meetings Father had a short testimony in the Morning & Silent in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 12, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12 of 2 M / Good Solid Silent Meetings - This Morning recd a parcell & letter of Three Sheets from my kind & obliging friend Thos Thompson of Liverpool containing Much valued & highly interesting intelligence from that Land as well as from James Backhouse who is on a religious visit at Vandimens Land & New Holland. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Having introduced his Thursday-night audience in Boston’s Masonic Temple to [Michael Angelo Buonaroti](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) proceeded to introduce them to Martin Luther.

Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) attended a lecture sponsored by the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.



I went ... to an anti-slavery meeting, and heard with much interest an address from Robert Gordon. It was feeling, temperate, and judicious; but **one** word struck my ear unpleasantly. He said, “And yet it is **audaciously** asked: What has the North to do with slavery?” The word “audaciously,” while I am ready to admit its justice,



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seemed to me inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel; although we may abhor the system of slavery, I want us to remember that the guilt of the oppressor demands Christian pity and Christian prayer.

The following advertisement appeared in the Charleston, South Carolina Courier:

FIELD NEGROES. By Thomas Gadsden. On Tuesday, the 17th inst., will be sold, at the north of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, A.M., a prime gang of ten negroes, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, belonging to the Independent Church, in Christ's Church Parish. Feb. 6th.

SLAVERY

 February 13, Friday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day 13th of 2 M / Attended the funeral of Mary Taylor -over 90 Years of Age - widow of James Taylor, Cabinet Maker -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 20, Friday: Waldo Emerson began reading Friend George Fox's A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED reply to the Reverend Roger Williams, and looked again at Volume I of Friend William Penn's SELECT WORKS.

Charles Darwin recorded the following in his journal:

This day has been remarkable in the annals of Valdivia for the most severe earthquake which the oldest inhabitants remember.— Some who were at Valparaiso during the dreadful one of 1822, say this was as powerful.— I can hardly credit this, & must think that in Earthquakes as in gales of wind, the last is always the worst. I was on shore & lying down in the wood to rest myself. It came on suddenly & lasted two minutes (but appeared much longer). The rocking was most sensible; the undulation appeared both to me & my servant to travel due East. There was no difficulty in standing upright; but the motion made me giddy.— I can compare it to skating on very thin ice or to the motion of a ship in a little cross ripple.

An earthquake like this at once destroys the oldest associations; the world, the very emblem of all that is solid, moves beneath our feet like a crust over fluid; one second of time conveys to the mind a strange idea of insecurity, which hours of reflection would never create. In the forest, a breeze moved the trees, I felt the earth tremble, but saw no consequence from it.— At the town where nearly all the officers were, the scene was more awful; all the houses being built of wood, none actually fell & but few were injured. Every one expected to see the Church a heap of ruins. The houses were shaken violently & creaked much, the nails being partially drawn.— I feel sure it is these accompaniments & the horror pictured in the faces of all the inhabitants, which communicates the dread that every one feels who has thus seen as well as felt an earthquake. In the forest it was a highly interesting but by no means awe-exciting phenomenon.— The effect of the tides was very curious; the great shock took place at the time of low-water; an old woman who was

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on the beach told me that the water flowed quickly but not in big waves to the high-water mark, & as quickly returned to its proper level; this was also evident by the wet sand. She said it flowed like an ordinary tide, only a good deal quicker. This very kind of irregularity in the tide happened two or three years since during an Earthquake at Chiloe & caused a great deal of groundless alarm.— In the course of the evening there were other weaker shocks; all of which seemed to produce the most complicated currents, & some of great strength in the Bay. The generally active Volcano of Villa-Rica, which is the only part of the Cordilleras in sight, appeared quite tranquil.— I am afraid we shall hear of damage done at Concepcion.

 February 26, Thursday: Having introduced his Masonic Temple Thursday-night audience to [Michael Angelo Buonaroti](#), Martin Luther, and [John Milton](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) proceeded to introduce them to Friend [George Fox](#).

 March 5, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) completed the 1st delivery of his “Biography” series of lectures for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge at [Boston](#)’s Masonic Temple, an offering of [Michael Angelo Buonaroti](#), Martin Luther, [John Milton](#), Friend [George Fox](#), and [Edmund Burke](#) on successive Thursdays.



 March 25, Wednesday: Gaetano Donizetti departed from Paris after modest success, to return to Naples.

When he would get back in [Newport](#) on the evening of the 27th from this trip to [Providence](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would write of the events of this day in his journal:

*4th day 25th of 3 M 1835 / This morning rose by 4 OClock & got breakfast & went to the head of the Long Wharf to wait for the Steam Boat which arrived in season for me to get to [Providence](#) by 9 OClock after attending to a little buisness I went to the Monthly Meeting held there – which to me was a season of favour, of Memorable favour – Hannah Robinson appeared in a very satisfactory testimony to me – Then Dorcas Paine in testimony of solid weight & good savour & then H Robinson appeared in supplication & if it was not attended with life I do not understand what the life is – In the last meeting the buisness was conducted well – I had asked the preceeding Preparative Meeting for a Certificate directed to [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting which request was recognized & Enoch Breed & Arnold Congdon appointed to make the necessary inquiry & prepare one to be presented next Month
Report was made by a committee that they had laboured with John Albertson & considered further labour useless – this was an Ancient plain friend & who I knew had been useful in society & served as an overseer – not understanding by the report what the*



nature of the complaint was I requested to have the minute of last Month read by which I found [that he] had petitioned for & received the allowance which government had made to the old revolutionay Officers & Soldiers, he having been one - when I found the nature of the Offense a conversation which I had at last Yearly Meeting with Old Thomas Davis of Weare Moy [Monthly] Meeting who was himself a Soldier & was engaged in Service at Bunker Hill - occured to me with so much weight that it seemed as if I should be short in duty not to in Form the Meeting of it & requested the Youth present to mark the expressions Thos told me that ne never had any disposition to receive the Stypend allowed by government - for the little payment he had received seemed like a curse upon him. - After Meeting I went up to the School House & dined & spent the Afternoon then went down to [Moses Browns](#) drank tea spent a pleasant evening & lodged I found him sick with a cold & hard cough & If I had not seen him recover from a much worse state, I should conclude it was the last time I should ever see him in mutability - After breakfasting with my Aged & dearly beloved friend I went to Town - visited Mary Griscom & then walked out to see my dear friend Wm Almy who has recently had an attack of Paralysis & lost the use of his left side, but has recovered so as to walk with help, but his hand is nearly useless - his mouth considerably drawn & his speech rather thick - his mind was clear, & his conversation correct, & his feelings very tender & loving - he wept frequently in speaking of subjects, & individuals that interested him, particularly of the departure of our late dear friend Abigail Robinson. Soon after dinner I prepared to leave him when in speaking of some subject we both were much tenderd & after I had got out the door, he sent for me back to request me to send his love to our Son John at Hudson - that he should remember him at that time, in so affectionate a manner & so much brokenness of spirit was very affecting to my feelings, & quite broke me into tears, which I could not surpress till I got considerable distance from his house.

When I got into Town I call & set an hour at Dr Tobey & then went out to the School House - spent the Afternoon took tea & lodged there - on 6th day Morning the 27th - I came into town, & called a while at Jon[athon] Congdons - then on my way to the boat attended to a little buisness, & called on several of my old friends - we had a slow time down the River in very thick fog & some rain - it was so thick a fog that the boat was obliged to Stand Still several times, & we did not get to [Newport](#) till 4 OClock. -

While I was at [Providence](#) I thought if I never went there again, I could say my last visit was a good one. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 1, Wednesday: The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) arrived at San Pedro harbor.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

After a slow passage of five days, we arrived, on Wednesday, the first of April, at our old anchoring ground at San Pedro. The bay was as deserted, and looked as dreary, as before, and formed no pleasing contrast with the security and snugness of San Diego, and the activity and interest which the loading and unloading of four vessels gave to that scene. In a few days the hides began to come slowly down, and we got into the old business of rolling goods up the hill, pitching hides down, and pulling our long league off and on. Nothing of note occurred while we were lying here, except that an attempt was made to repair the small Mexican brig which had been cast away in a south-easter, and which now lay up, high and dry, over one reef of rocks and two sand-banks. Our carpenter surveyed her, and pronounced her capable of refitting, and in a few days the owners came down from the Pueblo, and, waiting for the high spring tides, with the help of our cables, kedges, and crew, got her off and afloat, after several trials. The three men at the house on shore, who had formerly been a part of her crew, now joined her, and seemed glad enough at the prospect of getting off the coast.

On board our own vessel, things went on in the common monotonous way. The excitement which immediately followed the flogging scene had passed off, but the effect of it upon the crew, and especially upon the two men themselves, remained. The different manner in which these men were affected, corresponding to their different characters, was not a little remarkable. John was a foreigner and high-tempered, and, though mortified, as any one would be at having had the worst of an encounter, yet his chief feeling seemed to be anger; and he talked much of satisfaction and revenge, if he ever got back to Boston. But with the other, it was very different. He was an American, and had had some education; and this thing coming upon him, seemed completely to break him down. He had a feeling of the degradation that had been inflicted upon him, which the other man was incapable of. Before that, he had a good deal of fun, and amused us often with queer negro stories,— (he was from a slave state); but afterwards he seldom smiled; seemed to lose all life and elasticity; and appeared to have but one wish, and that was for the voyage to be at an end. I have often known him to draw a long sigh when he was alone, and he took but little part or interest in John's plans of satisfaction and retaliation.

After a stay of about a fortnight, during which we slipped for one south-easter, and were at sea two days, we got under weigh for Santa Barbara. It was now the middle of April, and the south-easter season was nearly over; and the light, regular trade-winds, which blow down the coast, began to set steadily in, during the latter part of each day. Against these, we beat slowly up to Santa Barbara— a distance of about ninety miles— in three days. There we found, lying at anchor, the large Genoese ship which we saw in the same place, on the first day of our coming upon the coast. She had been up to San Francisco, or, as it is called, “chock up to windward,” had stopped at Monterey on her way down, and was shortly to proceed to San Pedro and San Diego, and thence, taking in her cargo, to sail for Valparaiso and Cadiz. She was a large, clumsy ship, and with her topmasts stayed forward, and high poop-deck, looked like an old woman with a crippled back. It was now the close of Lent, and on Good Friday she had all her yards a'cock-bill, which is customary among Catholic vessels. Some also have an effigy of Judas, which the crew amuse themselves with keel-hauling and hanging by the neck from the yard-arms.

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

4th day 1st of 4th M 1835 / This day recd a kind & intersting letter from my dear Friend Thos Shillitoe of Tottenahm England dated 26th of 12 M [December] 1834 – from accounts preciouslly recd of the state of his health. I did not expect to have seen the traces of his pen again – he gives a Sombre picture of the state of things in his country, regarding the state of our society. – But I can but hope The Ancient principles of our Early friends will stand the test of Truth.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 April 13, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 13th of 4th M 1835 / Today our friends Edward & Elizabeth Wing came to town & dined with us – Wm Reynolds joined them at tea – Wm lodged at Job Shermans and Edw & Elizabeth lodged with us –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 14, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 14 of 4 M / This forenoon while sitting in our room Elizabeth Wing apprehended to me a concern to have a religious opportunity in the family on acct of Rowland Hazard – it was immediately effected & she addressed Rowland in very encouraging language & I have no doubt felt out his state & administered to it much to the satisfaction of all present & I have no doubt greatly to his comfort & edification. – She dined at Job Sherman, after which she & Wm Reynolds went in the Steam Boat [Providence](#) on their way to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, & Elizabeth intends to attend that of NYork on her return – I was gratified & comforted with a visit from Edward & Elizabeth, for I do love them with no common love

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 25, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 25th of 4th M 1835 / It seems to be serious times in the land in various respects – but that which I seem mostly under the pressure of at the present moment is the alarming illness of my intimate friend James Taylor Apothocary who is very low & we fear is drawing to a conclusion –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May: First appearance of the name of [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) in the minutes of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

 May 1, Friday: The Lieder ohne Worte op.30 by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) were published simultaneously in Germany, France, and Britain.

 May 2, Saturday: In an attempt to satisfy his creditors Richard Wagner organized a benefit concert for himself in Magdeburg, including a large orchestra and the famed singer Wilhelmine Schroder-Devrient. The evening was, however, a fiasco, being so poorly attended that in fact the performers outnumbering the listeners — and even those who had attended were beginning to drift away before the orchestra arrived at the conclusion to “[Wellington](#)’s Victory.”

 May 3, Sunday: The Gazette musicale published the 1st of 6 installments of Franz Liszt's "On the Situation of Artist and Their Condition in Society" (co-authored by Marie d'Agoult).

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 5th M 1834 [sic] / This Morning about 7 O'clock my Friend & very intimate acquaintance James Taylor, apothecary departed this life - he was pleasant to me in life & in death it is hard to part with him - but all pleasant pictures of this life must be stained in our view & the Scripture realised, that we have no continuing City here. - Our Meetings were solid seasons.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 4, Monday: In the village of Ewyas Harold, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, organist at Hereford Cathedral, got married with Mary Anne Merewether, sister of the dean of Hereford Cathedral (the "runaway" nature of this wedding presumably speeded Wesley's departure from the cathedral).

 May 5, Tuesday: King Leopold of Belgium officiated at the opening of a railroad line from Brussels to Mechelen — the 1st public passenger railroad to be opened in Europe.

In Greenwich, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 5 of 5 M / My friend James Taylor was interred this Afternoon - I could not attend the funeral expecting to be called to go on Board the Greenwich Packet which we were about 4 OC & reached there before Dark -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 6, Wednesday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day Attended the Select Quarterly Meeting in the forenoon & the Meeting for sufferings in the Afternoon, & went out to Thos Howlands to lodge

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 7, Thursday: In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day the Meeting at large, which was a season of favour -our friend Thos Anthony was engaged in a very powerful testimony for the Truth -- Meeting for buisness was satisfactorily conducted - Dined with Dr Eldredge & my wife having an opportunity to ride went on to Providence by land & I took the Steam Boat King Philp & went to Fall River, & after discharging their lading & taking in an addition of fuel returned to Providence & arrived there about half pasty 10 O'clock. -I lodged at Dr Tobey's. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 May 8, Friday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka got married with Mariya Petrovna Ivanova, his sister's brother-in-law's wife's sister (after four years of this they would separate and divorce).

In Copenhagen, Hans Christian Andersen's TALES, TOLD FOR CHILDREN (1ST COLLECTION).

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

*6th day Spent the Morning in calling on some of my old friends
- then went up to the School House where I spent the Afternoon
& evening & lodged*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



The *Pilgrim*, carrying [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), arrived in San Diego harbor.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Friday, May 8th, 1835. Arrived at San Diego. Here we found the little harbor deserted. The *Lagoda*, *Ayacucho*, *Loriotte*, and all, had left the coast, and we were nearly alone. All the hide-houses on the beach, but ours, were shut up, and the Sandwich Islanders, a dozen or twenty in number, who had worked for the other vessels and been paid off when they sailed, were living on the beach, keeping up a grand carnival. A Russian discovery-ship which had been in this port a few years before, had built a large oven for baking bread, and went away, leaving it standing. This, the Sandwich Islanders took possession of, and had kept, ever since, undisturbed. It was big enough to hold six or eight men— that is, it was as large as a ship's fore-castle; had a door at the side, and a vent-hole at top. They covered it with Oahu mats, for a carpet; stopped up the vent-hole in bad weather, and made it their head-quarters. It was now inhabited by as many as a dozen or twenty men, who lived there in complete idleness— drinking, playing cards, and carousing in every way. They bought a bullock once a week, which kept them in meat, and one of them went up to the town every day to get fruit, liquor, and provisions. Besides this, they had bought a cask of ship-bread, and a barrel of flour from the *Lagoda*, before she sailed. There they lived, having a grand time, and caring for nobody. Captain T_____ was anxious to get three or four of them to come on board the *Pilgrim*, as we were so much diminished in numbers; and went up to the oven and spent an hour or two trying to negotiate with them. One of them,— a finely built, active, strong and intelligent fellow,— who was a sort of king among them, acted as spokesman. He was called Mannini,— or rather, out of compliment to his known importance and influence, Mr. Mannini— and was known all over California. Through him, the captain offered them fifteen dollars a month, and one month's pay in advance; but it was like throwing pearls before swine, or rather, carrying coals to Newcastle. So long as they had money, they would not work for fifty dollars a month, and when their money was gone, they would work for ten.

“What do you do here, Mr. Mannini?” said the captain. “Oh, we play cards, get drunk, smoke— do anything we're a mind to.”

“Don't you want to come aboard and work?”

“Aole! aole make make makou i ka hana. Now, got plenty money; no good, work. Mamule, money pau— all gone. Ah! very good, work!— maikai, hana hana nui!”

“But you'll spend all your money in this way,” said the captain.

“Aye! me know that. By-'em-by money pau— all gone; then Kanaka work plenty.”

This was a hopeless case, and the captain left them, to wait patiently until their money was gone.

We discharged our hides and tallow, and in about a week were ready to set sail again for the windward. We unmoored, and got everything ready, when the captain made another attempt upon the oven. This time he had more regard to the “mollia tempora fandi,” and succeeded very well. He got Mr. Mannini in his interest, and as the shot was getting low in the locker, prevailed upon him and three others to come on board with their chests and baggage, and sent a hasty summons to me and the boy to come ashore with our things, and join the gang at the hide-house. This was unexpected to me; but anything in the way of variety I liked; so we got ready, and were pulled ashore. I stood on the beach while the brig got under weigh, and watched her until she rounded the point, and then went up to the hide-house to take up my quarters for a few months.



May 9, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day took the King Philip again at 8 OC in the Morning & returned to [Newport](#) — After having a pleasant & I trust profitable visit & seen many friends whom I love —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



May 10, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12th [sic] of 5 M 1835 / Had a pleasant & interesting call from my friend and acquaintance John Howland of [Providence](#) President of the R I Historical Society he was born in [Newport](#) & has lived in [Providence](#) about 65 Years - & is a man of very respectable & venerable standing in that Town. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 14, Thursday: [Charles Darwin](#) reached Coquimbo in Northern Chile.

[Nicolò Paganini](#) received a gold medal from the City of Genoa.

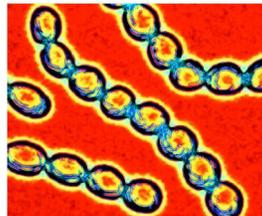
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 14th of 5 M / I attended Meeting which was a comfortable & refreshing Season & in the Afternoon took the Steam Boat Boston for New York with my wife to attend the Marriage of our dear son John Stanton Gould with Mary Ashby at Hudson - We had on the whole a pleasant & easy sail to NYork tho' it was rather rolling round Point Judith, we arrived in NYork early in the Morning & rode across the City to the North River Steamboat the Albany & had a pleasant & exceedingly interesting sail the Scenery being beautiful & quite a novelty to my dear wife who enjoyed it exceedingly - we arrived at Hudson in season to ride five miles out to the residence of our dear Mary Ashby, found her & her Mother & Grandfather well & were affectionately received by them just as they were setting down to tea - After a little refreshment - I walked down to Joseph Marshall's where our dear John has lived, & was not apprised of our arrival - he soon went back with me & Spent the evening pleasantly & sweetly -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 16, Saturday: [Mrs. Felicia Hemans](#), the immensely popular British romantic poet who had for many years been issuing one or more books of poetry per year, died in Dublin, Ireland at the age of 42, reportedly of [tuberculosis](#) complicated by scarlet fever.



The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) went to the downtown Boston office of the Garrisonians (this may have happened on the 16th, or it may have happened on the 18th), waited around until someone showed up, and asked to sign up for membership in the antislavery crusade.

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

7th day 15th [sic] Spent this day in much sweetness of feeling & in resting after our journey, finding our new acquaintance highly interesting & affectionately disposed towards us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



May 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 16th [sic] Rode into Hudson & attended their Meeting, which tho' small was a solid good on[e] A Short testimony by Abigail Hall & another encouraging one by Rachael Gardner of [Nantucket](#) who with her Husband Benj Gardner & Elizabeth Mitchell were there on a visit from [Nantucket](#) - We returned to Stockport & dined -towards night we took a walk to Columbiaville, an interesting village, where are Manufacturings for Cotton &c so round by Joseph Marshalls House. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 18, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 18th of 5 M 1835 / Spent the day again quietly with our friends at Stockport & find them very near our hearts - & indeed & in Truth thankful are we that our beloved John has been cast in the way of so good company & has formed a connection with a young woman so amiable & pleasant in life -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 19, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 19th of 5th M / This being the day appointed for the Solemnization of the Marriage we rode into Hudson to Meeting which was very large consisting of person of all persuasions in the City & many came who could not be accommodated with a seat -After the gathering was seated a very solemn covering spread of the Meeting & a silence that was to be felt in which Abigail Hall delivered a Short testimony which seemed to me did no hurt & to my feelings was rather pleasant - after which Sarah M Upton knealed in solemn Supplication. - after the Meeting was again seated, the solemnity continued in a remarkable manner. - The young folks stood up & pronounced the Marriage covenant in a manner which was at once forcible & striking on the Minds of the Audience, not a smile or the least symptom of disorder occuring thro' the whole & each countenabce evincing a state of feeling not common to be general on like occasions - After the certificate was signed & read which our friend Saml Marrot performed handsomly it was signed by many present as witnesses -the solemnity continuing our friend Sarah M Upton rose & commended the people for their orderly & becoming deportment & added a short but savory & in good degree powerful testimony to the Truths of the Gospel - after which & a Solemn pause the Meeting closed & we returned to Stockport the wedding consisted of about 20 or 25 of the particular friends of the family including the overseers

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 20, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 20th of 5th M 1835 / We attended Monthly Meeting at



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Hudson & dined with [blank] Jenkins then parted with our friends & dear Children & at [?] went on board the Steam boat David Clinton & had a good & pleasant passage down to NYork & arrived there early in the Morning - the 21 of 5 M & called at Wilson Merretts & took breakfast his daughter & son having been schollars at the School at [Providence](#) made us wish to see them His daughter Amelia is a fine amiable girl & if she keeps her place will make a fine woman - After sitting a while with them we went to Elizabeth Coggeshall & set a little while with them -She & her husband being old townsfolk we felt it a duty to see them -Then we went to Samuel Woods, dined & waited till it was time to go on board the Steam Boat Boston, & then came homeward, arriving at our home in [Newport](#) about 7 OClock next Morning being 6th day the 22nd of 5 M 1835 This is the longest journey My wife has ever taken & is the first time she was ever in NYork or Hudson. - We found our friends at home all well, & our family concerns in good order - This we felt to be an additional favour to the many we have heretofor recd & desire to be thankful to Him from whom all good is derived. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 22, Friday: [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#) lobbied the House of Lords:

I feel it to be the bounden duty of the Government and the country that those truths [truths of Scripture] should be administered in the manner most likely to conduce to the real reformation of the prisoners for though severe punishment may, in a measure, deter them and others from crime, it does not amend and change the heart.

 May 24, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 5 M 1835 / Attended Meeting at home, & in the forenoon experienced a dull Heavy time - but in the Afternoon was more favoured - Father bore short testimonies in both. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 28, Thursday: Commander [George Back](#) journeyed toward Montréal on his way back home to England and glory.

The morning [...] was so fine, and the channel so free from obstruction, that I immediately prepared for my departure, having arranged that Hassel should follow in one of the Company's boats, and take the place of the person who was appointed to accompany me. Accordingly, provided with every thing that was necessary for the journey, I took leave of my kind friend Mr. Smith, [...]

THE FROZEN NORTH

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

5th day 28th of 5th M 1835 / Attended the Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Newport](#) - In the first Father & Hannah Dennis bore short but acceptable testimonies - In the last we conducted the buisness pretty well - Perez Peck & Wm Reynolds came in a little



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

while before the Meeting closed - they were a committee from the Meeting for Sufferings to make provision for the Yearly Meeting & the Moy [Monthly] Meeting appointed a corresponding committee & after the Meeting they came home & dined with us also Asa Sherman. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 31, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 31 of 5 M / This morning Huldah Hoag arrived in the Steam Boat & attended Meeting In the Morning she had good service among us - In the Afternoon Father Rodman was lively & pertinent in testimony & was followed in short but acceptable testimony from Huldah - After Meeting I walked with her to the Point & set an hour with her at mary Williams's at the house where Abigail Robinson lived - I was glad to find, that house is likely to be occupied by friends - it having been purchased by Hetty Smith & a Life lease given by her & her husband to Mary Williams

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 1, Monday: Josef Ludwig Count Armanberg replaced Ioannis Kolettis as prime minister of Greece.

Franz Liszt quietly slipped out of Paris to be with Marie d'Agoult in Basel.

June 2, Tuesday: The 1st test run of a train over the entire new Boston and Providence RR route between [Boston](#) and [Providence, Rhode Island](#), via Attleboro and Rumford, followed the east shore of the Seekonk River and crossed that river to a terminus at Providence's India Point. The trip consumed 2 hours and 25 minutes, of five stops — which was considered very speedy.



road will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly.”
- [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#)



The above description would make the event seem simpler than it was. Although the train of cars carrying the invited guests covered the entire distance, the train's locomotive did not. For the initial leg of the journey, as far as Canton, the train needed to be tugged along by a team of draft horses due to a delay in the arrival of the new locomotive that was to run between these two depots (this delinquent locomotive would show up a few days later).

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

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

3rd day 2nd of 6th M 1835 / It being concluded by Father Rodman to resign the Town Treasurership - & many of my friends having proposed me as his successor - I consented to stand as a candidate & after three trials I was elected in Town Meeting by a Majority of one vote as Town Treasurer - the Majority was not calculated to create pride but rather to humble the creature -



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

I feel that for this unexpected provision for another Year & hope due returns may be made to Him from whom I have recd many unmerited blessings & merciful provisions, from sources little expected, & this all my life long –

I went down to the Steam Boat this Morning & as I expected foundd John on board with our dear Mary & her Mother. – but they had been so Sick off Point Judith that I only saw John they went on direct for Boston & Salem intending to return the last of this or first of next Week. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 3, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 3rd of 6th M 1835 / This Morning Died at [Portsmouth](#) Ruth Freeborn after an afflicting illness of many Monrths - the Dropsy - She was a valuable friend & excellent Minister in our Society - - her loss will be severely felt by her immediate friends & connections as well as by the Church - How many valuable members of society have passed from Works to reward during the past Year - Oh that there may be an increase of religious concern among us, that the pillars of our society may be supported, increased & found standing erect. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 6, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 6th of 6th M 1835 / This Afternoon went to Connanicut with Huldah Hoag to attend Meeting tomorrow. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 7, Sunday: Jose Maria Queipo de Llano Ruiz de Saravia, Conde de Toreno replaced Francisco Martinez de la Rosa as Prime Minister of Spain.

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

1st day the 7th / Before I went to meeting I called to see Old Mercy Weeden, who is an old acquaintance of Mine. – We had a pretty full & good Meeting & Huldah was favoured in testimony & supplication – After dining at my cousin Joseph Greenes where we lodged & found him & my Ancient cousins Anne & Mary very glad to see me we came across the ferry & got to our Afternoon Meeting in season. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 8, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 8th of 6th M 1835 / This morning our dear & indeed precious children with their Mother our dear Sister Sarah Ashley arrived in the Steam Boat from [Providence](#) having passed a few days previous on their way to Boston & Salem. – It is a Sweetness & consolation to us, to have them with us, which I am unable to



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

describe, but hope to render proportionate gratitude, to Him who has blessed us with many favours, of which we acknowledge ourselves unworthy. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 13, Saturday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) accepted the position of director of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig for the following year.

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

7th day 13 of 6 M / From the last to the present date we passed in pleasant (& I may safely add) happy interview with our very dear children & our dear Sister Sarah Ashby who expect to stay till the close of Yearly Meeting which commences this day at [Portsmouth](#) which my dear wife & self attended. – It was a time of some secret mental suffering but on the whole was a time of favour, in that some were favoured to feel the ground they stood on & to know the time in which we live to be perilous & to require deep Watchfulness & care, lest the enemy attack us on a fresh or new side & lead us a way as far in the opposite as he has done many in Hixism.

In the Afternoon I attended the Meeting for Sufferings – & to some it was really a Suffering Season. – but it was also a time which afforded some encouragement to believe thereis some strength remaining. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 14, Sunday: The [Gazette Musicale de Paris](#) published the 1st “official” biography of Franz Liszt, nominally by Joseph d’Ortigue (it may have been by Marie d’Agoult).

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

1st day 14th of 6 M 1835 / Excepting a few short offerings Our Morning Meeting was silent but a very solid good Meeting – As usual in the Afternoon on Y Meeting First days the Meeting was much larger than in the Morning & Elisha Bates very large in testimony – the people were very quiet & well satisfied with what they heard & I hope Truths testimony was exalted. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 15, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day Morning – We have for lodgers Joshua Lynch & James Boulton from Ohio – Mead Atwater & Richard Snell from the State of NYork together with our old friend Thomas Howland. – I cannot undertake to insert any thing like a regular Diary of the events of the Yearly Meeting – I shall therefore only say it was a time of no small suffering on acct of the State of Society, but yet there is ground to hope for the best – my mind was encouraged to trust in Israels Shepherd who leadeth the Flock correctly on, affording shelter from Storms & refreshment at noon day & will as his crook is suffered to guide & gather



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*us, preserve from all hurtful things both on the right & left
We have had Many pleasant & encouraging interviews with our
friends & been favoured to get along in a good, & comfortable
degree of peace as respects ourselves - & withall, the company
of our dear John & Mary with our dear Sister Sarah Ashby has
been truly balsamic to our hearts, & many have been the secret,
but ardent mental prayers which my soul has been engaged to put
up on their behalf - We have also had the company of many of our
dear friends whom we love, that we have not had an opportunity
to entertain at our home for six years being only boarders while
in [Newport](#), when residing at the boarding School in [Providence](#)
This has been a pleasant circumstance to us, & we desire to be
thankful for the Privilege-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 19, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*Meeting closed on 6 day forenoon & in the Afternoon many of our
friends left us - Particularly our dear John & Mary with their
Mother Sarah Ashby - they took the Steam Boat President for NYork
expecting to be at their own home in Hudson on 7th day evening.
- as they have made us a very pleasant visit & our minds were
fraught with gratitude on the account thereof - & were willing
to give them up to return - May the Lord bless & preserve them
in life & in Death. -*

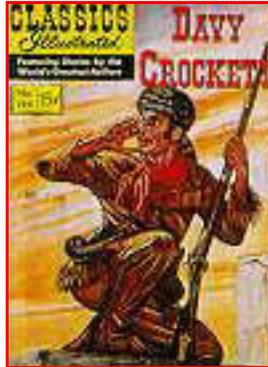
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 20, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*On Seventh day Joshua Lynch finding his mind released from
further service at present - disposed of his carriage & horses
& returned in the Afternoon boat to NYork on his way to his home
in Ohio, thinking way for further service in New England may
open again at some future period. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In the Capitol rotunda, a would-be assassin fired a percussion-cap pistol at President Andrew Jackson from a distance of approximately six feet. The cap failed to ignite the pistol's charge of powder and balls. As the aged Chief Executive took after him with a cane, the assailant produced a second pistol, but was wrestled to the floor before he could fire, by Congressman David Crockett. I don't know whether Congressman Davy was wearing his trademark coonskin at the time, or not. The failure of the pistol's charge to ignite excited the religious fervor of some Americans, who would term this a providential miracle of God.



By 1830 the tombstone inscription of John Jack in the Old Hill Burying Ground near the Milldam had become weathered and worn, and Concord residents had decided that it needed to be replaced. The replacement gravestone was being written up in the [Concord Freeman](#):

SLAVERY

God wills us free, Man wills us Slavers;
I will as God wills, Gods will be done.

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
JOHN JACK,
A NATIVE OF AFRICA, WHO DIED
MARCH 1773, AGED ABOUT 60 YEARS.

Though born in a land of Slavery,
He was born free.
Though he lived in a land of Liberty,
He lived a Slave,
Till by his honest, though stolen labours,
He acquired the source of Slavery,
Which gave him his freedom —
Though not long before,
Death, the grand tyrant,
Gave him his final emancipation,
And set him on a footing with Kings.
Though a slave to vice,
He practiced those virtues,
Without which Kings are but slaves.

We have copied from a tombstone in one of the burying places in this town the above inscription, which we thought might please some one of the many who at this time are deeply interested in the welfare of the slaves. The writer of it is understood to have been the late Hon. DANIEL BLISS, who for a time was in the practice of Law here and administered on the "goods and effects" of the slave; but at the commencement of the Revolution his principles inclining him to the side of Royalty, he left the country and lived and died a subject of the British government.

The stone that originally indicated the grave of JOHN JACK was broken some years since by accident; but afterwards, at the suggestion of RUFUS HOSMER, Esq. of Stow, in this county, a native of this town and a gentleman of pure and generous feelings, a



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subscription was commenced by members of Middlesex Bar, which was completed by the people of this town and was sufficient to procure a very seemly and durable monument as a memorial to Jack the Slave.

Those who are acquainted with the localities of this neighborhood will recollect, that the burying place is situated upon an abrupt rising ground. On the memorable 19th of April, 1775, the British officers who commanded the troops sent out from Boston to destroy the material of war collected at Concord, and whose was the first blood shed by American hands in the revolutionary struggle,⁸⁶ selected this spot as a point of observation from which they could watch the movements of the Americans and indicate by signals to their own soldiery sent in different directions, the plan of operations which circumstances might require them to pursue. Whilst thus occupied, this humble inscription caught the eye of one of those officers who was observed to copy it, and sometime afterwards it appeared in an English Magazine which made its way across the great waters and was read in this country.

The grave of this forgotten African is in a retired spot surrounded by a cluster of beautiful young locust trees — where his ashes will quietly repose, till the grand inquest of this world shall be summoned and its decisions proclaimed. It will then be known by what right this son of immortality was torn from his mothers arms, his native land, his home, and upon this soil of the free reduced to the condition of the beast that perisheth. It will then be known by what right millions of the race have been stolen from their father land and here converted into beasts of burden, into goods and chattels and retained in that condition of sorrow by human legislation from [sic] mere reasons of state.

We have met with no one who recollects JACK; the tradition however is, that he belonged to a family by the name of Barns who lived on the Boston road some ways below the village, and that he died at the house of some member of that family to whom he gave his property.

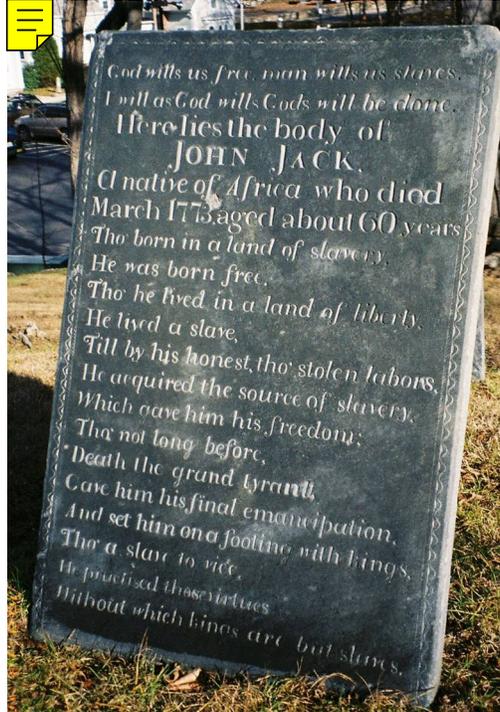
86. On this point we are inclined to believe that an erroneous impression very extensively prevails. We know it was long the claim that British blood was first shed at Lexington, and we suppose from some circumstances of the late celebration in that town that the claim is still urged. We can only say that the fact may have been so, but as far as we have investigated the subject we can find no evidence of it. We take this opportunity to commend to our fellow citizens the perusal of a pamphlet prepared by the Rev. Dr. RIPLEY of this town and published in 1828. The respected writer has enjoyed the very best opportunity to acquire correct information on this subject — he has lived in this community more than half a century, been intimate with all classes of society and familiarly conversed with great numbers who took an active part in the scenes of that eventful day.

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Professor Elise Lemire's mom, Virginia Lemire, took a photo in Sleepy Hollow recently, getting the lettering of John Jack's 1835 replacement memorial stone to stand out admirably by rubbing it with snow (see blowup on following screen).



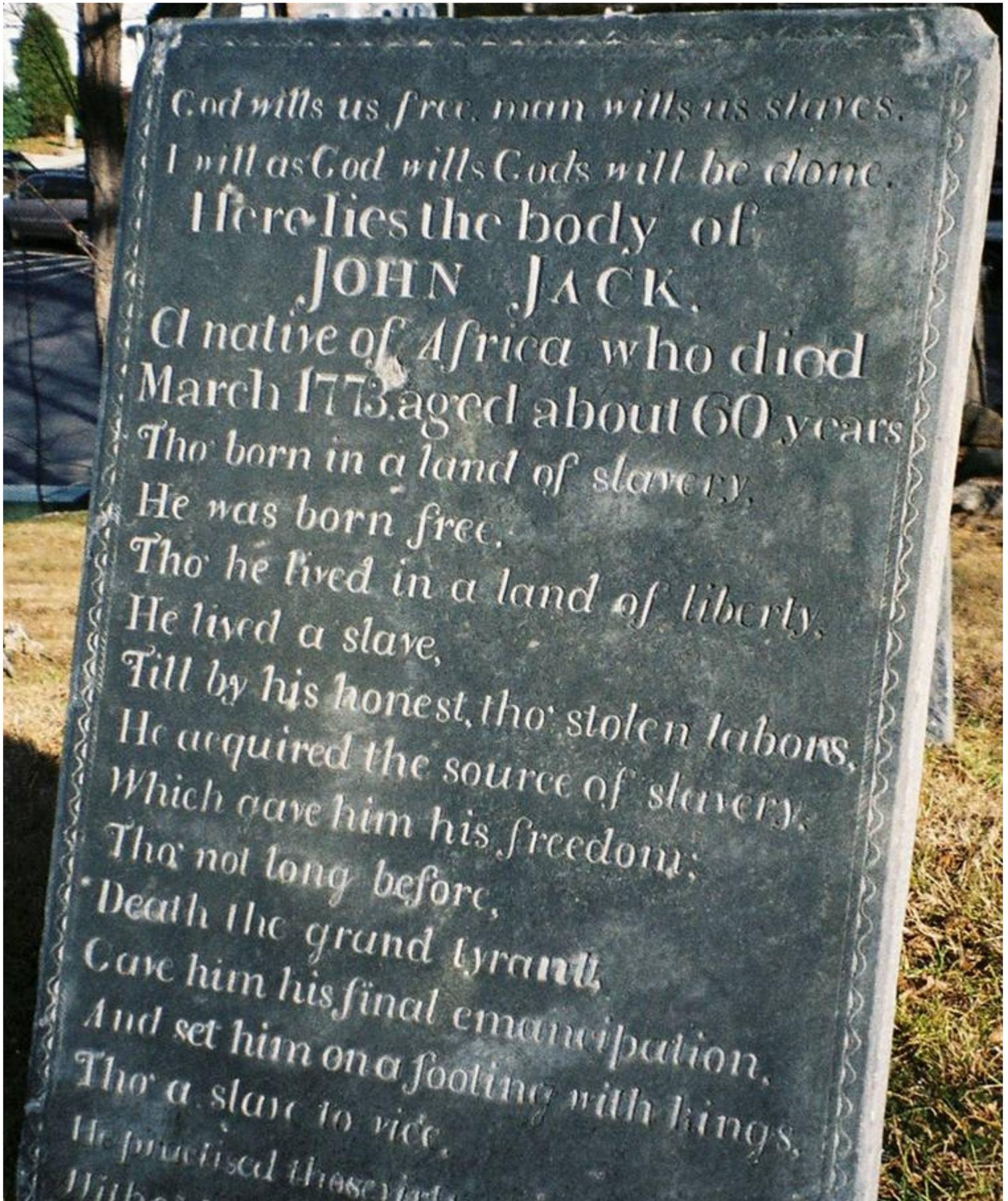
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June 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21 of 6 M 1835 / Both in the forenoon & Afternoon Meetings Father Rodman was engaged in testimony & in the Morning in Supplication his Afternoon service was chiefly to the Youth & my mind had been specially drawn towards them, it seemed quite a corresponding exercise with my own. — Our old friend & associate Caroline Tobey from [Providence](#) was at Meeting - it was pleasant again to sit in Meeting with her. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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25th day of 6th month: Extracts from the will of Friend [Moses Brown](#) dated 12th day of fifth month, 1834, and from the codicil to the said will dated the 25th day of sixth month, 1835, relating to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend John R. Kellam](#) during October 2007 and February 2008:

Essential Summary of Items in last Will of Moses Brown. Executed 12th of 5th Month, 1834, and subsequent Codicil Executed 25th d, 6th Month, 1835; Approved for Probate as received October 11, 1836.

Docket No. A5706

Item 1st. To grand daughter Avis L. Harris, my Brick House Farm in Providence (city since 1832) and North Providence where William Earl now lives, containing about 175 acres

...

Item 33rd. To the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, either by sea or by land, for the manumission of slaves and for the protection of the free people of colour, – acting under the Charter granted by the Legislature of this State, one share in Providence Banke.

Item 34th. I give to Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends, as a legal body, two shares in Providence Banke as a fund, the dividends, or income of which to be applied to the education of Friends' children belonging to said Meeting, in Friends School in this City.

I also give to said Monthly Meeting, one hundred dollars' worth of Friends' Books, for their library, to be kept in this City.

[Item] 35th. I give and bequeath, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, a note of hand and mortgage, signed by Joseph Hawes, John Brewer, Henry Holden, Joshua B. Woods, and their wives, for the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, – as a fund, the interest of which only, to be appropriated and used for the following purposes, –

One third part thereof to be added to the charitable fund of Friends' Boarding School in Providence, excepting so much of the income thereof as may be sufficient to pay the schooling herein given to divers persons, and such others as may be scholars in said School at my expense, at the time of my decease, which is to be paid out of this third part, – the interest of the said third part thereafter to be applied by the School Committee, as a charitable fund, for the schooling of such members of the Society as are actually poor, supported or not, as such, by the respective Monthly Meetings; – and females are to have equal advantage of the whole of this legacy, as males.

One other third part of the income of the said note and mortgage is to be applied towards paying the teachers in the respective departments, who dwell in the said school house, and have the care of the scholars out of, as well as in, school hours, watching over their morals in love for their good – equally to each of them.



11. The other third part, or Five Thousand Dollars, together with the interest thereof, to be reserved until there shall be offered a tract of land suitable for the institution, in its vicinity, which can be purchased for its value. – The School Committee are then, notwithstanding the foregoing restriction to the use of the interest only, hereby authorized to appropriate the said sum, or any part thereof, as may appear to them necessary, – to the purchase of the same, to belong to the said Institution, in fee simple forever. – And whereas it is most likely that the interest on the last mentioned Five Thousand Dollars may accumulate, therefore, notwithstanding the foregoing limitations and directions for the disposing of the same, it is my Will, that in case a larger Meeting House should be required in this City, sufficient to hold Yearly Meetings in, the said interest to be applied to that purpose, – and the said School Committee are hereby authorized to appropriate the same accordingly.

[Item] 36th. I further give to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, for their Boarding School, all such books as I have marked in my catalogue for that purpose. –

And I intend to leave directions, in writing, with my executors and executrixes, for the disposal of such other parts of my library of books, maps, papers and apparatus, as are not herein disposed of; – but in case I do not leave directions, the same are to be considered as embraced in the residuary Item of this Instrument.

[Item] 37th. I also give to the said Yearly Meeting, to remain as an appendage to the same School Institution forever, about two acres of land, with the dwelling house and shop thereon, – where Joseph Cole now lives, divided and separated from the school house lot by the road on the East of said school house lot.

[Item] 38th. I give and devise to my son in-law William Almy, my four and a quarter shares of thatch-beds lying near his salt-marsh, in the Cove above Weybosset Bridge, one of which was my father's; the other three and a quarter rights I purchased of sundry persons as per Deeds, to him, his heirs and assigns.

[Item] 39th. I give to Charles William Jenkins son of William Jenkins and his deceased wife Hannah, two shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

[Item] 40th. I give to William B. Tobey and Samuel B. Tobey sons of my grand daughter Sarah Lockwood Tobey deceased and Doct. Samuel B. Tobey, eight shares in Smithfield Union Bank; committing the same to the care, control and management of their said father – by selling and investing the same in some other safe Institution, or otherwise, at his discretion, until they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; when the said sons are to receive the same, together with the dividends, interest or income thereof, equally between them, which their father is to



pay them, as and for their legacy.

[Item] 41st. I is my Will, that in all Legacies of notes or hands or mortgages, herein given, all the unpaid interest go with the same, to the legatees; and also the dividends on Bank and Turnpike stocks, declared after my decease, go with the stocks.

[Item] 42^d. I give to my great grand children, Sarah Brown Jenkins, and Anna Almy Jenkins, children of William Jenkins and Anna Almy Jenkins, – ten shares in Central Bridge, equally between them; and commit them to the care of their said father, until they become of age.

[Item] 43^d. I give to my amiable grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins, and daughter of my daughter Sarah deceased, wife of William Almy, – the occupancy, use and improvement of my Homestead Farm where I now live, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, – containing two hundred and fifty acres, be the same more or less, – and to her children after her, – for and during her and their natural lives: – and in case her children or any of them survive and are living to and at the age of twenty-one years, – or marry or have a child or children, – then and in either of those cases, my Will and Testament is, that they, or either of them who live to the age of twenty-one years, or marry and have a child or children, shall have, and I hereby give and devise to them, the said Farm, after their mother's life time, in fee simple forever. But in case there shall not be any such child of my said grand-daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, surviving to the age of twenty-one years, or that has or have a child or children living, – then and in that case my Will and Testament is, and I hereby give and devise the Reversionary Fee Simple of my Homestead Farm mentioned, after the decease of my said grand daughter and her said children, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, to be by them applied to and as, and for an additional appendage to the Institution of the Boarding School standing on the Lot I heretofore gave for the erection of the same thereon. And it is my will, that the same and all the estates herein given to them, do vest in and remain to, the Yearly Meeting and their successors holding the same Christian faith and doctrines, as exemplified in the writings of George Fox, George Whitehouse, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, professors of the Christian Religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, both as to his outstanding manifestations in the body, and inward Divine Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, for the conversion, regeneration, preservation and sanctification of the mind and soul of man, and is truly taught in the Scriptures when opened by the same divine spirit which superintended the writers thereof, for the very great benefit, strength and comfort of all pious people who read them, – and especially for the instruction and edification of religious, seeking minds of both young and old.

[Item] 44th. I also give to my said grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, for and during her natural life, the following Estates, viz: –

My farm in Seekonk, containing about three hundred acres



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more or less, whereon my tenant parol Adam Comstock now lives: –

My lot of land, of thirty-six acres, now under lease to Jonathan Niles: –

My lot, and my stores standing thereon, nearly opposite the Providence Bank, extending from the Main Street to the lot I gave my son Obadiah Brown deceased, on which he caused a block of brick stores to be built and which he left to his niece, the said Anna Almy Jenkins, and are now in her possession: And after her decease, my Will is, and I hereby give the said Estates, to her surviving children, equally between them, their hiers and assigns, forever. – And should any of the said estates, by the decease of my said grand-daughter, become the property of any of her said children during their minority, – my Will is, that their father, William Jenkins, have the care, use, and improvement of the same, or of such minors proportion thereof, until they shall respectively become of age.

[Item] 45th. I give and devise unto my said grand daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, the following lots or parcels of land, to her, heirs and assigns, forever; viz, – my House and Lot, – my Seven Acre and Hat-Factory Lots, – with the shop lately occupied by Arnold Wilkinson, – my Watered Meadow Lot, a little farther Northward, extending from the Main Street to the river, containing, by estimation, three acres, more or less, and is bounded Southerly by a lot of her father's, and Northerly by a road leading to Thurber's Mills, as the fence stands, – all situated at the Northerly part of this City: – My bleach-yard lot, adjoining the Old Cotton Mill Lot, and the lot rented to the Fire Engine Company in Pawtucket, in North Providence X my house and lot in Seekonk, near Central Bridge; – my Ridge Hill Lot, South thereof; my Gravelly-Hill Lot, South of the Creek flowing between this and the last-mentioned lot; – my Long Meadow Lot, still further South; – all purchased by Deeds: – the latter belonging to my predecessor, is included in the Deed of my House Farm; – my lots bounded Easterly by the stone wall lately through the Swamp meadow, from Angell Street to Old Gaol Lane (dividing between these lots and the lots hereinbefore given to Avis L. Harris,) and extending Westward from said stone wall to old Prospect Street, on the hill, leaving ten feet to widen said Street on the East side: (these lots are bounded on the North, partly by Friends Burial Ground:) – Also the small barn standing on one of the said lots: – the lots Westward of said Prospect Street, to Mathew Watson's and John Smith's house-lots, which said last-mentioned lot I sold to Benjamin Smith, son of the said John Smith; – leaving to the City, the correction of the mistake of leaving two avenues from Angell Street into Prospect Street. I say mistake – for it so appeared to the Town Council and to others – on considering my memorial to them on the subject: – and it was proposed to correct the same by widening the old street Eastward, to fifty feet; – but the business is not yet finished, but I trust will be regulated: – Also twenty seventy-one parts of the house and about ten acres of land belonging to the old proprietors of Central Bridge.

I also give my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, five shares in the Central Bridge, – a silver tankard, marked I. A. A., – a pint silver porringer, marked the same: – a pint silver-can, marked O.B to A.B., and a silver pepper-box marked the same: –



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all my undisposed of shares in Providence Bank, - all my undisposed of shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

And I furthermore express my will and decree that both my grand daughters herein mentioned, do their endeavours, as far as they can, to leave the Bank Shares, or the amount therof, to their own heirs, without the control or disposal of any other person.

[Item] 46th. Finally, - I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my said grand-daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, all the residue and remainder of my estate and estates, real, personal and mixed, wheresoever lying and being, after all my just debts are paid out of the same; - which are few and small, - to her, her heirs and assigns.

I hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my friends and kinsmen Bates Harris, William Jenkins and William J. Harris, my executors, and my grand children Anna Almy Jenkins and Avis L. Harris my executrixes to this my Last Will and Testament, who are to receive, out of my Estate, ample compensation for their services.

In Witness whereof, I the said Moses Brown hereunto set my hand and affix my seal, this 12th day of the fifth month, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four. 1834.

s/ Moses Brown {L.S.}

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and }
 declared, by the said Moses Brown, as and }
 for his Last Will and Testament, in the }
 presence of us, who, at the time, at his }
 request, in his presence and in the }
 presence of each other hereunto set }
 our names as witnesses to the same. }
 Edward M. Robinson. }
 Welcome Congdon. }
 George C. Arnold. }
 William L. Patten. }

I, Moses Brown of Providence in the County of Providence, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Do make and ordain this Instrument as and for a codicil to my Last Will and Testament bearing date the twelfth day of the fifth month, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, - as follows, -

Whereas, my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins since the execution of my Last Will and Testament, aforesaid, has borne a son, born on or about the seventh day of the second month, this year, whose name is Moses Brown Jenkins, and whom I am desirous, if it be the Divine Will, may survive to enjoy a part of the estate his will has placed in my hands to dispose of; - and it is my Will, that in case he the said Moses Brown Jenkins should live to the twenty-one years, or marry and have a child, he should have, and I hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto him, the whole of my homestead farm where I now live, in Providence Neck, after the life time of my grand daughter his mother, to whom the same farm is given in my



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said Will and Testament during her natural life – any thing proposed or written in my said Will to the contrary notwithstanding. – And it is my further Will and pleasure, if he survive as aforesaid, that he have an equal share and part of my other estate given in my aforesaid Last Will to his mother and to his two sisters Sarah Brown and Anna Almy Jenkins as fully as though my Will was re-drawn and now executed including the same. And my meaning is, that the three children be otherwise equal in my estate, save this grant and devise to my namesake, as aforesaid.

And whereas, in Item 33 of my said Will, I have given one share in Providence Bank, to the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, tr, “as by Charter established,” – and it not appearing probable that there may be another meeting of said Society legally convened, I do therefore make null and void that particular legacy as therein bequeathed; and do hereby give unto my trusty friends George W. Benson and Hugh H. Brown, in Trust, for the use of the Providence AntiSlavery Society, the said one share.

[Subscribing witnesses to codicil: William L. Patten, Jonathan Freeborn, James P. Hoskins, and Perry J. Chace.

Both instruments, will and codicil were adjudged to be proved by Albert G. Greene, Clerk, and with a letter testamentary recorded on 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 in Will Book 14, pages 23-28.]



July 2, Thursday: Less than two years after his appointment as music director for the city, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) gave his final concert in Dusseldorf.

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

5th day 2nd of 7th M 1835 / Our meeting tho' rather small was a pretty good one to me, in that I was favoured to feel a resting place for the mind - attended at the same time with some cogitation of flesh & spirit. -

In the Afternoon went to Redwood Library & saw the Presents which the King of England has lately sent it, of a large Sett of Books containing the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom & among them, what is called Doomsday book, after which I went & spent an interesting hour with my friend Johnson near the Beach. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th M 5th 1835 (1st day) / Father Rodman was engaged in testimony & supplication in the Mornng Meeting & in the Afternoon in testimony - They were good meetings, tho' life was not as much in dominion in my mind, as I desired it might be. -

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 July 9, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 9th of 7 M / Thro' forgetfulness of the time on which Meeting began I was not there today
It happened on this wise - Meeting on 5th day in [Newport](#) from my Youth till the time we removed to [Providence](#) always began at 11 O'clock - since our removal, in the Summer season it has been changed to half past 10 O'clock - This Morning I was engaged on some buisness & returned home as I thought in good season to be at Meeting, but when I got ready it wanted only 10 Minutes of 11 O'clock & then I recollected that Meeting must have been gathered nearly half an hour - It is some satisfiion to me that Meeting was on my mind, & that it was not the day, but the time of day that escaped me - Some may say a Miss one way, is as bad as another, but I do not feel very guilty or very bad any way about it, but am sorry to Miss a Meeting when it was my full intention to have attended. -*

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 July 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 11th of 1th M 1835 / Today My wife made a little party for a few little girls of the neighborhood & our acquaintance, as well as for our own comfort & pleasaure as of our little neice Elizabeth R Nichols - it was a pleasant Sight to see them enjoy themselves rationally & instructively -
My mind seemed in a State to enjoy the scene of innocency, & I was thankful for the privilege*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

(probably a misprint in the book; this probably occurred on some other day:) [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), in the absence of the *Pilgrim*, enjoyed his California life.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Saturday, July 11th. The *Pilgrim* set sail for the windward, and left us to go on in our old way. Having laid in such a supply of wood, and the days being now long, and invariably pleasant, we had a good deal of time to ourselves. All the duck I received from home, I soon made up into trowsers and frocks, and displayed, every Sunday, a complete suit of my own make, from head to foot, having formed the remnants of the duck into a cap. Reading, mending, sleeping, with occasional excursions into the bush, with the dogs, in search of coati, hares, and rabbits, or to encounter a rattlesnake, and now and then a visit to the Presidio, filled up our spare time after hide-curing was over for the day. Another amusement, which we sometimes indulged in, was "burning the water" for craw-fish. For this purpose, we procured a pair of grains, with a long staff like a harpoon, and making torches with tarred rope twisted round a long pine stick, took the only boat on the beach, a small skiff, and with a torch-bearer in the bow, a steersman in the stern, and one man on each side with the grains, went off, on dark nights, to burn the water. This is fine sport. Keeping within a few rods of the shore, where the water is not more than three or four feet deep, with a clear sandy bottom, the torches light everything up so that one could almost have seen a pin among the grains of sand. The craw-fish are an easy prey, and we used soon to get a load of them. The other fish were more difficult to catch, yet we frequently speared a number of them, of various kinds and sizes. The *Pilgrim* brought us down a supply of fish-hooks, which we had never had before, on the beach, and for several days we went down to the Point, and caught a quantity of cod and mackerel. On one of these expeditions, we saw a battle between two Sandwich Islanders and a shark. "Johnny" had been playing about our boat for



some time, driving away the fish, and showing his teeth at our bait, when we missed him, and in a few moments heard a great shouting between two Kanakas who were fishing on the rock opposite to us: “E hana hana make i ka ia nui!” “E pii mai Aikane!” etc., etc.; and saw them pulling away on a stout line, and “Johnny Shark” floundering at the other end. The line soon broke; but the Kanakas would not let him off so easily, and sprang directly into the water after him. Now came the tug of war. Before we could get into deep water, one of them seized him by the tail, and ran up with him upon the beach; but Johnny twisted round, turning his head under his body, and, showing his teeth in the vicinity of the Kanaka’s hand, made him let go and spring out of the way. The shark now turned tail and made the best of his way, by flapping and floundering, toward deep water; but here again, before he was fairly off, the other Kanaka seized him by the tail, and made a spring towards the beach, his companion at the same time paying away upon him with stones and a large stick. As soon, however, as the shark could turn, he was obliged to let go his hold; but the instant he made toward deep water, they were both behind him, watching their chance to seize him. In this way the battle went on for some time, the shark, in a rage, splashing and twisting about, and the Kanakas, in high excitement, yelling at the top of their voices; but the shark at last got off, carrying away a hook and line, and not a few severe bruises.

We kept up a constant connection with the Presidio, and by the close of the summer I had added much to my made vocabulary, besides having made the acquaintance of nearly everybody in the place, and acquired some knowledge of the character and habits of the people, as well as of the institutions under which they live.

California was first discovered in 1536, by Cortes and was subsequently visited by numerous other adventurers as well as commissioned voyagers of the Spanish crown. It was found to be inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, and to be in many parts extremely fertile; to which, of course, was added rumors of gold mines, pearl fishery, etc. No sooner was the importance of the country known, than the Jesuits obtained leave to establish themselves in it, to Christianize and enlighten the Indians. They established missions in various parts of the country toward the close of the seventeenth century, and collected the natives about them, baptizing them into the church, and teaching them the arts of civilized life. To protect the Jesuits in their missions, and at the same time to support the power of the crown over the civilized Indians, two forts were erected and garrisoned, one at San Diego, and the other at Monterey. These were called Presidios, and divided the command of the whole country between them. Presidios have since been established at Santa Barbara and San Francisco; thus dividing the country into four large districts, each with its presidio, and governed by the commandant. The soldiers, for the most part, married civilized Indians; and thus, in the vicinity of each presidio, sprung up, gradually, small towns. In the course of time, vessels began to come into the ports to trade with the missions, and received hides in return; and thus began the great trade of California. Nearly all the cattle in the country belonged to the missions, and they employed their Indians, who became, in fact, their slaves, in tending their vast herds. In the year 1793, when Vancouver visited San Diego, the mission had obtained great wealth and power, and are accused of having depreciated the country with the sovereign, that they might be allowed to retain their possessions. On the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the missions passed into the hands of the Franciscans, though without any essential change in their management. Ever since the independence of Mexico, the missions have been going down; until, at last, a law was passed, stripping them of all their possessions, and confining the priests to their spiritual duties; and at the same time declaring all the Indians free and independent Rancheros. The change in the condition of the Indians was, as may be supposed, only nominal: they are virtually slaves, as much as they ever were. But in the missions, the change was complete. The priests have now no power, except in their religious character, and the great possessions of the missions are given over to be preyed upon by the harpies of the civil power, who are sent there in the capacity of administradores, to settle up the concerns; and who usually end, in a few years, by making themselves fortunes, and leaving their stewardships worse than they found them. The dynasty of the priests was much more acceptable to the people of the country, and indeed, to every one concerned with the country, by trade or otherwise,



than that of the administradores. The priests were attached perpetually to one mission, and felt the necessity of keeping up its credit. Accordingly, their debts were regularly paid, and the people were, in the main, well treated, and attached to those who had spent their whole lives among them. But the administradores are strangers sent from Mexico, having no interest in the country; not identified in any way with their charge, and, for the most part, men of desperate fortunes—broken down politicians and soldiers—whose only object is to retrieve their condition in as short a time as possible. The change had been made but a few years before our arrival upon the coast, yet, in that short time, the trade was much diminished, credit impaired, and the venerable missions going rapidly to decay. The external arrangements remain the same. There are four presidios, having under their protection the various missions, and pueblos, which are towns formed by the civil power, and containing no mission or presidio. The most northerly presidio is San Francisco; the next Monterey; the next Santa Barbara, including the mission of the same, St. Louis Obispo, and St. Buenaventura, which is the finest mission in the whole country, having very fertile soil and rich vineyards. The last, and most southerly, is San Diego, including the mission of the same, San Juan Capestrano, the Pueblo de los Angelos, the largest town in California, with the neighboring mission of San Gabriel. The priests in spiritual matters are subject to the Archbishop of Mexico, and in temporal matters to the governor-general, who is the great civil and military head of the country.

The government of the country is an arbitrary democracy; having no common law, and no judiciary. Their only laws are made and unmade at the caprice of the legislature, and are as variable as the legislature itself. They pass through the form of sending representatives to the congress at Mexico, but as it takes several months to go and return, and there is very little communication between the capital and this distant province, a member usually stays there, as permanent member, knowing very well that there will be revolutions at home before he can write and receive an answer; if another member should be sent, he has only to challenge him, and decide the contested election in that way.

Revolutions are matters of constant occurrence in California. They are got up by men who are at the foot of the ladder and in desperate circumstances, just as a new political party is started by such men in our own country. The only object, of course, is the loaves and fishes; and instead of caucusing, paragraphing, libelling, feasting, promising, and lying, as with us, they take muskets and bayonets, and seizing upon the presidio and custom-house, divide the spoils, and declare a new dynasty. As for justice, they know no law but will and fear. A Yankee, who had been naturalized, and become a Catholic, and had married in the country, was sitting in his house at the Pueblo de los Angelos, with his wife and children, when a Spaniard, with whom he had had a difficulty, entered the house, and stabbed him to the heart before them all. The murderer was seized by some Yankees who had settled there, and kept in confinement until a statement of the whole affair could be sent to the governor-general. He refused to do anything about it, and the countrymen of the murdered man, seeing no prospect of justice being administered, made known that if nothing was done, they should try the man themselves. It chanced that, at this time, there was a company of forty trappers and hunters from Kentucky, with their rifles, who had made their head-quarters at the Pueblo; and these, together with the Americans and Englishmen in the place, who were between twenty and thirty in number, took possession of the town, and waiting a reasonable time, proceeded to try the man according to the forms in their own country. A judge and jury were appointed, and he was tried, convicted, sentenced to be shot, and carried out before the town, with his eyes blindfolded. The names of all the men were then put into a hat and each one pledging himself to perform his duty, twelve names were drawn out, and the men took their stations with their rifles, and, firing at the word, laid him dead. He was decently buried, and the place was restored quietly to the proper authorities. A general, with titles enough for an hidalgo, was at San Gabriel, and issued a proclamation as long as the fore-top-bowline, threatening destruction to the rebels, but never stirred from his fort; for forty Kentucky hunters, with their rifles, were a match for a whole regiment of hungry, drawling, lazy half-breeds. This affair happened while we were at San Pedro, (the port of the Pueblo,) and we had all the particulars directly from those who were on the spot. A few months



afterwards, another man, whom we had often seen in San Diego, murdered a man and his wife on the high road between the Pueblo and San Louis Rey, and the foreigners not feeling themselves called upon to act in this case, the parties being all natives, nothing was done about it; and I frequently afterwards saw the murderer in San Diego, where he was living with his wife and family.

When a crime has been committed by Indians, justice, or rather vengeance, is not so tardy. One Sunday afternoon, while I was at San Diego, an Indian was sitting on his horse, when another, with whom he had had some difficulty, came up to him, drew a long knife, and plunged it directly into the horse's heart. The Indian sprang from his falling horse, drew out the knife, and plunged it into the other Indian's breast, over his shoulder, and laid him dead. The poor fellow was seized at once, clapped into the calabozo, and kept there until an answer could be received from Monterey. A few weeks afterwards, I saw the poor wretch, sitting on the bare ground, in front of the calabozo, with his feet chained to a stake, and handcuffs about his wrists. I knew there was very little hope for him. Although the deed was done in hot blood, the horse on which he was sitting being his own, and a great favorite, yet he was an Indian, and that was enough. In about a week after I saw him, I heard that he had been shot. These few instances will serve to give one a notion of the distribution of justice in California.

In their domestic relations, these people are no better than in their public. The men are thriftless, proud, and extravagant, and very much given to gaming; and the women have but little education, and a good deal of beauty, and their morality, of course, is none of the best; yet the instances of infidelity are much less frequent than one would at first suppose. In fact, one vice is set over against another; and thus, something like a balance is obtained. The women have but little virtue, but then the jealousy of their husbands is extreme, and their revenge deadly and almost certain. A few inches of cold steel has been the punishment of many an unwary man, who has been guilty, perhaps, of nothing more than indiscretion of manner. The difficulties of the attempt are numerous, and the consequences of discovery fatal. With the unmarried women, too, great watchfulness is used. The main object of the parents is to marry their daughters well, and to this, the slightest slip would be fatal. The sharp eyes of a duena, and the cold steel of a father or brother, are a protection which the characters of most of them—men and women—render by no means useless; for the very men who would lay down their lives to avenge the dishonor of their own family, would risk the same lives to complete the dishonor of another.

Of the poor Indians, very little care is taken. The priests, indeed, at the missions, are said to keep them very strictly, and some rules are usually made by the alcaldes to punish their misconduct; but it all amounts to but little. Indeed, to show the entire want of any sense of morality or domestic duty among them, I have frequently known an Indian to bring his wife, to whom he was lawfully married in the church, down to the beach, and carry her back again, dividing with her the money which she had got from the sailors. If any of the girls were discovered by the alcalde to be open evil-livers, they were whipped, and kept at work sweeping the square of the presidio, and carrying mud and bricks for the buildings; yet a few reals would generally buy them off. Intemperance, too, is a common vice among the Indians. The Spaniards, on the contrary, are very abstemious, and I do not remember ever having seen a Spaniard intoxicated.

Such are the people who inhabit a country embracing four or five hundred miles of sea-coast, with several good harbors; with fine forests in the north; the waters filled with fish, and the plains covered with thousands of herds of cattle; blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic; and with a soil in which corn yields from seventy to eighty fold. In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be! we are ready to say. Yet how long would a people remain so, in such a country? The Americans (as those from the United States are called) and Englishmen, who are fast filling up the principal towns, and getting the trade into their hands, are indeed more industrious and effective than the Spaniards; yet their children are brought up Spaniards, in every respect, and if the "California fever" (laziness) spares the first generation, it always attacks the second.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 July 19, Sunday: After a journey through the Swiss countryside of over a month, Franz Liszt and Marie d'Agoult arrived in Geneva and took up residence together.

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

1st day 19th of 7 M / Father Rodman bore short testimonies in both Meetings, & both were solid good meetings to me – tho' I was not as much favoured with life in the Afternoon as in the Morning

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

July 22, Wednesday: The balloon of the Boston master goldbeater and intrepid aeronaut Louis Lauriat rose from [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#) and in one hour and 25 minutes transited to within 19 miles of [Boston](#) town.

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

7th M 22nd 1835 (4th day) / We rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Select Meeting - which was a time of some favour, & I was glad I was there it being the first I have attended Since we left [Providence](#) - We went to Uncle Stantons & spent the Afternoon - found him very poorly & the probability is that he is wearing out & cannot remain long with us - or cannot remain long on this side of the grave, tho' he may outlive many who now seem in tolerable health - We know not who may be called first, when I reflect on the many that are young in life pass to their long homes & leave behind them, those that are far advanced in life - I often think, how uncertain all things are in this transitory World

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23 of 7 M / Attended Meeting in town which was a good solid one to me - In the last which was Preparative Meetg We had a request for Membership from an ancient Man Aged about 85 Years by the name of Monro - who has been for many years a very dilligent attender of Friends meetings - The manner in which he came in & the diffident & humble manner in which he requested the care of Friends was affecting to my mind. - a committee was named to confer with him on the subject previous to its going to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

July 25, Saturday: [Penny Magazine](#):

<http://www.history.rochester.edu/pennymag/212.htm>



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 26, Sunday: Over the following few days the 1st sugar cane plantation would be starting up in the Hawaiian Islands.

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

1st day 26th of 7th M 1835 / Good meetings as those who attended, informed me, but I was unable to attend Meeting from a jar which I had yesterday, by the top of the cellar Stair giving way with me upon it, so that I was let thro' into the cellar with precipitancy & considerable jar to my great frame - - aside from the jar I was not hurt, excepting the under part of both my Arms were considerably scraped. - I felt thankful for the preservation - Today I have felt much worse than yesterday & have not been able to set up for most of the day. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 28, Tuesday: Corsicans led by Giuseppe-Maria Fieschi fired upon an entourage containing King Louis-Philippe as it passed through the Boulevard du Temple, Paris during celebrations commemorating the July revolution of 1830. The King was grazed in the face but 18 others, including Marechal de France Edouard-Adolphe Mortier, Duke of Treviso were killed and 22 wounded. The Corsicans would be rounded up and guillotined.

 July 30, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 30th of 7 M / Much recovered from my fall tho' still feel the effects of it. -
Attended our Moy [Monthly] Meeting - which was a time of favour - Mary Hicks first appeared in testimony - then Elizabeth Wing, then Hannah Dennis - then Father in Supplication then Ruth Davis - & then a short testimony from Father, after which the Meeting concluded & went to buisness - there was not much before it, save the Answering of the Queries &c.-
We had at Dinner Jon[athon] Dennis, Hannah Dennis Ruth Davis & Elizabeth Weeden - In addition we had at tea Susan Johnson & Martha Morris daughters of Isaac W Morris decd of Philadelphia, & after tea I walked with the two latter to their place of board in the Neck. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 August: When the Reverend Samuel Joseph May was mobbed by some angry local proslavery men and boys in Haverhill, two well-known local women, [Friend Elizabeth Hussey Whittier](#) and her friend Harriet Minot flanked him closely, each holding his hand, so that he might safely make his exit through the mob.



 August 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 8th M 1835 / Our Meeting today was seasons of favour - In the forenoon Father & Ruth Davis were both in testimony & Ruth in supplication - In the Afternoon Father & Ruth both appeared in testimony - Ruth remarkably lively & pertinent in concern for the Youth. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 5, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5 of 8 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Select Quarterly Meeting - which was a time of some favour - Dined at Uncle Stantons & returned home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6 of 8 M / Again went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting at large, - It was a season of Watering under the Ministry of Moses Beede & Mead Atwater - Ruth Davis in supplication at the conclusion - The Meeting for buisness was not long - very little buisness but the Answers to the queries before it. - After Meeting we rode home without dinner & got into town in season to get on board the Lexington for [Providence](#) & arrived there just after Sunsett & went to my dear Friend [Moses Browns](#) & lodged - found him well & very glad to see me - I spent the evening very pleasantly with him & the company of there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Montréal on his way back home to England and glory.

Bolivia gained its independence.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 August 7, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 7th of 8 M 1835 / Met with the committee & spent the day at the YMBSchool returned to M Browns & lodged

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 8, Saturday: Penny Magazine:

<http://www.history.rochester.edu/pennymag/215.htm>

From this day until the 14th, [David Lee Child](#) and [Lydia Maria Child](#) accompanied George Thompson to New-York, intending to travel with him to England to work for British anti-slavery societies. Before they could depart, David was arrested for debt and thus they would need to spend the following six months boarding with the Quaker family of farmers, Joseph and Margaret Carpenter, in New Rochelle. “David’s partner on the Massachusetts Journal and Tribune, George Snelling, not content with leaving the whole burden of the newspaper’s debts to his associate, had filed suit against him and procured an injunction against letting David leave the country. Overcome with humiliation and disappointment, Child had sat down and wept on the quay.”

Thomas George Morton was born in Philadelphia, a son of [Dr. Samuel George Morton](#).⁸⁷

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

7th day - Met with the Meeting for Sufferings & Trustees of O B Fund - dined at Wm Jenkins’s & after attending to a little buisness in the Town I returned to the School House- & lodged there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

87. He seems not to have been a Quaker. He would be educated at the University of Pennsylvania and graduate in the medical department there in 1856. He would practice general surgery in Philadelphia for the next three years, actively engage during the Civil War in the establishment of military hospitals, and be a surgeon at Satterlee hospital, and consulting surgeon to the United States army hospital, Chesnut Hill, Pennsylvania. He would hold offices in numerous other hospitals, including the Orthopedic, of which he would be the originator. In 1876 he would be appointed a commissioner to erect a branch of the Pennsylvania Insane Asylum for the state’s southern district, and be chairman of its committee on plans and buildings. He would be chosen president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Restriction of Vivisection in 1880, and vice-president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children the same year, be appointed a Commissioner of Pennsylvania Public Charities in 1883, and chairman of the Committee of Lunacy in 1886. He would introduce the ward-carriage into the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1866, the bed-elevator and carriage in 1874, and in 1876 receive the Centennial medal awarded for hospital ward dressing-carriage. He would publish numerous professional papers in the American Journal of the Medical Sciences and Pennsylvania Hospital Reports. He would publish LECTURE ON THE TRANSFUSION OF BLOOD AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION (New York, 1877); he and Dr. William Hunt would prepare SURGERY OF PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL (Philadelphia, 1880); and he would publish TRANSFUSION OF BLOOD AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION (New York, 1887).



August 9, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#)'s espousal of a "higher law," a need to obey the dictates of one's personal conscience even when this conflicted with the demands of statute law and of custom and precedent, can usefully be compared and contrasted with the attitude of the US Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, toward the South's perceived need to purge abolitionist writings such as the [Liberator](#) from the US mail. On this date Kendall wrote to the postmaster of Charleston allowing that he could begin to search the mails for incoming materials like the [Liberator](#), and burn any offending documents:⁸⁸

We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the community in which we live and, if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them.

Here is what Lewis Perry has had to say about this concept of the Higher Law, which, he pointed out, was "a phrase with important variations in meaning":



The phrase has been much favored by historians, but was not used frequently by nonresistant abolitionists. The higher law could refer simply to the obligations of Christian conscience which prevented compliance with an unjust civil statute (in which case it was a component of the divine government as understood by non-resistants). It could refer to the embodiment of universal, legal morality within the unwritten code of the land (as in [The Reverend Lysander] Spooner's writings). It could also refer to a Christian standard of politics toward which saints were expected to drive their governments (whether this was a libertarian or authoritarian standard varied among political abolitionists). And in contemporary justification of John Brown it referred to a state of grace in which one man, by virtue of his faith in his ideas, became his own source of law, higher than any government.

Nonresistants may be compared with Transcendentalists to clarify different implications of the higher law. With few exceptions, nonresistants believed that there was one grand source of law outside their sphere of understanding: God. Fear of affronting this authority dictated broad leeway of private judgment. It was clear that intermediate forms of coercion, government, and enslavement violated God's law; the range of options left for private judgment was clearly restricted by God's law. Transcendentalism, generally speaking, assumed correspondence between abstract verities and human impulses, and thus it trusted strictly individual, but nonetheless human, sources of law. Less attention was paid to God the lawmaker. A man had to obey his own nature. Lacking the security of fixed prohibitions, such as that violence and homicide are infractions of the divine law, the transcendentalist might be left in deeper difficulties than the nonresistant by the relativity of private judgment. He might feel unqualified admiration for John Brown as, in Emerson's words, "a pure idealist, with no by-ends of his own," as a man who "believed in his ideas to the extent that he existed to put them all into action; he said 'he did not believe in moral suasion, he believed in putting the thing through.'" Bronson Alcott, the only one of those ordinarily called Transcendentalists who was also a Garrisonian nonresistant,

88. This would be termed the "Post Office Lynch Law." It was a volkish attitude worthy of the Third Reich. [Thoreau](#), by espousing a higher law based not upon this putative "obligation to the community in which we live" but instead upon one's personal relationship with God, was at least in part seeking to subvert such racist illegalism. Tongue in cheek, he turned the US Postmaster's own argument quite against these racists and their all-white community.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

provided one of the most striking examples of nonviolent action in the 1850s. When armed abolitionists were being repelled in their attempt to deliver a Negro fugitive from Boston's court house, Alcott stepped forward and asked quietly, "Why are we not within?" His dignity was unruffled by a response of gunfire, but no one followed him. Though his action did not free anyone, Alcott furnished one of the rare examples of "practical Christianity" or active nonresistance. It is meaningful to say that he excelled other nonresistants on their own terms. We might conclude that, when the law of intuition was made identical with the Christian injunction of nonresistance, the result was proof against even such temptations as the plight of an imprisoned runaway. Alcott did not need to devise categories to exhort other men to violence. But no one else combined nonresistance and transcendentalism. And even Alcott, when he met John Brown, wrote ominously in his journal: "This is the man to do the Deed."

Most Transcendentalists spurned nonresistance. Brook Farm criticized Hopedale for presuming that divine laws, such as nonresistance, could be generalized in a creed. Orestes Brownson carried transcendentalism into a militant espousal of the interests of labor; in this cause he thought that armed resistance could be a Christian necessity. Although he wished that the world might comply with the principle of peace, he was shocked when nonresistants criticized Bunker Hill, "where Liberty and Slavery once met in the death-struggle." Emerson praised the principle of nonresistance lavishly in his diaries, but these private judgments were part of an inner life, walled off from public action. [The Reverend] [Adin Ballou](#) could not admire Emerson for this reason. If some of his "transcendental abstractions" were put into practice, they might "regenerate the world. But the fatal hitch with such moralists is that neither they nor their admirers can sail out of the old ship of society as it is." Emerson had told Ballou that his "utmost" would be to guide his own family above the plane of earthly strife.

[The Reverend Theodore Parker] did not lay the same priority on private life; he was an active abolitionist. Clear on most subjects, he was ambiguous about nonresistance. Although he respected nonresistants, he stated that the doctrine "never went down with me" – and for a transcendentalist it was what went down with him that counted. He admitted that his private opinions had fluctuated considerably on nonresistance; the BIBLE was not altogether clear, but he was not in any case "inclined to settle such questions on the authority of Jesus.... I could not cast down my own nature and be faithless to my own soul." He did not preach on the question, favorably or unfavorably, because his mind was not made up, because men needed no urging to fight, and because nonviolence was right in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. But in being faithful to his own ideas, of course, he was associated with the most violent quarters of antislavery; he was one of the "Secret Six" who conspired with John Brown.

Thoreau deserves special attention since he is often called an anarchist and since his philosophy is sometimes compared to Garrisonianism. His views had little in common with nonresistance. Alcott's program for the New England nonresistants was the distillation from their consciences of



persuasive simple truths; these were the measures with which he sought to evangelize the coercive world. Thoreau, on the other hand, paid little attention to the existence of universal truths. He placed a somewhat mystical value on particular experiences; he doubted the possibility of universal reform with a Calvinistic vehemence. His few remarks on antislavery, including his praise of John Brown, reveal a violent potential in what often is considered a philosophy of principled nonviolence.

Thoreau was generally critical of the reformers. In 1854, however, after Massachusetts had rendered a fugitive slave back to his owners, he spoke at a protest meeting in Framingham MA. Much of his time was spent in arguing the superiority of the countryside to the city and in attacking newspapers as bulwarks of slavery. He also used higher law to support arguments already familiar to antislavery – any perceiver of truth must judge the judges, law cannot make men free. But it was necessary for Thoreau to explain how he had gotten onto an antislavery platform in the first place: “I had never respected the government near to which I had lived, but I had foolishly thought I might manage to live here, minding my private affairs, and forget it.” How he was impressed that his life was passing, not through some neutral zone, but “wholly within hell.”

Even this shock did not mean that he joined organized reform. But he was ready, four years later, to condemn it for failing to equal his admiration for the hero John Brown. “A man of rare common sense and directness of speech, as of action; a transcendentalist above all, a man of ideas and principles,” was his conception of Brown. This soldier “had no need to invent anything but to tell the simple truth, and communicate his own resolution.” His martyrdom fed Thoreau’s hatred of the respectable, commercial world. But Thoreau was not opposed to any government except that which disturbed his peace of mind. He explicitly identified Brown with a government needing no suffrage to establish justice and resist tyranny and occupying a Christian beachhead.

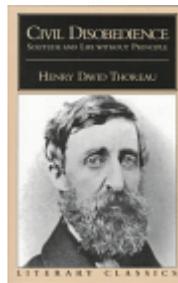
Thoreau brooded over the execution of John Brown and, a year later, he set his reflections down clearly. The martyr had been “the embodiment of principle,” and therefore it was irrelevant to pass judgment on his means: “The man who does not recognize in Brown’s words a wisdom and nobleness, and therefore an authority, superior to our laws, is a modern Democrat. This is the test by which to discover him. He is not wilfully but constitutionally blind on this side, and he is consistent with himself.” Harpers Ferry was a test of personal sanctification; sinners could be discriminated from saints according to the ways in which different persons responded to Brown. As Thoreau proceeded to ridicule the ambitions and even the physical appearance of his neighbors, he spoke in terms of original sin:

“It is not every man who can be a Christian,
even in a very moderate sense, whatever education
you give him. It is a matter of constitution
and temperament, after all. He may have to be
born again many times. I have known many
a man who pretended to be a Christian,
in whom it was ridiculous, for he had no genius

for it. It is not every man who can be a free man, even."

We may judge from this last sentence that not even in his veneration of Captain John Brown had Thoreau become an abolitionist.

Brown became Thoreau's personal Christ, a figure of unquestionable authority to liberate him from oppressive visions of authority. In the resulting scheme of law, Brown's importance as a reformer was dismissed; he was simply a vengeful foe of the unregenerate. Thoreau was able to celebrate "Resistance to Civil Government" (this was the original title of his great 1849 essay on civil disobedience).



So intent was he on the signs of his private consciousness, however, that he scarcely spoke of sinless alternatives to civil government. It was enough to worship the heroism -the faith in ideas- of Captain John Brown.

This brief look at the Transcendentalists gives perspective on the vacillations of the nonresistants in the 1850s. Nonresistants may not have measured up very well to their own original standards of pacifism, but they never ventured to proclaim any man a law unto himself. They also kept their minds on the goal of abolishing slavery more clearly than such a worshiper of John Brown as Thoreau. But transcendentalists and nonresistants shared the problem of how the validity of principles could be fixed between the sovereign individual and the sovereign God. The transcendentalists decided some men could embody principles and bring them to life. The nonresistant was left with the relativity of private judgment.

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

1st day Morning rose early & Seth Davis took me to the Lexington & returned home in plenty of time to have gone to Meeting, but feeling quite fatigued & unwell, was satisfied to stay at home but attended the Afternoon sitting, it was however to me a season of leanness tho' Father was engaged in testimony & I have no doubt it was a time of favour & good feeling to some -but the body & mind are so connected that when one suffers the other is very likely to

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 11, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

3rd day 11 of 8 M 1835 / Just about tea time this Afternoon Wm Cozzins was married to my Neice Martha Stanton Gould & went immediately to Housekeeping in the house formerly Geo Champlins & lately occupied, & still owned by Dr Cotton
Martha has been a very near & Dear neice to me. I love her & wish her well, there is a Singular coincidence between her Marriage & that of me & my wife, which ocured the same Month & day of the Month 27 Years ago – (11th of 8th M 1808) – We have been blessed - we have indeed much to be exceedingly thankful for, & it seems sometimes as if our cup has run over, yet we have had some keen trials to place in the opposite balance - The past year has been fraught with favourable incident & we count the Marriage of our dear Son with Mary Ashby as a blessing indeed & greatly desire the future walks of their lives may be prosperous & happy – Ours is now on the down hill side, & we greatly desire to render thanksgiving & praise to that power & preserving Arm which has so evidently been extended four our support

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 13, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13th 8th M 1835 / Our Meeting was small & rather low in life, tho' it was solid & quiet & Father bore a good little testimony – This afternoon I called to see my dear Neice Martha S Cozzens for the first time at her own home - I hope & trust she will do well. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 15, Saturday: Samuel Sebastian Wesley was appointed organist at Exeter Cathedral.

Penny Magazine:

<http://www.history.rochester.edu/pennymag/216.htm>

August 16, Sunday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) met his parents for the 1st time since leaving Poland, in Karlsbad (they would stay together for three weeks).

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

1st day 16th of 8 M 1835 / Being cloudy & drizley our Meeting this morning was rather small, but it was a season of no common Solemnity to me & I believe others were made partakers of it - on entering & taking my seat in meeting supplication arose in my spirit for a portion of that Salt which seasons those around us tho' vocal sounds may not be heard – This was experienced in no common degree. Father was engaged in a short supplication & testimony, which I thought was in a good degree of life, tho' it would have been a good Meeting if nothing had been Said. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

August 20, Thursday: The balloon of the Boston master goldbeater and intrepid aeronaut Louis Lauriat rose from Castle Garden at the south tip of Manhattan Island in New-York and half an hour later came to rest on the farm of a Judge Terhune on the mainland.

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

5th day 20th of 8th M 1835 / Our meeting was to me a poor lean season - Father said a little twice on the subject of Faith, but I could not attain to much of that which makes a good Meeting to me - In the last (Preparative) Edw Earle preposed intentions of Marriage with Ann B Buffum - Nathan Morris's request to be admitted to Membership, & a complaint against Geo Bowen for Marrying out of the order of Society were forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23 of 8 M / Our Meeting was silent & very solid in the forenoon - Silent & in a good measure so in the Afternoon - Father was not at meeting having had a very sick turn for several days -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27th of 8 M 1835 / We went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting - the first was silent & more business than common.

Nathan Monro's application for Membership was recd & a committee appointed to visit him

Geo Bowen was complained of for marrying out of the Order of society & Edw Earle & Ann B Buffum published their intentions of Marriage & a committee was appointed to repair to [Portsmouth](#) Meeting house -

Dined at Uncle Stantons.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 30, Sunday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrived in Leipzig to take up directorship of the Gewandhaus Orchestra.

Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) wrote to William Lloyd Garrison informing him that she had made a commitment to abolitionism.

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) and the Englishman George Thompson were egged and stoned in Concord NH, on account of their having favored "the niggers" in a speech they had just made in Plymouth, New Hampshire:

*"I maintained the testimony and resisted not — I gave place unto wrath."*⁸⁹

89. To the people who were engaging in the antislavery struggle, this year of 1835 would become known as "the mob year."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

One of the thrown stones injured Whittier's leg. Afterward, the two stopped off at an inn where the landlord asked if they had heard of the ruckus. As they left, stepping into their chaise, Whittier introduced Thompson, then Thompson introduced Whittier, and they drove off with the innkeeper "standing, mouth wide open, gazing after us." However, Whittier would comment repeatedly, elsewhere, that one cannot expect "that because men are reformers, they will therefore be better than other people."

[According to Russel B. Nye's FETTERED FREEDOM: CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY, 1830-1860 (Michigan: Michigan State UP, 1963, page 203), it was Whittier and Samuel May and they were stoned. Would this have been a separate occasion, in New-York earlier, or in Boston later?]

I was mobbed in Concord, N.H., in company with George Thompson, afterwards member of the British Parliament, and narrowly escaped from great danger. I kept Thompson, whose life was hunted for, concealed in our lonely farm-house for two weeks. I was in Boston during the great mob in Washington Street, soon after, and was threatened with personal violence.

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

1st day 30 of 8M / Both Meetings were solid & very good ones to me, & after the Afternoon Meeting Attended the funeral of John H Barbers Child - in both Meetings & at the funeral Father had short testimonies & I thought at the funeral was particularly favoured. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 6, Sunday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) and his parents traveled from Karlsbad to the estate of Count Bedrich Thun-Hohenstein in Cieszyn, Silesia (while in Paris, Chopin had taught the count's two sons).

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

*1st day 6th of 9th M / Pretty good Meetings Father said a little in each. -
I do much desire the help & strength of our poor Society, which is indeed in a low & poor condition both in Europe & in America - My hands indeed hang down & I fear for its safety. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 13, Sunday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was introduced to the members of the Gewandhaus, Leipzig, and conducted his 1st rehearsal. Later he was guest of honor at a 16th birthday party for Clara Wieck. He entertained the assembly by doing imitations of [Frédéric François Chopin](#) and Liszt at the piano, then played his own music alone and with Clara. At Clara's request Mendelssohn played the scherzo from Schumann's new Piano Sonata. Clara received her presents, a new Capriccio, a birthday ode, and a gold watch from the Davidsbund.

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

*1st day 13 of 9 M / It was a cloudy day & Meeting rather small but I thought very quiet & solid seasons - tho' I must confess that to me individually it was very far from being a time of abounding
Father said a little in both Meetings - After tea I called over to Mary Williams to see Wm Robinsoin on my return called at*



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Brother Isaacs & while there David returned from NYork having last night encountered great Danger in the Steam boat by being run a foul of by a Schooner - it being very dark & the sea high

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



September 10, Thursday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) took up his new duty station, manning the weather cross-jack braces, and described the labor-intensive nature of configuring a ship to be driven by the power of the winds. (The large crews that were necessary, in order to man all duty-stations at once, and the intricate coordination which was requisite, and the extensive skills which could only be learned by on-the-job training, were what would in a few years make it economical to transition from free-fueled weightless wind power to costly- and heavy-fueled steam power.)

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The second day out, the wind drew ahead, and we had to beat up the coast; so that, in tacking ship, I could see the regulations of the vessel. Instead of going wherever was most convenient, and running from place to place, wherever work was to be done, each man had his station. A regular tacking and wearing bill was made out. The chief mate commanded on the forecastle, and had charge of the head sails and the forward part of the ship. Two of the best men in the ship— the sailmaker from our watch, and John, the Frenchman, from the other, worked the forecastle. The third mate commanded in the waist, and, with the carpenter and one man, worked the main tack and bowlines; the cook, ex-officio, the fore sheet, and the steward the main. The second mate had charge of the after yards, and let go the lee fore and main braces. I was stationed at the weather cross-jack braces; three other light hands at the lee; one boy at the spanker-sheet and guy; a man and a boy at the main topsail, top-gallant, royal braces; and all the rest of the crew— men and boys— tailed on to the main brace. Every one here knew his station, must be there when all hands were called to put the ship about, and was answerable for every rope committed to him. Each man's rope must be let go and hauled in at the order, properly made fast, and neatly coiled away when the ship was about. As soon as all hands are at their stations, the captain, who stands on the weather side of the quarter-deck, makes a sign to the man at the wheel to put it down, and calls out "Helm's a lee!" "Helm's a lee!" answers the mate on the forecastle, and the head sheets are let go. "Raise tacks and sheets!" says the captain; "tacks and sheets!" is passed forward, and the fore tack and main sheet are let go. The next thing is to haul taught for a swing. The weather cross-jack braces and the lee main braces are each belayed together upon two pins, and ready to be let go; and the opposite braces hauled taught. "Main topsail haul!" shouts the captain; the braces are let go; and if he has taken his time well, the yards swing round like a top; but if he is too late, or too soon, it is like drawing teeth. The after yards are then braced up and belayed, the main sheet hauled aft, the spanker eased over to leeward, and the men from the braces stand by the head yards. "Let go and haul!" says the captain; the second mate lets go the weather fore braces, and the men haul in to leeward. The mate, on the forecastle, looks out for the head yards. "Well, the fore topsail yard!" "Top-gallant yard's well!" "Royal yard too much! Haul into windward! So! well that!" "Well all!" Then the starboard watch board the main tack, and the larboard watch lay forward and board the fore tack and haul down the jib sheet, clapping a tackle upon it, if it blows very fresh. The after yards are then trimmed, the captain generally looking out for them himself. "Well the cross-jack yard!" "Small pull the main top-gallant yard!" "Well that!" "Well the mizen top-gallant yard!" "Cross-jack yards all well!" "Well all aft!" "Haul taught to windward!" Everything being now trimmed and in order, each man coils up the rigging at his own station, and the order is given— "Go below the watch!"

During the last twenty-four hours of the passage, we beat off and on the land, making a tack about once in four hours, so that I had a sufficient opportunity to observe the working of the ship; and certainly, it took no more men to brace about this ship's lower yards, which were more than fifty feet square, than it did those of the *Pilgrim*, which were not much more than half the size; so much depends upon the manner in which the braces run, and the state of the blocks; and Captain Wilson, of the *Ayacucho*, who was afterwards a passenger with us, upon a trip to windward, said he had no doubt that our ship worked two men lighter than his brig.

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

5th day 10th of 9 M / Our meeting was Silent, & After Meeting with two other committee men had an opportunity with Nathan Monro on account of his application, for Membership - He is now



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

over 80 Years of Age & has been a dilligent attender of our Meetings for more than 50 Years both on first & on Week days - It is One Year ago this day that Aunt Nancy Carpenter departed this life since which time we have occupied her house & kept her family the same as she left it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 12, Saturday: It was the 2d centennial of the founding of the town of [Concord](#) and [Waldo Emerson](#) stood before its assembled citizenry in the old church to deliver the 2d Centennial Anniversary Address. The structure was packed so full that it was felt appropriate to place props under the galleries. Still “one of them settled alarmingly with the weight,” and when it “cracked ominously” some members of the audience made a rush to save themselves. Emerson, however, read for an hour and three-quarters: “A Historical Discourse, Delivered before the Citizens of Concord, 12th September 1835.” (See Rusk, Volume I, pages 451-453.) Good people, they sat still to hear about themselves. The paper told them how fine New Englanders were and what a grand institution the New England town meeting was:

It is the consequence of this institution that not a school-house, a public pew, a bridge, a pound, a mill-dam, hath been set up, or pulled down, or altered, or bought, or sold, without the whole population of this town having a voice in the affair. A general contentment is the result. And the people truly feel that they are lords of the soil. In every winding road, in every stone fence, in the smokes of the poor-house chimney, in the clock on the church, they read their own power, and consider, at leisure, the wisdom and error of their judgments.

[Waldo](#), in his wisdom, specifically called for the compensated emancipation of all American slaves (no compensation whatever to the slaves for their stolen labor, of course, and no provisions whatever for their illness or old age), followed of course by a total black repatriation to the coast of Africa. He supposed this could be accomplished at the ridiculously low cost of one week’s wages, which is to say approximately \$6, per white citizen worker: “It is said, it will cost a thousand millions of dollars to buy the slaves, — which sounds like a fabulous price. But if a price were named in good faith, — with the other elements of a practicable treaty in readiness, and with the convictions of mankind on this mischief once well awake and conspiring, I do not think that any amount that figures could tell, founded on an estimate, would be quite unmanageable. Every man in the world might give a week’s work to sweep this mountain of calamities out of the earth.”

As part of the oration, Emerson pointed out that after the Reverend “John Eliot’s praying Indians” had requested permission to establish a “praying village” near Concord, and had been granted such permission,

It is the misfortune of Concord to have permitted a disgraceful outrage upon the friendly Indians settled within its limits, in February, 1676, which ended in their forcible expulsion from the town.



That’s all. Nothing about racial mass murder, or the violation of the innocent woman and child. [John Shepard Keyes](#) liked this one heck of a lot — self-congratulation being right up his alley:

At any rate I had never enjoyed so much in a day before and I keep the manuscript of Emersons oration to this day as my

greatest literary treasure, and I mean never to part with it.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

O C R the 64 pages of:

[Waldo Emerson](#)'s "A Historical Discourse,
Delivered before the Citizens of Concord,
12th September 1835"

Fellow Citizens,
The town of Concord begins, this day, the
third Century of its history. By a common consent,
the people of New England, for a few years past, at
the second centennial anniversary of each of its
early settlements arrived, have seen fit to observe
the day. You have thought it becoming to com-
memorate the planting of the first inland town.
The sentiment is just, and the practice is wise.
Our ear shall not be deaf to the voice of time.
We will review the deeds of our fathers, and
pass that just verdict on them we expect from
posterity on our own.

the eternity of nature



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A quotation from page 36 of Dr. Edward Jarvis's TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, in regard to the elaborate mechanics of this celebration, is to be found on the following screen:

[next screen]



The dinner tent was in the field where now (1875) stands the dwelling of Judge Brooks. Mr. Shepherd, the excellent keeper of the hotel, was professionally ambitious and unwilling to set out a cheap dinner to which the multitude should come. He would get one that would be honorable to his hotel and to the town. The majority and the leading influences in the committee agreed with him and accepted his proposition to have a dinner at the cost of a \$1.50 for each person. There was not then nor has there since been any doubt that Mr. Shepherd's dinner was worth that sum or that as a matter of entertainment it was an honor to his skill and good taste and honorable dealing with customs. But although about 400 ate at this table and enjoyed the intellectual feast that followed, there was yet very many to whom it was an impossibility and these were kept away, who otherwise might have joined in the festivity and contributed by their presence to swell the gathering of Concord and her children and children's children at their family homes.... They remembered and brought up the scene on the Common when Lafayette was entertained in 1825 and said that this, like that, was for the glorification of the rich and [that it was] framed [planned] with the necessary consequence of the mortification of the mass of the people. Means were taken and influences used to persuade people not to accept this hospitality as alluded to in the article opposite then printed in the Concord paper. [The article referred is a letter dated September 12, 1835, signed "The wife of a Middlesex farmer," and describes the events of the centennial celebration: "I notice those who in independence might leisurely recline on a hair-cloth sofa with a volume of the *ILLIAD*, or ride in a splendid carriage to variegate the scene; here were those, who in the humbler walks of life ply their needles or tend their dairies for a livelihood -- all, all seemed happy without any inequality or distinction.... Most of us have the **means** of educating our children, as well as those who count their thousands; let us do it, and ever impress on their minds that true greatness and superiority consists more in wisdom and merit than in splendid equipages and fine houses."].... When the committee had finished their work and paid all the bills for expenses incurred under their direction, they found that they had exceeded the town's appropriation by about one hundred dollars. At first view, seeing that all this town's money had been expended in carrying out the purposes of the town, it would seem that this excess should be reported to the town and an additional appropriation asked for the payment. But the committee remembered the dissatisfaction that had been manifested by some and the undercurrent of censure that had been stirred by the leading malcontents and thought it more wise to ask no more grant of the town and avoid any opportunity of public complaint or unkind taunting at the gathering of the people. They therefore unanimously agreed to pay this deficiency out of their own private funds, each paying an equal proportion of the whole.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Meanwhile, on the opposite coast of the continent, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was getting involved again in the port business of carrying hides, ferrying passengers, etc., in San Pedro harbor just as in San Diego harbor, the biggest difference between the two anchorages being that the ship was now farther offshore.



AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The next morning, according to the orders of the agent, the *Pilgrim* set sail for the windward, to be gone three or four months. She got under weigh with very little fuss, and came so near us as to throw a letter on board, Captain Faucon standing at the tiller himself, and steering her as he would a mackerel smack. When Captain T_____ was in command of the *Pilgrim*, there was as much preparation and ceremony as there would be in getting a seventy-four under weigh. Captain Faucon was a sailor, every inch of him; he knew what a ship was, and was as much at home in one, as a cobbler in his stall. I wanted no better proof of this than the opinion of the ship's crew, for they had been six months under his command, and knew what he was; and if sailors allow their captain to be a good seaman, you may be sure he is one, for that is a thing they are not always ready to say.

After the *Pilgrim* left us, we lay three weeks at San Pedro, from the 11th of September until the 2nd of October, engaged in the usual port duties of landing cargo, taking off hides, etc., etc. These duties were much easier, and went on much more agreeably, than on board the *Pilgrim*. "The more, the merrier," is the sailor's maxim; and a boat's crew of a dozen could take off all the hides brought down in a day, without much trouble, by division of labor; and on shore, as well as on board, a good will, and no discontent or grumbling, make everything go well. The officer, too, who usually went with us, the third mate, was a fine young fellow, and made no unnecessary trouble; so that we generally had quite a sociable time, and were glad to be relieved from the restraint of the ship. While here, I often thought of the miserable, gloomy weeks we had spent in this dull place, in the brig; discontent and hard usage on board, and four hands to do all the work on shore. Give me a big ship. There is more room, more hands, better outfit, better regulation, more life, and more company. Another thing was better arranged here: we had a regular gig's crew. A light whale-boat, handsomely painted, and fitted out with stern seats, yoke, tiller-ropes, etc., hung on the starboard quarter, and was used as the gig. The youngest lad in the ship, a Boston boy about thirteen years old, was coxswain of this boat, and had the entire charge of her, to keep her clean, and have her in readiness to go and come at any hour. Four light hands, of about the same size and age, of whom I was one, formed the crew. Each had his oar and seat numbered, and we were obliged to be in our places, have our oars scraped white, our tholepins in, and the fenders over the side. The bow-man had charge of the boat-hook and painter, and the coxswain of the rudder, yoke, and stern-sheets. Our duty was to carry the captain and agent about, and passengers off and on; which last was no trifling duty, as the people on shore have no boats, and every purchaser, from the boy who buys his pair of shoes, to the trader who buys his casks and bales, were to be taken off and on, in our boat. Some days, when people were coming and going fast, we were in the boat, pulling off and on, all day long, with hardly time for our meals; making, as we lay nearly three miles from shore, from forty to fifty miles rowing in a day. Still, we thought it the best berth in the ship; for when the gig was employed, we had nothing to do with the cargo, except small bundles which the passengers carried with them, and no hides to carry, besides the opportunity of seeing everybody, making acquaintances, hearing the news, etc. Unless the captain or agent were in the boat, we had no officer with us, and often had fine times with the passengers, who were always willing to talk and joke with us. Frequently, too, we were obliged to wait several hours on shore; when we would haul the boat up on the beach, and leaving one to watch her, go up to the nearest house, or spend the time in strolling about the beach, picking up shells, or playing hopscotch, and other games, on the hard sand. The rest of the crew never left the ship, except for bringing heavy goods and taking off hides; and though we were always in the water, the surf hardly leaving us a dry thread from morning till night, yet we were young, and the climate was good, and we thought it much better than the quiet, hum-drum drag and pull on board ship. We made the acquaintance of nearly half of California; for, besides carrying everybody in our boat,—men, women, and children,—all the messages, letters, and light packages went by us, and being known by our dress, we found a ready reception everywhere.



THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:

At San Pedro, we had none of this amusement, for, there being but one house in the place, we, of course, had but little company. All the variety that I had, was riding, once a week, to the nearest rancho, to order a bullock down for the ship.

The brig *Catalina* came in from San Diego, and being bound up to windward, we both got under weigh at the same time, for a trial of speed up to Santa Barbara, a distance of about eighty miles. We hove up and got under sail about eleven o'clock at night, with a light land-breeze, which died away toward morning, leaving us becalmed only a few miles from our anchoring-place. The *Catalina*, being a small vessel, of less than half our size, put out sweeps and got a boat ahead, and pulled out to sea, during the night, so that she had the sea-breeze earlier and stronger than we did, and we had the mortification of seeing her standing up the coast, with a fine breeze, the sea all ruffled about her, while we were becalmed, in-shore. When the sea-breeze died away, she was nearly out of sight; and, toward the latter part of the afternoon, the regular north-west wind set in fresh, we braced sharp upon it, took a pull at every sheet, tack, and halyard, and stood after her, in fine style, our ship being very good upon a taughtened bowline. We had nearly five hours of fine sailing, beating up to windward, by long stretches in and off shore, and evidently gaining upon the *Catalina* at every tack. When this breeze left us, we were so near as to count the painted ports on her side. Fortunately, the wind died away when we were on our inward tack, and she on her outward, so we were in-shore, and caught the land-breeze first, which came off upon our quarter, about the middle of the first watch. All hands were turned-up, and we set all sail, to the skysails and the royal studding-sails; and with these, we glided quietly through the water, leaving the *Catalina*, which could not spread so much canvas as we, gradually astern, and, by daylight, were off St. Buenaventura, and our antagonist nearly out of sight. The sea-breeze, however, favored her again, while we were becalmed under the headland, and laboring slowly along, she was abreast of us by noon. Thus we continued, ahead, astern, and abreast of one another, alternately; now, far out at sea, and again, close in under the shore. On the third morning, we came into the great bay of Santa Barbara, two hours behind the brig, and thus lost the bet; though, if the race had been to the point, we should have beaten her by five or six hours. This, however, settled the relative sailing of the vessels, for it was admitted that although she, being small and light, could gain upon us in very light winds, yet whenever there was breeze enough to set us agoing, we walked away from her like hauling in a line; and in beating to windward, which is the best trial of a vessel, we had much the advantage of her.

Wilhelm Wieprecht, director of the Berlin Gardes du Corps-Musik, received a patent for a bass tuba.

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

7th day 12th of 9th M 1835 / I dreamed a dream last night which I have often thought of thro' the day. I was at the School in [Providence](#) where I saw a scene, which I shall not describe - It was among the classical Schollars & my mind was so wrought upon by it, that I fell to preaching to them with a powerful voice & with such regularity & connection as made me wonder at my self as when ever I have offered any thing among them my expressions have been few & under a degree of embarrassment - Well I have greatly desired & laboured much for the welfare of that Institution, but if things remain as they were when I was last there, & if they should prove as I saw them in my dream last night - it is Certainly time there was some change in its condition. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 18, Friday: [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s [Harvard College](#) essay on assignment "Speak of the privileges and pleasures of a literary man."



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

6th day 18th of 9th M 1835 / Today Sister Mary returned to me the Letters which I wrote to my Lamented & dear Sister Ruth during my residence in [Providence](#) - I have read them all over, between 30 & 40 in Number - they revived some past occurrences which were much effaced from my memory - & renewed the feelings & remembrance of others, & were on the whole very interesting to me - I was glad they were preserved, as they contain an account of some things, which may be remembered to some

advantage in a future day. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 19, Saturday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) arrived in Dresden from seeing his parents in Cieszyn. He was on his way to Leipzig.

Stephen Austin called on Anglo settlers in Texas to rise against the Mexican government.

A [Quaker](#) woman was depicted in this year, by Ammi Phillips:



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) had strained relations with some [Quaker](#) relatives who were being led astray by Friend [Elias Hicks](#):

7th day 9th of 9th M / Today Thos R Robinson & his wife Jemima called to take leave of us on their return home to Vermont, having spent the Summer here among their relations - they are both Hixites [[Hicksites](#)], & tho' as relations & the offspring of respectable parents & familys, I felt a disposition to be more than civil to them, yet I could not part with them as Friends I had unity with - Very different was the feeling our Friend Stephen Stevens & his wife (Rachail Bird that was) who called at the Same time on their way home to Vermont to Speak with us by the way & take leave of us having spent a few days on a visit to her relations at [Portsmouth](#) - they felt life [like] friends with whom I had unity & sympathy. - Stephen brought me a remarkable Stone found on his Fathers farm it is a curiosity to us, thoi' he says many such are found in clay banks in Vermont - it looke like some Indian carved Work

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 20th of 9th M 1835 / Meeting this Morning was silent & Small - being Stormy but few came, it was however a solid good time to me. - Father had a short but good testimony in the



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 23, Wednesday: The balloon of the Boston master goldbeater Louis Lauriat rose again from Castle Garden at the south tip of the island of Manhattan but this time the flight of our intrepid aeronaut terminated abruptly on some rocks near the Battery shore. A second attempt was somewhat more successful, depositing him at North Hempstead on Long Island.

Vincenzo Salvatore Carmelo Francesco Bellini died alone at 5PM at a country house in the Paris suburb of Puteaux, at the age of 33.

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

4th day 23rd of 9th M 1835 / Went to [Portsmouth](#) to see Uncle Stanton who is still very ill with a stopage in his stomach, which prevents any thing remaining in it but a short time, before it is ejected - he suffers much from hunger & thirst & seems to be wearing out, tho' he may continue some time. --

This is also the day my aged & dear friend [Moses Brown](#) is 97 Years old, which I commemorate as having for the last Six years generally seen him on his birth day, & for some years previous to my residence in [Providence](#) have addressed a letter to him on that day or on this day of the Month. – but have been unable to today from the circumstance of by being from home. – This is also the Anniversary of the Great Storm 1815 which I well remember & also remember that our dear Sister Ruth Rodman spent the day with us this day 20 Years ago & looked with us at the mighty force of the Wind & waves which beat over the Long Wharf & carried away Stores & house & drowned several in poor [Newport](#), many were made suffered by it, & our Cellar kitchen was filled with Water & some loss sustained.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 24, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 24th of 9th M 1835 / Attended Monthly Meeting held in Town Mary Hix appeared in testimony in a solid weighty manner & was followed in a few words by Hannah Dennis & Father Rodman & also A Supplication by Elizabeth Wing – In the last we had rather more than usual buisness Nathan Moroe was recd into membership & a committtee was verybally appointed to consider of the subject of Memorials, several of our dear friends having recently passed from death unto Life there appeared a concern prevalent that their memory be preserved by written testimony but things are so low amongst us that I do not see that much will be done. –

After dinner our dear friend Elizabeth Wing & Ann Hopkins called to see us & spent a little time very pleasantly - We read them divers letters we have recently recd & conversed on the State of Society - after which Dear Elizabeth preached to us very sweetly & encouragingly

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 September 25, Friday: Samuel Whitmarsh exchanged the properties he had put together in [Northampton](#) for New-York financing in the amount of \$40,000, forming a stock association to be known as the Northampton [Silk](#) Company.

Juan Alvarez Mendizabal replaced Miguel Ricardo de Alava Esquivel as Prime Minister of Spain.

An autopsy on the body of Vincenzo Bellini showed “an acute inflammation of the large intestine, complicated by an abscess of the liver.” The cause of death was amoebic dysentery.

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

6th day 25th of 9 M / This day our Sister E R Nichols to fetch her little daughter Elizabeth who has been our pleasant inmate & companion thro' the Summer

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 27, Sunday: [Frédéric François Chopin](#) arrived in Leipzig and spent the day making music with [Felix Mendelssohn](#). During his stay he visited [Robert Schumann](#) and the Wiecks, and declared that Clara Wieck was the only person in Germany to properly play his compositions.

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

1st day 27th of 9th M / In our morning Meeting we had a Short communication from Father & in the Afternoon we were silent - both were solid meetings, but my mind was far from being in a state of Life - religious feelings were low tho' I trust I had some in the course of the Day

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 29, Tuesday: Records of the [“Institute of 1770”](#):

“Whether the emigration [sic] of foreigners into our country is evil or not? Decided in the negative - 9 to 6.

Grand duo concertant sur la romance de ‘Le Marin’ for violin and piano by Franz Liszt was performed for the initial time, in Geneva.

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

3rd day 29th of 9th M 1835 / This Morning Our Dear Sister Elizabeth R Nichols, her son in law Isaiah & her little daughter Elizabeth Jr left us by the Steam Boat expecting to be at the School committee in [Providence](#) today, expecting to leave for Salem tomorrow - I sent several letters by them to my friends at [Providence](#). -

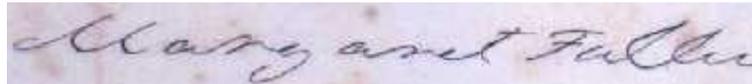
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October 2, Friday: A Requiem mass for Vincenzo Bellini was held at Les Invalides. According to a report “Paer, Cherubini, Carafa, and Rossini each held one corner of the shroud.” The earthly remains of the musician were deposited in Pere-Lachaise Cemetery, between those of Andre Ernest Modeste Gretry and Francois-Adrien Boieldieu.

Margaret Fuller’s father died of the cholera, throwing much family responsibility onto her shoulders.



For the first two days, my grief, under this calamity, was such as I dare not speak of. But since my father’s head is laid in the dust, I feel an awful calm, and am becoming familiar with the thoughts of being an orphan. I have prayed to God that duty may now be the first object, and self set aside. May I have light and strength to do what is right, in the highest sense, for my mother, brothers, and sister.



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

6th day 10M 2nd 1835 / This morning word came in from [Portsmouth](#) that Uncle Stanton was very low - my Wife & I went our immediately & found he had breathed his last sometime before we got there. We found our dear Aunt in much affliction but as composed as could be expected on the occasion We spent the remainder of the day there & staid all night.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October 3, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Morning to our comfort & support Benj Marshall arrived which took from us much weight & responsibility -Arrangement was made for the funeral which was agreed to be from our house tomorrow at 10 OClock & to be inter’d in friends ground according to his request both verbal & written - we came home in the afternoon to arrange for the funeral & in the evening the Corps was brought to Town & deposited in our South keeping room. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and other dignitaries were approached, one by one, by the committee preparing for Concord's bicentennial event, to provide oratory for the occasion, and had struck out in each and every case. Finally they decided they would need to settle for some oratory from a local citizen, and approached [Waldo Emerson](#). In preparation for his delivery of the keynote address for [Concord](#)'s bicentennial, he borrowed proof sheets for the new local history book by [Lemuel Shattuck](#). He also placed a notice of the publication of Shattuck's book in the [Yeoman's Gazette](#).⁹⁰

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



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...

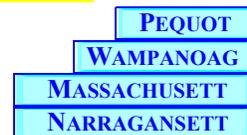
When the English settlements first commenced in New England, that part of its territory, which lies south of New Hampshire, was inhabited by five principal nations of Indians: the Pequots, who lived in Connecticut; the Narragansets, in [Rhode Island](#); the Pawkunnawkuts, or Womponoags, east of the Narragansets and to the north as far as Charles River;¹ the Massachusetts, north of Charles river and west of Massachusetts Bay; and the Pawtuckets, north of the Massachusetts. The boundaries and rights of these nations appear not to have been sufficiently definite to be now clearly known. They had within their jurisdiction many subordinate tribes, governed by sachems, or sagamores, subject, in some respects, to the principal sachem. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, they were able to bring into the field more than 18,000 warriors; but about the year 1612, they were visited with a pestilential disease, whose horrible ravages reduced their number to about 1800.² Some of their villages were entirely depopulated. This great mortality was viewed by the first Pilgrims, as the accomplishment of one of the purposes of Divine Providence, by making room for the settlement of civilized man, and by preparing a peaceful asylum for the persecuted Christians of the old world. In what light soever the event may be viewed, it no doubt greatly facilitated the settlements, and rendered them less hazardous.

1612

1621

1. I have supposed that the Indians living south of the Charles River did not belong to the Massachusetts tribe. Chickatabot, sachem of Neponset, and Obatinuat acknowledged submission to Massasoit in 1621, and were at enmity with Squaw Sachem. No instance within my knowledge is recorded of a petty sachem going to war with his own tribe. It is also worthy of remark, that these sachems and their descendants executed deeds of lands within Massasoit's territories, but never in the Massachusetts territories. As the country became settled by the English, and the jealousies between different tribes were forgotten, all the Indians living within the Massachusetts patent were rather erroneously classed among the Massachusetts Indians. Hence the statements of Winthrop, [Daniel Gookin](#), and other historians. See Prince, ANNALS, 1621.

2. MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTION, volume I.



Shattuck, a resident in [Concord](#) from 1823 to 1834, noted that there had been a “third soldier buried and a house built over the spot” and that “one of the wounded died and was buried where Mr. Keyes’ house stands.”⁹¹ He evidently was referring to a house just to the northeast of the replacement Courthouse the town



had erected in 1784, that in 1815 had been leased by [John Shepard Keyes](#) (the father, who worked at that courthouse).

A
HISTORY
OF THE
TOWN OF CONCORD ;
MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS,
FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO 1832 ;
AND OF THE ADJOINING TOWNS,
BEDFORD, ACTON, LINCOLN, AND CARLISLE ;
CONTAINING
VARIOUS NOTICES OF COUNTY AND STATE HISTORY
NOT BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY LEMUEL SHATTUCK,
MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Nobler records of patriotism exist nowhere. — Nowhere can there be found higher proofs of a spirit that was ready to hazard all, to pledge all, to sacrifice all in the cause of their country, than in the New England towns. WEBSTER.

The local historian is sure of obtaining the gratitude of posterity if he perform his task with faithful diligence. — His work would have a great and increasing value within the narrow sphere of its subject, even if confined to that sphere ; but must be very imperfectly executed, if it does not contain some matter of illustration for the national annals, for the history of manners, for literature, philology, natural history, and various other departments of knowledge.

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

BOSTON :
RUSSELL, ODIORNE, AND COMPANY.

CONCORD :
JOHN STACY.
1835.

October 4, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

91. Of the three stricken soldiers of the 4th Regiment Light Infantry Company, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall, two had died and were buried at the North Bridge itself, while the third was carried toward town before succumbing to his wounds.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 4th of 10th M 1835 / The funeral this Afternoon was a solemn quiet opportunity & Father Rodman was engaged in testimony in nearly these words "I believe solemn & useful reflections are often much more impressive under the weight of silence which we have experienced, than from the utterance of many words, for words without knowledge darken council, & the minds of the hearers are in a worse state from them, but I believe it is my duty to say, that while sitting under the solemn covering with which we have been favoured, I have believed the Scripture would apply in regard to our valued friend whose remains we had assembled to pay the last of social duties Vizt "Because thy heart was tender & thou humbled thyself before the Lord & hast rent thy cloaths & wept before me, I also have heard thee, behold therefore I will gather thee unto thy fathers, & thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace." - he expressed a consoling hope that Uncle Stanton was at peace & rest - he added a little more which I do not clearly recollect - the setting soon closed & his remains were interd in Friend upper burying ground in the medow field according to his request.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 11, Sunday: The last installment of "On the Situation of Artist and Their Condition in Society" by Franz Liszt appeared in the Gazette musicale de Paris.

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

1st day 11th of 10th M / Attended both Meetings - Father was engaged in testimony in both - It was a time of some favour & some mental trial & exercise on my part - The Meeting was well attended particularly in the Morning.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) sailed aboard the *Alert* from Santa Barbara anchorage to the bay of San Diego, California.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday, Oct. 11th. Set sail this morning for the leeward; passed within sight of San Pedro, and, to our great joy, did not come to anchor, but kept directly on to San Diego, where we arrived and moored ship on.



October 13, Tuesday: Records of the "[Institute of 1770](#)":

"Has the form of government of the U.S.A. a greater appearance of stability than any other?" Decided in the affirmative - 8 to 2.

(What do you suppose, would scholar [David Henry](#)'s vote have been among the 8 affirmative ones, or one of the 2 in the negative?)

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

3rd day 13th of 10th M 1835 / The House in Marlborough Street



Once owned by the Venerable Govr Wm Coddington is now taking down, its great Age & the State of its timbers being such that it was unfit to live in & past repair - this circumstance reconciled my feelings to the removal of an object familiar to my eyesight from early childhood it was built by Rowland Robinson who was the first Robinson who settled in [Newport](#) for Govr Coddington & was the first contract he made as builder on his removal from Boston. This information I had from his grandson Thomas Robinson some years previous to his death - The Timbers are very large & were doubtless the growth of the land not far from the House & the Chimneys tho' of brick were evidently calculated for a very free use of fewel, being very wide & high. - While the rooms were yet Standing & the roof only removed I went into it & examined every part of it - & had I been a poet could have wrought up my mind to no very inconsiderable fancy - as it was I mentally saw the Yearly Meeting of Friends there Assembled - the weight & awe which covered the gathering & heard Geo. Fox preach in the demonstration of the Spirit & of Power - I walked thro' the rooms & saw (mentally) the pious & deeply exercised company of friends entertained around the large fireplaces by the Governour, & the table spread for refreshment - probably the Govr relating his exercises on board the Arbella & his trials as member of the General Court at Boston when Ann Hutchinson was tried before them or consulting with his friends relative to the welfare of his friends who then were grievously persecuted & the society in general - His funeral held in that House when the General Assembly adjourned to attend it, with the not improbable view of my Great great Grandfather Daniel Gould preaching at the time - That house was also probably the residence of His son Wm Coddington the Second of that Name & was also the residence of Nathaniel Coddington a former Secretary of State & was for many years the residence of Wm Coddington the old Town Clerk - In short for many very many years it was inhabited by those who were religious & Honourable in the World - but how indeed do all terestial things fail & that which was once in high account become low & even mean - for the last 20 or 30 Years, those who once were its dignified inmates have disappeared & it has been in habited by the lower order of society & it litteraly rotted down for want of seasonable repairs - I propose to obtain some of its venerable timbers to work into various little things such as boxes, Canes &c for the gratification of the Antiquarians & curious

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



October 18, Sunday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* sailed north up the coast of California from the bay of San Diego.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday was again, as usual, our sailing day, and we got under weigh with a stiff breeze, which reminded us that it was the latter part of the autumn, and time to expect south-easters once more. We beat up against a strong head wind, under reefed top-sails, as far as San Juan, where we came to anchor nearly three miles from the shore, with slip-ropes on our cables, in the old south-easter style of last winter. On the passage up, we had an old sea captain on board, who had married and settled in California, and had not been on salt water for more than fifteen years. He was astonished at the changes and improvements that had been made in ships, and still more at the manner in which we carried sail; for he was really a little frightened; and said that while we had top-gallant sails on, he should have been under reefed topsails. The working of the ship, and her progress to windward, seemed to delight him, for he said she went to windward as though she were kedging.

The Hochzeitskantate Cassia La sede empirea for four voices and piano by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time.

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

1st day 18th of 10 m 1835 / Attended both Meetings & both were times of some favour –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 21, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) made a note in his journal about an initial visit to his home in Concord by [Bronson Alcott](#):

Last Saturday night came hither Mr Alcott & spent the Sabbath with me. A wise man, simple, superior to display. & drops the best things as quietly as the least. Every man, he said, is a Revelation, & ought to write his Record. But few with the pen.

That night, just back in [Boston](#) from his visit to Emerson in Concord, Alcott would be visiting William Lloyd Garrison in the jail on Leverett Street. (What was Garrison doing in the Boston lockup? –Read on.)

Having met with brickbats in Concord, New Hampshire and garbage, raw eggs, and rocks in Lowell MA, and having been seriously injured by being hit in the face with a rock in [Ohio](#), and having been denounced by President Andrew Jackson in a message to Congress, the English anti-slavery reformer George Thompson had been reduced to making his return plans in secret because of concern that pro-slavery activists would attempt to kidnap him (presumably to tar and feather him).⁹² He had fled Boston Harbor in a rowboat in order to board a British ship leaving for New Brunswick.

92. Safely back in England, George Thompson would be elected to Parliament.

Back ashore, in what would come to be known as the “Gentlemen’s Riot” carried out by a downtown [Boston](#) group of swells associated with State Street and Milk Street which sometimes referred to itself as “the broadcloth mob,” what had been planned as a protest against a scheduled lecture by Thompson on behalf of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society transformed itself into a mob of several thousand persons which stormed the meeting while the women prayed for the protection of God. They came uncomfortably close to tarring and feathering the substitute speaker.⁹³

STATE STREET, BOSTON



This substitute, William Lloyd Garrison, was saved only by the intervention of Boston’s mayor, who –despite the fact that there was a mayoral election coming up in December– dealt personally with this proslavery mob.

To the people who were engaging in the antislavery struggle, this year of 1835 would become known as “the mob year.” The riot against Garrison in Boston was far from the only one. The North was having what Grimsted refers to as a “riot conversation” with the South, in an attempt to reassure it that its institution of human enslavement would be tolerated, and that opposition to this institution would not be allowed to interfere with the flow of business. There was therefore also an assault on this day upon Henry B. Stanton in [Newport](#), and an assault upon Samuel May in Montpelier. No great personal injury or property damage resulted, as that was not the point:

PAGE 27 GRIMSTED: The day’s riotous work was the North’s final offering of works to prove the sincerity of its stream of words against abolition ... few in the South noted how little damage to property and none to people these careful mobs perpetrated.

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

4th day 21 of 10 M / We rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Select Meeting - After which we went to Aunt Stantons & spent the Afternoon with her in sympathy with her lonely situation

93. This mob was witnessed by [William Cooper Nell](#), who, being himself a person of color, of course was unable to interfere.



At this annual meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society at the Anti-Slavery Hall, the women were trapped in rooms on the 3d floor as the mob roamed the corridors of the building. The mayor of Boston belatedly arrived with a group of policemen and got the women to disperse, but William Lloyd Garrison was in his office and was left alone in the building with the mob. When he crawled through the back window and jumped down into the street, someone saw him and the mob gave chase. He was cornered in a 2d-floor room above a carpenter's shop into which he had dodged, whereupon there was a wrestling match to see whether he would be flung from the window, or into a tar kettle that had been prepared. The police jailed for the night for his own safety, in the jail on Leverett Street, and he inscribed on the wall there that his offense was "preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men have been created equal." Here is a fuller account of the action:

It was in the midst of such intense and widespread excitement that Boston called its meeting to abolish the Abolitionists. It was the month of August, and the heat of men's passions was as great as the heat of the August sun. The moral atmosphere of the city was so charged with inflammable gases that the slightest spark would have sufficed to produce an explosion. The Abolitionists felt this and carried themselves the while with unusual circumspection. They deemed it prudent to publish an address to neutralize the falsehoods with which they were assailed by their enemies. The address drawn up by Garrison for the purpose was thought "too fiery for the present time," by his more cautious followers and was rejected. The Liberator office had already been threatened in consequence of a fiery article by the editor, denouncing the use of Faneuil Hall for the approaching pro-slavery meeting. It seemed to the unawed and indignant champion of liberty that it were "better that the winds should scatter it in fragments over the whole earth – better that an earthquake should engulf it – than that it should be used for so unhallowed and detestable a purpose!" The anti-abolition feeling of the town had become so bitter and intense that Henry E. Benson, then clerk in the anti-slavery office, writing on the 19th of the month, believed that there were persons in Boston, who would assassinate George Thompson in broad daylight, and doubted whether Garrison or Samuel J. May would be safe in Faneuil Hall on the day of the meeting, and what seemed still more significant of the inflamed state of the public mind, was the confidence with which he predicted that a mob would follow the meeting. The wild-cat-like spirit was in the air – in the seething heart of the populace.

The meeting was held August 21st, in the old cradle of liberty. To its call alone fifteen hundred names were appended. It was a Boston audience both as to character and numbers, an altogether imposing affair, over whom the mayor of the city presided and before whom two of the most consummate orators of the commonwealth fulminated against the Abolitionists. One of their hearers, a young attorney of twenty-four, who listened to Peleg Sprague and Harrison Gray Otis that day, described sixteen years afterward the latter and the effects produced by him on that audience. Our young attorney vividly recalled how "'Abolitionist' was linked with contempt, in the silver tones of Otis, and all the charms that a divine eloquence and most felicitous diction could throw around a bad cause were given it; the excited multitude seemed actually ready to leap up beneath



the magic of his speech. It would be something, if one must die, to die by such a hand – a hand somewhat worthy and able to stifle anti-slavery, if it could be stifled. The orator was worthy of the gigantic task attempted; and thousands crowded before him, every one of their hearts melted by that eloquence, beneath which Massachusetts had bowed, not unworthily, for more than thirty years." Here is a specimen of the sort of goading which the wild-cat-like spirit of the city got from the orators. It is taken from the speech of Peleg Sprague. The orator is paying his respects to George Thompson, "an avowed *emissary*" "a *professed agitator*," who "comes here from the dark and corrupt institutions of Europe to enlighten us upon the rights of man and the moral duties of our own condition. Received by our hospitality, he stands here upon our soil, protected by our laws, and hurls firebrands, arrows, and death into the habitations of our neighbors and friends, and brothers; and when he shall have kindled a conflagration which is sweeping in desolation over our land, he has only to embark for his own country, and there look serenely back with indifference or exultation upon the widespread ruin by which *our* cities are wrapt in flames, and *our* garments rolled in blood." The great meeting was soon a thing of the past but not so its effects. The echoes of Otis and Sprague did not cease at its close. They thrilled in the air, they thrilled long afterward in the blood of the people. When the multitude dispersed Mischief went out into the streets of the city with them. Wherever afterward they gathered Mischief made one in their midst. Mischief was let loose, Mischief was afoot in the town. The old town was no place for the foreign emissary, neither was it a safe place for the arch-agitator. On the day after the meeting, Garrison and his young wife accordingly retreated to her father's home at Brooklyn, Conn., where the husband needed not to be jostling elbows with Mistress Mischief, and her *pals*. Garrison's answer to the speeches of Otis and Sprague was in his sternest vein. He is sure after reading them that, "there is more guilt attaching to the people of the free States from the continuance of slavery, than those in the slave States." At least he is ready to affirm upon the authority of Orator Sprague, "that New England is as really a slave-holding section of the republic as Georgia or South Carolina." Sprague, he finds, "in amicable companionship and popular repute with thieves and adulterers; with slaveholders, slavedealers, and slave-destroyers; ... with the disturbers of the public peace; with the robbers of the public mail; with ruffians who insult, pollute, and lacerate helpless women; and with conspirators against the lives and liberties of New England citizens." To Otis who was then nearly seventy years of age Garrison addressed his rebuke in tones of singular solemnity. It seemed to him that the aged statesman had transgressed against liberty "under circumstances of peculiar criminality." "Yet at this solemn period," the reprobation of the prophet ran, "you have not scrupled, nay, you have been ambitious, to lead and address an excited multitude, in vindication of all imaginable wickedness, embodied in one great system of crime and blood – to pander to the lusts and desires



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

of the robbers of God and his poor – to consign over to the tender mercies of cruel taskmasters, multitudes of guiltless men, women, and children – and to denounce as an ‘unlawful and dangerous association’ a society whose only object is to bring this nation to repentance, through the truth as it is in Jesus.” These audacious and iconoclastic performances of the reformer were not exactly adapted to turn from him the wrath of the idol worshipers. They more likely added fuel to the hot anger burning in Boston against him. Three weeks passed after his departure from the city, and his friends did not deem it safe for him to return. Toward the end of the fourth week of his enforced absence, against which he was chafing not a little, an incident happened in Boston which warned him to let patience have its perfect work. It was on the night of September 17th that the dispositions of the city toward him found grim expression in a gallows erected in front of his house at 23 Brighton street. This ghastly reminder that the fellow-citizens of the editor of the Liberator continued to take a lively interest in him, “was made in real workmanship style, of maple joist five inches through, eight or nine feet high, for the accommodation of two persons.” Garrison and Thompson were the two persons for whom these brave accommodations were prepared. But as neither they nor their friends were in a mood to have trial made of them, the intended occupants consented to give Boston a wide berth, and to be somewhat particular that they did not turn in with her while the homicidal fit lasted. This editing his paper at long range, and this thought of life and safety Garrison did not at all relish. They grew more and more irksome to his fearless and earnest spirit. For his was a “pine-and-fagot” Abolitionism that knew not the fear of men or their wrath. But now he must needs have a care for the peace of mind of his young wife, who was, within a few months, to give birth to a child. And her anxiety for him was very great. Neither was the anxiety of devoted friends and followers to be lightly disregarded. All of which detained the leader in Brooklyn until the 25th of the month, when the danger signals seemed to have disappeared. Whereupon he set out immediately for his post in Boston to be at the head of his forces. He found the city in one of those strange pauses of popular excitement, which might signify the ebb of the tide or only the retreat of the billows. He was not inclined to let the anti-Abolition agitation subside so soon, before it had carried on its flood Abolition principles to wider fields and more abundant harvests in the republic. Anxious lest the cat-like temper of the populace was falling into indifference and apathy, he and his disciples took occasion to prod it into renewed wakefulness and activity. The instruments used for this purpose were anti-slavery meetings and the sharp goad of his Liberator editorials. The city was possessed with the demon of slavery, and its foaming at the mouth was the best of all signs that the Abolition exorcism was working effectively. So, in between the glittering teeth and the terrible paws was thrust the maddening goad, and up sprang the mighty beast horrible to behold. One of these meetings was the anniversary of the formation of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society which fell



on October 14th. The ladies issued their notice, engaged a hall, and invited George Thompson to address them. Now the foreign emissary was particularly exasperating to Boston sensibility on the subject of slavery. He was the veritable red rag to the pro-slavery bull. The public announcement, therefore, that he was to speak in the city threw the public mind into violent agitation. The Gazette and the Courier augmented the excitement by the recklessness with which they denounced the proposed meeting, the former promising to Thompson a lynching, while the latter endeavored to involve his associates who were to the "manner born" in the popular outbreak, which was confidently predicted in case the "foreign vagrant" wagged his tongue at the time appointed. Notwithstanding the rage of press and people the meeting was postponed through no willingness on the part of the ladies, but because of the panic of the owners of the hall lest their property should be damaged or destroyed in case of a riot. The ladies, thereupon, appointed three o'clock in the afternoon of October 21st as the time, and the hall adjoining the Anti-Slavery Office, at 46 Washington street, as the place where they would hold their adjourned meeting. This time they made no mention of Mr. Thompson's addressing them, merely announcing several addresses. In fact, an address from Mr. Thompson, in view of the squally outlook, was not deemed expedient. To provide against accidents and disasters, he left the city on the day before the meeting. But this his enemies did not know. They confidently expected that he was to be one of the speakers. An inflammatory handbill distributed on the streets at noon of the 21st seemed to leave no doubt of this circumstance in the pro-slavery portion of the city. The handbill referred to ran as follows:

THOMPSON, THE ABOLITIONIST!

That infamous foreign scoundrel, THOMPSON, will hold forth *this afternoon* at the Liberator office. No. 48 Washington street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to *snake Thompson out!* It will be a contest between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Union. A purse of \$100 has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens to reward the individual who shall first lay violent hands on Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar-kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant!

Boston, Wednesday, 12 o'clock.

That Wednesday forenoon Garrison spent at the anti-slavery office, little dreaming of the peril which was to overtake him in that very spot in the afternoon. He went home to an early dinner, since his wife was a member of the society, and he himself was set down for an address. As he wended his way homeward, Mischief and her gang were afoot distributing the aforesaid handbills "in the insurance offices, the reading-rooms, all along State street, in the hotels, bar-rooms, etc.," and scattering it "among mechanics at the North End, who were mightily taken with it." Garrison returned about a half hour before the time appointed for the meeting. He found a small crowd



of about a hundred individuals collected in front of the building where the hall was situated, and on ascending to the hall more of the same sort, mostly young men, choking the access to it. They were noisy, and Garrison pushed his way through them with difficulty. As he entered the place of meeting and took his seat among the ladies, twenty had already arrived, the gang of young rowdies recognized him and evinced this by the exclamation: "That's Garrison!" The full significance of the crowd just without the hall did not seem to have occurred to the man whom they had identified. He did not know that they were the foam blown from the mouth of a great mob at the moment filling the streets in the neighborhood of the building where he sat with such serenity of spirit. His wife who had followed him from their home saw what Garrison did not see. The crowd of a hundred had swelled to thousands. It lay in a huge irregular cross, jammed in between the buildings on Washington street, the head lowering in front of the anti-slavery office, the foot reaching to the site where stood Joy building, now occupied by the Rogers, the right arm stretching along Court street to the Court House, and the left encircling the old State House, City Hall and Post-office then, in a gigantic embrace. All hope of urging her way through that dense mass was abandoned by Mrs. Garrison, and a friend, Mr. John E. Fuller, escorted her to his home, where she passed the night. Meantime the atmosphere upstairs at the hall began to betoken a fast approaching storm. The noises ominously increased on the landing just outside. The door of the hall was swung wide open and the entrance filled with rioters. Garrison, all unconscious of danger, walked over to these persons and remonstrated in his grave way with them in regard to the disturbance which they were producing, winding up with a characteristic bit of pleasantry: "Gentlemen," said he, "perhaps you are not aware that this is a meeting of the Boston *Female* Anti-Slavery Society, called and intended exclusively for *ladies*, and those only who have been invited to address them. Understanding this fact you will not be so rude and indecorous as to thrust your presence upon this meeting." But he added, "If, *gentlemen*, any of you are *ladies* in disguise - why only apprise me of the fact, give me your names, and I will introduce you to the rest of your sex, and you can take seats among them accordingly." The power of benignity over malignity lasted a few moments after this little speech, when the situation changed rapidly from bad to worse. "The tumult continually increased," says an eye-witness, "with horrible execrations, howling, stamping, and finally shrieking with rage. They seemed not to dare to enter, notwithstanding their fury, but mounted on each other's shoulders, so that a row of hostile heads appeared over the slight partition, of half the height of the wall which divides the society's rooms from the landing place. We requested them to allow the door to be shut; but they could not decide as to whether the request should be granted, and the door was opened and shut with violence, till it hung useless from its hinges." Garrison thinking that his absence might quiet these perturbed spirits and so enable the ladies to hold their meeting without further molestation volunteered at this juncture to the



president of the society to retire from the hall unless she desired him to remain. She did not wish him to stay but urged him to go at once not only for the peace of the meeting but for his own safety. Garrison thereupon left the hall meaning at the time to leave the building as well, but egress by the way of the landing and the stairs, he directly perceived was impossible, and did what seemed the next best thing, entered the anti-slavery office, separated from the hall by a board partition. Charles C. Burleigh accompanied him within this retreat. The door between the hall and the office was securely locked, and Garrison with that marvelous serenity of mind, which was a part of him, busied himself immediately with writing to a friend an account of the scenes which were enacting in the next room. The tempest had begun in the streets also. The mob from its five thousand throats were howling "Thompson! Thompson!" The mayor of the city, Theodore Lyman, appeared upon the scene, and announced to the gentlemen of property and standing, who were thus exercising their vocal organs, that Mr. Thompson was not at the meeting, was not in the city. But the mayor was a modern Canute before the sea of human passion, which was rushing in over law and authority. He besought the rioters to disperse, but he might as well have besought the waves breaking on Nastasket Beach to disperse. Higher, higher rose the voices; fiercer, fiercer waxed the multitude; more and more frightful became the uproar. The long-pent-up excitement of the city and its hatred of Abolitionists had broken loose at last and the deluge had come. The mayor tossed upon the human inundation as a twig on a mountain stream, and with him for the nonce struggled helplessly the police power of the town also. Upstairs in the hall the society and its president are quite as powerless as the mayor and the police below. Miss Mary S. Parker, the president, is struggling with the customary opening exercises. She has called the meeting to order, read to the ladies some passages from the Bible, and has lifted up her voice in prayer to the All Wise and Merciful One "for direction and succor, and the forgiveness of enemies and revilers." It is a wonderful scene, a marvelous example of Christian heroism, for in the midst of the hisses and threats and curses of the rioters, the prayer of the brave woman rose clear and untremulous. But now the rioters have thrown themselves against the partition between the landing-place and the hall. They are trying to break it down; now, they have partially succeeded. In another moment they have thrown themselves against the door of the office where Garrison is locked. The lower panel is dashed in. Through the opening they have caught sight of their object, Garrison, serenely writing at his desk. "There he is! That's Garrison! Out with the scoundrel!" and other such words of recognition and execration, burst from one and another of the mob. The shattering of the partition, the noise of splitting and ripping boards, the sharp crash caused by the shivering of the office door, the loud and angry outcries of the rioters warn the serene occupant of the office that his position has become one of extreme peril. But he does not become excited. His composure does not forsake him. Instead of attempting to escape, he simply turns to his friend,



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Burleigh, with the words, "You may as well open the door, and let them come in and do their worst." But fortunately, Burleigh was in no such extremely non-resistant mood. The advent of the mayor and the constables upon the scene at this point rescued Garrison from immediately falling into the hands of the mob, who were cleared out of the hall and from the stairway. Now the voice of the mayor was heard urging the ladies to go home as it was dangerous to remain; and now the voice of Maria Weston Chapman, replying: "If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as anywhere." The ladies finally decided to retire, and their exit diverted, while the operation lasted, the attention of the huge, cat-like creature from their object in the anti-slavery office. When the passing of the ladies had ceased, the old fury of the mob against Garrison returned. "Out with him!" "Lynch him!" rose in wild uproar from thousands in the streets. But again the attention of the huge, cat-like creature was diverted from its object in the second story of the building before which it was lashing itself into frenzy. This time it was the anti-slavery sign which hung from the rooms of the society over the sidewalk. The mob had caught sight of it, and directly set up a yell for it. The sensation of utter helplessness in the presence of the multitude seemed at this juncture to return to the chief magistrate of the city. It was impossible to control the cataract-like passions of the rioters. He heard their awful roar for the sign. The din had risen to terrific proportions. The thought of what might happen next appalled him. The mob might begin to bombard the sign with brickbats, and from the sign pass to the building, and from the building to the constables, and then – but the mayor glanced not beyond, for he had determined to appease the fury of the mob by throwing down to it the hateful sign. A constable detached it, and hurled it down to the rioters in the street. But by the act the mayor had signified that the rule of law had collapsed, and the rule of the mob had really begun. When the rioters had wreaked their wrath upon the emblem of freedom, they were in the mood for more violence. The appetite for destruction, it was seen, had not been glutted; only whetted. Garrison's situation was now extremely critical. He could no longer remain where he was, for the mob would invade the building and hunt him like hounds from cellar to garret. He must leave the building without delay. To escape from the front was out of the question. A way of escape must, therefore, be found in the rear. All of these considerations the mayor and Garrison's friends urged upon him. The good man fell in with this counsel, and, with a faithful friend, proceeded to the rear of the building, where from a window he dropped to a shed, but in doing so was very nearly precipitated to the ground. After picking himself up he passed into a carpenter's shop, meaning to let himself down into Wilson's Lane, now Devonshire street, but the myriad-eyed mob, which was searching every portion of the building for their game, espied him at this point, and with that set up a great shout. The workmen came to the aid of the fugitive by closing the door of the carpenter's shop in the face of his pursuers. The situation seemed desperate. Retreat from the front was cut



off; escape from the rear anticipated and foiled. Garrison perceived the futility of any further attempts to elude the mob, and proposed in his calm way to deliver himself up to them. But his faithful Achates, John Reid Campbell, advised him that it was his duty to avoid the mob as long as it was possible to do so. Garrison thereupon made a final effort to get away. He retreated up stairs, where his friend and a lad got him into a corner of the room and tried to conceal his whereabouts by piling some boards in front of him. But, by that time, the rioters had entered the building, and within a few moments had broken into the room where Garrison was in hiding. They found Mr. Reid, and demanded of him where Garrison was. But Reid firmly refused to tell. They then led him to a window, and exhibited him to the mob in the Lane, advising them that it was not Garrison, but Garrison's and Thompson's friend, who knows where Garrison is, but refuses to tell. A shout of fierce exultation from below greeted this announcement. Almost immediately afterward, Garrison was discovered and dragged furiously to the window, with the intention of hurling him thence to the pavement. Some of the rioters were for doing this, while others were for milder measures. "Don't let us kill him outright!" they begged. So his persecutors relented, coiled a rope around his body instead, and bade him descend to the street. The great man was never greater than at that moment. With extraordinary meekness and benignity he saluted his enemies in the street. From the window he bowed to the multitude who were thirsting for his destruction, requesting them to wait patiently, for he was coming to them. Then he stepped intrepidly down the ladder raised for the purpose, and into the seething sea of human passion. Garrison must now have been speedily torn to pieces had he not been quickly seized by two or three powerful men, who were determined to save him from falling into the hands of the mob. They were men of great muscular strength, but the muscular strength of two or three giants would have proven utterly unequal to the rescue, and this Mr. Garrison's deliverers evidently appreciated. For while they employed their powerful arms, they also employed stratagem as well to effect their purpose. They shouted anon as they fought their way through the excited throng, "He is an American! He shan't be hurt!" and other such words which divided the mind of the mob, arousing among some sympathy for the good man. By this means he was with difficulty got out of Wilson's lane into State street, in the rear of the old State House. The champion was now on historic ground, ground consecrated by the blood of Crispus Attucks and his fellow-martyrs sixty-five years before. His hat was lost, much of his clothing was stripped from his body, he was without his customary glasses, and was therefore practically blind. He could hear the awful clamor, the mighty uproar of the mob, but he could not distinguish them one from another, friend from foe. Nevertheless he "walked with head erect, calm countenance flashing eyes like a martyr going to the stake, full of faith and manly hope" according to the testimony of an eye-witness. Garrison himself has thrown light on the state of his mind during the ordeal. "The promises of God," he afterward remembered, sustained his soul, "so that it was not



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only divested of fear, but ready to sing aloud for joy." The news now reached the ears of the mayor that Garrison was in the hands of the mob. Thereupon the feeble but kindly magistrate began to act afresh the role of the twig in the mountain stream. He and his constables struggled helplessly in the human current rushing and raging around City Hall, the head and seat of municipal law and authority. Without the aid of private citizens Garrison must inevitably have perished in the commotions which presently reached their climax in violence and terror. He was in the rear of City Hall when the mayor caught up to him and his would-be rescuers. The mayor perceived the extremity of the situation, and said to the Faneuil Hall giants who had hold of Garrison, "Take him into my office," which was altogether more easily said than done. For the rioters have raised the cry "to the Frog Pond with him!" Which order will be carried out, that of the magistrate or that of the mob? These were horrible moments while the two hung trembling in the balance. But other private citizens coming to the assistance of the mayor struck the scales for the moment in his favor, and Garrison was finally hustled, and thrust by main force into the south door of the City Hall and carried up to the mayor's room. But the mob had immediately effected an entrance into the building through the north door and filled the lower hall. The mayor now addressed the pack, strove manfully in his feeble way to prevail upon the human wolves to observe order, to sustain the law and the honor of the city, he even intimated to them that he was ready to lay down his life on the spot to maintain the law and preserve order. Then he got out on the ledge over the south door and spoke in a similar strain to the mob on the street. But alas! he knew not the secret for reversing the Circean spell by which gentlemen of property and standing in the community had been suddenly transformed into a wolfish rabble. The increasing tumult without soon warned the authorities that what advantage the mayor may have obtained in the contest with the mob was only temporary and that their position was momentarily becoming more perilous and less tenable. It was impossible to say to what extreme of violence a multitude so infuriated would not go to get their prey. It seemed to the now thoroughly alarmed mayor that the mob might in their frenzy attack the City Hall to effect their purpose. There was one building in the city, which the guardians of the law evidently agreed could resist the rage of the populace, and that building was the jail. To this last stronghold of Puritan civilization the authorities and the powers that were, fell back as a dernier resort to save Garrison's life. But even in this utmost pitch and extremity, when law was trampled in the streets, when authority was a reed shaken in a storm, when anarchy had drowned order in the bosom of the town, the Anglo-Saxon passion for legal forms asserted itself. The good man, hunted for his life, must forsooth be got into the only refuge which promised him security from his pursuers by a regular judicial commitment as a disturber of the peace. Is there anything at once so pathetic and farcical in the Universal history of mobs? Pathetic and farcical to be sure, but it was also well meant, and therefore we will not stop to quarrel



with men who were equal to the perpetration of a legal fiction so full of the comedy and tragedy of civilized society. But enough – the municipal wiseacres having put their heads together and evolved the brilliant plan of committing the prophet as a disturber of the peace, immediately set about its execution, which developed in the sequence into a bird of altogether another color. For a more perilous and desperate device to preserve Garrison's life could not well have been hit upon. How was he ever to be got out of the building and through that sea of ferocious faces surging and foaming around it. First then by disguising his identity by sundry changes in his apparel. He obtained a pair of trousers from one kindly soul, another gave him a coat, a third lent him a stock, a fourth furnished him a cap. A hack was summoned and stationed at the south door, a posse of constables drew up and made an open way from the door to it. Another hack was placed in readiness at the north door. The hack at the south door was only a ruse to throw the mob off the scent of their prey, while he was got out of the north door and smuggled into the other hack. Up to this point, the plan worked well, but the instant after Garrison had been smuggled into the hack he was identified by the mob, and then ensued a scene which defies description; no writer however skillful, may hope to reproduce it. The rioters rushed madly upon the vehicle with the cry: "Cut the traces! Cut the reins!" They flung themselves upon the horses, hung upon the wheels, dashed open the doors, the driver the while belaboring their heads right and left with a powerful whip, which he also laid vigorously on the backs of his horses. For a moment it looked as if a catastrophe was unavoidable, but the next saw the startled horses plunging at break-neck speed with the hack up Court street and the mob pursuing it with yells of baffled rage. Then began a thrilling, a tremendous race for life and Leverett street jail. The vehicle flew along Court street to Bodoin square, but the rioters, with fell purpose flew hardly less swiftly in its track. Indeed the pursuit of the pack was so close that the hackman did not dare to drive directly to the jail but reached it by a detour through Cambridge and Blossom streets. Even then the mob pressed upon the heels of the horses as they drew up before the portals of the old prison, which shut not an instant too soon upon the editor of the Liberator, who was saved from a frightful fate to use a Biblical phrase but by the skin of his teeth. Here the reformer safe from the wrath of his foes, was locked in a cell; and here, during the evening, with no abatement of his customary cheerfulness and serenity of spirit, he received several of his anxious friends, Whittier among them, whom through the grated bars he playfully accosted thus: "You see my accommodations are so limited, that I cannot ask you to spend the night with me." That night in his prison cell, and on his rude prison bed, he slept the sleep of the just man, sweet and long:

"When peace within the bosom reigns,
And conscience gives th' approving voice;
Though bound the human form in chains.
Yet can the soul aloud rejoice.

"'Tis true, my footsteps are confined –



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I cannot range beyond this cell –
But what can circumscribe my mind,
To chain the winds attempt as well!”

The above stanzas he wrote the next morning on the walls of his cell. Besides this one he made two other inscriptions there, to stand as memorabilia of the black drama enacted in Boston on the afternoon of October 21, 1835. After being put through the solemn farce of an examination in a court, extemporized in the jail, Garrison was discharged from arrest as a disturber of the peace! But the authorities, dreading a repetition of the scenes of the day before, prayed him to leave the city for a few days, which he did, a deputy sheriff driving him to Canton, where he boarded the train from Boston to Providence, containing his wife, and together they went thence to her father’s at Brooklyn, Conn. The apprehensions of the authorities in respect of the danger of a fresh attack upon him were unquestionably well founded, inasmuch as diligent search was made for him in all of the outgoing stages and cars from the city that morning. In this wise did pro-slavery, patriotic Boston translate into works her sympathy for the South.

➡ October 22, Thursday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* began to lay in hides at the anchorage in San Pedro, California.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Thursday, Oct. 22d, at San Pedro, in the old south-easter berth, a league from shore, with a slip-rope on the cable, reefs in the topsails, and rope-yarns for gaskets. Here we lay ten days, with the usual boating, hide-carrying, rolling of cargo up the steep hill, walking barefooted over stones, and getting drenched in salt water.

Wilhelm III Friedrich Christian, Count von Aldenburg replaced Wilhelm II Gustav Friedrich as Baron of Knyphausen.

Samuel Colt of Hartford, Connecticut acquired French and British patents that protected his rights to the design of 5-shot rapid-firing percussion cap pistols using a ratchet to rotate its revolving cylinders (a year later, Colt would acquire similar United States protection and commence making his fortune in the small arms business):



The above is a most intriguing Daguerreotype! Normally the maneuver of producing the “revolver” self-protective device was to be masked by holding one’s hat in such manner as to conceal one’s pistol hand. However, for purposes of demonstrating the subtle maneuver to the camera — Mr. Colt has lowered his hat hand.

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

5th day 22 of 10 M / Attended Meeting which was a good time in silence - excepting a few savory words from Father Rodman - The last was Preparative In which Benona Weaver requested Membership & two young couples laid their intentions of Marriage

*before the Meeting – After Meeting met with a committee of the
Moy [Monthly] Meeting on the Sale of Land –
In the Afternoon Answered a letter recd yesterday from Joshua
Lynch of Ohio*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

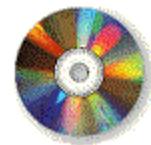
 October 29, Thursday: Having already perused the 1st volume and the Atlas, [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 3rd volume of Charles Rollin (1661-1741)'s THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, AND GRECIANS. INCLUDING A HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH. THE 12TH EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH A SET OF MAPS NEWLY ENGRAVED (first printed 1730-1738; one of the first 17 English editions, possibly the one issued in London in 1813).



Our guy would comment later of the catacombs full of preserved death, of our museums full of stuffed animals, and of such history textbooks stuffed full with irrelevant facts, that:



"I hate museums, there is nothing so weighs upon the spirits. They are catacombs of nature. They are preserved death. One green bud of Spring one willow catkin, one faint trill from some migrating sparrow, might set the world on its legs again.



I know not whether I muse most at the bodies stuffed with cotton and sawdust – or those stuffed with bowels and fleshy fibre.

The life that is in a single green weed is of more worth than all this death. They are very much like the written history of the world – and I read Rollin and Ferguson with the same feeling."

–JOURNAL; September 24, 1843

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

5th day 10th M 29th 1835 / Again we rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting the first was silent & in the last we had much buisness - two couples passed Meeting for Marriage - One man requested to be admitted to Membership - One was disowned & several other cases of importance was before us. -- We dined with Stephen Chase & then rode home. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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 October 30, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 10 M 30 1835 / In reviewing the exercises of Yesterday - I feel this Morning that we are not without an evidence that Quakerism is something yet - however the inward manifestation of Truth immediately conveyed to the mind may be undervalued & considered as meere megrims [Webster: 1) a severe headache, 2) a whim, fancy or fad, 3) low spirits, the blues.] of the immagination - I do feel, & know from what is sealed on my mind as certain experience, that the Lord is yet great & his Name Known, & his power felt in the hearts of the children of Men, however great the effort may be to establish & bring in forms & ceremonies, without the life & power

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 1, Sunday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* sailed from San Pedro anchorage toward the port of Santa Barbara, California.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday, November 1st. Sailed this day, (Sunday again,) for Santa Barbara, where we arrived on the 5th.

A convention in the Texas district of Mexico proclaimed the right of the province to secede (there's always a first time even if it's not named "Rick Perry").

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

*1st day 11 M 1 1835 / Attended Meetings Morning & Afternoon
Father bore short testimonies in both. - they were to me good
solid seasons. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 3, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*11th M 3rd (3rd day of week 1835 / This Afternoon we Rode to
[Tiverton](#) & staid at Edward Wings - this was the first time my
wife was ever there*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 4, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured at the Concord Lyceum on: [Michael Angelo](#) Buonaroti.

BIOGRAPHY

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

*4th day after breakfast we rode to Somersett to attend the Select
Qrtly Meeting - Dined at Daniel Braytons & lodged at Nathan
Chases -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day attended the Quarterly Meeting at large In the first Hannah Robinson preached a savory little testimony after which our fr John Meader took the weight of Service & it felt to me that Truth was over the Meeting to the comofrt & enlargement of many minds – after which Dorcas Paine appeard in Supplication, but from the feebleness of her voice was not generally heard - but there were feelings of unity in her appearance – Directly after Meeting we got into our Chaise & rode on to [Providence](#) & reached our frd [Moses Browns](#) House before it was very dark. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Having already perused Volume 1, the Atlas, and Volume 3 of Charles Rollin (1661-1741)'s THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE [EGYPTIANS](#), CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, AND GRECIANS. INCLUDING A HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH. THE 12TH EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH A SET OF MAPS NEWLY ENGRAVED (first printed 1730-1738; one of the first 17 English editions, possibly the one issued in London in 1813), [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th volumes of that set.



Our guy would comment later of the catacombs full of preserved death, of our museums full of stuffed animals, and of such history textbooks stuffed full with irrelevant facts, that:

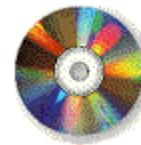


"I hate museums, there is nothing so weighs upon the spirits. They are catacombs of nature. They are preserved death. One green bud of Spring one willow catkin, one faint trill from some migrating sparrow, might set the world on its legs again.

I know not whether I muse most at the bodies stuffed with cotton and sawdust – or those stuffed with bowels and fleshy fibre.

The life that is in a single green weed is of more worth than all this death. They are very much like the written history of the world – and I read Rollin and Ferguson with the same feeling."

–JOURNAL; September 24, 1843





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 November 6, Friday: Unable to resolve the spoliation issue, United States charge d'affaires Thomas Barton departed from Paris, thus severing relations between the two countries.

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

*6th day attended the School committee at the School House. –
lodged again at [Moses Browns](#).*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 7, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day Attended the Meeting for Sufferings at the Meeting House
in [Providence](#) Dined at [Moses Browns](#) & sett off immediately for
home - but got no further than [Bristol](#) ferry & lodged at Pierces*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) observed and described typical smuggling activities along the coast of California.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The second day after our arrival, a full-rigged brig came round the point from the northward, sailed leisurely through the bay, and stood off again for the south-east, in the direction of the large island of Catalina. The next day the *Avon* got under weigh, and stood in the same direction, bound for San Pedro. This might do for marines and Californians, but we knew the ropes too well. The brig was never again seen on the coast, and the *Avon* arrived at San Pedro in about a week, with a full cargo of Canton and American goods.

This was one of the means of escaping the heavy duties the Mexicans lay upon all imports. A vessel comes on the coast, enters a moderate cargo at Monterey, which is the only custom-house, and commences trading. In a month or more, having sold a large part of her cargo, she stretches over to Catalina, or other of the large uninhabited islands which lie off the coast, in a trip from port to port, and supplies herself with choice goods from a vessel from Oahu, which has been lying off and on the islands, waiting for her. Two days after the sailing of the *Avon*, the *Loriotte* came in from the leeward, and without doubt had also a snatch at the brig's cargo.

 November 8, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day Mornng came across the ferry & rode home in season to be
at Meetings in [Newport](#) –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 12th of 11th M 1835 / Today our dear friend Elizabeth
Wing was at meeting with is & had very seasonable & acceptable
Service. – She & Betsy Sandford dined with us. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



[Waldo Emerson](#) lectured in [Boston](#).

This was lecture #2 of the series “Permanent Traits of the English National Character.”

Meanwhile [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was experiencing bad weather and adventurous rowing, in the Santa Barbara surfline.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Thursday, Nov. 12th. This day was quite cool in the early part, and there were black clouds about; but as it was often so in the morning, nothing was apprehended, and all the captains went ashore together, to spend the day. Towards noon, the clouds hung heavily over the mountains, coming half way down the hills that encircle the town of Santa Barbara, and a heavy swell rolled in from the south-east. The mate immediately ordered the gig’s crew away, and at the same time, we saw boats pulling ashore from the other vessels. Here was a grand chance for a rowing match, and every one did his best. We passed the boats of the *Ayacucho* and *Loriotte*, but could gain nothing upon, and indeed, hardly hold our own with, the long, six-oared boat of the whale-ship. They reached the breakers before us; but here we had the advantage of them, for, not being used to the surf, they were obliged to wait to see us beach our boat, just as, in the same place, nearly a year before, we, in the *Pilgrim*, were glad to be taught by a boat’s crew of Kanakas.

We had hardly got the boats beached, and their heads out, before our old friend, Bill Jackson, the handsome English sailor, who steered the *Loriotte*’s boat, called out that the brig was adrift; and, sure enough, she was dragging her anchors, and drifting down into the bight of the bay. Without waiting for the captain, (for there was no one on board but the mate and steward,) he sprung into the boat, called the Kanakas together, and tried to put off. But the Kanakas, though capital water-dogs, were frightened by their vessel’s being adrift, and by the emergency of the case, and seemed to lose their faculties. Twice, their boat filled, and came broadside upon the beach. Jackson swore at them for a parcel of savages, and promised to flog every one of them. This made the matter no better; when we came forward, told the Kanakas to take their seats in the boat, and, going two on each side, walked out with her till it was up to our shoulders, and gave them a shove, when, giving way with their oars, they got her safely into the long, regular swell. In the mean time, boats had put off from our ships and the whaler, and coming all on board the brig together, they let go the other anchor, paid out chain, braced the yards to the wind, and brought the vessel up.

In a few minutes, the captains came hurrying down, on the run; and there was no time to be lost, for the gale promised to be a severe one, and the surf was breaking upon the beach, three deep, higher and higher every instant. The *Ayacucho*’s boat, pulled by four Kanakas, put off first, and as they had no rudder or steering oar, would probably never have got off, had we not waded out with them, as far as the surf would permit. The next that made the attempt was the whale-boat, for we, being the most experienced “beach-combers,” needed no help, and staid till the last. Whalemens make the best boats’ crews in the world for a long pull, but this landing was new to them, and notwithstanding the examples they had had, they slued round and were hove up— boat, oars, and men— altogether, high and dry upon the sand. The second time, they filled, and had to turn their boat over, and set her off again. We could be of no help to them, for they were so many as to be in one another’s way, without the addition of our numbers. The third time, they got off, though not without shipping a sea which drenched them all, and half filled their boat, keeping them baling, until they reached their ship. We now got ready to go off, putting the boat’s head out; English Ben and I, who were the largest, standing on each side of the bows, to keep her “head on” to the sea, two more shipping and manning the two after oars, and the captain taking the steering oar. Two or three Spaniards, who stood upon the beach looking at us, wrapped their cloaks about them, shook their heads, and muttered “Caramba!” They had no taste for such doings; in fact, the hydrophobia is a national malady, and shows itself in their persons as well as their actions.



THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:

Watching for a “smooth chance,” we determined to show the other boats the way it should be done; and, as soon as ours floated, ran out with her, keeping her head on, with all our strength, and the help of the captain’s oar, and the two after oarsmen giving way regularly and strongly, until our feet were off the ground, we tumbled into the bows, keeping perfectly still, from fear of hindering the others. For some time it was doubtful how it would go. The boat stood nearly up and down in the water, and the sea, rolling from under her, let her fall upon the water with a force which seemed almost to stave her bottom in. By quietly sliding two oars forward, along the thwarts, without impeding the rowers, we shipped two bow oars, and thus, by the help of four oars and the captain’s strong arm, we got safely off, though we shipped several seas, which left us half full of water. We pulled alongside of the *Loriotte*, put her skipper on board, and found her making preparations for slipping, and then pulled aboard our own ship. Here Mr. Brown, always “on hand,” had got everything ready, so that we had only to hook on the gig and hoist it up, when the order was given to loose the sails. While we were on the yards, we saw the *Loriotte* under weigh, and before our yards were mast-headed, the *Ayacucho* had spread her wings, and, with yards braced sharp up, was standing athwart our hawse. There is no prettier sight in the world than a full-rigged, clipper-built brig, sailing sharp on the wind. In a moment, our slip-rope was gone, the head-yards filled away, and we were off. Next came the whaler; and in a half an hour from the time when four vessels were lying quietly at anchor, without a rag out, or a sign of motion, the bay was deserted, and four white clouds were standing off to sea. Being sure of clearing the point, we stood off with our yards a little braced in, while the *Ayacucho* went off with a taught bowline, which brought her to windward of us. During all this day, and the greater part of the night, we had the usual south-easter entertainment, a gale of wind, variegated and finally topped off with a drenching rain of three or four hours. At daybreak, the clouds thinned off and rolled away, and the sun came up clear. The wind, instead of coming out from the northward, as is usual, blew steadily and freshly from the anchoring-ground. This was bad for us, for, being “flying light,” with little more than ballast trim, we were in no condition for showing off on a taught bowline, and had depended upon a fair wind, with which, by the help of our light sails and studding-sails, we meant to have been the first at the anchoring-ground; but the *Ayacucho* was a good league to windward of us, and was standing in, in fine style. The whaler, however, was as far to leeward of us, and the *Loriotte* was nearly out of sight, among the islands, up the Canal. By hauling every brace and bowline, and clapping watch-tackles upon all the sheets and halyards, we managed to hold our own, and drop the leeward vessels a little in every tack. When we reached the anchoring-ground, the *Ayacucho* had got her anchor, furled her sails, squared her yards, and was lying as quietly as if nothing had happened for the last twenty-four hours.

We had our usual good luck in getting our anchor without letting go another, and were all snug, with our boats at the boom-ends, in half an hour. In about two hours more, the whaler came in, and made a clumsy piece of work in getting her anchor, being obliged to let go her best bower, and finally, to get out a kedje and a hawser. They were heave-ho-ing, stopping and unstopping, pawling, catting, and fishing, for three hours; and the sails hung from the yards all the afternoon, and were not furled until sundown. The *Loriotte* came in just after dark, and let go her anchor, making no attempt to pick up the other until the next day.

This affair led to a great dispute as to the sailing of our ship and the *Ayacucho*. Bets were made between the captains, and the crews took it up in their own way; but as she was bound to leeward and we to windward, and merchant captains cannot deviate, a trial never took place; and perhaps it was well for us that it did not, for the *Ayacucho* had been eight years in the Pacific, in every part of it— Valparaiso, Sandwich Islands, Canton, California, and all, and was called the fastest merchantman that traded in the Pacific, unless it was the brig *John Gilpin*, and perhaps the ship *Ann McKim* of Baltimore.



November 13, Friday: [Jennings Beckwith](#) had returned from Missouri to Virginia before he died:

Sir Jennings Beckwith. Died at Mount Airy, Richmond County, on the 13th of November, Sir Jennings Beckwith, son of Jonathan and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

grandson of Sir Marmaduke Beckwith, Baronet, aged 72 years. Sir Jennings was the *Leather Stockings* of the Northern Neck. Much of his life had been spent wandering in the *Far West* on hunting excursions with the Indians and of late years he would live with men as would fish with him in summer or fox hunt in winter. Within the last twelve months he had slept on the river shore in the sturgeon season and had been in at the death in search of sport, and had insuperable objections to spending time profitably – consequently he lived poor but respectable and esteemed by many friends, who regret and sincerely mourn his death.

Since [manumission](#) was technically not legally possible in [North Carolina](#), the tactic employed by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been to “sell” the chattel property of individual Quakers to their Yearly Meeting. Such a sale was, in its net effect, a manumission. When [Quakers](#) moved from North Carolina to Indiana, where manumission was legally an option, such actions could be more formally and accurately registered, as can be seen in the documents on the following screens.⁹⁴

[view the documents]

Although such actions could be more formally and accurately registered in Indiana, we happen to discover these records in the middle of a book titled “Apprentices Indentures I,” where they almost certainly were positioned intentionally to keep them away from general view and knowledge. Note that although the clerk of the county does not follow the Quaker usage of numbered months, the manumitter, Friend David White, does follow this usage:

94. If you are able to supply more information about the circumstances of this transaction freeing a total of 26 persons, or the genealogy or general history of the families involved, please do get in touch with Mr. David Diamond at dhd@dana.ucc.nau.edu. He is hoping to discover whether Henderson Lewelling’s father Mesheck Lewelling freed some slaves on his arrival in Indiana about 1822. He has been able to explain that most of the Quakers of this county in Piedmont Carolina moved to Indiana, settling mainly in Wayne and Henry counties. Althea Coffin, one of this group, recorded 400 Quaker families who left that part of North Carolina for that part of Indiana between 1820 and 1840, which means that literally thousands of people were on the move. Before and during this exodus some of the Monthly Meetings purchased slaves from their Quaker owners pending such transportation to a free state. Friend David White was acting as an agent of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. It seems very likely that Friend David’s stated personal purchase of Willis Perry and Job Felton, the heads of two of the families, was accomplished with Quaker Yearly Meeting funds. [Friend Levi Coffin](#), one of the witnesses, is now regarded as having been generally connected with the Underground Railroad project:



The documents here recorded at the courthouse had been executed on the 3rd and the 11th of October, 1835. It seems likely that the group of 25 persons of color (one baby was born after arrival in Indiana) had been accompanied northward as a unit by White. The records, although they consist of five transactions, actually reunited three families that had in North Carolina been split apart by sales to different whites. Indiana would turn out not to be such a fine place for free persons of color, for the state had passed a law requiring they each post a \$500 bond on entry. Other such unfriendly laws would be passed, and local Quaker meetings would petition the Indiana legislature against them. Henderson Lewelling would in 1837 move on from Indiana to the part of Wisconsin Territory that is now Iowa and become a public antislavery activist, assisting a branch of the Underground Railroad that assisted new freemen to come north out of Missouri.

1
 Nov. 13th 1835
 To All People to whom these presents may come—
 I know ye that S. David White of Perquimans County and
 State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of
 Wayne and State of Indiana) through and by the power and
 authority vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the
 yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina
 I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana
 certain persons of colour namely, Nanny, or Nancy, aged
 about thirty years wife of Willis Perry (of colour) and their said
 children, Tabitha Nancy, Leary, Rachel, Nancy and Willis
 and one child born in this county— Also Judith aged about
 twenty six years the wife of Job Felton (of colour) and their
 three sons named, Willis, Harvey and Randolph— all of
 whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends
 in North Carolina— Now I the said David White by and
 through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these pres-
 ents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nancy
 and her children as above named And also the said wo-
 man Judith and her children above named with full
 liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the
 benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs
 of the State of Indiana— In witness whereof I the said David
 White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the 3^d day
 of the 10th month 1835—

Signed and delivered

David White Seal



Nov 13th 1835

To All People to whom these presents may come— Know ye that I, David White of Perquimans County and the State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of Wayne and State of Indiana) through and by the power and authority vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana certain persons of colour namely, Nanny, or Nancy, age about thirty years wife of Willis Perry (of colour) and their said Children, Tabitha Nancy, Leary, Rachel, Nicey and Willis and one Child born in this county —Also Judith aged about twenty six years the wife of Job Felton (of colour) and their three sons named, Willis, Harvey and Randolph—all of whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina— Now I the said David White by and through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these presents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nancy and her children as above named. And also the said woman Judith and her children above named with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the 3rd day of the 10th month of 1835—

Signed and delivered }

In presence of }

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace of the County aforesaid personally appeared David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of mansipussion [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein described. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A.D. 1835—

[signed] William Cox J.P. ((Seal))

Nov. 13th 1835

To All people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) Through and by the power & authority vested in me by the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and by Jephtha White of Perquimans County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana certain Negroes or persons of colour (to wit.) James, commonly called James White and his wife Mary and their six children—Nancy, Betty, Jane, Anderson, Phereba, all of whom are now in the said County of Wayne & State of Indiana, the said James, Nancy and Betty, belonged to the said Yearly Meeting of Friend [sic] in North Carolina, and Mary, Elenor, Jane, Anderson and Phereba, belonged to the said Jephtha White. Now I, David White by the power & authority as above stated doth by these presents manumit and set free from Slavery, them the said James White and Mary his wife and their children Nancy, Betty, Elenor, Jane, Anderson & Phereba, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labor according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In witness whereof I the said David White have to these presents set my hand and seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835.

Sealed and delivered }

In the presence of }

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace within and for the County aforesaid personally came David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of mancemption [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained—In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A.C. 1835

[signed] William Cox J.P.((Seal))



Nov. 13th 1835

To all people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) through and by the power and authority in me vested by the Yearly [sic] of the Society of Friends in North Carolina, I have removed from thence to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana a certain Man of colour named Douglass, commonly called Douglass White who formerly [sic] belonged to Miles White & Anthony B. Albertson & by them transferred [sic] to the said Society of Friends, said Douglass being about twenty nine years of age and of yellow complexion— And also by the power and authority given me by Sampson Lawrence a Man of couler [sic] of Perquimens [sic] County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana a coulered [sic] woman named Mary the daughter of and the property of the said Sampson and wife of the said Douglass. Also her three children, Grizilla, Margaret, & Eliza—Now I, the said David White by and with the Power and authority above stated doth by these presents Manumit & set free from Slavery them the said Douglass White and Mary his wife and their three children, Grizella, Margaret, & Eliza, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana —In Witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and Seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835—
Signed and delivered }

In presence of }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Josiah White State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace with and for said County came personally David White the within

named and acknowledged the within Instrument of Manumission and freedom Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 9th day of October A.D. 1835-

[signed] William Cox J.P. ((Seal))

Nov 13th 1835

To All People to whom these presents may come Know ye [sic] that I, David White at present in Wayne County State of Indiana do hereby by these presents release and set free from Slavery a certain Negro man named Willis, commonally [sic] called Willis Perry of very dark complexion of middle sise [sic], and about thirty five years of age, He being the same that I purchased of James Perry Esq. of Pasquetank [sic] County North Carolina the 27th day of the 7th month last —In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835—

Sealed and delivered }

In presence of }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

Levi Coffin John Fellow State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the county aforesaid this day personally

came David White the within grantor and acknowledged the within deed of manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified—In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, September 11th 1835

[signed] Joseph Morrow J.P. ((Seal))



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Nov. 13th 1835

To All People to whom these present may come Know ye that I David White at present in Wayne County and State of Indiana do hereby by these present release manumit and set free from Slavery a certain Negro Man named Job, commonally [sic] Job Felton, tolerably dark complexion of large sise [sic] and about thirty five years of age, he being the same that I purchased of Reder Felton, of Perquimans County North Carolina the 3rd day of last month he the said Job being now in the said county of Wayne Indiana. In witness whereof I the said David White hath by these present set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835—

Signed sealed and delivered }

In presence of }

Levi Coffin John Fellow State of Indiana }

Wayne County }

[signed] David White ((Seal))

*before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace
in and for the County aforesaid this day personally*

came David White the within named grantor and acknowledged the within deed of Manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified— In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal September 11th 1835—

[signed] Joseph Morrow J. P. ((Seal))

Nov.
13th
1835

To All people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) Through and by the power & authority vested in me by the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and by Jephtha White of Perquimans County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana certain Negroes or persons of colour (to wit.) James, commonly called James White and his wife Mary and their six children - - Nancy, Betty, Jane, Anderson, Pheraba, all of whom are now in the said County of Wayne & State of Indiana, the said James, Nancy and Betty, belonged to the said Yearly Meeting of Friend [sic] in North Carolina, and Mary, Elenor, Jane, Anderson and Pheraba, belonged to the said Jephtha White. Now I, David White by the power & authority as above stated doth by these presents manumit and set free from Slavery, them the said James White and Mary his wife and their children Nancy, Betty, Elenor, Jane, Anderson & Pheraba, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labor according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In witness whereof I the said David White have to these presents set my hand and seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835.

Sealed and delivered
In the presence of
Josiah White

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County } Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace within and for the County aforesaid personally came David White the within named and acknowledged the within instrument of manemition [sic] and freedom from Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained - In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October A. C. 1835

Nov.
13th
1835

To all people to whom these presents may come, Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County North Carolina (being at present in Wayne County Indiana) through and by the power and authority in me vested by the Yearly [sic] of the Society of Friends in North Carolina, I have removed from thence to the County of Wayne & State of Indiana a certain Man of colour named Douglass, commonly called Douglass White who formerly [sic] belonged to Miles White & Anthony B. Albertson & by them transferred [sic] to the said Society of Friends, said Douglass being about twenty nine years of age and of yellow complexion - And also by the power and authority given me by Sampson Lawrence a Man of couler [sic] of Perquimans [sic] County North Carolina I have removed to the County of Wayne and State of Indiana a coulered [sic] woman named Mary the daughter of and the property of the said Sampson and wife of the said Douglass, Also her three children, Grizilla, Margaret, & Eliza - Now I, the said David White by and with the Power and authority above stated doth by these presents Manumit & set free from Slavery them the said Douglass White and Mary his wife and their three children, Grizella, Margaret, & Eliza, with full liberty to act and manage for themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In Witness whereof, I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and Seal this the 3rd day of the 10th month 1835 -

Signed and delivered
In presence of

Josiah White

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace with and for said County came personally David White the within named and acknowledged the within Instrument of Manumission and freedom Slavery to be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein described for the uses and purposes therein contained - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 9th day of October

Now
13th
1835

To All People to whom these presents may come Know ye [sic] that I, David White at present in Wayne County State of Indiana do hereby by these presents release and set free from Slavery a certain Negro man named Willis, commonly [sic] called Willis Perry of very dark complexion of middle size [sic], and about thirty five years of age. He being the same that I purchased of James Perry Esq. of Pasquetank [sic] County North Carolina the 27th day of the 7th month last - In witness whereof I the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal this the 14th day of the 9th month 1835-

Sealed and delivered
In presence of

Levi Coffin
John Fellow

[signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County }

Before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the county aforesaid this day personally came David White the within grantor and acknowledged the within deed of manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, September 14th 1835

[signed] Joseph Morrow J.P. ((Seal))

Now
13th
1835
To All People to whom these presents may come -
Know ye that I David White of Perquimans County and the
State of North Carolina (but at this time in the County of Wayne
and State of Indiana) through and by the power and authority
vested in me as one of the agents or trustees of the yearly Meeting of the
Society of Friends in North Carolina I have removed to the
County of Wayne and State of Indiana certain persons of colour
namely, Nanny, or Nancy, age about thirty years wife of Willis
Perry (of colour) and their said Children, Tabitha Nancy,
Leary, Rachel, Nicey and Willis and one Child born in this
county - Also Judith aged about twenty six years the wife of
Job Felton (of colour) and their three sons named, Willis, Harvey
and Randolph - all of whom belonged to the Yearly Meeting of the
Society of Friends in North Carolina - Now I the said David
White by and through the power and authority aforesaid doth by these
presents Emancipate and set free from slavery them the said Nancy
and her children as above named. And also the said woman Judith
and her children above named with full liberty to act and manage for
themselves and to enjoy all the benefits of their labour according to the
laws and customs of the State of Indiana - In witness whereof I
the said David White hath to these presents set my hand and seal the
3rd day of the 10th month of 1835 -
Signed and delivered }
In presence of } [signed] David White ((Seal))
Josiah White }

State of Indiana }
Wayne County } Before me the undersigned an acting Justice
of the peace of the County aforesaid personally
appeared David White the within named and acknowledged the
within instrument of mansipuission [sic] and freedom from Slavery to
be his voluntary act and deed by and under the authority therein
described for the uses and purposes therein described. In testimony
whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 9th day of October
A.D. 1835 -

Nov.
13th
1835

To All People to whom these present may come Know ye that I David White at present in Wayne County and State of Indiana do hereby by these present release manumit and set free from Slavery a certain Negro Man named Job, commonally [sic] Job Felton, tolerably dark complexion of large sise [sic] and about thirty five years of age, he being the same that I purchased of Reeder Felton, of Perquimans County North Carolina the 3rd day of last month he the said Job being now in the said county of Wayne Indiana. In witness whereof I the said David White hath by these present set my hand and seal this the 11th day of the 9th month 1835-
Signed sealed and delivered

In presence of
Levi Coffin
John Fellow

} [signed] David White ((Seal))

State of Indiana }
Wayne County } before me the undersigned an acting Justice of the peace in and for the County aforesaid this day personally came David White the within named grantor and acknowledged the within deed of Manumission to be his voluntary act and deed for the purposes therein specified - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal September 11th 1835-

[signed] Joseph Morrow J. P. ((Seal))



November 15, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 11th M / Yesterday our dear friend Thos Anthony came down the river from Wickford to be at Meeting with us - he came directly to our house & lodged & has attended both our Meetings today, which have indeed been watering & refreshiing seasons - he dined at Henry Goulds & has gone to lodge at David Buffums.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) reached Tahiti.

At daylight, Tahiti, an island which must for ever remain classical to the voyager in the South Sea, was in view. At a distance the appearance was not attractive. The luxuriant vegetation of the lower part could not yet be seen, and as the clouds rolled past, the wildest and most precipitous peaks showed themselves towards the centre of the island. As soon as we anchored in Matavai Bay, we were surrounded by canoes. This was our Sunday, but the Monday of Tahiti: if the case had been reversed, we should not have received a single visit; for the injunction not to launch a canoe on the sabbath is rigidly obeyed. After dinner we landed to enjoy all the delights produced by the first impressions of a new country, and that country the charming Tahiti. A crowd of men, women, and children, was collected on the memorable Point Venus, ready to receive us with laughing, merry faces. They marshalled us towards the house of Mr. Wilson, the missionary of the district, who met us on the road, and gave us a very friendly reception. After sitting a very short time in his house, we separated to walk about, but returned there in the evening.

The land capable of cultivation, is scarcely in any part more than a fringe of low alluvial soil, accumulated round the base of the mountains, and protected from the waves of the sea by a coral reef, which encircles the entire line of coast. Within the reef there is an expanse of smooth water, like that of a lake, where the canoes of the natives can ply with safety and where ships anchor. The low land which comes down to the beach of coral-sand, is covered by the most beautiful productions of the intertropical regions. In the midst of bananas, orange, cocoa-nut, and bread-fruit trees, spots are cleared where yams, sweet potatoes, and sugar-cane, and pine-apples are cultivated. Even the brush-wood is an imported fruit-tree, namely, the guava, which from its abundance has become as noxious as a weed. In Brazil I have often admired the varied beauty of the bananas, palms, and orange-trees contrasted together; and here we also have the bread-fruit, conspicuous from its large, glossy, and deeply digitated leaf. It is admirable to behold groves of a tree, sending forth its branches with the vigour of an English oak, loaded with large and most nutritious fruit. However seldom the usefulness of an object can account for the pleasure of beholding it, in the case of these beautiful woods, the knowledge of their high productiveness no doubt enters largely



into the feeling of admiration. The little winding paths, cool from the surrounding shade, led to the scattered houses; the owners of which everywhere gave us a cheerful and most hospitable reception.

I was pleased with nothing so much as with the inhabitants. There is a mildness in the expression of their countenances which at once banishes the idea of a savage; and intelligence which shows that they are advancing in civilization. The common people, when working, keep the upper part of their bodies quite naked; and it is then that the Tahitians are seen to advantage. They are very tall, broad-shouldered, athletic, and well-proportioned. It has been remarked, that it requires little habit to make a dark skin more pleasing and natural to the eye of an European than his own colour. A white man bathing by the side of a Tahitian, was like a plant bleached by the gardener's art compared with a fine dark green one growing vigorously in the open fields. Most of the men are tattooed, and the ornaments follow the curvature of the body so gracefully, that they have a very elegant effect. One common pattern, varying in its details, is somewhat like the crown of a palm-tree. It springs from the central line of the back, and gracefully curls round both sides. The simile may be a fanciful one, but I thought the body of a man thus ornamented was like the trunk of a, noble tree embraced by a delicate creeper.

Many of the elder people had their feet covered with small figures, so placed as to resemble a sock. This fashion, however, is partly gone by, and has been succeeded by others. Here, although fashion is far from immutable, every one must abide by that prevailing in his youth. An old man has thus his age forever stamped on his body, and he cannot assume the airs of a young dandy. The women are tattooed in the same manner as the men, and very commonly on their fingers. One unbecoming fashion is now almost universal: namely, shaving the hair from the upper part of the head, in a circular form, so as to leave only an outer ring. The missionaries have tried to persuade the people to change this habit; but it is the fashion, and that is a sufficient answer at Tahiti, as well as at Paris. I was much disappointed in the personal appearance of the women: they are far inferior in every respect to the men. The custom of wearing a white or scarlet flower in the back of the head, or through a small hole in each ear, is pretty. A crown of woven cocoa-nut leaves is also worn as a shade for the eyes. The women appear to be in greater want of some becoming costume even than the men. Nearly all the natives understand a little English -- that is, they know the names of common things; and by the aid of this, together with signs, a lame sort of conversation could be carried on. In returning in the evening to the boat, we stopped to witness a very pretty scene. Numbers of children were playing on the beach, and had lighted bonfires which illumined the placid sea and surrounding trees; others, in circles, were singing Tahitian verses. We seated ourselves on the sand, and joined their party. The songs were impromptu, and I believe related to our arrival: one little girl sang a line, which the rest took up in parts, forming a very pretty chorus. The whole



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

scene made us unequivocally aware that we were seated on the shores of an island in the far-famed South Sea.

[Henry Thoreau](#) would comment on this in his essay “WALKING”:

“WALKING”: A tanned skin is something more than respectable, and perhaps olive is a fitter color than white for a man – a denizen of the woods. “The pale white man!” I do not wonder that the African pitied him. Darwin the naturalist says “A white man bathing by the side of a Tahitian was like a plant bleached by the gardener’s art compared with a fine, dark green one growing vigorously in the open fields.”

Ben Jonson exclaims,—

“How near to good is what is fair!”

So I would say—

How near to good is what is wild!

Life consists with Wildness. The most alive is the wildest. Not yet subdued to man, its presence refreshes him. One who pressed forward incessantly and never rested from his labors, who grew fast and made infinite demands on life, would always find himself in a new country or wilderness, and surrounded by the raw material of life. He would be climbing over the prostrate stems of primitive forest trees.

CHARLES DARWIN
BEN JONSON

VOYAGE OF THE BEAGLE II LOVE FREED FROM IGNOR ...

November 16, Monday: [Halley’s Comet](#) whipped around the sun and was, for more than a week, lost to view.⁹⁵

SKY EVENT

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

2nd day 16th of 11th M / Thos Anthony has spent a little time

95. “P/HALLEY, (1P=1835 III). Viewed with the unaided eye from September 23 until February 18th, T=1835 November 16. First detected without optical aid on September 23 when situated in the morning sky in eastern Auriga. Moved swiftly to the northeast. By October 5 already 3rd magnitude. Beginning October 8, visible all night as a 1-2 magnitude object in Ursa Major. Passed through solar conjunction far north of the Sun, entering the evening sky. On October 14 located in northernmost Bootes, 1st magnitude with a 20 degree tail. By October 20 situated in Ophiuchus, magnitude 1-2 and still with an impressive tail. In the first half of November about 2nd magnitude, drifting slowly to the southwest and then entering the evening twilight. Following solar conjunction reported as about 2nd magnitude at the very end of January 1836 — about 30-50 times brighter than expected! Comet situated a little southwest of Antares. Throughout the first half of February seen as a steadily fading naked eye object.” According to a comet list published in Boston in 1846, attributed to Professor Benjamin Peirce:

155	1834	April 2321	226	14	41	276	40	13	50	25	32	5	59	48	0.51246	R	Rumker.		
156	1835	Mar. 20.68738	59	8	30	206	21	57	212	46	33	9	2	42	2.05149	R	W. Bessel.		
		27.57651	58	32	23	207	55	33	210	36	50	9	7	39	2.041308	R	Santini.		
H	1835	Nov. 15.94153	55	21	41	304	42	17	110	39	24	17	45	35	0.5863639	0.9674023	76.290	D	Lundhal.
157	1840	Jan. 4.47112	190	6	15	192	20	38	72	14	93	53	5	41	0.6184594				



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

with us this morning but has gone to Wm Nichols's to dine by invitation The Wind being high, he could not get up the River & lodged again with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 17, Tuesday: Cesar Franck offered his 1st piano recital in Paris, at the Gymnase Musical. In spite of a vigorous advertising campaign by his father, no review would appear in the press.

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

3rd day 17 of 11 M / The weather being very calm the Wickford Boat did not get power till near night & Thos again Staid with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

At anchor off the South Pacific island of Tahiti, the HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) registered the fact that they had crossed over this planet's Date Line and therefore needed to pay due homage to the calendar deity:

This day is reckoned in the log-book as Tuesday the 17th, instead of Monday the 16th, owing to our, so far, successful chase of the sun. Before breakfast the ship was hemmed in by a flotilla of canoes; and when the natives were allowed to come on board, I suppose there could not have been less than two hundred. It was the opinion of every one that it would have been difficult to have picked out an equal number from any other nation, who would have given so little trouble. Everybody brought something for sale: shells were the main articles of trade. The Tahitians now fully understand the value of money, and prefer it to old clothes or other articles. The various coins, however, of English and Spanish denomination puzzle them, and they never seemed to think the small silver quite secure until changed into dollars. Some of the chiefs have accumulated considerable sums of money. One chief, not long since, offered 800 dollars (about 160 pounds sterling) for a small vessel; and frequently they purchase whale-boats and horses at the rate of from 50 to 100 dollars.

After breakfast I went on shore, and ascended the nearest slope to a height of between two and three thousand feet. The outer mountains are smooth and conical, but steep; and the old volcanic rocks, of which they are formed, have been cut through by many profound ravines, diverging from the central broken parts of the island to the coast. Having crossed the narrow low girt of inhabited and fertile land, I followed a smooth steep ridge between two of the deep ravines. The vegetation was singular, consisting almost exclusively of small dwarf ferns, mingled higher up, with coarse grass; it was not very dissimilar from that on some of the Welsh hills, and this so close above the orchard of tropical plants on the coast was very surprising. At the highest point, which I reached, trees again appeared. Of the three zones of comparative luxuriance, the lower one owes its moisture, and therefore fertility, to its flatness; for, being scarcely raised above the level of the sea, the water from the higher land drains away slowly. The intermediate zone does not, like the upper one, reach into a damp and cloudy atmosphere,



and therefore remains sterile. The woods in the upper zone are very pretty, tree-ferns replacing the cocoa-nuts on the coast. It must not, however, be supposed that these woods at all equal in splendour the forests of Brazil. The vast numbers of productions, which characterize a continent, cannot be expected to occur in an island.

From the highest point which I attained, there was a good view of the distant island of Eimeo, dependent on the same sovereign with Tahiti. On the lofty and broken pinnacles, white massive clouds were piled up, which formed an island in the blue sky, as Eimeo itself did in the blue ocean. The island, with the exception of one small gateway, is completely encircled by a reef. At this distance, a narrow but well-defined brilliantly white line was alone visible, where the waves first encountered the wall of coral. The mountains rose abruptly out of the glassy expanse of the lagoon, included within this narrow white line, outside which the heaving waters of the ocean were dark-coloured. The view was striking: it may aptly be compared to a framed engraving, where the frame represents the breakers, the marginal paper the smooth lagoon, and the drawing the island itself. When in the evening I descended from the mountain, a man, whom I had pleased with a trifling gift, met me, bringing with him hot roasted bananas, a pine-apple, and cocoa-nuts. After walking under a burning sun, I do not know anything more delicious than the milk of a young cocoa-nut. Pine-apples are here so abundant that the people eat them in the same wasteful manner as we might turnips. They are of an excellent flavor -- perhaps even better than those cultivated in England; and this I believe is the highest compliment which can be paid to any fruit. Before going on board, Mr. Wilson interpreted for me to the Tahitian who had paid me so adroit an attention, that I wanted him and another man to accompany me on a short excursion into the mountains.



November 18, Wednesday: Jose Jorge Loureiro replaced Joao Carlos Gregorio Domingues Vicente Francisco de Saldanha Oliveira e Daun, marques e conde de Saldanha as prime minister of Portugal.

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

4th day 18 of 11 M / The wind being favourable this Mornng Our fr Thos Anthony left us & returned home -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Charles Darwin](#) went exploring on Tahiti:

In the morning I came on shore early, bringing with me some provisions in a bag, and two blankets for myself and servant. These were lashed to each end of a long pole, which was alternately carried by my Tahitian companions on their shoulders. These men are accustomed thus to carry, for a whole day, as much as fifty pounds at each end of their poles. I told my guides to provide themselves with food and clothing; but they said that there was plenty of food in the mountains, and for



clothing, that their skins were sufficient. Our line of march was the valley of Tiaauru, down which a river flows into the sea by Point Venus. This is one of the principal streams in the island, and its source lies at the base of the loftiest central pinnacles, which rise to a height of about 7000 feet. The whole island is so mountainous that the only way to penetrate into the interior is to follow up the valleys. Our road, at first, lay through woods which bordered each side of the river; and the glimpses of the lofty central peaks, seen as through an avenue, with here and there a waving cocoa-nut tree on one side, were extremely picturesque. The valley soon began to narrow, and the sides to grow lofty and more precipitous. After having walked between three and four hours, we found the width of the ravine scarcely exceeded that of the bed of the stream. On each hand the walls were nearly vertical, yet from the soft nature of the volcanic strata, trees and a rank vegetation sprung from every projecting ledge. These precipices must have been some thousand feet high; and the whole formed a mountain gorge far more magnificent than anything which I had ever before beheld. Until the midday sun stood vertically over the ravine, the air felt cool and damp, but now it became very sultry. Shaded by a ledge of rock, beneath a facade of columnar lava, we ate our dinner. My guides had already procured a dish of small fish and fresh-water prawns. They carried with them a small net stretched on a hoop; and where the water was deep and in eddies, they dived, and like otters, with their eyes open followed the fish into holes and corners, and thus caught them.

The Tahitians have the dexterity of amphibious animals in the water. An anecdote mentioned by Ellis shows how much they feel at home in this element. When a horse was landing for Pomarre in 1817, the slings broke, and it fell into the water; immediately the natives jumped overboard, and by their cries and vain efforts at assistance almost drowned it. As soon, however, as it reached the shore, the whole population took to flight, and tried to hide themselves from the man-carrying pig, as they christened the horse.

A little higher up, the river divided itself into three little streams. The two northern ones were impracticable, owing to a succession of waterfalls which descended from the jagged summit of the highest mountain; the other to all appearance was equally inaccessible, but we managed to ascend it by a most extraordinary road. The sides of the valley were here nearly precipitous, but, as frequently happens with stratified rocks, small ledges projected, which were thickly covered by wild bananas, lilaceous plants, and other luxuriant productions of the tropics. The Tahitians, by climbing amongst these ledges, searching for fruit, had discovered a track by which the whole precipice could be scaled. The first ascent from the valley was very dangerous; for it was necessary to pass a steeply inclined face of naked rock, by the aid of ropes which we brought with us. How any person discovered that this formidable spot was the only point where the side of the mountain was practicable, I cannot imagine. We then cautiously walked along one of the ledges till we came to one of the three streams. This ledge



formed a flat spot, above which a beautiful cascade, some hundred feet in height, poured down its waters, and beneath, another high cascade fell into the main stream in the valley below. From this cool and shady recess we made a circuit to avoid the overhanging waterfall. As before, we followed little projecting ledges, the danger being partly concealed by the thickness of the vegetation. In passing from one of the ledges to another, there was a vertical wall of rock. One of the Tahitians, a fine active man, placed the trunk of a tree against this, climbed up it, and then by the aid of crevices reached the summit. He fixed the ropes to a projecting point, and lowered them for our dog and luggage, and then we clambered up ourselves. Beneath the ledge on which the dead tree was placed, the precipice must have been five or six hundred feet deep; and if the abyss had not been partly concealed by the overhanging ferns and lilies my head would have turned giddy, and nothing should have induced me to have attempted it. We continued to ascend, sometimes along ledges, and sometimes along knife-edged ridges, having on each hand profound ravines. In the Cordillera I have seen mountains on a far grander scale, but for abruptness, nothing at all comparable with this. In the evening we reached a flat little spot on the banks of the same stream, which we had continued to follow, and which descends in a chain of waterfalls: here we bivouacked for the night. On each side of the ravine there were great beds of the mountain-banana, covered with ripe fruit. Many of these plants were from twenty to twenty-five feet high, and from three to four in circumference. By the aid of strips of bark for rope, the stems of bamboos for rafters, and the large leaf of the banana for a thatch, the Tahitians in a few minutes built us an excellent house; and with withered leaves made a soft bed.

They then proceeded to make a fire, and cook our evening meal. A light was procured, by rubbing a blunt pointed stick in a groove made in another, as if with intention of deepening it, until by the friction the dust became ignited. A peculiarly white and very light wood (the *Hibiscus tiliareus*) is alone used for this purpose: it is the same which serves for poles to carry any burden, and for the floating out-riggers to their canoes. The fire was produced in a few seconds: but to a person who does not understand the art, it requires, as I found, the greatest exertion; but at last, to my great pride, I succeeded in igniting the dust. The Gaucho in the Pampas uses a different method: taking an elastic stick about eighteen inches long, he presses one end on his breast, and the other pointed end into a hole in a piece of wood, and then rapidly turns the curved part, like a carpenter's centre-bit. The Tahitians having made a small fire of sticks, placed a score of stones, of about the size of cricket-balls, on the burning wood. In about ten minutes the sticks were consumed, and the stones hot. They had previously folded up in small parcels of leaves, pieces of beef, fish, ripe and unripe bananas, and the tops of the wild arum. These green parcels were laid in a layer between two layers of the hot stones, and the whole then covered up with earth, so that no smoke or steam could escape. In about a quarter of an hour, the



whole was most deliciously cooked. The choice green parcels were now laid on a cloth of banana leaves, and with a cocoa-nut shell we drank the cool water of the running stream; and thus we enjoyed our rustic meal.

I could not look on the surrounding plants without admiration. On every side were forests of banana; the fruit of which, though serving for food in various ways, lay in heaps decaying on the ground. In front of us there was an extensive brake of wild sugar-cane; and the stream was shaded by the dark green knotted stem of the Ava, – so famous in former days for its powerful intoxicating effects. I chewed a piece, and found that it had an acrid and unpleasant taste, which would have induced any one at once to have pronounced it poisonous. Thanks to the missionaries, this plant now thrives only in these deep ravines, innocuous to every one. Close by I saw the wild arum, the roots of which, when well baked, are good to eat, and the young leaves better than spinach. There was the wild yam, and a liliaceous plant called Ti, which grows in abundance, and has a soft brown root, in shape and size like a huge log of wood: this served us for dessert, for it is as sweet as treacle, and with a pleasant taste. There were, moreover, several other wild fruits, and useful vegetables. The little stream, besides its cool water, produced eels, and cray-fish. I did indeed admire this scene, when I compared it with an uncultivated one in the temperate zones. I felt the force of the remark, that man, at least savage man, with his reasoning powers only partly developed, is the child of the tropics.

As the evening drew to a close, I strolled beneath the gloomy shade of the bananas up the course of the stream. My walk was soon brought to a close, by coming to a waterfall between two and three hundred feet high; and again above this there was another. I mention all these waterfalls in this one brook, to give a general idea of the inclination of the land. In the little recess where the water fell, it did not appear that a breath of wind had ever blown. The thin edges of the great leaves of the banana, damp with spray, were unbroken, instead of being, as is so generally the case, split into a thousand shreds. From our position, almost suspended on the mountain side, there were glimpses into the depths of the neighbouring valleys; and the lofty points of the central mountains, towering up within sixty degrees of the zenith, hid half the evening sky. Thus seated, it was a sublime spectacle to watch the shades of night gradually obscuring the last and highest pinnacles.

Before we laid ourselves down to sleep, the elder Tahitian fell on his knees, and with closed eyes repeated a long prayer in his native tongue. He prayed as a Christian should do, with fitting reverence, and without the fear of ridicule or any ostentation of piety. At our meals neither of the men would taste food, without saying beforehand a short grace. Those travellers who think that a Tahitian prays only when the eyes of the missionary are fixed on him, should have slept with us that night on the mountain-side. Before morning it rained very heavily; but the good thatch of banana-leaves kept us dry.



 November 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 11th M 1835 / Our Meeting today was a solid good one - Father had a short encouraging testimony. - In the Preparative Meeting which followed, Thos P Nichols appeared in it & requested to become a member of our Society.- I felt glad Thos had given up to request Membership - he has been exemplary in the use of the plain language for some time, & a very dilligent attender of our religious Meetings both on First day & in the middle of the Week.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Meanwhile, at the Masonic Temple in [Boston](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) was delivering lecture Number 3 of the series "English Literature," entitled "The Age of Fable."

In the South Pacific, a Western ship ferried about 500 Māori warriors from New Zealand's North Island to the Chatham Islands, 500 miles to the east. The Moriori of the Chatham Islands were of the same stock as the Māori, but had been living in isolation for some 15 generations. Having learned from sealers of the existence of the Chatham Islands and of the existence of their relatives the Moriori, the Māori were going to make them be their slaves, and then, in short order, to exterminate them. This was their custom.

Meanwhile, on the island of Tahiti elsewhere in the South Pacific, [Charles Darwin](#) continued his explorations:

At daylight my friends, after their morning prayer, prepared an excellent breakfast in the same manner as in the evening. They themselves certainly partook of it largely; indeed I never saw any men eat near so much. I suppose such enormously capacious stomachs must be the effect of a large part of their diet consisting of fruit and vegetables, which contain, in a given bulk, a comparatively small portion of nutriment. Unwittingly, I was the means of my companions breaking, as I afterwards learned, one of their own laws, and resolutions: I took with me a flask of spirits, which they could not refuse to partake of; but as often as they drank a little, they put their fingers before their mouths, and uttered the word "Missionary." About two years ago, although the use of the ava was prevented, drunkenness from the introduction of spirits became very prevalent. The missionaries prevailed on a few good men, who saw that their country was rapidly going to ruin, to join with them in a Temperance Society. From good sense or shame, all the chiefs and the queen were at last persuaded to join. Immediately a law was passed, that no spirits should be allowed to be introduced into the island, and that he who sold and he who bought the forbidden article should be punished by a fine. With remarkable justice, a certain period was allowed for stock in hand to be sold, before the law came into effect. But when it did, a general search was made, in which even the houses of the missionaries were not exempted, and all the ava (as the natives call all ardent spirits) was poured on the ground. When one reflects on the effect of intemperance on the aborigines of the two Americas, I think it will be acknowledged that every well-wisher of Tahiti owes no common debt of gratitude to the missionaries. As long as the little island of St. Helena remained under the government of the East India Company, spirits, owing to the



great injury they had produced, were not allowed to be imported; but wine was supplied from the Cape of Good Hope. It is rather a striking and not very gratifying fact, that in the same year that spirits were allowed to be sold in Helena, their use was banished from Tahiti by the free will of the people. After breakfast we proceeded on our Journey. As my object was merely to see a little of the interior scenery, we returned by another track, which descended into the main valley lower down. For some distance we wound, by a most intricate path, along the side of the mountain which formed the valley. In the less precipitous parts we passed through extensive groves of the wild banana. The Tahitians, with their naked, tattooed bodies, their heads ornamented with flowers, and seen in the dark shade of these groves, would have formed a fine picture of man inhabiting some primeval land. In our descent we followed the line of ridges; these were exceedingly narrow, and for considerable lengths steep as a ladder; but all clothed with vegetation. The extreme care necessary in poising each step rendered the walk fatiguing. I did not cease to wonder at these ravines and precipices: when viewing the country from one of the knife-edged ridges, the point of support was so small, that the effect was nearly the same as it must be from a balloon. In this descent we had occasion to use the ropes only once, at the point where we entered the main valley. We slept under the same ledge of rock where we had dined the day before: the night was fine, but from the depth and narrowness of the gorge, profoundly dark. Before actually seeing this country, I found it difficult to understand two facts mentioned by Ellis; namely, that after the murderous battles of former times, the survivors on the conquered side retired into the mountains, where a handful of men could resist a multitude. Certainly half a dozen men, at the spot where the Tahitian reared the old tree, could easily have repulsed thousands. Secondly, that after the introduction of Christianity, there were wild men who lived in the mountains, and whose retreats were unknown to the more civilized inhabitants.



November 22, Sunday: Le cinq Mai: chant sur la mort de l'Empereur [Napoléon](#) for bass, chorus, and orchestra by [Hector Berlioz](#) to words of de Beranger was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Conservatoire.

[Charles Darwin](#) recorded the condition of Tahiti in his journal:

The harbour of Papiete, where the queen resides, may be considered as the capital of the island: it is also the seat of government, and the chief resort of shipping. Captain Fitz Roy took a party there this day to hear divine service, first in the Tahitian language, and afterwards in our own. Mr. Pritchard, the leading missionary in the island, performed the service. The chapel consisted of a large airy framework of wood; and it was filled to excess by tidy, clean people, of all ages and both sexes. I was rather disappointed in the apparent degree of attention; but I believe my expectations were raised too high. At all events the appearance was quite equal to that in a country church in England. The singing of the hymns was decidedly very



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

pleasing, but the language from the pulpit, although fluently delivered, did not sound well: a constant repetition of words, like "tata ta, mata mai," rendered it monotonous. After English service, a party returned on foot to Matavai. It was a pleasant walk, sometimes along the sea-beach and sometimes under the shade of the many beautiful trees.

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

1st day 22 of 11 M / Both Meetings were silent with the exception of a Short offering by Father in the Morning - Both were seasons of some favour

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 26, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured in [Boston](#). This was lecture Number 4 of the series: Chaucer.

THE LIST OF LECTURES

Texians captured a pack train bringing forage for General Martín Perfecto de Cos's cavalry.



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

5th day 26th of 11th M / Our first Meeting was a very good one Father had a good pertinent & well seasoned testimony - then Hannah Dennis & then Elizabeth Wing & at the close Hannah Dennis kneeled in supplication - In the last (Moy [Monthly] Meeting)- Moses F Rogers recd his Answer to proceed in Marriage with Elizabeth Mitchell & Amos Earle was also liberated to proceed in the same way with Catherine Mitchell - Elizabeth Wing was liberated to pay a religious visit in Sandwich Quarterly Meeting - And a committee was apptd to Visit Thos R Nichols in consequence of his request to be recd a Member of Society - other buisness refered

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1st day 29th of 11th M 1835 / Our Morning meeting was an uncommon good one to me, & the afternoon not the worst, but did not come up in my feeling to the Morning - Father had short communications in both. - In the evening visited Francis Carr & wife

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

A baby that would one day be the empress of [China](#) was born, we have no idea where. Since we have no way to know what her name was, we will simply refer to her in this contexture as [Tz'u-hsi](#) 慈禧.⁹⁶

Over the millennia there have been but three women to reign over the Celestial Kingdom. One of these was in control of the most populous nation on earth during the later part of Thoreau's *florut*:

Dynasty	Period	Person	<i>Florut</i>
<i>Han</i>	206BCE-220	The Empress <i>Lü</i>	195BCE-180BCE
<i>T'ang</i>	618-907	The Empress <i>Wu Hou</i>	660-705
<i>Ch'ing</i> 清	1644-1911	The Empress Dowager <i>Tz'u-hsi</i> 慈禧	1861-1908

96. She is called by this name, and the other empress dowager is called *Tz'u-an*, literally “Old East” and “Old West,” simply due to confusion over naming systems for females, and because these two influential ladies had their respective apartments in the east and west wings of the palace. She is sometimes termed Lady “Yehenara” but this name designates not her but her entire clan of origin. A more formal and up-to-date naming system would differentiate the two ladies as *Ci Xi* or “Motherly Auspiciousness” and *Ci An* or “Motherly Peace.”

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Photography had yet to be invented and she didn't yet look like this:



慈禧

December 3, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 3rd of 12th M 1835 / This day at our Meeting house in
[Newport](#) Were married Amos Earl of Swansey to Catherine Mitchell
daughter of John Mitchell
Father Rodman bore a short testimmony and the Meeting was a solid
favourd one –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1836



Friend Richard Batt expressed an attitude toward [Quakers](#) and the arts: “Banish poetry and allow no scope for the imagination and men would be, what it is indeed needless that they should be, much more essentially selfish than they are at present.”⁹⁷

97. In the preface to his anthology GLEANINGS IN POETRY.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

→ Friends [Bernard Barton](#) and [Lucy Barton](#) co-authored a book, THE RELIQUARY.

→ [Mary Howitt](#)'s novel WOOD LEIGHTON, OR A YEAR IN THE COUNTRY.

→ James [Burrill Curtis](#) became a "special student" at [Brown University](#). He would continue to study at this school until 1840 but would leave without a degree.

There were at this point 158 [Quakers](#) in [Providence](#).

RHODE ISLAND

→ An American sailed to France to investigate [beet sugar](#) production. [Quaker](#) businessmen in Philadelphia were collecting funds to invest in this alternative to slave-produced [cane sugar](#).

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY



The British appointed MP [John Bowring](#) the head of a government commission to be sent to France to inquire into the actual state of commerce between the two countries. He would become engaged in similar investigations in Switzerland, Italy, Syria, and some of the states in Imperial Germany, and would provide a series of reports before the House of Commons.

➡ Publication in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) of a description of the various components of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

READ ALL ABOUT IT

The “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia” that had in 1834 provided schoolhouses, teachers, and supervision of a free public school system was at this point amended to form the basis for a system of free, tax-supported general education throughout Pennsylvania.

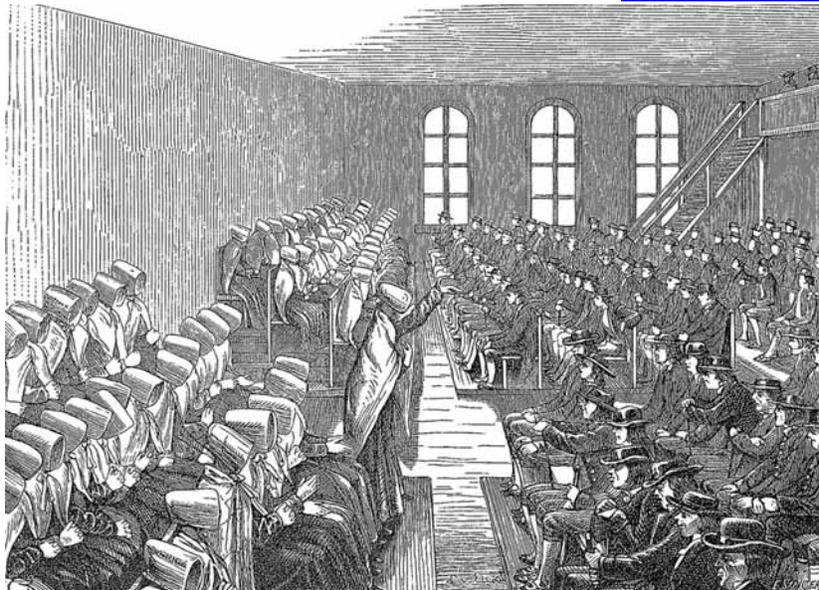
QUAKER EDUCATION

Publication of the 2d edition of George Savage White’s 1836 volume [MEMOIR OF SAMUEL SLATER, THE FATHER OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURES; CONNECTED WITH A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA; WITH REMARKS ON THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTORIES IN THE UNITED STATES](#). (We know that Henry Thoreau would peruse an extensive review of this volume.)

SAMUEL SLATER

➡ [Friend William Bassett](#) had been a rising merchant in Lynn MA during the 1820s and 1830s, involved in the centralization of the shoe industry. He had been taking control of local manufacturing by putting job work out to local cordwainers while finishing off the rough shoes in his own central shops. He had been active in the local Quaker circles, and had become a leader in the town government. Up to this point, this Friend had been one of those weighty Friends of the Lynn MA meeting who helped exclude abolitionist speakers such as Henry Brewster Stanton and William Lloyd Garrison from Quaker meetinghouses — but he was experiencing a change of heart.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

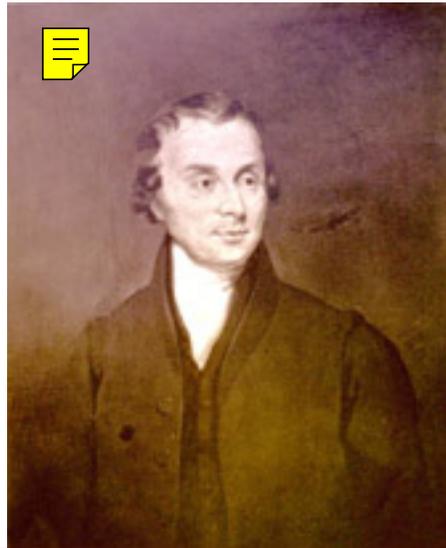


➡ In this year and the next, Friend [Joseph Sturge](#), a prosperous [Quaker](#) grain dealer of Birmingham, England, would be visiting the West Indies to learn the effects of the statute of Aug. 28, 1833, that had *de jure* [emancipated](#) the [slaves](#) of the British colonies but had substituted an easily abused “apprenticeship” system.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”: The recent testimonies of Sturge, of Thome and Kimball, of Gurney, of Philipppo, are very explicit on this point, the capacity and the success of the colored and the black population in employments of skill, of profit, and of trust; and, best of all, is the testimony to their moderation.



➡ [Friend Luke Howard](#) edited a volume MEMORANDA OF THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF JOSEPH HOWARD [1811-1833]: WITH SHORT EXTRACTS OF LETTERS WRITTEN AND RECEIVED BY HIM. (London: Darton and Harvey, 1836).



HOWARD PUBLICATIONS



➡ February 1, Monday: US Representative James Henry Hammond of South Carolina gave a speech in which he declared that “Slavery can never be abolished.”⁹⁸ He lay out in graphic detail on the floor of the US House of Representatives, why it was that the federal government would never have it in its power to abolish [slavery](#) in the United States of America: “There are about 2,300,000 slaves at this moment in the United States, and their annual increase is about 60,000. Sir, even the British Government did not dare to emancipate its enslaved West India subjects without some compensation. They gave them [the slavemasters] about sixty percent of their value. It could scarcely be expected that this government would undertake to free our slaves without paying for them. Their value, at \$400, average, (and they are now worth more than that) would amount to upwards of nine hundred millions. The value of their annual increase, alone, is twenty-four millions of dollars; so that to free them in one hundred years, without the expense of taking them from the country, would require an annual appropriation of between thirty-three and thirty-four millions of dollars. The thing is physically impossible.” We can bear in mind that this was being said in regard to a federal government which had enjoyed

98. Of course, this American legislator was only attempting to inform us of the simplest financial, calculational, quantitative truth, and was not struggling at all to inform us of the very ugliest moral truth about our condition. —For the complete absence in our legal system at our federal level of government of any formal definition for the constructs “slave,” “slavery,” and “enslavement,” a void in our conceptual apparatus which persists even to the date of this writing (1997), may serve to remind us of what a visitor, Alexis de Tocqueville, once attempted to point out to us obtuse Americans, that “An abstract word is like a box with a false bottom; you may put in it what ideas you please and take them out again unobserved.” If [slavery](#) is, as it has been ever since the enactment of the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1865, just anything anyone wants to say it is —as long as they do not overlook to invoke the sacred formulation that whatever it may be it is most assuredly prohibited and therefore entirely nonexistent and therefore not a problem which needs to be addressed— then slavery is not anything at all and “slavery” is a word which, because it cannot function except as a signifier for something which must not exist, cannot be functioning as a word of the language but must be functioning, instead, as a “gag rule” we have imposed upon our own minds.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

gross receipts in 1830 of but \$24,844,000. Merely to purchase and manumit the slave babies as they were being born would require the entire tax revenue upon which the entire government at that point depended. The only course open to the government was confiscation, which, of course, would be something politically impossible in a political system within which the interests of the enslaved were being “represented” by their slavemasters.

MANUMISSION



Elsewhere in the world on this day, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* were sailing from Santa Barbara toward a San Pedro anchorage.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Monday, Feb. 1st. After having been in port twenty-one days, we sailed for San Pedro, where we arrived on the following day, having gone “all fluking,” with the weather clew of the mainsail hauled up, the yards braced in a little, and the lower studding-sails just drawing; the wind hardly shifting a point during the passage.

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

2nd day 1 of 2 M 1836 / With my esteemed Cousin Thos B Gould Set out in the Stage for [Providence](#) to attend the Qrly Meeting -when we got to [Bristol](#) ferry the Ice had so accumulated that we were obliged to go along Shore South & be carted off in an Oxcart among the Cakes of Ice till we were in sufficient depth of Water for a Small boat to float & from thence were carried off to the Great Boat to get on the opposite shore This was great exposure to my dear neice Elizabeth Rodman who was with us on her way to the [YMBSchool](#) where we arrived about 3 OC in the Afternoon after a cold ride from [Bristol](#) ferry in the Stage Sleigh - After introducing Elizabeth to the Superintendent & teachers of the School - Thos & I went down to [Moses Brown](#) - we found he had gone to Wm Almys on acct of his Birth day [Almy's birthday], having his family & friends around him on the occasion being 75 Years old. - early in the eveng - Moses returned & we took tea & took lodging with him, he being glad to see & entertain us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Franklin Pierce was born to [Franklin Pierce](#) and Jane Means Appleton Pierce (this infant would survive only four days).

Per Rusk, Volume II, page 3, [Waldo Emerson](#) probably lectured on this day in Cambridge.

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

3rd day was Sub committee Meeting & we passed the day at the School House -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day Attended the Select Meeting which was a season of some favour - Divers testimonies were deliverd & a Supplication by



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*Anna A Jenkins – The buisness was conducted in harmony
In the Afternoon was the Meeting for sufferings which Wm Almy
attended – Some conflict was experienced in the management of
affairs but both the London General Epistle & the epistle of
advice to their members was concluded to be printed & circulated
among our Members*

*At the close of the Meeting a very Solid & reverend Silence took
place - during which my mind glanced at the uncertainty of ever
Meeting Our friend [Moses Brown](#) & Wm Almy in that way again -One
very Aged & the other in advance life & very feeble from the
effects of a fit which he had near a year ago – When it closed,
a precious covering & much good feeling prevailed for which
favour I was truly thankful*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day Was the Quarterly Meeting at large. In the first our
friend Thos Anthony was engaged in a truly Apostolical testimony
& was followed by A A Jenkins & Rowland Greene & Mary B Allen
in Supplication. – In the last Meeting the buisness was
conducted in Harmony & Elizabeth Peckham from So Kingston Moy
[Monthly] Meeting was acknowledged as a Minister – I returned
to [Moses Browns](#) & dined & lodged*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day Was the Meeting of the Genl Committee which I attended
- the buisness got along very well. – & just as the committee
was gathering for the adjournment in the Afternoon –Information
was brought that Wm Almy had departed this life about half an
hour before being taken Ill about 6 OClock in the Mornng & lived
about 8 hours Afterwards - his disorder was considered to be an
accumulation of Water on the heart. -- The buisness of the
committee was dispatched as soon as it could conveniently be
done, as none of us felt like prolonging it under the
circumstances of Wms sudden departure. –
I lodged that night at the School House, feeling it to be my
duty to spend a little time with them - which gave me an
opportunity to discharge a duty I felt towards some that were
there & I felt peace in my services - May peace & the God of
peace dwell with them. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day Morning I went to Town & after attending to some buisness
their - took the Stage & came by the way of Slades ferry to Fall
river where I dined at Wilders public House & from thence home,
by the way of the Stone Bridge - finding our family & concerns,
all well. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 7 of 2 M 1836 / Our Meetings today were good



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

ones –Father Rodman was engaged in short testimonies in each –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 14 of 2 M / Stormy day - Silent Meetings & pretty good ones. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 18th of 2nd M / Father bore a short testimony at Meeting which was small, the weather was very cold & the walking slippery, which rendered it perilous for women to get there. – In the Preparative Meeting, the communication from the Yearly Meeting to the subordinate Meetings was read. – This evening I went up to cousin Henry Goulds, who has been to attend Sweet out on the Island to set several bones, particularly Ruth Chases - in the Ride the Chaise was turned over & they narrowly escaped being bodily hurt themselves Sweet set Cousin Hannah Goulds Hip last night which she put out about a Week ago - It is a favour that there is such a family as the Sweets, who seem by nature to possess so eminently the faculty of Setting bones. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 19th of 2 M 1836 / I have had this morning to look a little over my past life & to commemorate the goodness & many mercies of Kind Providence towards me – I hope I shall never distrust his power nor despair of his goodness & mercy - for many times when it looked as if all resources were coming to an end, something has opened, whereby I was enabled to look a little ways a head - I am now writing of temporal prospects, for tho' at this time I have nothing to elate, but rather to depress my feelings -yet as way has always singularly opened I can but feel a faith in the Power of God who has so wonderfully opened the way for me to live comfortably & even respectably among men – & even if I should be brought to more narrow limits - may I endure the privation as becomes a Man & a Christian - he knows what is best for us, & deals kindly even with his rebellious Sons - but I know it will not do - it is not safe to presume on his mercy, & yet continue in rebellion & disobedience - he requires a cheerful a willing & yet as pure offering & that of the Whole heart My heart is humbled under a Sense of the many Mercies I have received while I write this - much much more presenting to view than I have mind to relate at this time –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 21st of 2nd M 1836 / Both Meeting were silent & Small -the walking was so bad - slippery & wet that but three females were there in the Morning & two in the Afternoon - Called



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

at Father Rodmans in the evening & sat the rest of it at home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day [Monday] 22nd of 2 M / This Afternoon took a walk to cousin Henrys - the Walking was exceedingly Muddy & wet - but nevertheless it was a pleasnt time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25 of 2nd M / With my young friend Thomas Nichols rode to [Portsmouth](#) & attended Monthly Meeting - It was a most Violent windy day, clouds & very uncomfortable riding being very cold & a part of the way muddy & heavy traveling - The First Meeting was silent & small & not a time of much life to me. - In the last we had but little buisness & the Meeting was not detained long. - We went with Henry & Thomas Gould to Josiah Chases & dined & got home before sunset. - I have of late felt my mind engaged to write our friend Robert Comfort of Wheatland State of NYork who attended our last Yearly Meeting, he was a true & honest friend & one with whom I felt much unity & Sympathy I have also in the course of the Week written to my friends Thos Evans of Philada. - It is a time of great streight in society, & it becomes necessary for those who can to commune together.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd M 29th 1836 - 2nd day [Monday] / Yesterday our Meetings were Small & to me not seasons of that life & Spirit which I love to feel -Father Rodman was engaged in both in short testimonies. - With this day ends the winter & the Month. It has truly been a hard Winter & there has been considerable suffering among the poor - but the benevolent have been active & afforded much relief to those in distress - for my own part We have been comfortable. - Our wood has held out well, & I have had Money sufficient to supply all real wants - I desire to return thanks for my many favours thus far in my life, they certainly have been numerous, & way has many times opened where there has appeared to be no way a head - This is even now my state & condition I can see but little forward but still Faith & hope are alive & I do not distrust the Ways of kind Providence. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 3, Easter Sunday morning: Frederick Douglass was thrown into jail in Easton, the county seat, in [Maryland](#), charged with complicity in a plan to escape from the labor gang of William Freeland.⁹⁹ Douglass had used his laboriously acquired knowledge of language to compose passes or “protections” for himself and a number of other field laborers. Here Douglass later reconstructs the substance of what he had written in these “protections,” despite the fact that upon the failure of the escape plan all copies of the “protections” had been destroyed by the slaves:



*"This is to certify that I, the undersigned, have given the bearer, my servant, full liberty to go to Baltimore, and spend the Easter holidays.
Written with mine own hand, &c., 1835.*

"WILLIAM HAMILTON,

"Near St. Michael's, in Talbot county, Maryland."

Quite possibly, one of the members of the group plotting this escape has informed on the others.

At the climax of the dedication of the temple of the [Mormons](#) in Kirtland, Ohio on this Easter Sunday, people were channeling not only Christ Jesus, but also Moses, and Elijah.

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

*4th M 3rd (1st day) 1836 / Meetings both silent & solid -While I fully believe a sound & living Gospel Ministry is a great blessing to a Meeting I am also as fully in the belief that is is not absolutely necessary to Make a good Meeting, for I have no doubt that many at our Meetings today were sensibly edified in Silent Waiting - While I was sensible that my own spirit could not impart much religious weight I was confirmed it was a season of refreshment to others. -
After Meeting in the Afternoon with Brother Isaac attended the funeral of Patience Lina a woman of colour who was the daughter of old Betty Dyre who with her Mother, who was known in the family as Mother Moll were the family Servants of my Great Grandfather Samuel Clarke of Connanicut, & we felt it due to Patience to pay her so much respectful remembrance as to attend her funeral - I well remember (from my childhood to the day of her death & attended her funeral) Betty Dyre & her Husband James Dyre - I have heard my Mother say James was the favorite servant of Sam Dyre & that when James & Betty were married - Grandfather Clarke made a wedding for them at his House & Saml Dyre attended it & them [then] Saml Dyre made another at his house which Grandfather Clarke came over to Saml Dyres & attended also -*

99. Later, in his autobiography, Douglass would play on words in the Thoreauvian style:

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

But, by this time, I began to want to live **upon free land** as well as **with Freeland**; and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other slaveholder.



this was an uncommon occurrence in those days.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 5th of 4th M 1836 / As I have frequently done, I visited Aunt Stanton, who is truly a most Miserable object both in body & Mind, ever since uncles decease she has been loosing her reason & the greater part of the time quite frantic & full of the most unreasonale halucinations of Mind & a few weeks ago fell & hurt her hip which deprived her of walking - Last first Day her nurse & caretaker discovered she had a bad Sore come very suddenly on The lower part of her back & hips, which first appeard like a spot as black as a hat, at first it was about as big as the Palm of the hand, & when a thin black Scale came off it appeared inflamed & began to run very putrid matter - the sore is increasing & she is this Afternoon very weak & low, & how long she can remain in her present condition is uncertain - but it is very afflicting to see her under so much suffering in body & her mind also so distressed that no human effort can alleviate or soothe in any degree - I suggested to her this Afternoon that I was sorry to see her in such a State of mind, as it did not seem from present appearances that she could remain in this life much longer - But it did not seem to affect her in any way. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

5th day 7th of 4th M 1836 / Our Meeting was silent - but some of the few who met I trust were sensible & knew the Source from whence worship was performed - It was but a low time with me. -

1st day [Sunday] 10th of 4th M / Our Meetings were both silent, but to me very solid seasons -

3rd day 12th of 4th M / This Morning I recd a letter from my fr Joshua Lynch of Ohio - It mentioned his prospect of attending our approaching Y Meeting & that of NYork -

In the evening Stephen A Chase called & set the evening with us - he has been to his Father James Robinsons & is on his way home to Salem in the Morning Steam Boat - Thos P Nichols also called in a little while in the evening. -

5th day 14th of 4th M / Our Meeting was small & silent, but a good solid & favour'd season to me for which I feel thankful - Father Rodman was out & the first time he has been at Meeting since he was taken unwell. -

1st day [Sunday] 17th of 4 M [April] / Father was out at Meeting this mornng & preached a little twoce - both offerings I thought were Savory. - Silent Meeting in the Afternoon & I thought both were favoured Meetings

This evening a little before 10 OClock Benjamin Hadwen departed this life Aged 79 Years & almost three Months - After a long time of Infermity & weakness - He was the Son of our Worthy friend John Hadwen & Elizabeth his Wife. -

3rd day 19th of 4 M [April] 1836 / Recd this Afternoon a letter from my dear Aged friend [Moses Brown](#), which speaks of the state



of Society in England as exhibited by documents he has lately received - It is afflicting to find that many in that land & some in our own, who have embraced doctrines divers from those of Fox Barclay Pennington & Penn & seem again to be merging into those of the Episcopal Church & of Calvin - but I trust the Seed of the Church & a true Quakerism will remain, & tho' it may be in but few, that few will continue to exist - Oh may I stand unshaken in the doctrines of hour dear Ancient Friends. -

4th day 20 of 4 M [April] / This Afternoon attended the funeral of Benjamin Hadwen he was buried from the House now owned by the Widow Tew Corner of Marlborough & Meeting Streets - in this House I went several Years to School Kept by Nicholas Garrison & his wife we sat in the room where the School was kept - The Sitting was a very solid good little opportunity & Father was there & preached a very appropriate & Sweet little testimmony which I doubt not was acceptable to All & I trust was edifying to some -While sitting in this room the scenes of my childhood passed in review on to manhood to the present day & in prospective to the final close -- I also remembered that it was the house once owned by John Round & in which he lived & entertained his Brother in Law John Fothergil of which his speaks in his journal. -

5th day 21st of 4th M 1836 / Our first meeting was a solid time of favour Father was twice engaged in testimony & Elizabeth Wing once - In the second which was preparative the queries were all answered, it being the Meeting previous to the Yearly Meeting - After the Preparative Meeting Our Select Meeting for Ministers & Elders was also held at the close of the Preparative Meeting which was a time of some Searching & much favour, my mind was engaged to speak & I did it in a way which affords peace & an evidence that I am not forsaken or out of the right way in some respects at least - Elizabeth Wing bore a faithful testimony as did Father on several occasions in remarking on the Answers to the queries -

1st day [Sunday] 24th of 4 M [April] / Our Meetings were solid good seasons -Fathers communications in each I thought were seasonable & pertinent - Ann Hopkins was at meeting in the Afternoon, & in the eveng I visited her at Henry Goulds where she is spending a few days. -

5th day 28th of 4 M [April] / Took the Carryall & took My wife & Mary Williams to Moy [Monthly] Meeting - Hannah Dennis preached in the first Meeting - & tho' I thought she was favoured, yet it seemed to me as a rather dull & obstructed season - in the last Meeting we transacted the buisness pretty well --

We went to Benjamin Motts after Meeting & dined in his South room, in which G Fox once preached



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 September 6: Having lived a long and productive life despite the most severe and debilitating attacks of vertigo, [Friend Moses Brown](#) died just before his 98th birthday.

This would go into Quaker records as: “*Moses Brown was born in Providence the 12th day of the Ninth month 1738 old Stile now record the 23 day of the 9th m^o 1738. Moses Brown died the 6th day of 9th m^o 1836.*”

He bequeathed \$15,000 and two acres of land to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), in addition to his library. We now have, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, eight boxes of books said to have been in the joint library of Obadiah and Moses Brown. Here is the list of the books that are now in those eight boxes:

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN’S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of <i>John Churchman</i>	John Churchman?	Philadelphia: Benj. & Tho. Kite		1818	
A Journey Through Albania	J.C. Hobhouse	Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son		1817	Volumes I and II
The Domestic Encyclopedia	AFM Willich, MD	Philadelphia: Wllm Young, Birch and Abraham Small		1804	(loose boards) Volume V of V (only)
Elements of Chemistry	James Woodhouse, MD	Philadelphia: Benj. & Thos. Kite		1807	Volumes I and II
Italy by Lady Morgan	Lady Morgan	New York: J. Seymour		1821	Volumes I and II
Junius	?	?: T. Bentley		1797	Volumes I and II (rebound)
The Substance of some letters by an Englishman written during the reign of Emperor Napoleon	?	Philadelphia: M. Thomas		1816	
Universal Biography	J. Lempriere, DD	New York: 86 Broadway, New York, F. Sargent		1810	Volume II
Varieties of Literature		London:	J. Debrett	MDC-CXCV (1795)	Volumes I and II
Voyages and Travels	Pinkerton	Philadelphia:	Kimber and Conrad	1810	Six Volumes
Brown’s Answer to Nocutt, An Examination of Wllm Notcutt’s Reply to H.B.’s vindication etc.	H.B.	London:	J. Sowle	1735	



OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley	Thomas Chalkley	London:	Luke Hinde	1766	
An Answer to the Speech of Declaration by the Great Turk	?	London:	A. Sowle	1688	
The Modern Practice of Physic	Robert Thomas, MD	New York:	Collins and Co.	1811	
Brief Narrative of Life and Death of Gilbert Latey	?	London:	J. Sowle	170 (?)	
A Collection of the Christian Writings, Labours ... of Roger Haydock	Roger Haydock	London:	T. Sowle	1700	
Lawson's Works	Lawson?	London:	T. Sowle	1703	
Truth Exalted, Writings of John Burnyeat	John Burnyeat	London:	Thomas Northcott	1691	
The New Testament		Boston:	F. Ingraham and J. Putnam	1827	
The Book of Martyrs (abridged)		New York:	Sam'l Wood	1810	
The Design of Christianity, epistles and manuscripts of John Crook	John Crook?	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Guthries Grammar	Guthrie?	?:	?	1782	
Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge, collected by Jo. Besse	Richard Claridge?	London:	J. Sowle	1726	two copies
Edmundson's Journal	Edmundson?	London:	sold and printed by Mary Hinde	1774	
Journals and Travels of Samuel Bownas and John Richardson	?	London, reprinted in Philadelphia:	Wllm Dunlap	1759	
Kerseys Treatise	?	Concord:	Dan'l Coolege	1818	three copies
Keith's Works	Keith?	?:	?	1678	
Ellwood's Sacred History	Ellwood?	London:	James Phillips	1783	Volumes I and II



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
An Account of the Gospel Labours etc. of John Churchman	?	Philadelphia:	Jos. Cruickshank	1729	
Hints on Scriptural Instruction	?	Philadelphia:	T. Kite	1831	
Thorp's Letters	Thorpe?	Liverpool:	Printed by James & Johnathon Smith	1820	
The Way to Bromley on the Sabbath		London/Germantown:	?	1759	
Popery Exposed	Henry Mollineux	London:	T. Sowle	1718	
Life and Labours of Samuel Neale	?	Philadelphia:	James Parke	1806	
Law's Address	Law?	New Bedford:	Benj. Lindsey, printer	1818	
Memoirs	William Lewis	Philadelphia:	B & T Kite	1821	
Catalogue of books printed and sold by James Philips	?	London:	James Philips?	?	Pamphlet
Memoirs, Isaac Penington	Isaac Penington, and Joseph Gurney Bevan	London:	Wllm B. Sewell	1807	includes review by Joseph Gurney Bevan
The Friend	?	Philadelphia:	J. Richardson	1829	
Holy Bible		Philadelphia:	Bible Association of America	1831	Volumes I, II, and III?
Life of William Reckitt	?	Philadelphia:	Joseph Cruickshank	1783	
Life of Ambrose Riggs	?	London:	T. Sowle	1710	
The Centaur not fabulous		London:	A. Millar	1755	
The Book of Disciplines	?	Providence:	John Carter	1785	
Bevans Defence of Friends	?	London:	Phillips and Fardon	1805	
Memoirs and Life of Sarah Stephenson	Sarah Stephenson?	Philadelphia:	Kimber, Conrad	1805	
History of the New York African Free Schools	?	New York:	Mahlon Day	1830	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Memoirs of Isaac Penington	William Grover	Philadelphia:	Thomas Kite	1831	Friends Family Library, Volume I
Prynne on Plays	?	?:	?	1776	
Means of Preserving Health ...	Shadrach Ricketson, Physician in New York	New York:	Collins and Perkins and Sons	1806	
An Apology for the True Christian Divinity...	Robert Barclay	London:	J. Phillips	1780	
An Essay on Slavery	Granville Sharp	Burlington:	Isaac Collins	1773	
A Confutation of the Charge of Deism wherein the Christian and Orthodox Sentiments of William Penn are ... demonstrated	Joseph Besse	London:	J. Sowle	1734	
An Introduction into the making of Latin	John Clarke	London:	Strahan, Livingston, et al	1780	
The Anthology of Religion	Jos. Butler, Bishop of Durham	?:	?	printed 1754	
Collection of some papers of William Crouch		London:	T. Sowle	1712	
John Churchman, Gospel Labours	John Churchman?	Philadelphia:	Skerret	1818	
Lux Evangelica ... A reply to George Keith's Censure	Richard Claridge	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Gospel Labours, etc.	Stephen Crisp	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1822	
Elwood's Life	?	London:	Luke Hinde	1765	
Cotton's Reply to Williams, 1647-1652	?	?:	?	?	
The Life of David, a sacred poem	Thomas Elwood	London:	Luke Hinde	1763	
The Foundation of Tythes Shaken	Thomas Ellwood	London:	T. Sowle	1720	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Dictionary of the Bible		London:	Beecroft and Strahan et al	1759	Volumes I?, II?, III?
A letter to a Friend	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1824	
Statutes of Connecticut		Hartford:	Elisha Babcock	1786	
A Faithful Testimony ...		London:	Andrew Sowle	1689	
Works of William Dell	William Dell?	London:	John Kendall	1723	
Treatise concerning the Fear of God	John Field	London:	T. Sowle	1713	
Treatise concerning Baptism	?	London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Life of Joseph Coale	?	London:	T. Sowle	1706	
An Account of ... Richard Davies	?	London, Philadelphia:	Jos. Cruickshank	1770	
Principles and Precepts	Samuel Fuller	Newport:	S. Southwick	1769	
Necessity of a life of purity...	Samuel Fothergill	Philadelphia:	Cruickshank	1780	Pamphlet included
Of Religious Declention	Andrew Fuller?	Manchester?:	?	1829	
Reflections	George Dillwyn	Burlington, New Jersey:	David Allison	1815	
Sermons by Dewsberry, Barclay etc.		Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1825	
Home's Principles: The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation	Francis Home	London:	A. Millar	1762	
Degge's Law of Tythes	?	London:	Richard and Edw. Aytkins	1695	
The Trials of the Spirit	William Dell	London:	Mary Hinde	1770	
Treatise on Baptism and the Lord's Supper		London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Brief Memorials of Davidworth, being sketches of his character; Life and Death of Hannah Logan Smith by her daughter Rebecca		Philadelphia:	Sherman?	1847	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Friends' Tracts, Volume I: Memoirs and Essays		Philadelphia:	Kite, published by the Tract Association of Friends	n.d.	
Testimony concerning Sufferings and Death of James Parnel	Ellis Hookes	London:	?	1695	three volumes in one
Miscellaneous Repository	Elisha Bates	Mount Pleasant, Ohio:	?	1829	Volume 2 and 3
Compendium of the Impending Crisis in the South	Hinton R. Helper	New York:	Burdick	1860	Clearly, this has crept into the boxes while in storage
No Cross, No Crown	William Penn	Philadelphia:	Kinber, Conrad and Company?	1807	
The Correspondence between committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends and Isaac Crowdson		London:	Hamilton	1836	
A History of the People Called Quakers, in four volumes	John Gough	Dublin:	?	1789	
AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSIOLOGICAL AND SYSTEMATICAL BOTANY, with notes by Jacob Bigelow	James Edward Smith	Boston:	Bradford and Ready?	1814	
ESSAYS	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Kite	1829	
IMMEDIATE REVELATION	George Keith	?:	?	1676	2d Edition
EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF JONATHAN HUTCHINSON, LATE OF GEDNEY, WITH A BRIEF NOTICE OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER		London:	Phillips	1835	
SOME BRIEF MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF DAVID HALL		London:	Hinde	1758	
LETTERS OF WILLIAM GROVER		London:	Harvey and Danton	1828	
Catalog of the Books Belonging to the Library of the three Monthly Meetings ...		Philadelphia:		1813	
A CLASSIC TOUR THROUGH ITALY	Reverend John Chetwode Eustace	Philadelphia:	M. Curry	1816	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
A VIEW OF THE PROPHECY BY THE REVEREND GEORGE STANLEY FABER		Boston:	William Andrews	1809	
THE PUBLIC LAWS OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND		Providence:	Miller and Dutchers	1822	
THE PUBLIC LAWS OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND		Providence:	Carter and Wilkinson	1798	MB stamp
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS OF WILLIAM RICKETT ... ALSO, MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE ... OF JAMES GOUGH		Philadelphia:	Joseph Cruksbank	1783	Mary Brown signature, MB stamp
LECTURES ON SCHOOL-KEEPING, with advertisements for school books sold by A. Shearman.	Samuel R. Hall	Boston	Richardson, Lord and Holbrook	1829	MB stamp
OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia	S. Potter and Co.	1825	
OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	Joseph John Gurney	London		1824	2d Edition
AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH CHRISTIANITY	Jonathan Dymond	Philadelphia	I. Ashmead and Co.	1834	
ELEGANT EXTRACTS		Dublin	P. Byrne	1793	Second Edition
A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING ... DECEASED ... QUAKERS		Philadelphia	Joseph Cruksbank	1787	
A COLLECTION OF THE EPISTLES OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN LONDON TO QUARTERLY MEETINGS AND MONTHLY MEETINGS ... 1675-1820		New York	Samuel Wood and sons	1821	
EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BY MARGARET JACKSON		Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1825	
AN EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD	John Hoyland	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1816	Two Volumes
AN ... ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY	William Law	New Bedford	B. Lindsey	1816	
EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF FRANCIS FENELON , ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY		Philadelphia	Kimber, Conrod and Co.	1804	edited by John Kendall
EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES AND ADVICES OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN LONDON		London	James Phillips	1783	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER, CONDUCTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH FOR THE YEAR 1804		New York	T.B. Wait and Sond	1814	Volume 3
A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT	Reverend G.S. Faber	New York	Eastburn, Kirk and Co.	1814	
ON THE DIFFICULTIES OF INFIDELITY	George Stanley Faber	New York	D. Cooledge	1829	
SERMONS PREACHED BY SEVERAL OF THE PEOPLE KNOWN AS QUAKERS		London	Mary Heade	1775	
WORKS	Isaac Pennington	London	James Phillips	1775	
<i>MAGNALLIA CHRISTI AMERICANA</i>	Cotton Mather	Hartford	Silas Andrews		two volumes
Collected Writings by various authors		London	?	1690?	
A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS THAT HAVE LATELY TAKEN PLACE IN IRELAND	?	London	?	1804	
HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR	John Entick			1766	Volumes 1-5
A DEFENSE OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FRIENDS	Elias Hicks	Philadelphia	?	1825	
LETTERS BY ISAAC PENINGTON	Isaac Pennington	London	Holdsworth and Ball	1829	
THE GREAT CASE OF TITHES	Anthony Pearson	London	?	1730	
A BRIEF VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES OF FRIENDS	John Bevans	Philadelphia	Kimber and Conrod	1810	
MISCELLANIES, MORAL AND INSTRUCTIVE ... FOR SCHOOLS AND ... YOUNG PERSONS	?	Philadelphia	Henry Sweitzer	1802	
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MARY ROWLANDSON ...	Oliver Sanson	London	J. Sowle	1710	
A BRIEF JOURNAL	Thomas Wilson	London	James Phillips	1784	two copies
THE DOCTRINE OF THE PASSIONS EXPLAINED AND IMPROVED	Isaac Watts	London	J. Phillips?	1770	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
STRENGTH IN WEAKNESS MANIFEST IN THE LIFE	Elizabeth Stirredge	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
A SCRIPTURE CATECHISM FOR CHILDREN	Ambrose Rigge	London	?	1772	
HINTS, CHIEFLY SCRIPTURAL ... RESPECTING REGENERATION	Richard Phillips	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
ESSAYS ON PEACE AND WAR	Philanthropus	Exeter, New Hampshire	J. Burnham	1827	
AN ABSTRACT OF ... THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE	Michael de Molinos	London	?	1774	
SION'S TRAVELLERS COMFORTED	Charles Marshall	London	T. Soule	1704	
TWO DISCOURSES AND A PRAYER		Bristol	S. Farley	1768	5th edition
THE GREAT AUDIT, OR GOOD STEWARD	Matthew Hale	London	John Kendell	1775	
A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE	John Gratton	London	James Phillips	1779	
A BRIEF COLLECTION OF REMARKABLE PASSAGES	Margaret Fox	London	J. Somes	1710	

 October: Friends Sarah Moore Grimké and Angelina Emily Grimké attended an agent-training convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New-York, and began their agency.

Though the Grimké sisters at first felt they had found their home in Quakerism, they later found there was "no openness among Friends" on the issue of working against enslavement. Biographer Gerda Lerner says that their "blind loyalty to the Quakers had turned into bitter disappointment." Their reception at meetings was increasingly "chilly" and they were no longer welcome in the homes of Quaker Friends. At the yearly meeting in 1836, presiding elder Jonathan Edwards stopped Sarah as she rose to speak. Sarah elected to use the incident as a "means of releasing" her "from those bonds which almost destroyed my mind." As the sisters expected, Angelina Grimké's 1838 marriage to Theodore Weld provided the pretext for disowning her, and her sister's membership was revoked for attending the ceremony.¹⁰⁰

100. Page 91 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



October 4, Tuesday: [Lewis Cass](#) was appointed as the US ambassador to France.

The Quakers who were being “misled” by Friend [Elias Hicks](#) were out of favor with the [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#), to the extent that when they presented their certificates of public ministry, these certificates were being refused and they were not being allowed use of the local meetinghouse facilities. Our local Quakers then –like local Quakers now– were allowing freedom of belief and freedom of speech only to those visitors who were favored to know **exactly the same Truth that was known locally.**

3rd day 4th of 10th M / This Morning as I was standing in the Door of the printing office I saw a couple of Friends walk down as if they had just landed from the Steam Boat - after casting in my mind for a Moment as to what Manner of Men they were I says to myself they are Hixites - & seeing Daniel Smith on the other side of the Street crossed over & asked him if he knew who those men were who had just passed - he said he did & that the one with the white hat was George Truman an Hixite [[Hicksite](#)] Preacher - About 11 OC in the Morning Robt Lee called at our house & introduced them as Friends who had brought letters of introduction to him from a friend of his in NYork - After sitting down awhile George opened his buisness by informing me that he & his companion [-] Longstreth was here on a religious account & were desirous of having a public Meeting with Friends & others, to which I was silent for a time, & after a short pause he said he had a certificate from The Meeting he came from - I told him I should like to look at the document, on which he handed it to me - I read both the Minute from the Moy [Monthly] Meeting & the endorsement by the Quarterly Meeting - I replied this looks like a regular proceeding, but neither this Monthly nor Quarterly Meeting, are in unity with the Meetings in N England & we cannot recognize thee as one of us - it is a pittty that one who carries so much of the exterior of a Quaker cannot be acknowlegded by the body, & I told him it was Streightening to my mind to fall in with such & feel obliged to let them know that we could not further their views, that he knew there was a difference between us - to this he said he supposed those they fell in with were streightened but he did not feel streightened towards us - I told him I apprehended he felt different from what he would if we acknowledged him, & could take him by the hand & further his views - then he said under these circumstances we could not have the use of the meeting House - I told him, no, he could not, - we could not do any thing about it - I had considerable other conversation with him when he rose to go but Daniel Smith coming in at the Moment, he sat a little longer till I had dispatched the buisness Daniel came in upon, pretty soon after Daniel went out - they rose again to go when I parted with them & I told them both, I wished them well, to which the companion replied It is our Wish to do so. -

George Truman above Mentioned had a Meeting at 1/2 past 7 OC this eveng at the Court House - I am inform'd there were about 60 in attendance & that he preached Quaker doctrine - this I had not doubt he intended to do, for he knew the doctrine of Elias Hicks would not go down with the people



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 November 12, Saturday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) made an abstract of an article in the *BIOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE, ANCIENNE ET MODERNE*, (85v.) Paris, 1811-1862: Tome 42 (Paris, 1825), pages 193-194. Thoreau's footnote makes it appear that he had become acquainted with [William Sewell](#)'s THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES during the preceding spring — presumably in the April 6-20 timeframe while on vacation from [Harvard College](#). Clearly, this will need to be taken into consideration in any careful analysis of Thoreau's reaction to the [Religious Society of Friends](#)!

Hollis 23.

William Sewel, a historian and lexicographer, was born in 1654, at Amsterdam, of a respectable Quaker family, of English origin. Having completed his humanites with success, he commenced the study of medicine, and entered the College de chirurgie of his native city. He was, according to all accounts, a laborious, if not accomplished scholar, devoting a large portion of his time to the culture of letters. In his leisure hours, he is said to have learned the principal languages of Europe, which he spoke with a remarkable fluency.

Sewel died, in his own country, about 1720. Besides translations into Dutch of the History of the Jews, by Josephus, Amsterdam, 1704 in-fol., and of the Roman Antiquities of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, we are indebted to him for an English and Dutch Grammar and Dictionary, 1691, in-4., and also an edition revised and corrected of the Flemish Grammar of Lagrue, Amsterdam, 1718, in 8.; but his principal work is the¹⁰¹ History of the origin, of the formation and progress of the society of the Quakers (in Dutch), Amsterdam, 1717: this history, of which there exists an English translation, is esteemed for its accuracy and completeness. Biog. Univ. T. 42.¹⁰²

 December: [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) wrote AN EPISTLE TO THE CLERGY OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

101. Discovered an edition in-fol., last spring, in our garret, where it had been used from time immemorial for a flour-press. It is needless to add, that the flowers speedily put forth their leaves, and the volume turned its pages to the sun.

102. In his 1840 "List of Books Belonging to H.D.T.," in HM945 he lists "Sewel's Hist. Of The Quakers—Burlington N J, 1774 lv." It is to be noted that the above remark about his discovery echoes Matthew 24:32 and Mark 13:28.

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December: In Philadelphia, due to the general refusal to rent halls for politically unpopular meetings, Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) undertook to raise \$40,000.⁰⁰ for the construction of a large new “Pennsylvania Hall.”



“I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.”

– Alexis de Tocqueville



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Here the high-powered “executive committee” for Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society which was behind this important hall project center themselves around [Robert Purvis](#), in an 1851 image from the Sophia Smith Collection of Smith College:



In about this timeframe, [Robert Purvis](#) was being chosen by blacks in Philadelphia to deliver the formal eulogy at a memorial observance for Thomas Shipley, whose appearance before the courts had saved hundreds of blacks in Pennsylvania from slavery.

1837



Dorothea Dix’s vacation tour of England had not helped her avoid the nervous breakdown she had been anticipating, but while on tour she had come under the influence of Dr. William Rathbone at his estate Greenbank, and had met [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#), Friend Samuel Tuke, and Robert Owen.

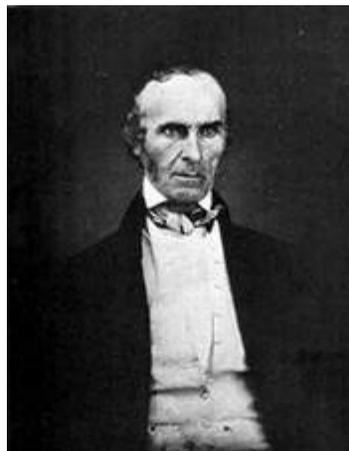


➡ [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#) would be on campaign trips against human slavery, to the North American continent and to the islands of the West Indies, until 1840.



➡ [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was elected to the Massachusetts legislature, and his POEMS WRITTEN DURING THE PROGRESS OF THE ABOLITION QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES was published:

In 1837 an edition of my complete poems, up to that time, was published by Ticknor & Fields.



[Friend William Bassett](#) joined the antislavery society of Lynn, Massachusetts, thus going directly against the Quaker reluctance to insist upon a public condemnation of the institution of slavery, and also running a considerable risk of being disciplined for joining an association outside the Society of Friends. He published a pamphlet in defense of this membership. (Eventually he would in fact be [disowned](#).)

The Pastoral Letter, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).



The General Association of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts met at Brookfield, June 27, 1837, and issued a Pastoral Letter to the churches under its care. The immediate occasion of it was the profound sensation produced by the recent public lecture in Massachusetts by Angelina and Sarah Grimké, two noble women from South Carolina who bore their testimony against slavery. The Letter demanded that “the perplexed and agitating subjects which are now common amongst us should not be forced upon any church as matters for debate, at the hazard of alienation and division,” and called attention to the dangers now seeming “to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury.”

So, this is all, — the utmost reach
Of priestly power the mind to fetter!
When laymen think, when women preach,
A war of words, a “Pastoral Letter!”
Now, shame upon ye, parish Popes!
Was it thus with those, your predecessors,
Who sealed with racks, and fire, and ropes
Their loving-kindness to transgressors?

ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ

SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

A “Pastoral Letter,” grave and dull;
Alas! in hoof and horns and features,

How different is your Brookfield bull
From him who bellows from St. Peter’s!
Your pastoral rights and powers from harm,
Think ye, can words alone preserve them?
Your wiser fathers taught the arm
And sword of temporal power to serve them.

Oh, glorious days, when Church and State
Were wedded by your spiritual fathers!
And on submissive shoulders sat
Your Wilsons and your Cotton Mathers,
No vile “itinerant” then could mar
The beauty of your tranquil Zion,
But at his peril of the scar
Of hangman’s whip and branding-iron.

Then, wholesome laws relieved the Church
Of heretic and mischief-maker,
And priest and bailiff joined in search,
By turns, of Papist, witch, and Quaker!
The stocks were at each church’s door,
The gallows stood on Boston Common,
A Papist’s ears the pillory bore, —
The gallows-rope, a Quaker woman!

Your fathers dealt not as ye deal
With “non-professing” frantic teachers;
They bored the tongue with red-hot steel,
And flayed the backs of “female preachers.”
Old Hampton, had her fields a tongue,
And Salem’s streets could tell their story,
Of fainting woman dragged along,
Gashed by the whip accursed and gory!

And will ye ask me, why this taunt
Of memories sacred from the scorner?
And why with reckless hand I plant
A nettle on the graves ye honor?
Not to reproach New England’s dead
This record from the past I summon,
Of manhood to the scaffold led,
And suffering and heroic woman.

No, for yourselves alone, I turn
The pages of intolerance over,



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That, in their spirit, dark and stern,
Ye haply may your own discover!
For, if ye claim the "pastoral right"
To silence Freedom's voice of warning,
And from your precincts shut the light
Of Freedom's day around ye dawning;

If when an earthquake voice of power
And signs in earth and heaven are showing
That forth, in its appointed hour,
The Spirit of the Lord is going!
And, with that Spirit, Freedom's light
On kindred, tongue, and people breaking,
Whose slumbering millions, at the sight,
In glory and in strength are waking!

When for the sighing of the poor,
And for the needy, God hath risen,
And chains are breaking, and a door
Is opening for the souls in prison!
If then ye would, with puny hands,
Arrest the very work of Heaven,

And bind anew the evil bands
Which God's right arm of power hath riven;

What marvel that, in many a mind,
Those darker deeds of bigot madness
Are closely with your own combined,
Yet "less in anger than in sadness"?
What marvel, if the people learn
To claim the right of free opinion?
What marvel, if at times they spurn
The ancient yoke of your dominion?

A glorious remnant linger yet,
Whose lips are wet at Freedom's fountains,
The coming of whose welcome feet
Is beautiful upon our mountains!
Men, who the gospel tidings bring
Of Liberty and Love forever,
Whose joy is an abiding spring,
Whose peace is as a gentle river!

But ye, who scorn the thrilling tale
Of Carolina's high-souled daughters,
Which echoes here the mournful wail
Of sorrow from Edisto's waters,
Close while ye may the public ear,
With malice vex, with slander wound them,
The pure and good shall throng to hear,
And tried and manly hearts surround them.

Oh, ever may the power which led
Their way to such a fiery trial,
And strengthened womanhood to tread
The wine-press of such self-denial,

Be round them in an evil land,
With wisdom and with strength from Heaven,
With Miriam's voice, and Judith's hand,
And Deborah's song, for triumph given!

And what are ye who strive with God
Against the ark of His salvation,
Moved by the breath of prayer abroad,



With blessings for a dying nation?
What, but the stubble and the hay
To perish, even as flax consuming,
With all that bars His glorious way,
Before the brightness of His coming?

And thou, sad Angel, who so long
Hast waited for the glorious token,
That Earth from all her bonds of wrong
To liberty and light has broken, —
Angel of Freedom! soon to thee
The sounding trumpet shall be given,
And over Earth's full jubilee
Shall deeper joy be felt in Heaven!

Hymn, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).

Written for the celebration of the third anniversary of British emancipation at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, first of August, 1837.

O HOLY FATHER! just and true
Are all Thy works and words and ways,
And unto Thee alone are due
Thanksgiving and eternal praise!

As children of Thy gracious care,
We veil the eye, we bend the knee,
With broken words of praise and prayer,
Father and God, we come to Thee.

For Thou hast heard, O God of Right,
The sighing of the island slave;
And stretched for him the arm of might,
Not shortened that it could not save.
The laborer sits beneath his vine,
The shackled soul and hand are free;
Thanksgiving! for the work is Thine!
Praise! for the blessing is of Thee!

And oh, we feel Thy presence here,
Thy awful arm in judgment bare!
Thine eye hath seen the bondman's tear;
Thine ear hath heard the bondman's prayer.
Praise! for the pride of man is low,
The counsels of the wise are naught,
The fountains of repentance flow;
What hath our God in mercy wrought?

Speed on Thy work, Lord God of Hosts!
And when the bondman's chain is riven,
And swells from all our guilty coasts
The anthem of the free to Heaven,
Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led,
As with Thy cloud and fire before,
But, unto Thee, in fear and dread,
Be praise and glory evermore.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

 [Friend Luke Howard](#)'s SEVEN LECTURES IN METEOROLOGY (Pontefract, 1837), the first textbook on meteorology.



HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

Looking back, we can now know some things about the global weather during this period, which were at the time quite opaque even to the most informed:

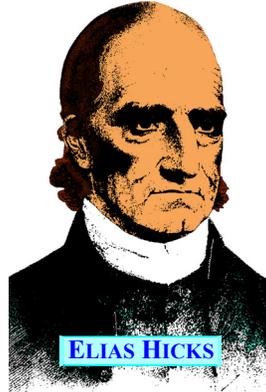
Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1833-1839

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
1833	very strong	La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	extremely poor
1834	absent	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1835	moderate	La Niña	drought	adequate	adequate	extremely poor
1836	moderate	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	2d year, very low
1837	strong	in El Niño moderate +	adequate	drought	deficient	3d year, extremely poor
1838	strong	La Niña	light	adequate	deficient	year, quite weak
1839	strong	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	year, very low

The southern ocean / atmosphere "seesaw" links to periodic Indonesian east monsoon droughts, Australian droughts, deficient Indian summer monsoons, and deficient Ethiopian monsoon rainfall causing weak annual Nile floods. This data is presented from Tables 6.2-6.3 of Quinn, William H. "A study of Southern Oscillation-related climatic activity for AD 622-1900 incorporating Nile River flood data," pages 119-49 in Diaz, Henry F. and Vera Markgraf, eds. EL NIÑO: HISTORICAL AND PALEOCLIMATIC ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OSCILLATION. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

[Friend Luke](#) returned from Ackworth in Yorkshire to Tottenham near London, to live with his son at Bruce Grove.

➡ Valentine Hicks, the husband of Abigail Hicks who had accompanied Friend Elias on a number of his missionary journeys, became president of the Long Island Railroad, which formed its new terminus near the Hicks family's farm in Jericho on *Paumanok* "Long Island."



The terminus was named, in honor of the new company president, "Hicksville." (There is no evidence that the people who named this new town were aware that there were any other hicks in the sticks, other than their prex'y. The town was definitely not named after Friend Elias.)

➡ To continue her education (since, at a first order of approximation, men don't go down on their knees and propose marriage to women who are crosseyed¹⁰³), her family enrolled Susan B. Anthony in Deborah Moulson's Female Seminary, a [Quaker](#) boarding school in Philadelphia. She would be unhappy there for a brief period, before being forced to end her formal studies because her family was facing ruin in the financial panic of that year. They would be forced to auction their possessions—even their personal stuff—although some of the family's personal stuff would be rescued or salvaged by Anthony's uncle, Joshua Read, who would make a bid at the last minute.



➡ January 1, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about a sad state of religion division and falling away among the English [Quakers](#):

1st day 1st of 1st M 1837 / Good silent Meetings to begin the Year with — Times rolls on & new things we see. — My mind has been solemnized under the consideration of passing events - Today I have recd letters from England which mention Sad defection which exists there among Members of our society Some who have stood & shone as Stars of the first Magnitude have fallen & become enemies to the Truth as preached by G Fox & others of his day¹⁰⁴

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

103. [“Crosseyed people look funny.”](#) — This wasn't just Susan B. Anthony, and Francis Ellingwood Abbot, and Abraham Lincoln, and Jean-Paul Sartre, and [Galileo Galilei](#), and Ben Turpin and Marty Feldman. Actually, this is a very general problem, with approximately one person out of every 25 to 50 suffering from some degree of strabismus (termed crossed eyes, lazy eye, turned eye, squint, double vision, floating, wandering, wayward, drifting, truant eyes, wall eyes described as having “one eye in York and the other in Cork”). Strabismus that is congenital, or develops in infancy, can create a brain condition known as amblyopia, in which to some degree the input from an eye are ignored although it is still capable of sight — or at least privileges inputs from the other eye. An article entitled “Was Rembrandt stereoblind?,” outlining research by Professor Margaret Livingstone of Harvard University and colleagues, was published in the September 14, 2004, issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Rembrandt, a prolific painter of self-portraits, producing almost 100 if we include some 20 etchings. Researchers who computer-mapped the direction of his gaze in 36 of these self-depictions discovered that in 35 of the 36 he was depicting himself as having a unilateral strabismus (when one eye looks straight ahead while the other deviates sideways). He would have been, in the popular terminology, considered “crosseyed.” This would have impacted depth perception and may very well offer important information in regard to his painting style.



5th day 5th of 1st M / A solid Meeting - Father was there & had a few words to offer. -

Since the above date I have recd another Letter from my kind & very attentive correspondent Thos Thompson of Liverpool, by which it appears troubles continue in Society, & that Elisha Bates once beloved & respected as a useful writer & very considerable Minister has become an Apostate to Quaker faith & Doctrine, having while in England been Baptized or Sprinkled with Water & written Several Wicked panphlets & the one which he calls "An appeal to the Society " I consider the Most foul, as in that he has held up the leadings & teaching of Christ within & G Fox & our Early friends to derision & ridicule. [see p. 198, vol XI, 7th day 19th of 11 M 1836]

1st day [Sunday] 8th of 1st M 1837 / Father was at Meeting & engaged in testimony forenoon & Afternoon & it seemed to me his communication in the Afternoon was unusually lively & pertinent - Meetings were solid & I thought favourd -

5th day 21 of 1st M / Silent meeting, solid & good Recd a parcell from my kind friend Thomas Thompson of Liverpool.-

1st day [Sunday] 15th of 1 M / Good Solid silent Meetings This evening Israel Buffinton & Thomas Gifford of Fall River with Thos B. Gould & Thomas P Nichols called & set with Walter Nichols also called a little while which made a very pleasant & interesting circle of young Men, with their company we were grateful & comforted. -

4th day 18th of 1 M / My wife & I rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Select Meeting. Elizabeth Wing & Hannah Dennis were engaged in testimony -

In our Select Meeting E Wing bore a very acceptable testimony - It was a season of favour - but after all to me individually it was rather a hard time. - We dined at cousin Shadrach Chases & rode home - The day was cold but the riding was as good & the day as pleasant (excepting the cold) as it could be in summer time-

This Morning Mary Easton daughter of James Easton decd. was found dead in her bed She had long been deranged & wasting away.-

5th day 19th of 1 M 1837 [error] / Our Meeting was pretty well attended & Father had a few words to deliver at the close - In that which folowed (Preparative) Geo. Carr of Connanicut appeard & requested to be received into membership - which was referd to a committee for consideration & examination. -

6th day 20th of 1 M 1837 / Attended the funeral of Mary Easton who was a Member of Society & died at her brother in laws E P Faisneau - She was a poor helpless woman subject for many years of her life to Fits & had but little sense. her release I hope is comfortable to herself as it must be to her friends - She was 69 Years old lacking about a Month & was the last of James Eastons family that stands as a member, who lives in [Newport](#). -

104. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1836-1838: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 16: September 1, 1836-September 20, 1838; also on microfilm, see Series 7



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

*At the funeral Father had a few words to deliver very satisfactory & I thought seasonable & savory
This evening I attended to a Lecture delivered by [--] Walker on the first peopling of this country – he considered the Indians were from the Tartar race & not Jews.*

We met at his house & only a few were invited of his acquaintance & friends - he evinced much research & learning in his discourse, but after all most of his positions rested very much on speculation & every thing must rest regarding time so long past & where there is no direct written record. –

1st day [Sunday] 22nd of 1st M 1837 / This day Stormy & Meetings small & silent but pretty good seasons

15th day 26th of 1 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting in Town was attended by as many as 12 or 13 who were not Members & several who I never saw at our Meetigng before - There was but little preaching, but it was a time of some favour. –

1st day [Sunday] 29 of 1st M / This morning I went in the Steam Boat to [Providence](#) & arrived there about 1 / 2 past 11 OC too late to attend meeting & went immediately to the School House where I attended Meeting in the Afternoon - The Meeting seemed natural & I thought was favoured with a good degree of solemnity – I found many old schollars that I knew were glad to see me & I them Staid the night –

2nd day [Monday] went into Town & spent the day in attending to some buisness & visiting some of my old acquaintance Dined at Dr Tobeys & returned to the School House to lodge –

3rd day Attended the sub-committee & spent the day at the School House & lodged there

 May: [Friends Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) attended the 1st Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, in New-York.

 May 9, Tuesday: 1st day of the 1st national Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. [Friend Abby Kelley](#), [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#), [Friend Lucretia Coffin Mott](#), Mary Parker, Mary Clark, the Balls, the Westons, the Childs, and Maria Weston Chapman attended, and Abby served on the committee to prepare the Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States. When a fund-raising issue arose, she would suggest that in order to increase their donations the ladies might cut their personal expenses. (Also among the seated delegates was Miss Anna Jane Dunbar of New-York.)

 June: Upon an invitation from William Lloyd Garrison to go on speaking tour through New England, [Friends Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) relocated to Boston, Massachusetts.

June: [Friend Luke Howard](#) was one of the “50 influential members” of the London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends who signed “A Faithful and Affectionate Address to the Society of Friends on the Temperance Subject.”

It must therefore have been after this point in time, that the Howards departed from the Religious Society of Friends. According to page 11 of a small booklet entitled *SHORT MEMORIALS OF THE LATE LUKE & MARIABELLA HOWARD, OF ACKWORTH VILLA, YORKSHIRE. BY AN AGED RELATIVE, FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY* (London, Printed by Edward Newman, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, 1865), “L.H.’s views differing in some respects from those held by the Society of Friends, he wished to have the connection dissolved, which was accordingly done, much to the regret of his friends, with many of whom he maintained a sincere friendship. M.H. also withdrew from the Society. They afterwards established a meeting on their own premises, in which some of their neighbors joined them, and it is believed that the simple form of worship in which they united was to the edification, and the satisfaction of their own minds.” It is clear, also, from this booklet, that they never formally returned to the Society, for their burial at Winchmore Hill is described as “with the full acquiescence of Friends,” and had their requested [disownment](#) ever been reversed, such “acquiescence” in burial in a Quaker cemetery could not have been an issue.



HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

July: [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) began her *LETTERS TO CATHERINE [sic] E. BEECHER* while [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) began her *LETTERS ON THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES*.

August 2, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 8th M 1837 / Rode with my wife to [Portsmouth](#) & attended the Select Quarterly Meeting which was a solid good season. Dined at Susan Hathaways & on our way home, called & set a while with Aunt Hannah Almy Wm & Anna Jenkins being there

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 16, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was having second thoughts about the advisability of [Quakers](#), all of whom were white and, therefore, all of whom were free, involving themselves in the ongoing antislavery struggle. It should be enough, for them to keep themselves personally pure within the Quaker Close, not themselves owning any slaves, not themselves purchasing any of the products of [slavery](#) such as cane sugar or cotton cloth, and therefore entirely separated from the wicked practices of the non-Quaker world. Clearly, over the years since the death of his friend of color [Paul Cuffe](#), he had come to consider that it was not any of their business to remedy all the ills of the outside world:

4th day 16th of 8 M / I am still at home, having given up the prospect of Lynn & Salem. – Tho' I felt tolerably in the Morning it looked doubtful whether I should have got to Lynn in season for the Select Meeting & on looking at it felt as if the journey had better be omitted at present – In the course of the forenoon I wrote a letter to Sister Elizabeth [Rodman] Nichols which has very much relieved my mind of the concern to be at Lynn & Salem. After giving her the reason of my not coming I wrote the following "I hope we shall not all run wild with Abolitionism, it is a worthy cause to be zealous in but not intemperate. I am afraid some will not only injure the cause they wish to promote but themselves also, by forcing measures which to move much in at present, would be of no more avail than to cast pearls before Swine, & I am clear it would be giving that which is holy to be sacrificed, trampled on & devoured by the dogish natures, there is a way for every right thing to be rightly moved in, & if way does not open for this, patient waiting is the best resort – David Buffum once told us in our Yearly Meeting at a time when a very difficult case was before it, & it looked as if it was necessary something should be done, yet there was a streight [difference of opinion] in the Meeting as to what ought to be done –

He rose & said it was not only necessary to see that something needed to be done, but before we moved we ought to see, what to do, & how to do it" -- It is my opinion that Slavery is a most crying sin & evil in our land, & that if it does not go out in mercy it will in Judgement, & I hope the experiment of Mercy will be fully tried by poor erring & frail mortals, & the Judgement left to Him who judgeth right, & will execute in his own due & appointed time, in such way & manner as he pleases. – I am clear that the excitement raised on Slavery, & is still increasing, is not wholly the Lords work.- it might have had a right beginning, but now it has run into passion, which has carried, & is carrying many far beyond that prudence & sound discession which marked the course of such men in former days as Woolman, Brown, Buffum, & may I not add the honorable names of the Rotch & Arnold, of the days when the Abolition of the Slave trade was effected. – I do not wish to say much more about it, but to express something of this kind to my dear friends Sophrona Page & Avis Keene was very much the drift I felt towards Lynn & Salem & if thou think proper I am willing thou should make them acquainted with my concern. – I am seriously affraid that more hurt will arise from the present excitement regarding Slavery to the Members of this Yearly Meeting, than has ever been done by all the Hixism [the protests and outrages of the [Hicksite](#) followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)] & Beaconism that has

been encountered else where. – I much desire that those who are looked up to as the Way Marks in our Society, may give a certain sound & right direction to those who follow after them.



 August 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 20th of 8th M 1837 / Our Meetings were comfortable Father had short offerings in each. – When we can get thro' a Meeting & feel that no hurt is done it is cause of thanksgiving. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 24, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 24th of 8 M / Our Meeting tho' small was a pretty solid good one - In the Preparative Meeting A Clerk was appointed, Overseers & Overseers of the poor were preposed to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting & a young Man reported by the Overseers for Marrying out.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September: [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), and a number of others having come to regard him as nothing more than a self-promoting troublemaker, the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) was formally notified by the American Anti-Slavery Society that they would no longer be using him as an agent.

→ September: During this year the Grimké sisters Angelina and Sarah had been lecturing throughout New England on the general topic “An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States.”

The Misses Grimké have made speeches, wrote pamphlets, exhibited themselves in public, etc. for a long time, but have not found husbands yet. We suspect that they would prefer white children to black under certain circumstances, after all.

During the early part of this month the [Quaker](#) sisters were visiting [Concord](#), staying with the Brooks family and being entertained by Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) among others (before moving on to spend the remainder of the hot season with the [Henry C. Wrights](#) in Newburyport MA).



ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

→ September 1, Friday: [Boston](#)'s volunteer fire brigades having proved in the recent riots pertaining to the Irish to be a source of rowdiness as well as a source of political cronyism, Mayor Samuel Eliot decided it was high time that his city transited a full-time professional fire department.

The “Hedge Club” met again, this time at the home of [Waldo Emerson](#) in [Concord](#). 17 transcendental souls attended (counting female transcendental souls).

In a dense fog at 7AM, [John Shepard Keyes](#) had clambered atop Deacon Brown's accommodation stage in [Concord](#), with black leather trunk and carpet bag — he was on his way to become a [Harvard Man](#)!

Real homesick I was till the fog lifted as we drove over the Lexington hills and changed horses there, and drove on to Cambridge by the foot of the locks, now 'Arlington Heights' and Menotomy, or West Cambridge now Arlington by Porters just beginning as a cattle market, down North Avenue then a solitary country road, till the college buildings came in sight, grey with age, but the yard gay with students and the life of the



opening term. Stopping at the posts in the old wooden fence behind Holworthy the grumbling Deacon helped me in with my trunk to my room N^o. 9 lower floor middle entry of Holworthy Hall, then a much despised, now a much coveted apartment. Here I began my college course, with a bed and washstand in my sleeping room, a small bureau and table two chairs and a locker a pail, lamp, and washbowl, and naught else, save a pine bookcase and standing desk so cheap and cumbrous that some Concord boy of former generations had left them as transmittences to Concord students of whom I was then the only representative. These were duly welcomed and inscribed and I in turn transmitted them to my successors but they have long since departed, split up I guess for kindlings, or sold for a pittance by the more luxurious denizens of later years. At any rate when my son, who inquired for them in his college life, no trace or memory of them could be found. Here and thus I settled myself for what was to come—My chum, a tall lank red haired uncouth fellow from Scituate, Ephraim Otis by name, soon made his appearance, even more meagrely fitted out than I and as much greener as he was older and as different as Concord from Scituate. How soon after I thoroughly hated and despised him I wont undertake to say. I believe it was before supper that night if it wasnt before dinner. What his miserly curmudgeon of a father, and my polished and courtly but anxious parent were thinking of when they yoked up such an unlike pair, I never understood. Mine I suppose went on the Concord rule of getting an old sedate and studious chum for the wild fellows that were sent from that county seat. My class only numbered forty five on entering and had as its numbers showed come in at the lowest ebb of the tide in the college life of the nineteenth century. Josiah Quincy was the President, and almost in his dotage, the Professors Channing Ware Beck Sales were nearly or quite in the same state, and the younger ones Fellow Pierce Longfellow Webster, Bowen and Lovering had none of their subsequent fame or reputation The scholarship and instruction were poorer, and inferior than ever before or since, so that it was at this beginning of its second century at the turning point of slack water. We had that to find out and to me certainly no student it didnt occur till I came in after years to look back on it and discover the fact. Of course I was then much more interested in the football game with the sophs and the anticipated hazing night than in lessons or text books. The first I had practised much on the common at home and could run well, and kick a fair bit and though I helped considerably we I believe were beaten in all or nearly all of our three games with the sophomores though when the juniors came to our aid and the seniors to theirs, we beat them, thanks to Baker's prowess and Ganson's knocks and Austins speed and Kings height all of them junior heroes to us that night. The hazing was mild and merciful to me who bought my peace with a bowl of punch from Willards, but my chum who refused to share the expense, was worse treated. It was rather horseplay without malice & not at all up to the raw head and bloody bones of which I have heard both before and since. Of my class whom I soon came to know every member as we recited together in nearly all our studies, there were but few



who made much impression early. Sedgwick facile primus, a rosy cheeked handsome nephew of Miss Sedgwick the authoress, soon showed to the front in both lessons and class meetings, Higginson the youngest member, from Cambridge where his family lived on intimate terms with all the professors, was soon prominent while the Boston, New York, and other city boys for a time carried off the honors by their better dress and greater fitness for display I think I took kindly to college life at any rate before the Christmas vacation I had got to know every one in college by sight and name had built a bonfire or two in the yard simply because it was prohibited had joined Mr. Simmons Sunday class, and learned the way to the race track and stables beyond Porters, had on the night of November election in a big snow storm, had my first spree in H'y 18. Tuckerman's room, of boiled sweet potatoes &c with something to wash it down, and though coming very near to it had not lost my matriculation— As to studies I did as little as I could but had ransacked the library for books I had heard of but never read, and as then we had free access to the alcoves had learned where to find the treasures. I had some privates, but hadnt got to a public admonition and thoroughly hated professors and tutors, & mildly even proctors, while for my elbow neighbours and the Worcester boys I had formed quite a friendship, and I might add the Portsmouth also. I remember nothing else in especial save a Sunday at home once a month, on one or two of which I walked up to save the stage fare, for money was short in the panic of 37, and on other Saturdays exploring Boston very thoroughly taking supper at the Parkers and walking up the lonely road from East Cambridge with my classmate Hall of that locality.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day 1st of 9th M 1837 / Attended this PM the funeral of Henry Goddards wife, he being a descendent from friends & once a member of Society She was buried in Friends Ground in the Medow field. — This Afternoon David Buffum read me a letter he had received from Philad. announcing the Arrival in this Country of Joseph John Gurney from England on a religious visit to friends in this country. — he Arrived in Philadelphia on 6th day the 25th of 7th M 1837 after a long passage of about seven Weeks. — After staying some days in Philadelphia he set out for Ohio Yearly Meeting accompanied by John Paul. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 3: When freed from the ice in July, George Back had turned homeward. On this day his ship arrived in a sinking condition at Lough Swilly in Ireland.

THE FROZEN NORTH



September 3, Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 9th M / Both our meetings were good Solid seasons to me —Father had offerings in both —



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Recd a letter this morning from Nathan Kite of Philad. giving some acct of J J Gurneys arrival &c

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

3rd day 5th of 9th M / This Morning rose early & got on Board the Steam Boat & went to [Providence](#) & attended the sub School committee - Mary Ann Barker left the School & went in the Boat this PM with her Brother Josiah & Sister Martha to Louisiana - The School was left in the charge Emeline Aldrich & Mary Osborn untill the next Meeting of the Genl Committee - returned home in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 7th of 9th M 1837 / Our Meeting was small & tho' very quiet was not a season of that life & spirit which I desired - Father had short offerings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

7th day 9th of 9 M / This Afternoon Our much esteemed & very kind young friend Avis Harris came down from [Providence](#) in the Steam Boat to See us we were very glad to have an opportunity to repay some of her kind attention to us at the house of her late venerable grandfather [Moses Brown](#) where I in particularly as well as our son John have been kindly treated by her. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day [Sunday] 10 of 9 M / Our Meetings were seasons of not much life to me, but heavy & depressed - they were about as well attended for numbers as they usually are tho' a number who usually attend were absent. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

7th day 16th of 9 M / After spending the week with us very agreeably on our part Our friend Avis Harris left us by the NYork Steam Boat this Mornng & returned to her home in [Providence](#) - her company was very agreeable & I was glad to have an opportunity to repay some of her former attention to me -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day [Sunday] 17th of 9 M / Our Meeting this morning was a good solid time. But Oh how low & depressed I felt on viewing the state o& condition of our Society. - The Meeting this Afternoon was also very solid & quiet. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

3rd day 19th of 9th M 1837 / On 1st day [Sunday] the 10th of



this Month Father Rodman was at Meeting in the forenoon & after sitting it about half through & delivering a short testimony he complained of being unwell & left the Meeting - Since which he has been mostly confined to the house & seems to be failing with a hard cough & great weakness of body. - but may however gain strength again - if however he does not mend soon it now looks as if he is fast runing down - I visited him this Afternoon when he told me he did not know that this sickness was unto death, the event was hid from him, & he felt resigned to whatever might be his lot, & did not wish his time protracted in life

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

4th day 20th of 9th M 1837 / Went this Morning by Steam Boat to [Providence](#) to attend with the Committee appointed to examine the State of the Schools & Institution generally - We spent the day in inspecting the literary acquirements of the Scholars which we found to be good & satisfactory & also attended the Meeting of the Institution in which Thos Anthony & Moses Beedie were engaged in testimony -

Lodged at the Institution & on 5th day persued the investigation of the Schools - Lodged again at the Institution & on 6th day finished our buisness & in a very solemn Sitting in both Schools took leave of the Scholars & teachers which I think will prove a very Satisfactory & encouraging season to them all as it really was to the committee - After attending a committee on Indian affairs & a Meeting of the Trustees of O Brown Fund held at the School House - I parted with very pleasant feelings from my friends & went into Town, where finding that I could not accomplish the buisness which I wished to there Took the Steam Boat at 4 OClock & came home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day [Sunday] 24th of 9th M 1837 / Our Morning Meeting was well attended very solid Silent & quiet & [to] me a Sweet & precious Meeting
Silent again in the Afternoon & not quite as lively as in the Morning but a good solid Meeting. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

3rd day 26th of 9 M / Attended the funeral of Doctor John P Mann aged 82 Years or thereabout, he Married Hetty Clarke an own cousin of my Mothers being the daughter of Joseph & Rebecca Clarke & were buried in Friend burying place, which induced the Doctor to request to be laid by the side of his wife & her father & Mother in our burying ground, this request he made to me many years ago - his funeral was plain that is his Coffin was without a Pall over it & tho' his widow who is a member of the Chuirch had their service read in her room, there was none at the grave, at which time we were favoured with Solemnity.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

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

4th day 27th of 9th M 1837 / We had a remarkably & Awful Sudden death in Town last evening of Doctor William Turner he was attending the wife of Joseph Weaver who it was anticipated would need him before morning he went there about 9 O'clock & expressed a wish to lay down, as his services was not then needed in the Sick room, but before he had laid many Minutes, he was called & went into the room & took his seat by the bed side, soon it was preceived his head droped foward & almost in an instant he proved to be Dead - it was a most affecting scene he had been well thro' the day for anything that was known or observed, & attended the funeral of Doctor Mann in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 28th of 9 M 1837 / Monthly Meeting held in Town - The first meeting was a preciously good one, solemn & quiet in which Our friend Mary Hicks was engaged in a short but weighty testimony - We had but little or no buisness before us in the last meeting - Uncle Peter Lawton from Nine Partners & Stephen Chase of [Portsmouth](#) dined with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

6 day [Friday] 29 of 9 M / Attend the funeral of Doctor Turner - he was said to be 65 Years of Age & was buried in the common burying ground

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November: [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) fell desperately ill, so her sister [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) took her back from [Boston](#), Massachusetts to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1838

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) restored [Friend Benjamin Lundy](#)'s Philadelphia journal, the National Enquirer and Constitutional Advocate of Universal Liberty, as the Pennsylvania Freeman.

[Mary Howitt](#)'s BIRDS AND FLOWERS AND OTHER COUNTRY THINGS.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

From this year into 1841, [Friedrich Gerstäcker](#) would be wandering about in the new state of Arkansas, hunting to feed himself and working to support himself while paying attention to the tales of the frontier folk. He came across, for instance, a free black storekeeper of Independence County between Batesville and Oil Trough, Lewis Nailer, who himself owned two black slaves (such free Negroes would tolerated in the state until the last day of the year 1859). A romantic experience of the author in the northwestern district of Arkansas has been reprocessed, it would seem, in the 20th-Century musical *Brigadoon*. The descendants of the [Quaker](#) family of John McKinney, Sophie McKinney, and John England Myers can be proud, for their pioneer forebears have been beamed up from the “isolated, remote White River valley in Madison Co., Arkansas” onto the Broadway stage (by way of the almost forgotten short story *GERMELSHAUSEN* and the repositioning of the village to Scotland by Alan Jay Lerner and Friedrich Lowe).



“Never in my life had I felt from the first moment so completely domesticated as with these people.”

The wandering German did not keep a daily diary and would begin to write up a narrative only safely returning from what he would term “the wilds of America.” The author would marry, back in Germany, and have children, and although he would return to America twice more it seems that he would make no attempt to seek out his former Ozark Quaker sweetheart (that was probably well enough, because Sophie had died in 1843).

[Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) built “The Cedars.”



In this year [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) published LETTERS ON THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES, AND THE CONDITION OF WOMAN:

Whatever is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman.



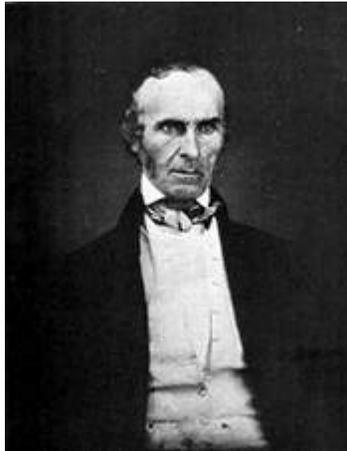
ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

She and her sister [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) would be active in both the suffrage and the abolitionist movements.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

During this year in which [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was being re-elected to his seat in the Massachusetts legislature,



[Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) was issuing his “A Psalm of Life / What The Heart Of The Young Man Said To The Psalmist” (the “Psalmist” in question of course being King David) which Friend John would describe as the “moral engine of an age of action,”

And things are not what they seem.



A PSALM OF LIFE ...

Since Professor [Charles Follen](#) was no longer teaching German literature at [Harvard College](#), Professor

[Longfellow](#) began to lecture on [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's](#) *FAUSTUS*.



The Reverend [Follen](#) became the minister of a [Unitarian](#) congregation in New-York (now All Souls), but quickly lost that position due to conflicts with his parishioners over his radical anti-slavery views.

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier's](#) “The Farewell of a Virginia Slave Mother to Her Daughters Sold into Southern Bondage” appeared. This was the poem the 1st 12 lines of which would be quoted in Frederick Douglass’s 1845 narrative as similar to the fate of the generations of children reared by his grandmother Bets:

Gone, gone, sold and gone
 To the rice swamp dank and lone,
 Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
 Where the noisome insect stings,
 Where the fever-demon strews
 Poison with the falling dews,
 Where the sickly sunbeams glare
 Through the hot and misty air:—
 Gone, gone, sold and gone
 To the rice swamp dank and lone,
 From Virginia hills and waters—
 Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

NARRATIVE

The Farewell of a Virginia Slave Mother to her Daughters sold into Southern Bondage, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#). (1838)

GONE, gone, — sold and gone,
 To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
 Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
 Where the noisome insect stings,
 Where the fever demon strews
 Poison with the falling dews,
 Where the sickly sunbeams glare
 Through the hot and misty air;
 Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
 To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
 From Virginia’s hills and waters;
 Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
 To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
 There no mother’s eye is near them,
 There no mother’s ear can hear them;
 Never, when the torturing lash
 Seams their back with many a gash,
 Shall a mother’s kindness bless them,
 Or a mother’s arms caress them.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.

Oh, when weary, sad, and slow,
From the fields at night they go,
Faint with toil, and racked with pain,
To their cheerless homes again,
There no brother's voice shall greet them;
There no father's welcome meet them.
Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
From the tree whose shadow lay
On their childhood's place of play;
From the cool spring where they drank;
Rock, and hill, and rivulet bank;
From the solemn house of prayer,
And the holy counsels there;
Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone;
Toiling through the weary day,
And at night the spoiler's prey.
Oh, that they had earlier died,
Sleeping calmly, side by side,
Where the tyrant's power is o'er,
And the fetter galls no more!
Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,

From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!

Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
By the holy love He beareth;
By the bruised reed He spareth;
Oh, may He, to whom alone
All their cruel wrongs are known,
Still their hope and refuge prove,
With a more than mother's love.
Gone, gone, — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#), the most famous British evangelical [Quaker](#) of his day, detoured from a trip down the Hudson River specifically to preach the gospel in Hudson NY, in the lair of “the heretical [Hannah Barnard](#).”



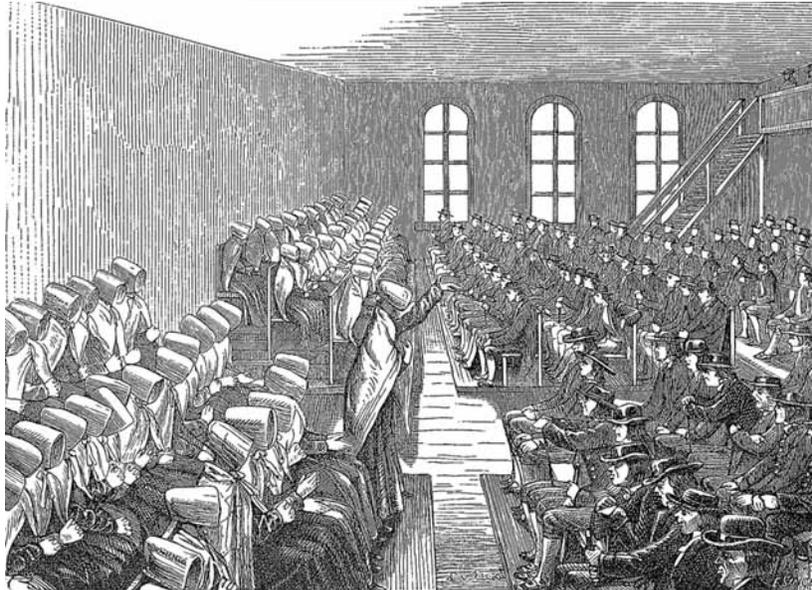
Friend Chuck Fager has analyzed the matter as follows:

In 1838, more than a decade after her death, [Joseph John Gurney](#), the most famous British evangelical [Quaker](#) of his day, detoured from a trip down the Hudson River specifically to preach his gospel in Hudson, in the lair of “the heretical [Hannah Barnard](#).” I think I understand part of what moved him. There’s something seminal and memorable about Friend [Hannah Barnard](#)’s story. For one thing, the version of Quakerism which she articulated and championed has persisted, and even flourished. For another, the repressive orthodox reactions to it have likewise become a depressingly familiar feature of our history. Similarly, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) carried on her ministry decades before Lucretia Mott and other Quaker women activists helped invent what we know today as feminism. Yet her assertiveness and eloquence in stating her case, her tenacity in her own behalf, her refusal to bow to male authority, and her indomitability even in isolation and defeat have hardly been bettered by the self-conscious sisters who came later. For some reason, however, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#)’s story has received but scant attention from many of the more prominent Quaker histories. Elbert Russell’s “The History of Quakerism,” and John Punshon’s “Portrait in Grey” mention her only briefly in passing; Larry Ingle’s “Quakers in Conflict” says little more. Even Margaret Bacon’s “Mothers of Feminism” slights her, perhaps because Barnard was more of a “Grandmother” of the movement. The most extensive treatments are in the first volume of Rufus Jones’s “The Later Periods of Quakerism,” and a 1989 study by David Maxey in Quaker History. Perhaps Rufus empathized with her; certainly he had taken his share of brickbats from a new generation of orthodox heresy-hunters. Yet despite its obscurity, Friend [Hannah Barnard](#)’s story is in many ways the prototype, or better the archetype of liberal Quakerism. No wonder I imagine her elbowing her way to the front of the long line of liberal Quaker heroes. Joseph John Gurney wrote to his children that he believed he had done well in his preaching at Hudson, and perhaps

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he did. But Friend [Hannah Barnard](#) did pretty well herself.



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In this year ownership of the [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) machine shop and its land was transferred from Granville Olney to his son Elisha Olney (this would not be recorded in [Smithfield](#) town records until 1841).

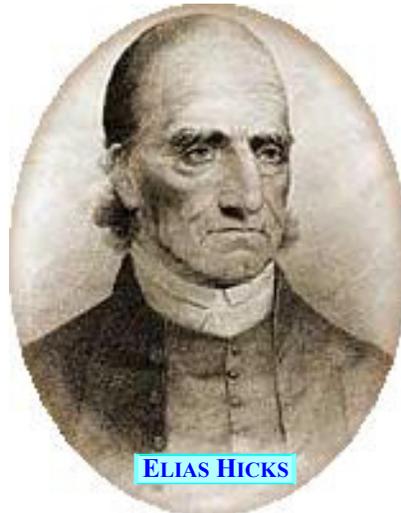
[Friend William Bassett](#) of Lynn, Massachusetts participated in the founding of the New England Non-Resistance Society and also spoke out publicly against the [Quaker](#) meetinghouses which imposed segregated seating upon white and black Friends.



(The “Negro Gallery” had been removed from the Friends meetinghouse in [Providence](#) in a renovation in 1822, but as of 1838 was still in existence in the society’s meetinghouse in [Saylesville](#) and in fact is in existence there to this day — although of course nowadays nobody thinks of it in that context.)

[Robert Montgomery Smith Jackson](#) received a doctorate in medicine from the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (he would serve for five years as an Assistant State Geologist).

During this year and the next, Johnson Heed (Martin Johnson Heade) would be working with [Edward Hicks](#), and possibly also with Thomas Hicks who during that period was studying under his older cousin, in Newtown, Pennsylvania. (The portrait of Heade by Thomas Hicks which we have, which would be painted in about 1841, depicts Heade as a young man during about this period.)



In 1829,  Richard Field had been allowed to make a silhouette of [Friend Elias Hicks](#) and, without his knowledge, Harry Ketchum had painted a portrait. It was from these sources, rather than from the New-York gang's shattered plaster death mask or the Italian's sculpture made at the time of death by digging up the corpse,  that Henry Inman in this year derived the portrait depicted above. (The date "1838" became apparent on this portrait recently when its inheritor, a Hicks descendant, had it cleaned.) It would be from this portrait that William Ordway Partridge would create the bust which now stands in Friends Historical Library in Swarthmore College.



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Friends [Lucretia](#) and [James Mott](#) were living on Long Island.





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In London, publication of Alexander Walker's INTERMARRIAGE: OR THE MODE IN WHICH, AND THE CAUSES WHY, BEAUTY, HEALTH, AND INTELLECT RESULT FROM CERTAIN UNIONS, AND DEFORMITY, DISEASE AND INSANITY FROM OTHERS; ... EACH PARENT BESTOWS ON CHILDREN IN CONFORMITY WITH CERTAIN NATURAL LAWS. (Since a copy of this would be found in the library of [Bronson Alcott](#) at the point of his death, it is rather likely that Henry Thoreau had had access to it. It would be interesting to find out what this volume had to offer about cases of racial mixture, as in the case of the mulatto young lady Mary Ann Shadd who in this year was graduating from the [Quaker](#) Boarding School in West Chester near Philadelphia and going on to become herself a teacher of children.)

FEMINISM

HDT

WHAT?

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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



INTERMARRIAGE:

OR

THE MODE IN WHICH, AND THE CAUSES WHY,
BEAUTY, HEALTH AND INTELLECT,
RESULT FROM CERTAIN UNIONS, AND
DEFORMITY, DISEASE AND INSANITY,

FROM OTHERS:

DEMONSTRATED BY

DELINEATIONS OF THE STRUCTURE AND FORMS, AND DESCRIPTIONS
OF THE FUNCTIONS AND CAPACITIES,
WHICH EACH PARENT, IN EVERY PAIR, BESTOWS ON CHILDREN,—
IN CONFORMITY WITH CERTAIN NATURAL LAWS,
AND BY AN ACCOUNT OF CORRESPONDING EFFECTS IN THE
BREEDING OF ANIMALS.

With Eight Illustrative Drawings.

BY ALEXANDER WALKER.

NEW YORK:

J. & H. G. LANGLEY, 57 CHATHAM STREET.
MDCCCXXXIX.



In a letter from James Caleb Jackson to Gerrit Smith: “‘*Come out from among them and be ye separate and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you.*’ *Jesus Christ*—” Clearly, these Come-Outers were purists.¹⁰⁵

What the “Come-Outers” believed was that [slavery](#) was a much more ubiquitous situation than had been recognized. Any social institution which frustrated the human aspiration for spontaneity or impeded the directness of the governance of God over the human individual amounted to slavery. Perhaps the ultimate example of come-outism was the [Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Joseph Smith](#) and his people moved from Kirtland, Ohio to Far West, Missouri. During this year and the next there would be a de-facto state of war in existence between the [Mormons](#) of Far West, Missouri and the other peoples of Missouri. However, by far the greatest concentration of Come-Outers who considered themselves as Come-Outers (200-300 persons) was on Cape Cod.¹⁰⁶

105. Righteousness is a precious and limited commodity, and the way one obtains it is by taking it away from someone else. Much of the antebellum abolitionist/proslavery struggle among America’s whites was a struggle not over the quality of the lives of American black people (although that was a token in the game) but over the possession of righteousness. Northern whites sought to take possession of righteousness by denying it to Southern whites, who were painted with the pitch-pot of unrighteousness. Meanwhile, Southern whites sought to take possession of righteousness by denying it to Northern whites, who were painted with the pitch-pot of unrighteousness. Southern white painted Northern whites with the pitch-pot of unrighteousness by associating them with blackness, calling them “nigger lovers,” and “amalgamationists.” Northern whites painted Southern whites with the pitch-pot of unrighteousness by associating them with blackness, pointing out the sheer size of the Southern population of mulatto Americans, which was the result of countless semi-secret acts of amalgamation between the white slavemaster males and their female captives (such as, for one example, Sally Hemings). Equally, on both sides, in this struggle to seize the moral high ground, one’s religiosity became *defined* by one’s politics. In the north it would be considered by many white Americans to be impossible for one to be considered “religious,” unless one was against human slavery — an extreme manifestation of this was the “Come-Outers” centering on Cape Cod. Meanwhile, in the south, it would be considered by many white Americans to be impossible for one to be considered “religious,” unless one believed strongly enough in the righteousness of keeping the animal impulses under decent control by use of the tool of human enslavement.

106. These 200-300 Cape Cod Come-Outers were particularly under the influence of Jakob Böhme and [Friend George Fox](#).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

There was at this point a hot debate going on in [Providence](#) as to whether the capital city of [Rhode Island](#) ought to expand its public school system beyond its existing elementary schools, by establishing a free high school. Some members of the public objected that creating such a school would encourage the dilution of the local aristocracy, by fostering onto it a bunch of people who had merely attended a free public institution. This would interfere with the apprentice system by tending to “educate children above working for their support.” The free public high school concept would be simmering on the back burner until 1843.

In 1834 the government of [Rhode Island](#) had “owed” its education fund \$12,884.30. By this point the figure had become \$14,662.

The [Quakers](#) at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill was attempting to be innovative. The school abandoned its four-quarter year for a two-semester year, the winter semester to begin in early November and the summer semester in early May. This change brought a change in vacation patterns as well. Previously, the young scholars had attended as they could and had been able to go back go back and forth between the school and the homes of their parents. Under the new semester system, however, the young scholars would be with their families of origin only during two-week breaks between the semesters.

Friends Rowland Rathbun and Alice Rathbun came to the school as superintendents.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen and Hannah, Asst. Supts.
1835-1836.	Davis, Seth and Mary.
1837.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1838-1839.	Rathbun, Rowland and Alice.
1840-1844.	Wing, Allen and Olive.
1845-1846.	Thompson, Olney and Lydia.
1847.	Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia.
1847-1852.	Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

January 17, Wednesday: [Reuben Crandall](#) died in Jamaica — of [consumption](#) or [tuberculosis](#) which he had contracted during his lengthy incarceration in the Washington DC lockup on charges of having attempted to persuade the citizens of our nation's capital to give up on human enslavement.

On this same day, at the Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Salem, Massachusetts, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was struggling with the spiritual error of those [Quakers](#) who, like the [Hicksites](#) of 1827, were allowing themselves to become over-preoccupied with the ongoing antislavery crusade to the detriment of their religion. None of your hyperventilation, please — we are white people here, and this “being [enslaved](#)” situation isn't a problem that we need concern ourselves with. He approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring the abolition societies from use of Friends meetinghouses for their inciting gatherings in precisely the same mode in which the abolition societies had been barred in Washington DC from distributing their inciting pamphlets.

4th day / attended Select meeting which was a time of favour the[n?] attended with a sense of weight & some distress things not being all right among them – Dined at Abijah Chases & met in the Afternoon with the Yearly Meeting committee & endeavoured to feel after the mind of Truth & I believe we were favoured with a right sense & right movements, which resulted in private & tender council to a few who appeared to be much involved the spirit of Anti Slavery, or are at least by their heated zeal injuring a good & right cause by intemperate movements, & in some instances injuring themselves, & society in persuing wrong, or at least unseasonable Measures - We thought some good was done & that we went at present as far as Wisdom dictated - Returned to Brother J R & lodged.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 18, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day / Attended the Meeting at large which like the Meeting yesterday was under a sense of distress, but the Truth broke through in a powerful testimony by John Meader & supplication from his Wife Elizabeth Meader – In the last Meeting Jonathon Nichols was approved as an Elder, which was all the buisness excepting from the Monthly Meeting the Queries - But the subject of Slavery was in my apprehension injudiciously introduced which brought fourth some intemperate zeal & one mans communication reminded me of the Spirit which I saw among the Hixites [[Hicksite](#) followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)] in NYork in 1827 when David Buffum & I attended the Y [Yearly] meeting there - but things were pretty well got over & left for the present – Dined at Jona. Nichols spent the evening & lodged - calling in the evening to visit Jonathons Mother a sweet spirit old friend in the [XX]nd Year of her Age –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

It strikes me that the attitude exemplified above by Friend Gould is precisely the attitude toward human enslavement that [Henry David Thoreau](#) criticized, and the attitude exemplified by Friend Elias and his “Hixites” is precisely the attitude that Henry embraced, by way of the influence on him of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#). Here is how Henry would take a flying dig at this not-so-Friendly aberration, in his lecture “A Plea for Captain John Brown”:



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

What sort of violence is that which is encouraged, not by soldiers but by peaceable citizens, not so much by laymen as by ministers of the gospel, not so much by the fighting sects as by the Quakers, and not so much by the Quaker men as by the Quaker women?

January 19, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day took the Stage for Boston & dined at the Marlborough House where I met with our friends of the Y Meeting committee from this Quarterly Meeting Vizt J Meader & Wife, Moses Farnum, M B Allen & Wm Jenkins after dining we took the Rail Road for [Providence](#) where we arrived before dark & I went to my esteemed friend S B Tobeys took tea & lodged & spent the evening, giving him some acct of my journey & hearing read some interesting letters which he had Received from divers friends. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 20, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Took the Stage & came home, finding My wife & family well, but Mother Rodman more weak & feeble than when I left her & evidently failing fast. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 21st of 1st M 1838 / Both Meeting well attended & Silent - it did not seem to me to be held for naught as there was some good degree of serious solemnity over the gathering - But Oh the weight & responsibility which rests on those who have the charge of such meetings resting upon them -
Cousin Thomas B Gould called & sat a while with us in the evening
-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February: Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) testified before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in [Boston](#), on the subject of human [slavery](#).

March: Friends [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) delivered six lectures in [Boston](#), on the subject of women.

SEXISM

Anderson, Bonnie S. JOYOUS GREETINGS: THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, 1830-1860. NY: Oxford UP, 2000.

Reviewed for H-Ideas by Kathryn Wagnild Fuller (kfuller@d.umn.edu), Library, University of Minnesota Duluth.¹⁰⁷

The First International Women's Movement

107. H-NET BOOK REVIEW Published by H-Ideas@h-net.msu.edu (February 2002)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

In *JOYOUS GREETINGS*, Bonnie Anderson identifies and traces the trajectory of an international feminist movement existing between 1830 and 1860. It was not a movement characterized by formal organizations but rather "a matrix of a feminism that transcended national boundaries," (page 2) with women sharing ideas and tactics and supporting each other through correspondence, publications, visits, and news reports. This movement originated mainly among women participating in movements for human justice, often socialist and/or religious, in England, Scotland, France, Germany, the United States, and Sweden. In France and Great Britain, for example, feminism emerged in the early 1830s in Owenite and St. Simonian socialist groups. Similarly, in the United States and England, women joined antislavery movements and utopian communities. Within these groups some women began articulating ideas about the position of women – finding comparisons between the social position of women and the working class, in the case of the socialist groups, and between the position of women and that of slaves among antislavery women. When their calls for changes on behalf of women met resistance, individual feminists turned to each other and established loose associations and, eventually, networks with feminists in other countries. Early interactions took place between English and French women and English and American women, the latter sometimes by visits including that of the English writer Harriet Martineau who made links between the English and American women in her writings about American society.

In Germany, where more repressive governments limited forms of social activism than were permitted in France and England, feminist activism did not develop until the 1840s and did so, along with supporters of other social and political causes, in a "behind-the-scenes" way through the free congregation movement. Elsewhere by the early 1840s, feminist activism had waned due to increased exclusion from reform organizations (as with the antislavery movement in the United States and England) or decline of social justice activism (as with the turn of the St. Simonians away from politics and social activism). According to Anderson, the international feminist movement stayed alive during the 1840s largely through publishing and reading by individual feminists and helped by an increase in women's intellectual writing by women like Charlotte Brontë and George Sand.

The growing social and political unrest in the cities of Europe in the late 1840s and the revolutions that took place early in 1848 renewed feminist fervor, especially in France and Germany. Calls for greater political participation and social improvement found expression in writing, petitioning, speaking in public forums, and articulating demands in political assemblies. Feminists organized schools and health projects and made other social efforts directed toward improving the situation of women. Anderson also shows that the revolutionary spirit in Europe spurred American women back into action and directly influenced the calling of the Seneca Falls convention in July and feminist activity in the United States. Feminists persisted in the face



of opposition, even among fellow radicals, in striving for the full participation they wanted in new governments, the social changes they expected with regard to women, and the end of some forms of male dominance. Anderson identifies 1848 as the beginning of the "heyday" of the first international women's movement. Publications (including newspapers and journals) increased, women spoke out, and connections among women of different countries became stronger as national groups monitored and were inspired or influenced by activities in other countries. Many actions started by French feminists continued at least until 1853 even in the face of the return of the more conservative governments in the post-revolutionary period. When feminism declined in Europe, the movement in the United States carried forth its spirit and made international issues important concerns and kept contacts with individual European feminists. With the sectional conflict over slavery and the beginning of the Civil War, the American women's movement was diverted to national goals and feminism lapsed all around.

Anderson persuasively demonstrates that feminists of this period had a wide range of interests and goals with regard to women, many of them related to socialism and/or linked to working class and or religious movements. When feminists again became active in the United States and the European countries after 1860, they focused on a more narrow range of issues – specifically voting rights and education.

The main point of *JOYOUS GREETINGS* – the existence of an international feminist movement between 1830 and 1860 makes a significant contribution to the history of feminism and feminist thought. Its publication coincided with Margaret McFadden's *GOLDEN CABLES OF SYMPATHY* but differs from that work in extending the roots of international feminism to earlier times and contexts. More significantly, Anderson conceptualizes the movement of the early nineteenth century as having a beginning and end and, therefore, possessing an identity distinct from one that emerged later and which, in Anderson's view, emphasized suffrage and more conservative goals than the earlier movement. This work also makes contributions to the historiography of feminism in giving emphasis to socialism, religion, and social reform as the ground from which feminism emerged; focusing on activism as an essential element of feminism (while at the same time valuing feminist writings); and making clear the broad agenda of issues in which early feminists were engaged.

From her in-depth exploration of the origins of feminism in different national contexts, Anderson presents the beginnings of a comparative history for this crucial period of feminism. While her interpretation emphasizes similarities and links between different national contexts, further work could build on this to get at deeper reasons why feminism emerged when and where it did and how it played itself out in the context of nationalism. Anderson also analyzes the language and ideas of the international feminists including their use of what she calls a "both/and" approach to the position of women in relation to men and social concerns. Several women in the study are shown to hold the belief that women are both equal to men and different



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from men and to use both positions in advancing their arguments and goals. They also used the same approach in claiming the need for both socialism and feminism.

This well-written and engaging study is based on extensive source materials, both published and unpublished, and informed by an impressive amount of secondary literature on the history of women and feminism. Anderson centers her research on the writings and activities of a core group of twenty women and another twenty she refers to as on the "periphery of the core group." Rather than a biographical approach, however, she develops a narrative focusing on chronology ("volcano time") and themes ("emancipating themselves"). At first this is somewhat confusing for the reader but cumulatively it enhances the main argument of the book in giving a clearer demonstration of the informality, spontaneity, and complexity of the interactions among women in association with their own countrywomen and those of other nations. In finding and using a large number of materials written by feminists in this study, Anderson was able to clearly demonstrate that sharing of ideas, strategies, and information took place by tracing references within publications by individual women to those in publications and/or correspondence of others.

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May 14: Friend [Abby Kelley](#) and four other delegates from the Lynn Female Society had come to Philadelphia to attend the 2nd Women's meeting, along with William Lloyd Garrison, Henry B. Stanton, [Henry C. Wright](#), and women from the Boston and New-York female societies. It would be at this meeting that Abby would address her first promiscuous audience, amid the shouts and stones shattering the glass windows from the pro-slavery mobs. On that basis Theodore Weld would decide to invite Abby to join the speaking circuit.

Although some had expected her to marry "a great strapping nigger" if she married at all, [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) married [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), an emphatic white abolitionist unsympathetic to the "non-resistance" cause, on the evening before the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women was to meet at the grand new Pennsylvania Hall.¹⁰⁸



One of Angelina's woman friends had said to her face that "no man would wish to have such a wife." (Surely, with friends like that, these people didn't need their enemies.) [Friend](#) Angelina omitted "obey" from her vow! For marrying a man who was not a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), she was of course disowned by her worship group. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and other Quakers decided not to be present at this wedding because had they been in attendance they likely would also have been disowned. Whittier solved the problem by waiting outside the door until the official part of the event was complete, so he could truthfully say he was not present for such a wedding ceremony. [Friend Abby](#), however, as always afraid of nothing, defied the discipline of her worship group, openly attending the entire ceremony, and in fact made herself the 1st woman to sign the traditional parchment certificate.

Though the Grimké sisters at first felt they had found their home in Quakerism, they later found there was "no openness among Friends" on the issue of working against enslavement. Biographer Gerda Lerner says that their "blind loyalty to the Quakers had turned into bitter disappointment." Their reception at meetings was increasingly "chilly" and they were no longer welcome in the homes of Quaker Friends. At the yearly meeting in 1836, presiding elder Jonathan Edwards stopped Sarah as she rose to speak. Sarah elected to use the incident as a "means of releasing" her "from those bonds which almost destroyed my mind." As the sisters expected, Angelina Grimké's 1838 marriage to Theodore Weld provided the pretext for disowning her, and her sister's membership was revoked for attending the ceremony.¹⁰⁹

108. This expensive new building dedicated to the right of freedom of speech had a pillared marble entry facing 6th Street, and provided offices and a "free produce" store from which vegetables grown by slave labor were excluded, in addition to its "great saloon" containing blue plush seating for 3,000 people and a platform with a blue damask sofa. The auditorium and offices and store were brilliantly lit with gas, a new innovation.

109. Page 91 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) presented a “humorous” poem in which he protested that his buddy Theodore was abandoning him “alone at the desolate shrine,” for he and Weld had once, apparently in bachelor playfulness, taken a joint solemn vow that they would never marry. It would certainly be unsubstantiated, however, and would probably be incorrect, that they had had a homosexual relationship. What is very much more probable is that Whittier, like Henry David Thoreau, never experienced sexual congress, even with members of the opposite sex. Thoreau was, we must admit, both small and unhandsome, and, although he confessed to abundant libido, may never really have had significant opportunity. Whittier, on the other hand, although he was tall and slender and striking and attracted many friends both male and female, in his private correspondence gives no particular indication of libido: “my heart is untouched — cold and motionless as a Jutland lake lighted up by the moonlight. I know that they are beautiful — very, but they are nothing to me.”

May 16: The tendency to see the very light-skinned [Robert Purvis](#) as white was a factor leading to one of the most shameful episodes in Philadelphia history: the burning by a mob of a new abolitionist meeting hall and a black orphanage. When a lawsuit would be brought against the city for not protecting the hall, something utterly surprising would come to light — part of the city’s defense would turn out to be that these abolitionists had brought on the riot themselves “by promoting promiscuous intermingling indoors and out of blacks and whites.” The evidence the city would present of this provocativeness would include the fact that a “white man” had been seen to offer his hand to a black woman as she was getting out of a carriage. Then the pair had strolled, outrageously, arm in arm, into the hall. The sight of such an outrage to public decency had inflamed the mob! Well, it would be belatedly understood, what the mob had seen had been the very light-skinned Purvis courteously assisting his wife, [Harriet Purvis](#), who was so many shades darker in complexion than he.¹¹⁰

Two black women (referred to as “two coloreds” in some depositions of the time) having been seated as delegates to an Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Pennsylvania Hall, the convention was



obviously not so much “promiscuous” (19th-Century term for the mixing of genders) as it was something far, far more dangerous to law order and public decency, “amalgamated” (19th-Century term for the mixed of races). William Lloyd Garrison, among others, addressed this amalgamated assembly. Notices were posted in Philadelphia asking all citizens with “due regard for property” to “interfere, forcefully if they must” in “preservation of the Constitution.”¹¹¹

May 17: Dr. Daniel Neall was presiding at the antislavery meeting in Pennsylvania Hall –which had been newly constructed by the abolitionists at a cost of \$40,000.⁰⁰ because of refusal of other hall owners in Philadelphia to rent existing halls– and Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was standing nearby, when glass from the windows showered down, and rioters forced their way onto the platform to declare that the meeting was over:

110. Imagine a comparable situation, that did not happen. Senator Daniel Webster was so dark-complected that on one occasion a commercial establishment turned him away, presuming that they were dealing with a black American. It was only because he was so very well known as an Alpha Male that this sort of incident did not happen more often. Imagine, what if some situation had arisen in which he had been sighted from a distance or under poor lighting conditions in downtown Boston with a daughter, and the result had been a riot and some theater had gotten burned to the ground! –Well, I guess Boston lucked out on that one, it never happened.

111. In the last session [Friend Abby Kelley](#) would urge that white abolitionists ought to be visiting black Americans “in their homes and encouraging them to visit us, receiving them as we do our white fellow citizens.” The reaction of some of the other white abolitionist delegates was that this sort of behavior might amount to the dreaded “amalgamationism” and therefore was certainly not going to be officially sponsored.



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I am here, the president of this meeting, and I will be torn in pieces before I leave my place at your dictation. Go back to those who sent you. I shall do my duty.



Some years after, while visiting in his native State of Delaware, the Doctor would be dragged from the home of some friends to be abused in the street. After these [slaveholders](#) were finished with him, he would tell them that he forgave them — for it was not they but Slavery which had done the wrong.¹¹²

He would suggest that if they should ever be in Philadelphia and in need of hospitality or aid, they should again call on him. Some years after that, on “6th, 6th month, 1846” to be specific, Friend John would celebrate this hero of gentlemanliness:

DANIEL NEALL.

I.

FRIEND of the Slave, and yet the friend of all;
Lover of peace, yet ever foremost when
The need of battling Freedom called for men
To plant the banner on the outer wall;
Gentle and kindly, ever at distress
Melted to more than woman's tenderness,
Yet firm and steadfast, at his duty's post
Fronting the violence of a maddened host,
Like some-gray rock from which the waves are tossed!
Knowing his deeds of love, men questioned not
The faith of one whose walk and word were right;
Who tranquilly in Life's great task-field wrought,
And, side by side with evil, scarcely caught
A stain upon his pilgrim garb of white:
Prompt to redress another's wrong, his own
Leaving to Time and Truth and Penitence alone.

II.

Such was our friend. Formed on the good old plan,
A true and brave and downright honest man!
He blew no trumpet in the market-place,
Nor in the church with hypocritic face
Supplied with cant the lack of Christian grace;
Loathing pretence, he did with cheerful will
What others talked of while their hands were still;
And, while “Lord, Lord!” the pious tyrants cried,
Who, in the poor, their Master crucified,

His daily prayer, far better understood.

112. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”



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In acts than words, was simply doing good.
So calm, so constant was his rectitude,
That by his loss alone we know its worth,
And feel how true a man has walked with us on earth.

As the delegates left Pennsylvania Hall after the mayor of Philadelphia had demanded the keys and canceled all meetings, at the suggestion of Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) the white women delegates took the arms of the black women delegates in order better to protect them from being grabbed as they passed through the pro-slavery mob of 17,000 Philadelphians outside the doors. Standing on the steps of the hall, the mayor gave his lightly coded instructions to the mob:

WE NEVER CALL OUT THE MILITARY. YOU ARE MY POLICE.

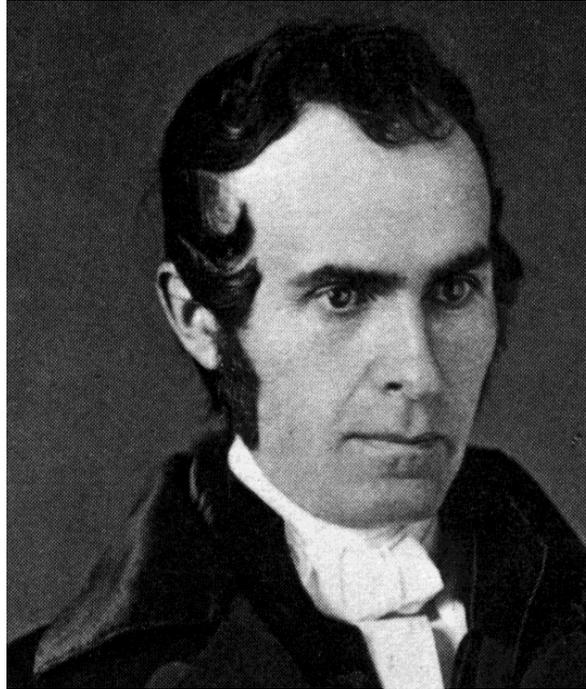
How hard was it for the Philadelphia citizens' mob to figure this? They gave their mayor three cheers and broke down the doors. In addition to piling the plush chairs and adding abolitionist books and papers to these piles, they turned on the illuminating gas to full on to help the building burn brightly.¹¹³ [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was running the newspaper office of the [Pennsylvania Freeman](#)¹¹⁴ in the front of the building, on an upper story.

I took charge of the "Pennsylvania Freeman," an organ of the Anti-Slavery Society. My office was sacked and burned by a mob soon after, but I continued my paper until my health failed, when I returned to Massachusetts. The farm in Haverhill had, in the meantime, been sold, and my mother, aunt and youngest sister, had moved to Amesbury MA, near the [Friends Meeting-house](#), and I took up my residence with them. All this time I had been actively engaged in writing for the anti-slavery cause.

113. About a decade later the Philadelphia County Commissioners would pay almost \$48,000.⁰⁰ in compensation for this torching of Pennsylvania Hall.

114. This is the periodical that, later, would publish UNCLE TOM'S CABIN as a serial.

As the hall burned, volunteer fire brigades pumped streams of water — upon the walls of the surrounding structures to keep them from igniting.



John Greenleaf¹¹⁵ Whittier

115. According to the [American Methodist Monthly](#), Volume II, page 229, [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was descended from a Fouillevert who had fled from Bretagne to England in the early states of the persecution of Huguenots by the French government.

Whittier slapped on a wig and an overcoat and managed to get into and out of the building during the commotion, while the building was burning, to retrieve some writings he considered of importance. Some citizens then wanted to continue by torching the home of the Motts, but a friend ran in front of them shouting “On to the Motts!” — and of course led them down the wrong street. While Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) sat unarmed in the parlor of their home, which was on 9th Street between Race and Vine (this was before the Motts moved to 338 Arch Street), waiting the outcome, he led the mob on up Race Street and farther and farther away from their home until it dissipated.



The rioters instead turned to burn down Bethel Church (AME) and a nearby Quaker-founded Colored Orphan Asylum (a structure not yet occupied).

Mrs. Mary Merrick Brooks of Concord had taken her step-daughter Caroline Downes Brooks to Philadelphia to attend the women’s antislavery convention in this hall. Caroline wrote from Philadelphia to her friend Elizabeth Prichard to describe the burning. During the late 1830s, presumably during this period, since Caroline was a Sunday school student in [Lidian Emerson](#)’s class at the First Parish, presumably Lidian would have had a chance to hear all about this event.

May 18: The anti-slavery women delegates, including [Robert Purvis](#)’s black 1st wife [Harriet Purvis](#), tried to continue their 2d antislavery convention of American women by meeting at the Temperance Hall in Philadelphia — but they were banned.

Summer: This year’s annual convention of the New England Anti-Slavery Society was the 1st to be held in the Marlborough Chapel, dedicated to “the cause of humanity and free discussion.” Boston’s proslavery mob couldn’t burn this hall down because it stood too close to the Marlborough Hotel. At the meeting, over the protests of a group of ministers of the gospel who were insisting that such a radical step would be “injurious to the cause of the slave,” through bringing their Society into general disrepute, it was decided to admit women to membership. Much of the convention’s time and attention would be consumed in infighting over whether these new female members would be permitted to participate on committees, in motions to dissolve committees that had a woman member, and in dealing with male members who found themselves unable to read aloud in public words that had been written by a female member. A minister pointed to ISAIAH 3:12 to prove that having WOMEN RULE was the ultimate debasement which a Christian society could undergo, and alleged that since a woman had helped to write the convention’s declaration and that since women had cast ballots, therefore “Women ruled the convention.”

[As for] my people, children [are] their oppressors, and women rule over them.
O my people, they which lead thee cause [thee] to err, and destroy the way of thy paths.



Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) sided with these ministers who considered women’s rights to be “an irrelevant topic.”

The [Christian Mirror](#) asked its male readers whether they would want their own wives to be shorn of their honor by allowing them to be “closeted in close consultation with two men, in the preparation of a public document?” Friend [James Mott](#), a husband not unreasonably afraid of his wife, reasonably commented that the overarching principle was “human rights” — and proceeded impolitely to draw the obvious parallel between, on the one hand, the northern gentleman abolitionist struggling for control over his wife, and, on the other, the southern slavemaster struggling to hold his slave property.

SLAVERY

July: Their monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends disowned](#) Friends [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and [Sarah Moore Grimké](#). The reason given for their disownment of Friend Angelina was that she had married a non-Quaker. The reason given for their disownment of Friend Emily was that she had attended her sister’s illicit wedding to a non-[Quaker](#). The sisters and [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) removed to Fort Lee, New Jersey, where the sisters would work in local petition campaigns.



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August 1, Wednesday: Completion of the process of emancipation of all slaves in the British West Indies under six years of age, and the binding of all other slaves there as apprentices for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by emancipation, which had begun on August 1, 1834 under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833. As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these black and red “slaves” had received some £20,000,000 in compensation.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”: Parliament was compelled to pass additional laws for the defence and security of the negro, and in ill humor at these acts, the great island of Jamaica, with a population of half a million, and 300,000 negroes, early in 1838, resolved to throw up the two remaining years of apprenticeship, and to emancipate absolutely on the 1st August, 1838. In British Guiana, in Dominica, the same resolution had been earlier taken with more good will; and the other islands fell into the measure; so that on the 1st August, 1838, the shackles dropped from every British slave. The accounts which we have from all parties, both from the planters, and those too who were originally most opposed to the measure, and from the new freemen, are of the most satisfactory kind. The manner in which the new festival was celebrated, brings tears to the eyes. The First of August, 1838, was observed in Jamaica as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. Sir Lionel Smith, the governor, writes to the British Ministry, “It is impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole laboring population manifested on that happy occasion. Though joy beamed on every countenance, it was throughout tempered with solemn thankfulness to God, and the churches and chapels were everywhere filled with these happy people in humble offering of praise.”

Therefore, [David Lee Child](#) had issued a handbill calling upon his neighbors in [Northampton](#) — to celebrate with him this freeing of the slaves of the British West Indies. On this morning he found a copy of his handbill nailed to his own door, with the word “persons” struck out and replaced by the word “NIGGERS.” Locally, support was stronger for the American Colonization Society, which believed that although blacks were inherently inferior and should forever be refused citizenship, “we” should find a way to kindly ship them all back where they came from — this sort of repulsive attitude represented, not the right nor the center, but the extreme far left of acceptable political opinion. As an expression of this sort of attitude toward race, even the town tax list itself was racially segregated, with the names and assessed taxes of black residents listed only after all names and assessments of white residents had been listed.

In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, there was an ad trumpeting a “commemoration of the anniversary of the abolishment of slavery in the British West Indies.” On that occasion, the Reverend Orange Scott addressed the group at the Methodist Chapel on Elm Street in Fairhaven; the meeting being sponsored by the Young Men’s Anti-Slavery Society.

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

4th day 1st of 8th M 1838 / We rode to [Portsmouth](#) & attended the Select Quarterly which was a time of Some favour tho’ the life was low in the forepart of it – Mary Shove opened the service in a short lively & I thought pertinent testimony – She was followed by John Meader powerfully & pertinently – & Elizabeth



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Wing in supplication

This buisness was gone thro' & pretty well conducted & some feeling remarks were made on the State of the Church on reading the Answers to the Queries. -

We dined at Susanna Hathaways after which we went down to the Farm where Uncle Stanton lived on a little buisness & then came home before dark. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 2, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 2nd of 8th M / Went again to [Portsmouth](#) & attended the Quarterly Meeting at large - Our Friend Thomas Anthony was favoured in an excellent & well adapted testimony followed by our dear Aged friend Benjamin Buffington whose voice seemed as much like a voice from Canaan as any I ever heard & was I believe the first time I ever heard him in a Public Quarterly Meeting - John Meader followed in testimony, but I ought to have mentioned that after T Anthony our beloved young brother Saml B Tobey appeared acceptably & pertinently to the feelings of Many present. -

The buisness of the last Meeting was well conducted - Our friend John Meader returned the certificate granted him sometime ago to perform religious visit in some parts of the State of Connecticut & also some parts of NYork -

Certificates were granted to John & Elizabeth Meader, to pay a religious visit in some parts of Pennsylvania, & to attend Baltimore Yearly Meeting. -

We dined at Stephen Chases & returned home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 3, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 3rd of 8th M 1838 / Took the Steam Boat this Mornig & went to [Providence](#), got there in season to attend the School committee - Several other conferences were also had of other committees from the Yearly Meeting & had a Meeting of the General Tract Society in the evening - It was a day of very close occupancy of time that at night I was pretty much exhausted - Lodged at the School House. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 4, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Took breakfast at Jon Congdons - Attended the Meeting for Sufferings, & an adjournment of the Trustees of O Browns Fund - Dined at Dr Tobey's & spent the Afternoon in attending to a little buisness & calling on some of my old friends. At 5 OC took the Steam Boat Massachusetts & came home, having a pleasant & interesting passage down the river, a number of my friends & acquaintances being on board, & among others my brother Isaac & wife who left home this morning she having spent the day with her relations in [Providence](#) & he in Boston, returning in season to take the Steam boat home with his wife -this was rapid traveling & would not have been credited in less time than 30



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Years ago. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5th of 8th M 1838 / Our Meetings were both Silent but very solid good seasons – We have in Town several Philadelphians members of Society who attend Meetings - The solid sitting of some of them is very satisfactory & their presence in our Meetings feels helpful - I particularly esteem Marmaduke Cope & wife & Henry Longstreth there are divers others whom I am not so well acquainted with, but I love to see them come to Meeting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 9, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 9 of 8th M / Our Meeting was small but a pretty solid & very quiet season. Father Rodman was at Meeting, the first he has attended in several Weeks & had a few words to offer – It is a privilege to set down with our friends in solemn silence & labour for the arisings of Divine life in the soul, & though the seed seemed to lay low, it seemed to me our Meeting was not in vain. -7th day 11th of 8th M / This morning by the Steam Boat, Clarke Shove & several others returned from Saratoga Springs who were there at the death of Charles Jenkins & attended his funeral – I did not see them being out when they called at our house. The account they left with my Wife of Charles removal, renew'd the feelings I had when I first received the Intelligence - He died on 1st day the 29th of 7th Month In the 21st year of his Age & was interred on 3rd day the 31st After a Solemn meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 12, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12th of 8 M 1838 / Our meetings today were both Silent, but solid good Seasons. – I hope we shall not all perish for want of food, there is that to be met with & experienced in solemn Silence which norishes the soul & Oh that we may find a true place of waiting whereby the true seed & the kingdom may be witnessed – I feel, I do solemnly feel of sitting at the head of such a Meeting as ours, which tho' far smaller than it was long since my remembrance is nevertheless what may now be called a large Meeting - often mixed with those who are looking for words, & I have often been surprised to find, how much solemnity & quiet is spread over us & seems to reach even those who are unacquainted with our mode of Worship. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 15, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 15th of 8th M / Polly McClish who lived in this house with Aunt Nancy Carpenter, has for sometime been expecting to go to NYork to live with her son & the time has now come when she expects to leave, having remained with us since Aunt Nancys decease - By her Will she gave Polly a Legacy of \$100 & various Articles of house hold furniture - I have this day Paid her the Money & taken her receipt for the whole bequest, which is a



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considerable weight from my mind

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 16, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 16th of 8 M 1838 / Our meeting was unusually small, a number who usually attend were absent & I hope it was necessarily, or rather justifiably so – I know there are occasions which justify absence from Meeting but it certainly is our duty to guard against their occurrence & to do all diligence to let our light shine that, those disposed may take no advantage of our example – We Sat in Silence – Father is increasingly unwell & whether it will ever be, that he sits with us again, is uncertain. I visited him this Afternoon & found him very poorly, & his infirmity & weakness increasing upon him. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 19, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 19th of 8th M 1838 / We had a comfortable silent Meeting this Morning – In the Afternoon Eliza Chase had a short offering, which savored with me & it seems to me that both our Meetings today were solemn favoured seasons – certainly many come & sit with us who do not appear to be desirous of Words, but know the value of true silence
I felt so much for a young man (JW) who is generally in attendance with us on 1st days that I felt disposed to speak with him after Meeting & encourage him to hold on his way & that tho' his outward vision was dim being nearly blind from his birth, Yet I told him I believe that thro' the Power of Truth his inward sight might be made clear, so that he might walk & not stumble –he received my remarks with much feeling, & I was glad I attended to this little pointing of duty*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 8th M / Our Meeting was small, but comfortable & good – a number was absent in consequence of Sickness either of themselves or families & some were our of Town. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 26, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 26th of 8th M / Our Meetings were both rather small, but solid & good Seasons. & it seemed to me the Solemnity was rather remarkably over the Morning – NO preaching – At the close in the Morning the funeral of Lydia Cornell was spoken of to be from the House of her Husband Walter Cornell in [Portsmouth](#) tomorrow at 1 OC at the house to proceed to this Town & the remains to be interred in Friends burying ground Near the Meeting house
Father Rodman continues very feeble & low – Sits up but a few Minutes at a time & Seems to be gradually sinking – He said today I know it is an Awful thing to Die but I am willing to go whenever it please the Lord to take me. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 27, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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2nd day 8th M 27 1838 / This Afternoon the remains of Lydia Cornell were brought from [Portsmouth](#) to [Newport](#) & inter'd in Friends burying ground on the South side of her Sister Sally Slocum & in the row where her Father & Mother John & Elizabeth Hadwin were interd, which is in the burying grong Near our Meeting House She was Aged 62 Years 8 Months & 12 day [Monday]s

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 29, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 8th M 29 1838 / Information came to Town this Morning of the decease of our Friend Benjamin Mott, after he had eaten his breakfast & walked out round the door soon [he] came in leaning his head on a Chair Died immediately - A solemn Warning to all He was an Elder in Society & had been very useful. It seemed as if his concern for Truth & the Welfare of our Society, as the last time I was at his house he expressed much anxiety for its welfare & particularly that Ancient Quakerism should be supported adverting to Seasons of Early life when his mind had been affected by that spirit which visits the Youthful Mind. he particualry spoke of family opportunities which his Father Jacob Mott used to encourage & spent the time in sitting solidly together & in reading the Scriptures & writings of Friends he was Aged 80 Years 7 Months & two Days This Afternoon Nephew Thos D Rodman set some time with us & took tea, his visit was truly interesting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 30, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8 M 30th 1838 / Today is our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held at [Portsmouth](#). I was unable to attend it, & consequently my wife did not go - I have had many callers in a friendly way & some of them interesting tho' I have felt quite feeble - In the Afternoon Cousiin Henry Gould called & informed me they had a good Moy [Monthly] Meeting that Mary Hicks appeared in Supplication & that our frd Benj. Buffungton from Fall River was there & was favourd in a lively testimony - he said also things went well in the last Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 31, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 8th M 31st 1838 / Today Our friend Benjamin Mott was intered in the burying ground at our Meeting House in [Portsmouth](#) He was in the 81 Year of his Age - He was son of Jacob Mott & Hannah his wife & the last Male of a long & Noble line of Ancestors who have been ornaments in our Monthly Meeting on [Rhode Island](#) from its commencement - & tho' he is the last of much standing being himself an Elder in society - yet there is some reason to hope the respectability will or may not, be lost in his son Jacob & his family who I hope may come up in the line of usefulness - And altho' Benjamin has not appeared to be so deeply baptized as some of his predecessors, yet he has been concerned for the welfare of our Socirty & that the principles of it may be kept pure as professed by the primitive [Quakers](#) - This he manifested



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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

on various occasions, particularly to me when I returned with my wife to his House after our Select Meeting 18th of 7th M last when we had an interesting visit at his house - He was out at Meeting Several times afterwards & attended our Qry Meeting held at Portsmouth 4th & 5th of this Month & the Morning he died he went out & walked round his House attending to some little buisness, on returning to his house went in & set down on which he family perceived him to be in some difficulty & went to him, but found him quite gone before they could lay him on a Couch which stood handy - I have no doubt his last days were his best days & that his end was in Peace. -

Sister E R Nichols & Br D Rodman arrived last evening from Salem & Lynn on a visit To Fathebr Rodman, who is evidently wearing out & sinking fast

This evening Br David called to see us we were glad to see him. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 14, Friday: In the morning the [Harvard College](#) tutor in Greek, [Jones Very](#), began to inform his classes of his divine inspiration: “Flee to the mountains, for the end of all things is at hand.”¹¹⁶ According to a letter of a student, which had been posted to the student’s family **before** [Very](#)’s announcement of his inspiration:

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

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

Later that day Very delivered an unscheduled address to the debating club at the [Divinity School](#), pointing out to them that while they were merely doing their own wills, he himself was “no longer a man.” It was the Holy Spirit which spoke to him and through him, and he was merely passing on what was being imparted to him, which was “eternal truth” insofar as he had become convinced that he was at least temporarily able to transmit it without altering it in any way.¹¹⁷ That night one of the students who had been present at several of Very’s outbursts wrote in his diary that it was “very much as [Geo Fox](#) is represented to have done, and to have very similar views.” On the evening of the 14th, also, President Josiah Quincy, Sr. appeared at the dormitory room of Charles Stearns Wheeler to ask that he immediately assume responsibility for Very’s classes in Greek, and

116. Presumably this was a reference to the White Mountains in which [Very](#) had recently vacationed. No, maybe it was “flee to the mountain” that Very had hollered, and maybe it was a reference to the vicinity of solitary Mount Monadnock, which was closer than New Hampshire and at which the Narragansetts had taken refuge during the race riot known as “King Philip’s War.” Well, whatever.
117. Recent research into this Joan of Arc phenomenon suggests that it has something to do with unconscious “subvocalization,” in which the muscles of the voicebox exercise themselves without the blast of air which produces audible speech and in which the patient, instead of disregarding this phenomenon, for purpose of achieving a higher social status or for purpose of becoming the center of attention attempts to interpret what he or she is perceiving and ascribes it as a communication from holy authority.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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to describe Very as being in a state of “nervous collapse.”



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



Henry Thoreau advertised in the Concord Freeman, announcing the second term of the Concord Academy.

Concord Academy.
THE SUBSCRIBER opened his school for the reception of a limited number of pupils, of both sexes, on Monday, September the tenth. Instruction will be given in the usual English branches, and the studies preparatory to a collegiate course.
Terms—Six dollars per quarter.
HENRY D. THOREAU, Instructor.
Referees. { Hon. SAM’L HOAR.
 Hon. NATHAN BROOKS.
 Hon. JOHN KEYES.
 Rev. R. W. EMERSON.
 Concord, September, 14, 1838. [45]



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

September 18, Tuesday: 160 delegates attended the Peace Convention in the Marlboro Chapel of Boston.



This meeting creating the New England Non-Resistance Society is notable not only for creating a chain of influence that extends down through [Lev Nikolævich Tolstôy](#) and [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) and the Reverend [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) to us,¹¹⁸ but also for a feminist “first”: William Lloyd Garrison uttered, from the platform, the new locution “his or her” — a locution deliberately designed to de-privilege the male as the normative specimen of the human being.

There was a smile on the countenance of many abolition friends while others in the Convention looked grave.

However, the smiles lasted longer than the grave looks: immediately that [Friend Abby Kelley](#) called a minister to order for speaking out of turn, the “woman-contemners” marched out of the meeting.

Garrison wrote the “Declaration of Sentiments” for this assembly:



We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government.... Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind.... As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.... While we shall adhere to the doctrines of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose to speak and act boldly in the cause of God, to assail iniquity in high places.... It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society respecting the sinfulness of war, and the treatment of our enemies.

118. Although the society put out a bimonthly publication named [The Non-Resistant](#) (until 1842), public newspapers quickly characterized this un-Christian attitude of nonresistance to evil as “No-Governmentism.”



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25 of the 160 delegates were able to commit their lives to the principle that

evil can be exterminated from the earth only by good; that it is not safe to rely on an arm of flesh, -upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils- ...we shall submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel, and in no wise resist the operation of law, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no wise resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.



September 19, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th da 19 of 9th M 1838 / Today I Mailed a letter to Br David Rodman giving some account of Fathers last Moments &c. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

September 20, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20th of 9th M 1838 / Our Meeting today was small, & silent, but to me a season of feeling - I could but reflect that we should never see Father Rodman in his seat again, & how poorly it was now to be occupied - We are now reduced to three who are to Sit at the head of the Meeting & Oh the weight & responsibility which devolved upon us - Our poor Society what is it coming to - I can but feel a hope it will be sustained - that the Great Shepherd of the Flock will extend his gathering Crook & feed his tender lambs - But Oh the weakness which surrounds us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 24, Monday: Miss [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) wrote to [Waldo Emerson](#) in regard to the situation of [Jones Very](#):

... I have feared insanity before. – I thought (at the time) that the visit to Groton showed it. – These impulses from above I think are never sound minded – the insanity of [Quakers](#) – (which is very frequent under my observation) always grows out of it – or rather begins in it.



1839

[Mary Howitt](#)'s HYMNS AND FIRESIDE VERSES.

[Luke Howard](#)'s MEMORANDA OF RACHEL HOWARD, IN 3 PARTS (London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1839). It has to do with his daughter Rachel Howard who had died at Tottenham, the 24th of 9th month, 1837, age 37.

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is something that was announced in this year at the Somerset monthly meeting:

S.W. has neglected the attendance of our religious meetings and attended those of the [Hicksite](#) [HICKSITES](#); and having been treated with therefor, manifested no desire to retain her right of membership with friends. We therefore disown her from being a member of our religious society.¹¹⁹

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Anonymous publication of [Elizur Wright, Junior](#)'s small volume [LA FONTAINE](#); A PRESENT FOR THE YOUNG.

In this year in which in England [Friend Joseph Sturge](#) was founding the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and in which in America John A. Collins was becoming general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for some reason abolitionism simply was not prospering. Those whites who had an economic investment in or social interest in or libidinal involvement in human enslavement were proving to be quite immune to, merely hardened and angered by, all the relentless propaganda. The initial idea, that first the abolitionists would convince the institutions of the North to be righteous, and then the North would bring righteous pressure on the South, had proved in application to be utterly disconnected from the reality of our condition. For instance, in eight years of agitation not a single one of the white religious denominations had separated into a northern sect opposed to human enslavement and a southern sect in favor of human enslavement, despite the standoff between their northern white congregations and their southern white congregations over this issue. Although there had been a few anti-enslavement advocates positioned in the US House of Representatives, there had also been enacted a very specific gag rule to silence them on this one central topic. The ideological and emotional commitment of a number of leaders in the struggle against practices of human enslavement, however, the ones whom I am here terming "pragmatics," was that American democracy was basically sound, and that the flaws in American character that had led to this enslavement situation were minor and isolated flaws. A few agreements, a few insights, a few changes in the rules, and the institutions supporting the practice of human enslavement would crumble. There was no need to tamper with

119. Somerset Monthly Meeting (Ohio Yearly Meeting), Minutes.

anyone's soul. Examples of this attitude were:

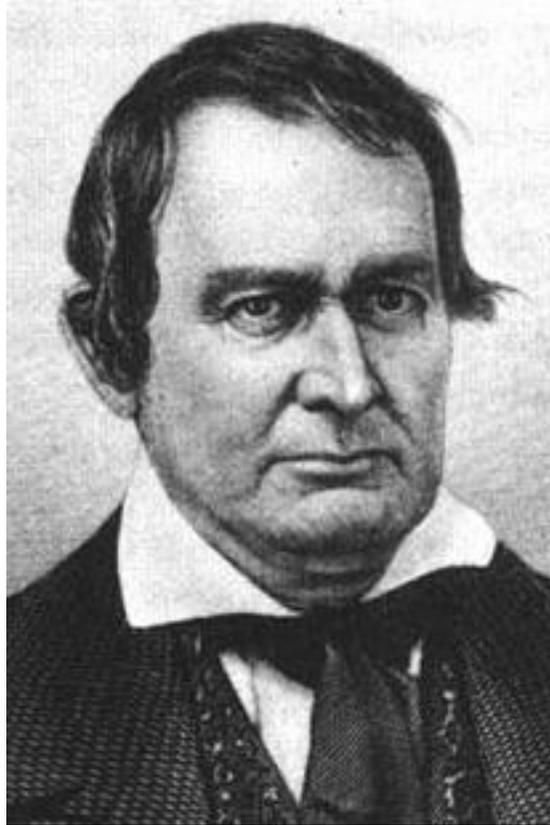
- [Elizur Wright, Jr.](#)
- Henry Brewster Stanton
- James Gillespie Birney (who wanted to establish a third political party, the "Liberty" party, which would be antislavery, and compete directly in the political process, making deals and peddling influence like the Republicans/Democrats of that era)



In this year Gerrit Smith condemned his denomination, Presbyterianism, for its failure to denounce slavery, yet when it was proposed to him that young black men be trained in Canada and Mexico and sent into the slave

states to lead revolts, he rejected that plan.

SERVILE INSURRECTION



Then there were the Garrisonians. The struggle between the two abolitionist psychologies, like the struggle between the Orthodox or Evangelical [Quakers](#) and the [Hicksites](#), was a struggle that can readily be described in terms of a binary split over a single issue. Previous analyzers of the split have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who wanted to mix anti-slavery with the “confounded woman question” and those who wanted to keep such issues in separate compartments, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis, or have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who embraced the principle of non-resistance to evil and those who regarded this principle as the pinnacle of wickedness, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis. Some have suggested that the split was not binary, that the struggle was between those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “pragmatics,” and those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “strugglers” and as “Come-outers.”

These are not the analyses that I favor. In this “Kouroo” contexture, you will find, the analysis that I have favored is that of a binary split between, on the one hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of racial integration, “amalgamation” as it was then called, in which all God’s children could live together on God’s holy mountain (these people known as “Hicksites,” a type case of this being Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)), and, on the other hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of apartheid, of racial segregation, of Jim Crow, in which we were equal, more or less, but existed separately (these people known as “Quietist Friends,” and as “Orthodox Friends,” and as “Evangelical Friends,” a type case of this being Friend [Moses Brown](#)).

Spring: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) visited Boston for the 1st anniversary meeting of the Non-Resistance Society.

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

April: The [disowned](#) American [Quaker Sarah Moore Grimké](#) authored a statement for distribution among [Friends](#) in England, about the racial discrimination that existed within monthly meetings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the United States of America, “Society of Friends in the United States, Their Views of the Anti-Slavery Question, and Treatment of People of Color.”¹²⁰



(In the previous year Friend William Bassett of Lynn, Massachusetts had spoken out against racially segregated seating, which is to say, Negro lofts such as the one in the meetinghouse in Saylesville, Rhode Island, in Friends meetinghouses. When Friend Sarah asked Sarah Douglass to contribute to the writing of this material by describing incidents that had occurred in her personal experience, she was warned that it would be counterproductive to name names, because “I believe Friends in this country as a body are given over to a reprobate mind.” Friend Sarah persisted, however, and her first draft amounted to a letter to Elizabeth Pease on this subject bearing the date April 10, 1839, “Letter on the Subject of Prejudice against Colour amongst the Society of Friends in the United States.”¹²¹ In the following year, in a speech to the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, Friend [Arnold Buffum](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would charge that a woman had been denied membership in the Society of Friends in Philadelphia because she was black, and it would seem that in all likelihood he was making reference to Sarah Douglass’s account of how her mother had been encouraged not to apply for membership. In this speech Friend Arnold indicated that the practice of asking blacks to sit aside, in special seats, still was continuing among American Friends.)

120. This would be printed in Darlington, England in the following year, but not distributed. A copy is in the Quaker Collection at the Haverford College Library.

121. It is said that this letter can be examined among the Anti-Slavery Papers at the Boston Public Library.

HDT

WHAT?

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April: During this month, at a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the struggle between the black pragmatist wing and the white Garrisonian wing of the antislavery movement –those who believed the changing the laws of enslavement would correct the situation, almost all black women, versus those who believed that enslavement was engraved in the American soul and that only the most diligent long-term soul searching and self-rectification could correct such baseness, almost all white women– came to the flash point. The black pragmatist forces took control of the society by a series of protested close votes in which it is quite clear that they were falsifying vote counts. When a white member called out from the floor “I doubt the vote,” the pragmatist who had just been “elected” commented “Then you may doubt it till the day of your death.” They announced that they had won and then adjourned, and the Garrisonians were reduced to publishing lists of membership names and affidavits of voting in order to demonstrate to the general public that the vote counts had been falsified. For instance, to refute the claim of the pragmatists that only 65 had opposed their slate of candidates, the Liberator printed a statement signed by 78 members, that they had voted against the pragmatists. But the pragmatists were firmly in control, and at the next meeting the “duly elected” officials simply ruled in their own favor. Then, at the April 1840 meeting, at which they referred to the white Garrisonians as “the ladies of the minority,” they moved and seconded a motion that their society be dissolved, held a quick poll which they claimed to be in the affirmative, and the presiding officer immediately declared “I pronounce the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society dissolved.” Better there be no antislavery society, than that it be run by a bunch of white people who were going to struggle with their souls. Nevertheless, three days later the Garrisonians met and reconstituted the society. “We go forward joyfully in the holy work of abolishing slavery,” the white women declared. The pragmatists issued appeals for support to Philadelphia and to England, but the reply from Philadelphia was signed by [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and she gave them precious little credibility, referring to them as “high-handed.” This whole history is of great interest because it is clear that Thoreau’s attitude toward the antislavery issue, that like charity the task of correcting souls was a task that always began at home, was in line with the Garrisonians and in opposition to the pragmatists, despite the fact that the great majority of the pragmatists were black¹²² and virtually all the Garrisonians white. As one interesting aside, in the publications of the day no mention whatever was made of the fact that the split in the society was fundamentally a split between black and white. As another interesting aside, the black pragmatists who attempted to ruin the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society did not have the support of their own community in Boston, which overwhelmingly supported William Lloyd Garrison –that man who so frequently heard the taunting shout “white nigger” on the street– and in fact had used a “pocket veto” on 26 applications for membership from black women in the Boston community who would probably have supported the white Garrisonian wing in this controversy rather than settle for a pragmatic “win” that would,

122. Well, two of these people were identifying themselves as black women at that point, although later in their lives they identified themselves as white women — and I do subscribe to the principle that it is up to the person directly implicated, rather than to the official personages of and dominant strangers of a society, to create the definition of what that person is. I don’t, myself, want to “sex or second-guess” anyone.

because it did not try anyone's soul, have merely perpetuated the problems of racial discrimination and racial prejudice.

Also, at this April 1839 annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Henry Brewster Stanton confronted William Lloyd Garrison with

"Mr. Garrison! do you or do you not believe it is a sin to go to the polls?"

to which Garrison responded:

"Sin for me."



A general vote of the society, including the women members, produced 180 votes that abolitionists would not be required to take part in the political process and to vote in political elections, versus 24 that abolitionists could not be members unless they were willing to vote in political elections. Stanton, James Gillespie Birney, etc., defeated, then resigned from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.





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August 1: [Waldo Emerson](#) reported that “Last night came to me a beautiful poem from Henry Thoreau, ‘Sympathy.’ The purest strain & the loftiest, I think, that has yet pealed from this unpoetic American forest.”

COMMENTARY:

[I am going to include several pages of commentary here, because the above was the poem that would become the controversial “To a Gentle Boy.”]

There’ve been Gay Pride parades in which posters of Henry Thoreau have been proudly carried. The evidence that he was gay was that he wrote a poem to one of his students, the little brother of the girl to whom he proposed marriage, and from the circumstance that after she turned him down he never did marry. Let us go into this in order to see that it is a simpleminded and as wrong as the idea of long standing, that Thoreau had no sense of humor. This is going to be a bit complicated, so pay attention. [William Sewell](#) [[Willem Séwel Amsterdammer](#)] published THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS in English as a corrective to Gerard Croese’s HISTORY OF QUAKERISM.¹²³ The records of the Salem library show that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) used their edition of this book for a week in 1828 and a month in 1829. The book recounted the activities of some of his ancestors, such as his great-great-grandfather William Hathorne (1607-1681) who sailed on the *Arbella* in 1630, settling in Dorchester in New England and then moving to Salem, who served at the rank of major in wars against the Americans, who became a magistrate and judge of the Puritans, and who had one Anne Coleman whipped out of the town of Salem for being a [Quaker](#):

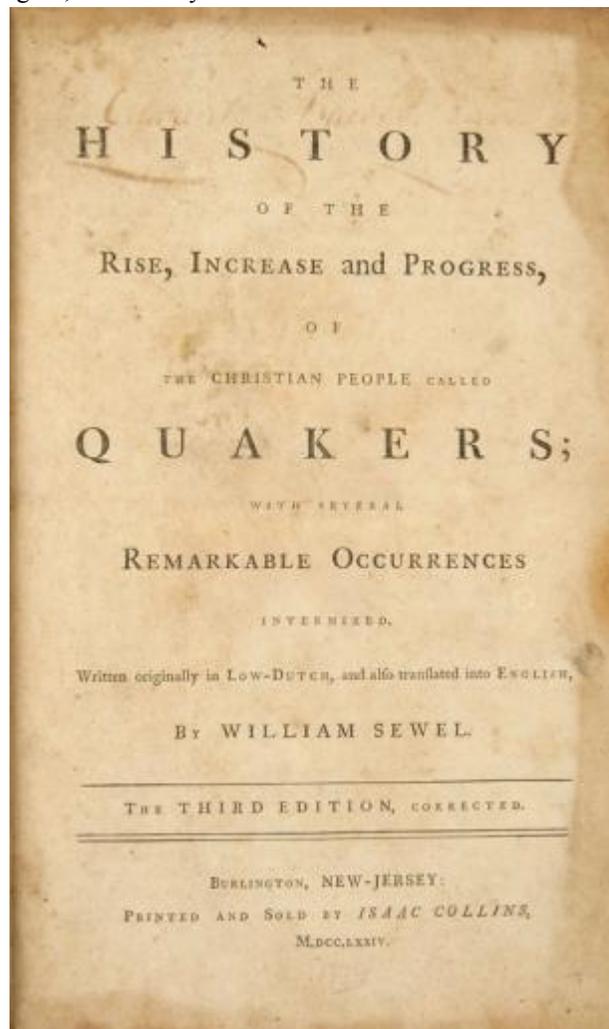
...naked from the waist upward, and bound to the tail of a cart, is dragged through the Main-street at the pace of a brisk walk, while the constable follows with a whip of knotted cords. A strong-armed fellow is that constable; and each time that he flourishes his lash in the air, you see a frown wrinkling and twisting his brow, and, at the same instant, a smile upon his lips. He loves his business, faithful officer that he is, and puts his soul into every stroke, zealous to fulfill the injunction of Major Hawthorne’s warrant, in the spirit and to the letter. There came down a stroke that has drawn blood! Ten such stripes are to be given in Salem, ten in Boston, and ten in Dedham; and, with those thirty stripes of blood upon her, she is to be driven into the forest.... Heaven grant that, as the rain of so many years has wept upon it, time after time, and washed it all away, so there may have been a dew of mercy, to cleanse this cruel blood-stain out of the record of the persecutor’s life!



And such as William’s son John Hathorne (1641-1717), a chip off the old block, a colonel in the Massachusetts militia and a deputy to the General Court in Boston who was a magistrate during the Salem witch episode which featured one person being tortured to death and nineteen [hanged](#). [Hawthorne](#) was much stimulated by the blood curse that Sarah Good had placed on her executioners, “God will give you Blood to drink.” His tale



123. [William Sewell](#). THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED [QUAKERS](#); WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY WILLIAM SEWEL. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED. The title varies slightly from edition to edition (1722, 1725, 1728, 1774, 1776, 1811, 1844), for instance ...WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, and WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH, Baker & Crane, No. 158 Pearl-Street, New-York. The author's name was, according to Alexander Chalmers's GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of 1812-1817, Volume 27, page 361, a recognized variant of "Sewell": there was a Henry Sewall who spelled his name also as Sewell and Seawell, and there was a loyalist "Sewall" who changed the family name to "Sewell" in London in order to confuse the American authorities and better protect his children in America –and his American properties– after being proscribed. Among recorded immigrants, the "United States Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations" show a proportion of 1 Sewel, 11 Sewalls, and 30 Sewells. Henry Thoreau first encountered this book in this 1774 third edition prepared and sold by Isaac Collins of Burlington, New-Jersey:



[HISTORY OF THE ... PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS](#)

“The Gentle Boy” of 1831 made reference to this history.



Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of the ages.

This was [Hawthorne](#) in 1840, according to a portrait painter, Samuel Stillman Osgood:



“The Gentle Boy” was published anonymously in a gift annual of The Token magazine in 1831, and then republished under Hawthorne’s name as a part of TWICE-TOLD TALES in 1832 and 1837 after deletion of the detail that, in being attacked by a gang of vicious Puritan children, the gentle [Quaker](#) boy had been struck in “a tender part.” The book THE GENTLE BOY: A TWICE-TOLD TALE, when published in 1839, was dedicated to [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) (to become [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)), some of whose ancestors are also in Sewel’s history, and included a drawing by her. Printing was interrupted briefly to make the boy’s countenance more gentle in the engraved version of the drawing.

In 1842 [Nathaniel](#) and Sophia Peabody got married and moved to Concord, where Henry Thoreau had just prepared for them a large garden. Although Hawthorne was vague on the spelling of Thoreau’s name, and his bride thought Thoreau repulsively ugly, Thoreau visited them several times in the Old Manse where [Waldo Emerson](#) had penned “Nature,” and for \$7.⁰⁰ sold them the boat he and his brother had used on their famous trip – so that they could row out and pluck pond lilies. Although Thoreau read little fiction, he could not have been unaware of their newly republished “Gentle Boy” story, at least by its title.

With this background, we can now consider the gay speculation about the poem Thoreau wrote to his pupil Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr., “Once there was a gentle boy.” Is this poem’s emphasis on the nonmasculine characteristics of a young boy to be interpreted as evidence of a homoerotic longing on Thoreau’s part, or, since the age of eleven is not the age of sexual maturity, interpreted as evidence of an incipient pederasty? No, because the poem’s use of “gentle boy” might well have been a deliberate tie-in to the Hawthorne story. We must ask, what might have been the motivation for calling this particular story to Edmund’s attention? There are several reasons having nothing to do with sexuality or with Henry Thoreau’s personal needs. The nonviolent [Quaker](#) boy in the story is treated with utter viciousness by a gang of local Puritan children, and in particular by one boy whom he had nursed with kindness and attention during an illness. Was Edmund, a visitor in Concord, having trouble being accepted by some of the local children in Thoreau’s school? This historian [William Sewell](#) referred to by [Hawthorne](#), was he one of Edmund’s ancestors? ¹²⁴ Were some of the people described in that history Sewall ancestors, as some were Ha(w)thorne ancestors and some Peabody ancestors? If so, the Thoreau family would surely have been aware of it, since they had known intimately at least three generations of the Sewall family starting with Mrs. Joseph Ward, Cynthia Thoreau’s star boarder, the widow of a colonel in the American revolutionary army, the mother of Caroline Ward who in turn was the



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mother of Ellen Devereux Sewall and Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.

Hawthorne's story is of a boy in an adoptive family, a "little quiet, lovely boy" who is heartsick for his parents. In the tale, in the face of the most extreme religious persecution of Friends by Puritans, the boy's birth mother had violated her "duties of the present life" by "fixing her attention wholly on" her future life: she left her child with this Puritan family to venture on a "mistaken errand" of "unbridled fanaticism." That is, after being whipped out of town by the Puritans, she followed a spirit leading to become a traveling Friend. At the end, the boy's mother returns to him.

[Hawthorne](#)'s tale involves the hanging of an innocent person. Would this have been of interest to Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.? Yes, for a Sewall was involved in the hanging of the nineteen witches in Salem on September 22, 1692. This Samuel Sewall was a lifelong bigot (he once refused to sell a plot of land because the bidders wanted to build a church, and they were Protestants but not of his own denomination) but he was worse than a bigot: not only did he hang women for being in league with the devil, he helped condemn and hang one of his Harvard peers, the Reverend George Burrough –whom he had once heard preach on the Sermon on the Mount– for being in league with the devil. It was an interesting period, a period in which one could lose control of oneself and cry out during the Puritan service, and be suspected of having acquired a taint of [Quakerism](#), and be placed in great personal danger. And that was an interesting day, August 16, 1692: an arresting officer for the court, one John Willard, was "cried out upon" for doubting the guilt of the accused, and was hanged beside the Reverend Burrough. We find this in Sewall's diary:



Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

A few years later, after some bad events in his family, Samuel suffered pangs of conscience: a public fast was declared for January 14, 1697 and he stood in Old South Church in Boston while the minister read a statement that the Sewall family had been cursed of God because of the trials, and that he took "the Blame and shame" upon himself. The twelve jurors were in attendance to acknowledge that they had "unwittingly and unwillingly" brought "upon ourselves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood."

This Puritan's son, the Reverend Joseph Sewall, was the father of Samuel Sewall, who was the father of Samuel Sewall, Jr., who was the father of the Reverend Edmund Quincy Sewall, Sr., who was of course Master Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.'s father. It is an interesting question, how a teacher can help a young man like this venture into his manhood, after the decency of manliness has been utterly destroyed as an option for him in such a manner, by the indecency of a male ancestor. I would suggest that teacher Henry Thoreau's tactic – to emphasize to this lad Edmund the nominally feminine virtue of gentleness by providing him with a poem into which to grow – constitutes a legitimate and even profound maneuver on extremely difficult terrain. I would suggest, in addition, that those who seek to appropriate Thoreau by interpreting this "Once there was a gentle boy" poem as evidence of an unconscious erotic impulse are, in effect, debasing him. Debasing him not by

124. According to Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges's 1988 *A DICTIONARY OF SURNAMES* (Oxford UP), "Sewall" is a variant of "Sewell," which can be from the Old English "Sigeweald," meaning government by right of conquest, or "Sœweald" [œ with over it], meaning rule over the sea – an appropriate name for a family that included some wealthy shipbuilders in Maine! The same dictionary of surnames denies Thoreau's derivation of his name from Thor, the god of lightning, giving "Thoreau," "Thoret," "Thoré," and "Thorez" as variants of "Thorel," a nickname for a strong or violent individual (like Uncle "J.C." [Charles Jones Dunbar](#)!), from the Old French "t(h)or(el)" meaning bull. However, this dictionary allows that the name may also have originated in a diminutive of an aphetic short form of the given name "Maturin," or that it may be from a medieval given name which was an aphetic short form of various names such as "Victor" and "Salvador" ("Salvador" is equivalent to the Hebrew "Yehoshua"), or that it may be related to an Italian/Spanish nickname for a lusty person, or metonymic occupational name for a tender of bulls: "Toro!" (Now going to a bullfight in Spain and rooting for the bull, something I had the opportunity to do when I was a teenager, couldn't be the same for me.)

accusing him of homosexuality – for it is not base to be gay – but by interpreting a complex and difficult situation in a manner that is merely simpleminded and doctrinaire. I want to emphasize the open-endedness of the questions involved: was Edmund, the new boy in town, having the sort of trouble with his peers that would have caused him to be in the situation of the gentle boy in the [Hawthorne](#) tale – ganged up against, beaten as a sissy? The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester has preserved pages of Edmund’s Concord journal that may contain an answer. And what exactly was the perception of a blood guilt and an inherited shame among the Sewels and Sewells and Sewalls? We should be led by this story, not into considerations of eroticism among 19th-Century virgins (which would be a mere shallow –not demeaning, surely, but surely both appropriative and dismissive– sidetrack) but into a full consideration of how a compassionate and concerned teacher like Henry Thoreau can help a young male pupil grow to maturity even in a situation in which the option “manhood” has for this pupil been virtually eliminated – by the foul deed and foul mind of a Samuel Sewall, his blood ancestor.

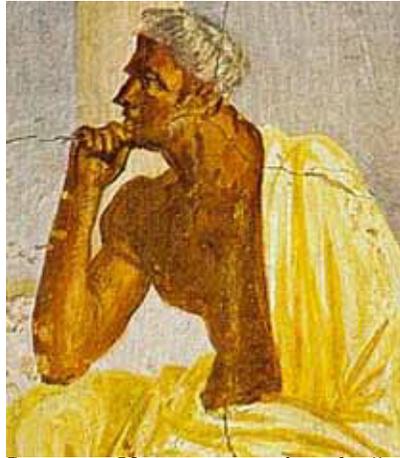


We need to begin to take into account various of the cultural influences upon Thoreau which we have not previously been considering due to the fact that few people read the dead languages anymore. There’s quite a body of ancient evidence to indicate that the poet [Virgil](#) may well have been by inclination a pederast, and the scholar S. Lilja confirms that Virgil’s apparent sexual persona does inform a great deal of his poetry, including of course his AENEID. If one refers to John F. Makowski’s “Nisus and Euryalus: a Platonic Relationship,” in



Classical Journal (1985) 1-15, and also to J. Griffin's LATIN POETS AND ROMAN LIFE, one finds that:

- In Virgil's autobiographical poetry of the *Catalepton*, poems 5 and 7, in which he sings of Sextus his *cura curarum* and of the boy aptly named Pothos, poems for the authenticity of which Buechler and Richmond indicate that there is now strong consensus, Thoreau could have read of a sexuality seems to have been grounded in life experience rather than merely to have been following in the literary convention we now term "posing as sodomites."
- In Donatus's life of Virgil, Thoreau could have read: "*(sc. Vergilius) libidinis in pueros pronioris, quorum maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum, quem secunda bucolicorum ecloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione, utrumque non ineruditum, Cebetem vero et poetam.*" Donatus goes on to say that Virgil, invited by a friend to partake of a heterosexual liaison, "*verum pertinacissime recusasse.*"
- Apuleius Apologia 10 pretty much agrees with the picture presented to Thoreau by Donatus.
- By the time of Martial a joking tradition was in place that the Muse behind Virgil's prodigious poetic output was his Alexis, his love slave, given to him (note the divergence from Servius) by Maecenas rather than by Pollio. See epigrams 5.6, 6.68, 7.29, 8.56, 8.73 in which he attributes the sad state of contemporary poetry to the failure of patrons to provide poets with beautiful boys *a la* Maecenas and Virgil. This material was available to Thoreau.
- [Juvenal](#) echoes this tradition in Satire 7.69.
- In Philargyrius, Thoreau could have read: "*Alexim dicunt Alexandrum, qui fuit servus Asinii Pollionis, quem Vergilius, rogatus ad prandium cum vidisset in ministerio omnium pulcherrimum, dilexit eumque dono accepit. Caesarem quidam acceperunt, formosum in operibus et gloria. alii puerum Caesaris, quem si laudasset, gratem rem Caesari fecisset. nam Vergilius dicitur in pueros habuisse amorem: nec enim turpiter eum diligebat. alii Corydona, Asinii Pollionis puerum adamatum a Vergilio ferunt, eumque a domino datum. . .*"
- What did Servius mean to say to Thoreau, and to us, when he offered that Virgil had not loved boys *turpiter* (disgracefully)? Possibly Servius meant that Virgil had been able to do so without loss of personal dignity (the courting of the beloved, whether woman or boy, could involve erotic service that was seen as beneath the dignity of a free man), the other that he did so without ever achieving, or perhaps even pursuing, physical consummation (which would have taken the form of sodomizing the lad if he was willing to submit, but Dover's GREEK HOMOSEXUALITY --which seems to be in large part valid for Roman society as well-- shows that nice boys were supposed to say **no** in thunder and that men who insisted upon using their penises might have to settle for intercrural satisfaction). We should probably take into account as well the poetry of a man who died in the same year as Virgil, [Albius Tibullus](#), from whom Thoreau would quote (or would suppose he was quoting) in [WALDEN](#). What is conventionally known as "Book 1" of Tibullus contains poems on his beloved Delia but also several on a beloved boy named Marathus (4, 8, 9); these can offer some insight into the process of courting a boy. Another possibility, of course, is simply that Virgil's love had nothing cruel or abusive about it, but perhaps the most plausible explanation for judging a liaison as *turpis* is the man's loss of dignity in becoming enslaved to the object of his desire, his loss of face. Two examples that come to mind from Virgil's own time are Anthony's passion for [Cleopatra](#) and Maecenas's scandalous affair with the ballet-dancer Bathyllus.



Horsfall’s COMPANION TO THE STUDY OF VIRGIL summarizes the “evidence” such as it is. Although he demonstrates that there is not one detail in the ancient LIVES OF VIRGIL that can be taken at face value, the persistent availability of such materials about the life of Virgil has been such as to make this a moot point. Whether true or false it has obviously had an influence, and may well have had an influence of some sort on Henry Thoreau. Those scholars could all be found to have been mistaken, and yet we will still need to deal with the manner in which Virgil was being received during the first half of the 19th Century, and I am not certain that we have done that, and of course it is important, in dealing with a situation such as Thoreau’s temporary involvement with the gentle young Sewall boy, that we most carefully do that. In none of these texts, nor in Servius, would Thoreau have been able to find any suggestion of a condemnation of what Virgil was projecting as being his proclivities.

September 4, Wednesday: According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), also known as “Nailer Tom,”¹²⁵ there had been “strange Northern lights last night.”



Sept 4th [Wednesday of WEEK] As we shoved away from this rocky coast, before sunrise, the smaller bittern, the genius of the shore, was moping along its edge, or stood probing the mud for its food, with ever an eye on us, though so demurely at work, or else he ran along over the wet stones like a wrecker in his storm-coat, looking out for wrecks of snails and cockles. Now away he goes, with a limping flight, uncertain where he will alight, until a rod of clear sand amid the alders invites his feet; and now our steady approach compels him to seek a new retreat. It is a bird of the oldest [Thalesian](#) school, and no doubt believes in the priority of water to the other elements; the relic of a twilight antediluvian age which yet inhabits these bright American rivers with us Yankees. There is something venerable in this melancholy and contemplative race of birds, which may have trodden the earth while it was yet in a slimy and imperfect state. Perchance their tracks, too, are still visible on the stones. It still lingers into our glaring summers, bravely supporting its fate without sympathy from man, as if it looked forward to some second advent of which he has no assurance. One wonders if, by its patient study by rocks and sandy capes, it has wrested the whole of her secret from Nature yet. What a rich experience it must have gained, standing on one leg and looking out from its dull eye so long on sunshine and rain, moon and stars!

125. He was called “Nailer Tom” because his trade was the cutting of nails from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as “College Tom,” from another relative known as “Shepherd Tom,” and from his own son who –because he had fits– was known as “Pistol-Head Tom.”



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

What could it tell of stagnant pools and reeds and dank night fogs! It would be worth the while to look closely into the eye which has been open and seeing at such hours, and in such solitudes its dull, yellowish, greenish eye. Methinks my own soul must be a bright invisible green. I have seen these birds stand by the half dozen together in the shallower water along the shore, with their bills thrust into the mud at the bottom, probing for food, the whole head being concealed, while the neck and body formed an arch above the water.

Thoreau's smaller bittern, the Green Heron, like all members of the heron family, catches its food with quick stabs of its bill. It does not probe the mud as do many species of shorebird. Since Green Herons often feed in still, shallow water, reflections may have caused Thoreau to think their bills were thrust into the mud. It must be remembered that Thoreau had no optical equipment at this time to aid his observations. -Cruikshank, Helen Gere. THOREAU ON BIRDS (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964)



Sept 4th Wednesday. Hooksett east bank 2 or 3 miles below the village, opposite mr. Mitchels.

On Thursday, Thoreau and his brother halted at a point east of Uncannunc Mountain near Manchester, New Hampshire. They hung their tent and buffalo robes in a farmer's barn to dry and then continued on foot up the Merrimack until it became the Pemigewasset and then the Wild Amonoosuck to its very fountainhead. This part of the adventure is not included in the book. However, Thursday morning as the brothers lay in their tent listening to the rain, they found such enjoyment in birds as those who never venture into a wet world can never know. -Cruikshank, Helen Gere. THOREAU ON BIRDS (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964)



A WEEK: The small houses which were scattered along the river at intervals of a mile or more were commonly out of sight to us, but sometimes, when we rowed near the shore, we heard the peevish note of a hen, or some slight domestic sound, which betrayed them. The lock-men's houses were particularly well placed, retired, and high, always at falls or rapids, and commanding the pleasantest reaches of the river, -for it is generally wider and more lake-like just above a fall,- and there they wait for boats. These humble dwellings, homely and sincere, in which a hearth was still the essential part, were more pleasing to our eyes than palaces or castles would have been. In the noon of these days, as we have said, we occasionally climbed the banks and approached these houses, to get a glass of water and make acquaintance with their inhabitants. High in the leafy bank, surrounded commonly by a small patch of corn and beans, squashes and melons, with sometimes a graceful hop-yard on one side, and some running vine over the windows, they appeared like beehives set to gather honey for a summer. I have not read of any Arcadian life which surpasses the actual luxury and serenity of these New England dwellings. For the outward gilding, at least, the age is golden enough. As you approach the sunny doorway, awakening the echoes by your steps, still no sound from these barracks of repose, and you fear that the gentlest knock may seem rude to the Oriental dreamers. The door is opened, perchance, by some Yankee-Hindoo woman, whose small-voiced but sincere hospitality, out of the bottomless depths of a quiet nature, has travelled quite round to the opposite side, and fears only to obtrude its kindness. You step over the white-scoured floor to the bright "dresser" lightly, as if afraid to disturb the devotions of the household, -for Oriental dynasties appear to have passed away since the dinner-table was last spread here,- and thence to the frequented curb, where you see your long-forgotten, unshaven face at the bottom, in juxtaposition with new-made butter and the trout in the well. "Perhaps you would like some molasses and ginger," suggests the faint noon voice. Sometimes there sits the brother who follows the sea, their representative man; who knows only how far it is to the nearest port, no more distances, all the rest is sea and distant capes, - patting the dog, or dandling the kitten in arms that were stretched by the cable and the oar, pulling against Boreas or the trade-winds. He looks up at the stranger, half pleased, half astonished, with a mariner's eye, as if he were a dolphin within cast. If men will believe it, *sua si bona norint*, there are no more quiet Tempes, nor more poetic and Arcadian lives, than may be lived in these New England dwellings. We thought that the employment of their inhabitants by day would be to tend the flowers and herds, and at night, like the shepherds of old, to cluster and give names to the stars from the river banks.

CAT



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[The full Latin expression that goes with “*sua si bona norint*” is “*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,*” which means “O more than happy, if they only knew their advantages,” and was used by [Virgil](#) to describe those who led the rustic bucolic agricultural life. We can say, therefore, that Virgil is a presence not only in Thoreau’s WALDEN, but also in A WEEK.]



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

September 14, Saturday: With the Thoreau brothers back in town, [Waldo Emerson](#) heard of their great summer adventure down the Concord River and up the [Middlesex Canal](#) and the Merrimack River, possibly from [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), and considered that it must truly have been a learning experience, of a class with being able to grow up as a farm boy rather than a city boy:

An education in things is not: we are all involved in the condemnation of words, an Age of words. We are shut up in schools & college recitation rooms for ten or fifteen years & come out at last with a bellyfull of words & do not know a thing. We cannot use our hands or our legs or our eyes or our arms. We do not know an edible root in the woods. We cannot tell our course by the stars nor the hour of the day by the sun. It is well if we can swim & skate. We are afraid of a horse, of a cow, of a dog, of a cat, of a spider. Far better was the Roman rule to teach a boy nothing that he could not learn standing. Now here are my wise young neighbors who instead of getting like the wordmen into a railroad-car where they have not even the activity of holding the reins, have got into a boat which they have built with their own hands, with sails which they have contrived to serve as a tent by night, & gone up the river Merrimack to live by their wits on the fish of the stream & the berries of the wood. My worthy neighbor Dr Bartlett expressed a true parental instinct when he desired to send his boy with them to learn something. the farm, the farm is the right school. The reason of my deep respect for the farmer is that he is a realist & not a dictionary. The farm is a piece of the world, the School house is not. The farm by training the physical rectifies & invigorates the metaphysical & moral nature.

Between this day and the 17th, [Waldo Emerson](#) manifested to his journal that his readings about the [Peace Testimony](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had left him in the approximate state of awareness of a 9-year-old boy playing with a sabre made out of a stick:

I do not like to speak to the Peace Society if so I am to restrain me in so extreme a privilege as the use of the sword & bullet. For the peace of the man who has forsworn the use of the bullet seems to me not quite peace, but a canting impotence: but with knife & pistol in my hands, if I, from greater bravery & honor, cast them aside, then I know the glory of peace.

September 26: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) addressed the 1st Anniversary meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society in Boston.¹²⁶



Salmon Portland Chase married for a 2d time, to Eliza Ann Smith. Of the three daughters that would be born to this union only Catherine Jane (Kate) would survive. Kate would marry Senator William Sprague of [Rhode Island](#), textile manufacturer and former Governor of that state, and Sprague money would be made available to finance Chase's political ambitions.

1840

[Mary Howitt](#)'s HOPE ON, HOPE EVER, A TALE and STRIVE AND THRIVE.

With disownment by his Lynn meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) imminent, [Friend William Bassett](#) joined with Joseph S. Wall in a publication in Worcester called the [Reformer](#). In this periodical he would be able to position his own writings in favor of nonsectarianism, nonresistance, and the abolition of slavery. However, Bassett was forced to change work several times and eventually would be unable to continue publication of this paper.

[Friend Elizabeth Fry](#) started a training school for nurses in London's Guy's Hospital. Fry nurses wore their own uniform and were expected to tend to their patients spiritual as well as their physical needs. Florence Nightingale would write to Friend Elizabeth and relate that she had influenced her in regard to the training of nurses, and when she went overseas during the Crimean War, she took with her a group of Fry nurses to attend ill and wounded soldiers.

126. I do not know whether Lucretia Mott made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know, if anyone can advise me.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

At the suggestion of Ludwig Kaemtz, Luke Howard's category "Cumulo-stratus" became "Strato-cumulus," thus recognizing this as a type of cumulus cloud that occurred at higher altitudes.



In this timeframe the author of the cloud-category theory was becoming intrigued at a possible influence of the declination of the moon on weather cycles.

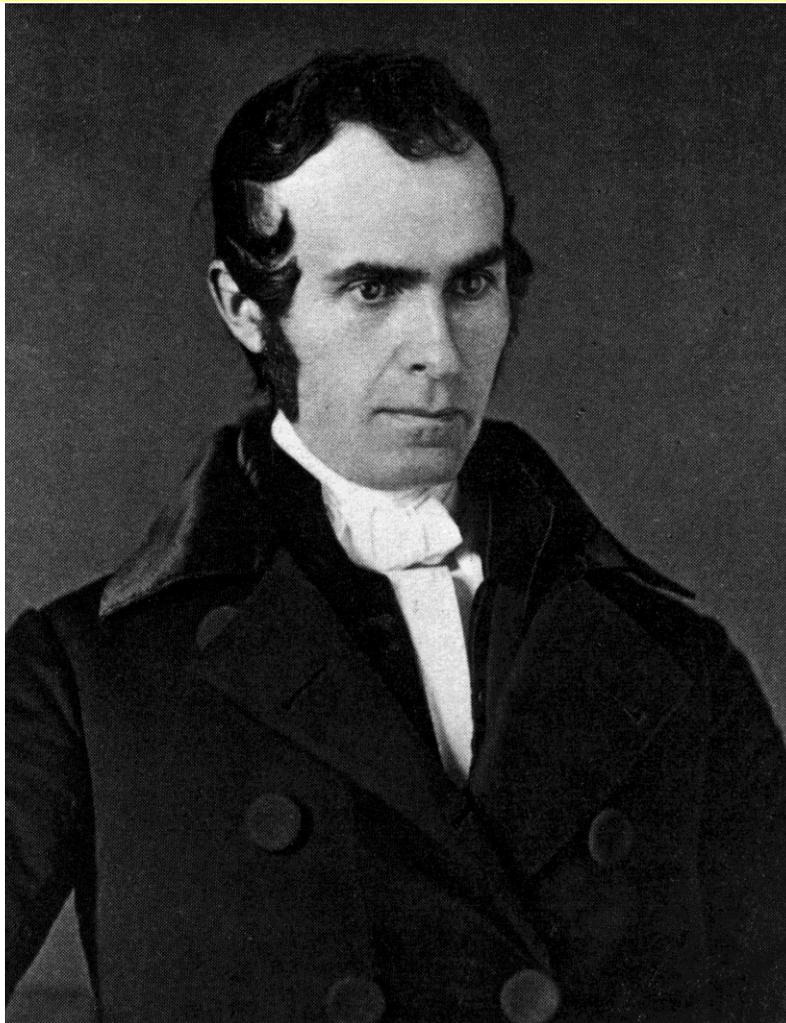
Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1837-1843

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
1837	strong	warm El Niño moderate +	adequate	drought	deficient	3d year, extremely poor
1838	strong	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	4th year, quite weak
1839	strong	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	5th year, very low
1840	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1841	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1842	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1843	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate

The southern ocean / atmosphere "seesaw" links to periodic Indonesian east monsoon droughts, Australian droughts, deficient Indian summer monsoons, and deficient Ethiopian monsoon rainfall causing weak annual Nile floods. This data is presented from Tables 6.2-6.3 of Quinn, William H. "A study of Southern Oscillation-related climatic activity for AD 622-1900 incorporating Nile River flood data," pages 119-49 in Diaz, Henry F. and Vera Markgraf, eds. EL NIÑO: HISTORICAL AND PALEOCLIMATIC ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OSCILLATION. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) returned to live in Amesbury, Massachusetts with his mother, aunt, and sister.

My health was never robust; I inherited from both my parents a sensitive, nervous temperament; and one of my earliest recollections is of pain in the head, from which I have suffered all my life. For many years I have not been able to read or write for more than half an hour at a time; often not so long. Of late, my hearing has been defective.



Then, while he was attending the [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend Richard Mott evidently conveyed an impression to this impressionable young Friend, that the Lord had laid His hand upon him, and would use him for His purposes.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

At this point, 63 years after the fact, an account of interracial contact appeared as part of JOURNAL OF THE LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXERCISES, AND TRAVELS IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY OF RUFUS HALL, LATE OF NORTHAMPTON, MONTGOMERY COUNTY IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK (Byberry, Pennsylvania: John and Isaac Comly) and, although this might possibly constitute a late-life reconstruction by a teller who may or may not have been making a direct claim that he himself was present, it may be inferred by some readers that this amounted to eyewitness testimony placed on record in the holograph diary during the period of the event.¹²⁷

One day the Indians came to our meeting just as it was breaking up, but they offered no violence: their warlike appearance was very shocking, being equipped with their guns, tomahawks and scalping knives: they had a prisoner and one green scalp taken but a few hours before.... [When they] understood that Friends were at a Religious Meeting, they went to one of their Houses, got some victuals, of which a prisoner with them partook, and they quietly departed.

May: William Lloyd Garrison, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, Ann Greene Phillips, and Charles Lenox Remond sailed for London and the World Anti-Slavery Convention. On the first day of the convention, however, the vote was that the female delegates would not be permitted to vote, whereupon all the Garrisonian immediatists boycotted the convention.



While Mr. Rogers was in London, in attendance upon the "World's Anti-Slavery Convention," in 1840, he was careful to go upon the ground at Smithfield, -now a cattle market- that was sanctified, in his sight, and that of all men who know where true greatness lies, by the martyrdom of his illustrious ancestor [John Rogers].



In 1840, a World's Anti-slavery Convention was called in London. Women from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, were delegates to that convention. I was one of the number; but, on our arrival in England, our credentials were not accepted because we were women. We were, however, treated with great courtesy and attention, as strangers, and as women, were admitted to chosen seats as spectators and listeners, while our right of membership was denied - we were voted out. This brought the Woman question more into view, and an increase of interest in the subject has been the result. In this work, too, I have engaged heart and hand, as my labors, travels, and public discourses evince. The

127. During Fall 1773, Friend Rufus Hall had arrived from [Rhode Island](#) and purchased land near Easton. In 1774 there had been as many as 100 Quakers in that region (including those scattered in White Creek, Greenwich, and other towns to the north), in three places of worship). During Summer 1777 some of these men were being briefly taken into custody by the American revolutionaries, as suspected Loyalists. A considerable amount of their property was forfeit to the American revolutionaries, although no-one had been physically assaulted. When General Burgoyne's British army entered the region with its native allies during August/September 1777, there were perhaps a dozen [Quaker](#) families at that locale.

This would have to do, obviously, with a fave [Quaker](#) kiddie story, "Fierce Feathers." You might want to study about this because in some respects the tale has expanded and expanded until it has become quite problematic (even, in some tellings, markedly racist).

"FIERCE FEATHERS"

A SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS



misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse heaped upon this, as well as other reforms, do not, in the least, deter me from my duty. To those, whose name is cast out as evil for the truth's sake, it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgement.

FEMINISM

In a speech to the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would charge that a woman had been denied membership in the Society of Friends in Philadelphia because she was black, and it would seem that in all likelihood he was making reference to Sarah Douglass's account of how her mother had been encouraged not to apply for membership. In this speech Friend Arnold indicated that the practice of asking blacks to sit aside, in special seats, still was continuing among American Friends.)

June 27: William Howitt wrote to [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) to offer that the female delegates to the World's Convention in London may not have been rejected solely on account of their gender, but may have been rejected instead with that as a mere subterfuge, on account of their affiliation with the heretical [Hicksites](#):

LONDON, June 27th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,— I snatch the few last minutes of a very hurried time before embarking for Germany, to express to you and your fellow-delegates the sense I have of your unworthy reception in this country, which has grown on me for the last week, extremely; even amid the overwhelming pressure of arrangements, inevitable on quitting London for a considerable stay abroad. Mary [Mrs. Mary Howitt, 1799-1888] and myself greatly regret that we had left our home before we had the opportunity of seeing you, or we should have had the sincerest pleasure in welcoming you there to spend at least one day of quiet, as pleasant as that which we spent with you at our worthy friend, Mr. Ashurst's, at Muswell Hill. I regret still more that my unavoidable absence from town prevented my making part of the Convention, as nothing should have hindered me from stating there, in the plainest terms, my opinion of the real grounds on which you were excluded. It is pitiable that you were excluded on the plea of being women; but it is outrageous that, under that plea, you were actually excluded as heretics. That is the real ground of your exclusion, and it ought to have been at once proclaimed and exposed by the liberal members of the Convention; but I believe they were not aware of the fact. I heard of the circumstance of your exclusion at a distance, and immediately said, "Excluded on the ground that they are women? No, that is not the real cause, — there is something behind. Who and what are these female delegates? Are they orthodox in religion?" The answer was, "No, they are considered to be of the [Hicksite](#) party of Friends." My reply was, "That is enough, — there lies the real cause, and there needs no other; the influential Friends in the Convention would never for a moment tolerate their presence there, if they could prevent it. They hate them, because they have dared to call in question their sectarian dogmas and assumed authority; and they have taken care to brand them in the eyes of the Calvinistic Dissenters, who form another large and influential portion of the Convention, as Unitarians, — in their eyes the most odious of heretics." But what a miserable spectacle is this! The



"World's Convention" converting itself into the fag-end of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. That Convention, met from various countries and climates to consider how it shall best advance the sacred cause of humanity, – of the freedom of the race, independent of caste or color, – immediately falls the victim of bigotry, and one of its first acts is, to establish a caste of sectarian opinion, and to introduce color into the very soul! Had I not seen, of late years, a good deal of the spirit which now rules the Society of Friends, my surprise would have been unbounded at seeing them argue for the exclusion of women from a public body, as women. But nothing which they do now surprises me. They have in this case, to gratify their wretched spirit of intolerance, at once abandoned one of the most noble and most philosophical of the established principles of their own Society. That Society claims, and claims justly, to be the first Christian body which has recognized the great Christian doctrine, that THERE IS NO SEX IN SOULS; that male and female are all one in Christ Jesus. They were [Friend George] Fox and [Friend William] Penn, and the first giants of the Society, who dared, in the face of the whole world's prejudices, to place women in her first rank, – to recognize and maintain her moral and intellectual equality. It was this Society which thus gave to woman her inalienable rights – her true liberty; which restored to her the exercise of mind, and the capacity to exhibit before man, her assumed lord and master, the highest qualities of the human heart and understanding: discretion, sound counsel, sure sagacity, mingled with feminine delicacy, and that beautiful, innate modesty which avails more to restrain its possessor within the bounds of prudence and usefulness, than all the laws and customs of corrupt society. It was this Society which, at once fearless in its confidence in woman's goodness and sense of propriety, gave to its female portion its own Meetings of Discipline, meetings of civil discussion, and transaction of actual and various business. It was this Society which did more; which permitted its women, in the face of a great apostolic injunction, to stand forth in its churches and preach the gospel. It has in fact sent them out, armed with the authority of its certificates, to the very ends of the earth, to preach in public; to visit and persuade in private. And what has been the consequence? Have the women put their faith and philosophy to shame? Have they disgraced themselves or the Society which has confided in them? Have they proved by their follies, their extravagances, their unwomanly boldness and want of a just sense of decorum, that these great men were wrong? On the contrary, I will venture to say, and I have seen something of all classes, that there is not in the whole civilized world a body of women to be found, of the same numbers, who exhibit more modesty of manner and delicacy of mind than the ladies of the Society of Friends; and few who equal them in sound sense and dignity of character.... And here have gone the little men of the present day, and have knocked down, in the face of the world, all that their mighty ancestors, "in this respect, had built up." If they are at all consistent, they must carry out their new principle, and sweep with it through the ancient



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constitution of their own Society. They must at once put down meetings of discipline amongst their women; they must call home such as are in distant countries or are traversing this, preaching and visiting families. There must be no more appointments of women to meet committees of men, to deliberate on matters of great importance to the Society. But the fact is, my dear friend, that bigotry is never consistent, except that it is always narrow, always ungracious, and always, under plea of uniting God's people, scattering them one from another, and rendering them weak as water.... The Convention has not merely insulted you, but those who sent you. It has testified that the men of America are at least far ahead of us in their opinion of the discretion and usefulness of women. But above all, this act of exclusion has shown how far the Society of Friends is fallen from its ancient state of greatness and catholic nobleness of spirit.... I have heard the noble [William Lloyd] Garrison blamed that he has not taken his place in the Convention, because you, his fellow delegates, were excluded. I, on the contrary, honor him for his conduct. In mere worldly wisdom he might have entered the Convention, and there entered his protest against the decision, – but in at once refusing to enter where you, his fellow-delegates, were shut out, he has entered a far nobler protest, not in the mere Convention, but in the world at large. I honor the lofty principle of that true champion of humanity, and shall always recollect with delight the day Mary and I spent with him. I must apologize for this most hasty, and, I fear, illegible scrawl, and with our kind regards, and best wishes for your safe return to your native country, and for many years of honorable labor there, for the truth and freedom, I beg to subscribe myself,
Most sincerely your friend, WILLIAM HOWITT.



June 27. I am living this 27th of June, 1810, a (hill, cloudy day and no sun shining. The clink of the smith's hammer sounds feebly over the roofs, and the wind is sighing gently, as if dreaming of cheerfule days. The farmer is plowing in yonder field, craftsmen are busy in the shops, the trader stands behind the counter, and all works go steadily forward. But I will have nothing to do; I will tell fortune that I play do game with her, and she may reach me in my Asia of serenity and indolence if she can.
For an impenetrable shield, stand inside yourself!
He was no artist, but an artisan, who first made shields of brass.
Unless we meet religiously, we prophane one another.
What was the consecrated ground round the temple, we have used as no better than a domestic court.
Our friend's is as holy a shrine as any God's, to be approached with sacred love and awe. Veneration is the measure of Love. Our friend answers ambiguously, and sometimes before the question is propounded, like the oracle of Delphi. He forbears to ask explanation, but doubts and surmises darkly with full faith, as we silently ponder our fates.
In no presence are we so susceptible to shame. Our hour is a sabbath, our abode a temple, our gifts peace offerings, our conversation a communion, our silence a prayer. In prophanity we are absent, in holiness near, in sin estranged, in innocence reconciled.



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November: At the Chardon Street Chapel in [Boston](#), a continuation of the 1st meeting of the Convention of Friends of Universal Reform, that had begun during March. Attending “to discuss the origin and authority of the ministry” were, among others, the [Reverend George Ripley](#) from Brook Farm and David Mack from the [Association of Industry and Education](#), plus at least four other future members of that [Northampton](#) association. [Waldo Emerson](#)’s report of this is on the following screen.



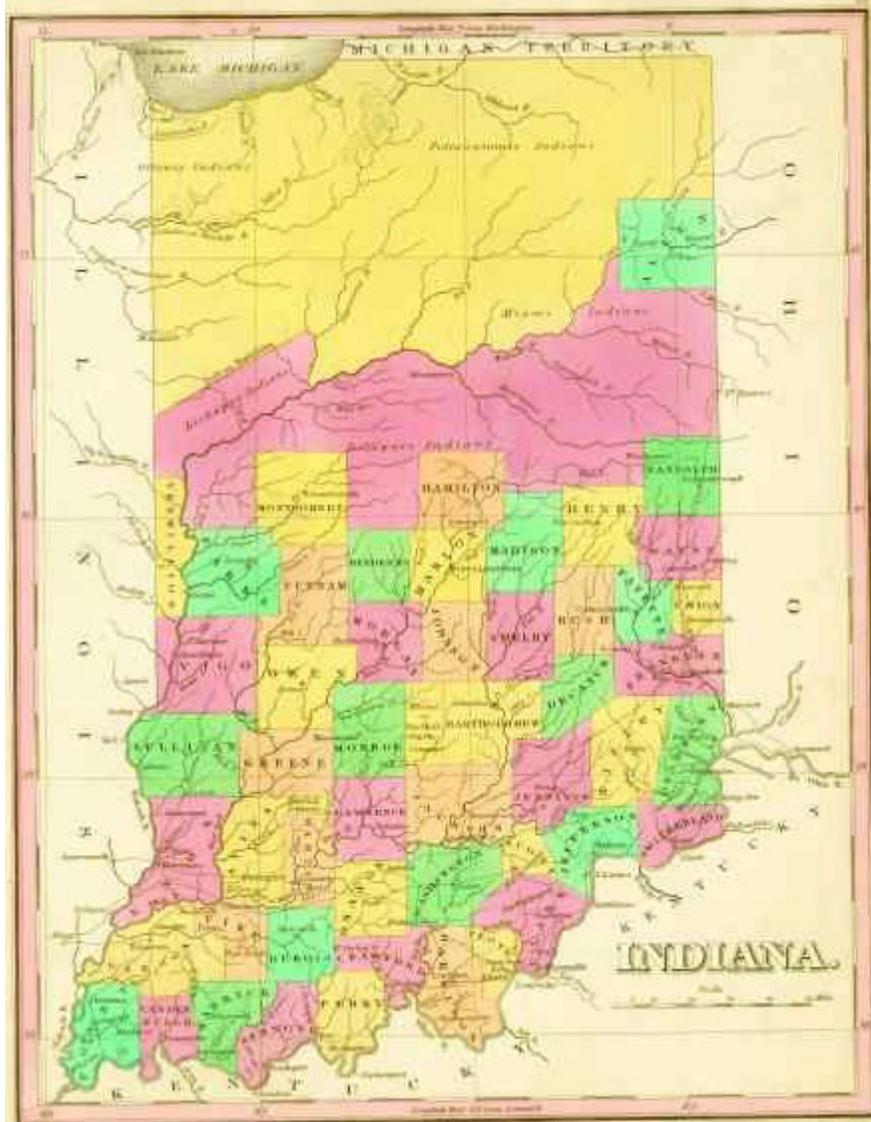
[go to the following screen]

In the month of November, 1840, a Convention of Friends of Universal Reform assembled in the Chardon Street Chapel, in [Boston](#), in obedience to a call in the newspapers signed by a few individuals, inviting all persons to a public discussion of the institutions of the Sabbath, the Church and the Ministry. The Convention organized itself by the choice of Edmund Quincy, as Moderator, spent three days in the consideration of the Sabbath, and adjourned to a day in March, of the following year, for the discussion of the second topic. In March, accordingly, a three-days' session was holden, in the same place, on the subject of the Church, and a third meeting fixed for the following November, which was accordingly holden, and the Convention, debated, for three days again, the remaining subject of the Priesthood. This Convention never printed any report of its deliberations, nor pretended to arrive at any **Result**, by the expression of its sense in formal resolutions, – the professed object of those persons who felt the greatest interest in its meetings being simply the elucidation of truth through free discussion. The daily newspapers reported, at the time, brief sketches of the course of proceedings, and the remarks of the principal speakers. These meetings attracted a good deal of public attention, and were spoken of in different circles in every note of hope, of sympathy, of joy, of alarm, of abhorrence, and of merriment. The composition of the assembly was rich and various. The singularity and latitude of the summons drew together, from all parts of New England, and also from the Middle States, men of every shade of opinion, from the straitest orthodoxy to the wildest heresy, and many persons whose church was a church of one member only. A great variety of dialect and of costume was noticed; a great deal of confusion, eccentricity, and freak appeared, as well as of zeal and enthusiasm. If the assembly was disorderly, it was picturesque. Madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-Outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-day-[Baptists](#), [Quakers](#), Abolitionists, Calvinists, [Unitarians](#), and Philosophers, – all came successively to the top, and seized their moment, if not their **hour**, wherein to chide, or pray, or preach, or protest. The faces were a study. The most daring innovators, and the champions-until-death of the old cause, sat side by side. The still living merit of the oldest New England families, glowing yet, after several generations, encountered the founders of families, fresh merit, emerging, and expanding the brows to a new breadth, and lighting a clownish face with sacred fire. The assembly was characterized by the predominance of a certain plain, sylvan strength and earnestness, whilst many of the most intellectual and cultivated persons attended its councils. Dr. William Henry Channing, Edward Thompson Taylor, Bronson Alcott, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Mr. Samuel Joseph May, [Theodore Parker](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), Dr. Joseph Osgood, William Adams, Edward Palmer, [Jones Very](#), Maria W. Chapman, and many other persons of a mystical, or sectarian, or philanthropic renown, were present, and some of them participant. And there was no want of female speakers; Mrs. Little and Mrs. Lucy Sessions took a pleasing and memorable part in the debate, and that flea of Conventions, Mrs. Abigail Folsom, was but too ready with her interminable scroll. If there was not parliamentary order, there was life, and the assurance of that constitutional love for religion and religious liberty, which, in all periods, characterizes the inhabitants of this part of America.

1841

Indiana Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) closed all its Quaker meetinghouses to abolitionist lecturers.

This is likely to have been the map of Indiana available to Henry Thoreau, out of his atlas by Anthony Finley:

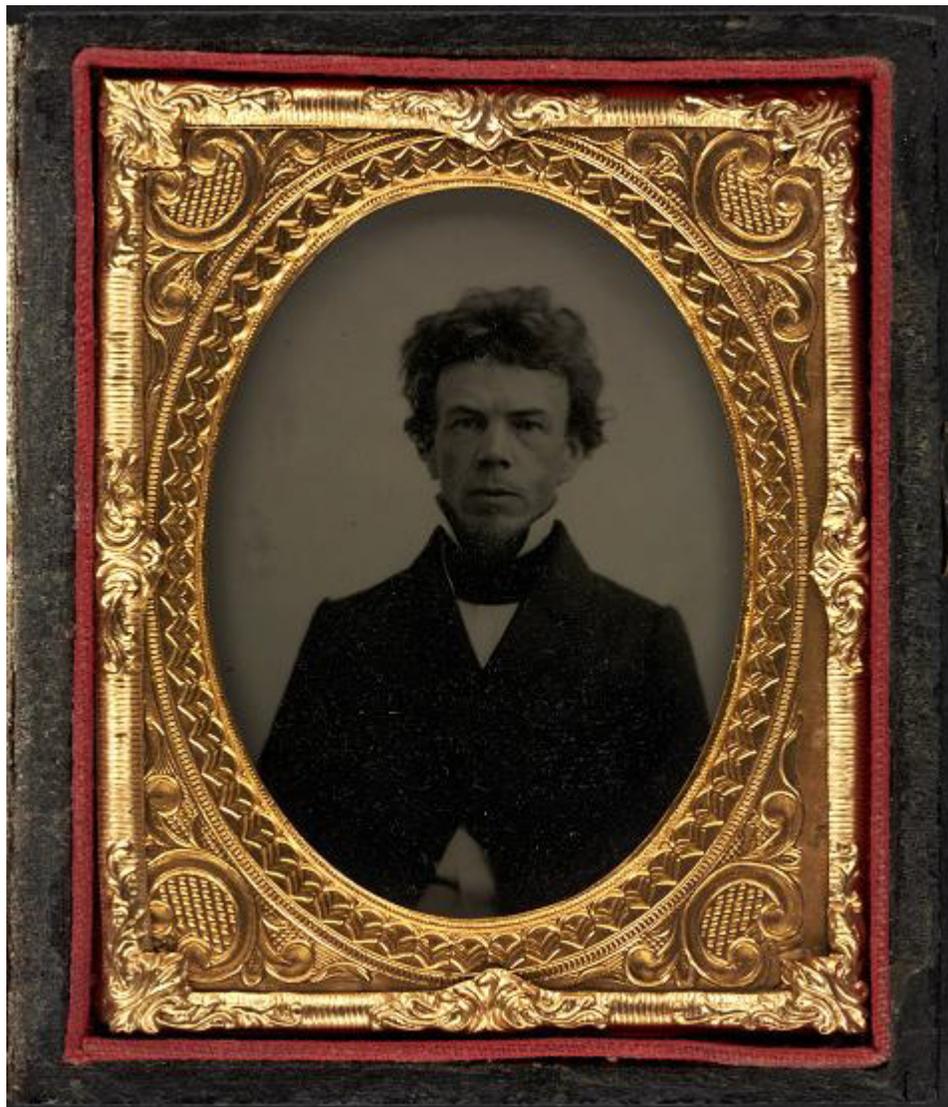


[Mary Howitt](#)'s SOWING AND REAPING, OR WHAT WILL COME OF IT.

[Charles James Fox](#), in connection with the Reverend Samuel Osgood, then pastor of the Unitarian Church in Nashua, prepared the THE NEW HAMPSHIRE BOOK OF PROSE AND POETRY (SPECIMENS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE GRANITE STATE), a collection of pieces in prose and verse, from the writings of natives and adopted citizens of that state.

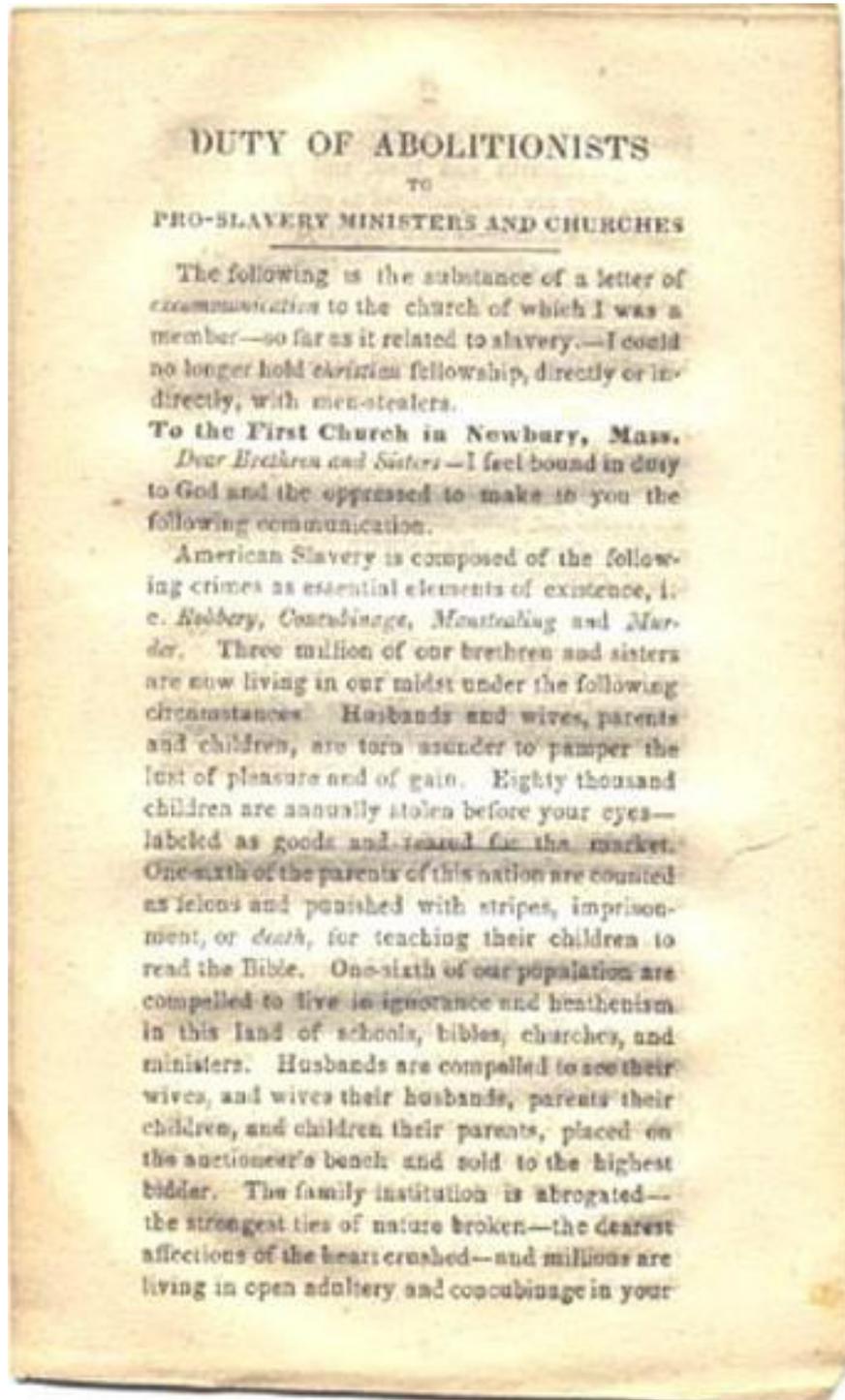
During this year [Henry C. Wright](#) took part in an “anti-ministry” convention and determined that [Quaker](#) principles seemed to be the most Christian:

*I would have every man his own minister, and his own church,
and his own state, under God.*



His treatise MAN-KILLING, BY INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS, WRONG — DANGEROUS IN ALL CASES was published in Boston by Moses A. Dow and his 8-page DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS TO PRO-SLAVERY MINISTERS AND CHURCHES was published in Concord, New Hampshire by John R. French. This latter pamphlet marked his personal break with compromise on the issue of abolitionism — it is in the form of a letter directed to his congregation in Newbury, Massachusetts in which he says the members are as sinful and guilty as slave

owners, and that he hereby excommunicates them all! (The elders of the church of course accepted his resignation. From this point forward it is inappropriate for us to refer to him any longer as “the Reverend.”)





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[Edwin Coppoc](#) was orphaned and adopted at the age of six into a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family first of Salem, Ohio and then of Springdale IA.



3d Month: [Quaker](#) meetings at the 1st Mendon meetinghouse were discontinued by [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of [Rhode Island](#).

[Abby Kelley](#) wrote to the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

I hereby disown all connection of fellowship with the Society of Friends, feeling it a duty to "come out and be separate."

To celebrate her break from religious discipline Abby read a novel which she had previously, by the strict standards of this religious discipline, been unable to bring herself to read simply because as a work of fiction, it was therefore of the nature of a lie: TRISTRAM SHANDY.

[Friend Joseph Sturge](#) came to the USA with two expressed purposes: the abolition of slavery, and the promotion of a permanent international peace. Arriving shortly after the American Anti-Slavery Society had had spun off a large portion of its membership into the all-male American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society over the question of admitting women to its ranks, Friend Joseph, who did honor the work of female

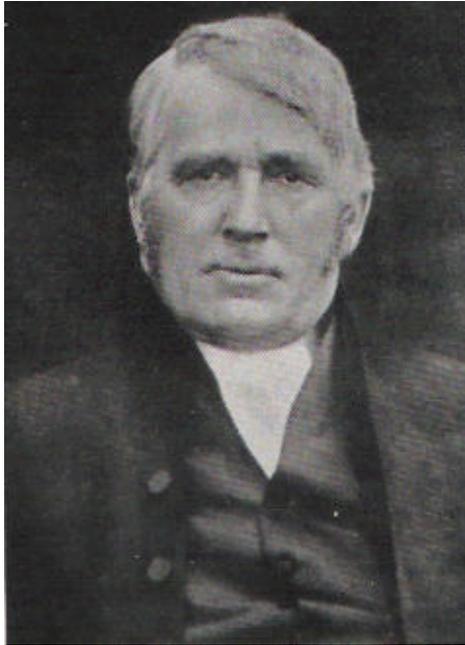


abolitionists, would take the position that our projects of race and gender fairness were better kept separate. His first stop in New York was an orthodox [Quaker](#) meeting. Later he would visit Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Baltimore, Delaware, Vermont, Washington, Virginia, and Massachusetts in the company of [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#).

March 17: Convention with Peru for the satisfaction of claims of American Citizens.

READ THE FULL TEXT

In his American travels, the English Quaker abolitionist [Joseph Sturge](#) had reached Philadelphia.



ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ
SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In the summer of 1837, SARAH and ANGELINA GRIMKE visited New England for the purpose of advocating the cause of the slave, with whose condition they were well acquainted, being natives of South Carolina, and having been themselves at one time implicated in the system. Their original intention was to confine their public labours to audiences of their own sex, but they finally addressed promiscuous assemblies. Their intimate knowledge of the true character of slavery; their zeal, devotion, and gifts as speakers, produced a deep impression, wherever they went. They met with considerable opposition from colonizationists, and also from a portion of the New England clergy, on the ground of the impropriety of their publicly addressing mixed audiences. This called forth in the *Liberator*, which at that time, I understand, was under the patronage, though I believe not under the control, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, a discussion of the abstract question of the entire equality of the rights and duties of the two sexes. Here was a new element of discord. In 1838, at the annual New England convention of abolitionists, a woman was for the first time placed on committees with men, an innovation upon the general custom of the community, which excited much dissatisfaction in the minds of many. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand the interruption, for a season, of the unity of feeling and action which had previously characterised the assemblies of the abolitionists. The actual separation in the societies took place in the Spring of 1840. The members of the executive committee at New York, with one exception, seceded and became members of the committee of the “new organisation,” under the name of the “American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.” There are, therefore, now two central or national anti-slavery societies: the “old organization,” retaining the designation of the “American Anti-slavery Society.” The State Societies have, for the most part, taken up a position of neutrality, or independence of both. It is important to add that the division took place on the “women’s rights” question, and that this is the only one of the controverted points which the American Anti-Slavery Society has officially affirmed— and it is argued, on behalf of their view of this question, that since, in the original “constitution” of the society, the term, describing its members, officers, et cet. is “persons “that women are plainly invested with the same eligibility to appointments, and the same right to vote and act as the other sex. I need not say how this “constitutional”



argument is met on the other side. The other new views are held by comparatively few persons, and neither anti-slavery society in America is responsible for them. In conclusion, I rejoice to be able to add, that the separation, in its effects, appears to have been a healing measure; a better and kinder feeling is beginning to pervade all classes of American abolitionists—the day of mutual crimination seems to be passing away, and there is strong reason to hope that the action of the respective societies will henceforward harmoniously tend to the same object. That such may be the result is my sincere desire. It is proper in this connexion to state that a considerable number of active and prominent abolitionists, do not entirely sympathise with either division of the anti-slavery society; and there are comparatively few who make their views, for or against the question on which the division took place, a matter of conscience.

I have now given a brief, and I trust an impartial account of the origin of these dissensions. Some may possibly regard the views and proceedings above referred to, as the natural growth of abolitionism, but as well might the divisions among the early reformers be charged upon the doctrines of the Reformation, or the “thirty year’s war,” upon the preaching of Luther.

On the evening of the 14th. instant, we met at a social party the leading abolitionists of Philadelphia of the “old organization.” There were present all but one of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the London Convention. I availed myself of the opportunity of briefly and distinctly stating the unanimous conclusion of the London Anti-slavery Committee, in which I entirely concurred, on the points at issue. I observed, in substance, that in the struggle for the liberation of the slaves in the British Colonies, one great source of our moral strength was, the singleness of our object, and our not allowing any other subject, however important or unexceptionable, to be mixed up with it—that though the aid of our female coadjutors had been of vital importance to the success of the anti-slavery enterprise, yet that their exertions had been uniformly directed by separate committees of their own sex, and that the abolitionists of Europe had no doubt that their united influence was most powerful in this mode of action: that the London Committee being convinced that no female delegate had crossed the Atlantic, under the belief that the ‘call’ or invitation was intended to include women, felt themselves called upon without in the slightest degree wishing to interfere with private opinion on this, or any other subject, to withhold their assent to the reception of such delegates, as members of the Convention, and that their decision, when appealed against, had been ratified in the Convention itself, by an overwhelming majority, after a protracted discussion: finally, that those whose views I represented, could not be parties to the introduction in any future convention of this or any other question, which we deemed foreign to our cause, and therefore that for those with whom it was a point of conscience to carry out what they deemed “women’s rights,” I saw no alternative but a separate organization, in which I wished that their efforts on behalf of the oppressed coloured race, might be crowned with the largest measure of success. I observed, in conclusion, that my object was simply to state the decision of those with whom I acted in Great Britain, and that I must decline discussion, being fully convinced that it was better that the now separate societies should aim at the common object, in a spirit of kind and friendly co-operation, each in its own sphere, rather than that they should waste their energies in mutual contentions, and in the unprofitable discussion of topics not legitimately belonging to the great question of the abolition of slavery.

Although I had to address a company almost unanimously opposed on these points to myself, my communication was received in a kind and friendly spirit, and I was courteously informed that it would be taken into consideration at the next meeting of the Committee.

On the burning of Pennsylvania Hall by a pro-slavery mob, 1838:

As an illustration, I quote the following scene from a letter addressed to me by ROBERT PURVIS, an intelligent and educated man of colour, and the son in law of JAMES FORTEN, who has already been introduced to my readers.

In regard to my examination before the jury in the Pennsylvania Hall case, I have to say, that it was both a painful and ludicrous affair. At one time the fulness of an almost bursting heart was ready to pour forth in bitter denunciation – then the miserable absurdity of the thing, rushing into my mind, would excite my risible propensities. You know the county endeavoured to defend itself against the award of damages, by proving that

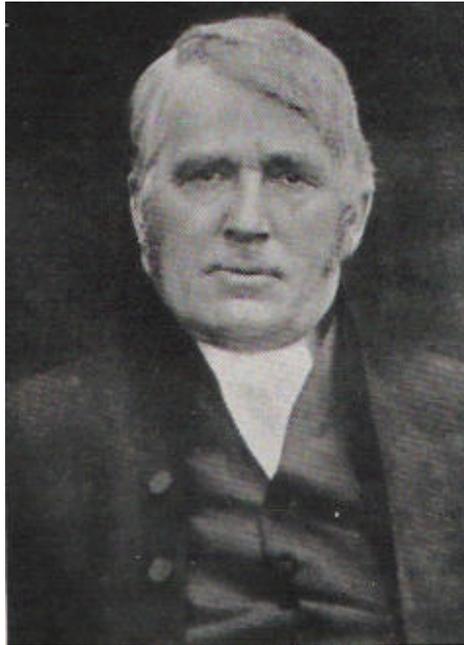


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the abolitionists were the cause of the destruction of the building, in promoting promiscuous intermingling, in doors and out, of blacks and whites, thereby exciting public feeling, &c. A witness, whose name I now forget, in proof of this point, stated, that upon a certain day, hour, &c., a "negress" approached the hall, in a carriage, when a white man assisted her in getting out, offered his arm, which was instantly accepted, and he escorted her to the saloon of the building. In this statement he was collected, careful, and solemn-minutely describing the dress, appearance of the parties, as well as the carriage, the exact time, &c. – the clerks appointed for the purpose taking down every word, and the venerable jurors locking credulous and horror-stricken. Upon being called to rebut the testimony of the county's witness, I, in truth and simplicity, confirmed his testimony in every particular!! The attorney, on our behalf, DAVID PAUL BROWN, Esq., a gentleman, scholar, and philanthropist, in a tone of irony peculiarly severe, demanded, "whether I had the unblushing impudence, in broad day-light, to offer my arm to my wife?" I replied, in deep affectation of the criminality involved, that the only palliation I could offer, for conduct so outrageous was, that it was unwittingly done, it seemed so natural. This, as you might well suppose, produced some merriment at the expense of the witness for the county, and of all others, whose gullibility and prejudice had given credit to what would have been considered, had I been what is called a white man, an awful story.

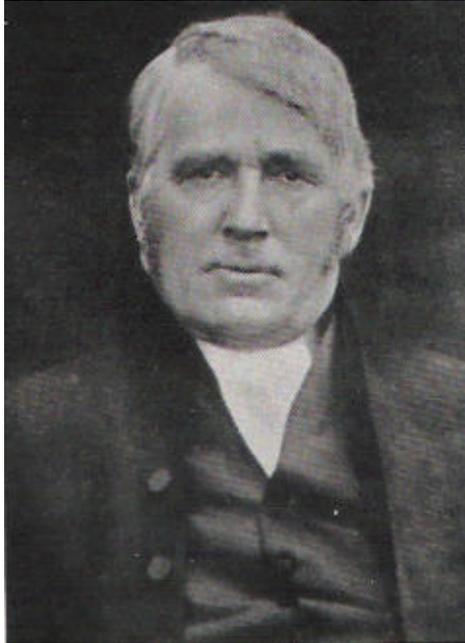
May 19: In his American travels, the English abolitionist Friend [Joseph Sturge](#) attended a meeting of the State Abolition Society in Hartford, Connecticut:



I proceeded by way of New York to Hartford in Connecticut, in order to be present at an anti-slavery meeting of the State society, to which I had been invited. On my arrival on the afternoon of the 19th. I found the meeting assembled, and in the chair my friend J. T. NORTON— a member of the Connecticut Legislature, a munificent and uncompromising friend to the Anti-slavery cause, and one of the delegates to the London Convention. A black minister of religion addressed the meeting in an able and interesting manner. Soon after the close of his speech, a circumstance quite unexpected to me, introduced a discussion on the right of women to vote and publicly act, conjointly with men. The chairman decided that the motion in favour of it was negatived, but the minority required the names on both sides to be taken down; this consumed much time, and disturbed the harmony of the meeting. I attended in the evening a committee of the legislature, which was sitting at the court house, to hear the speeches of persons who were allowed to address the committee in support of a petition that the word “white” should be expunged from the constitution of Connecticut. This change would of course give equal rights to the coloured class. When I entered, the same coloured minister I had heard in the afternoon, was addressing the committee. He was listened to with great attention, not only by the members, but by near two hundred of the inhabitants, who were present. He was followed on the same side, by a white gentleman in a very strong and uncompromising speech. The next day I paid my respects to WILLIAM W. ELLSWORTH, the Governor of the State, and to one of the judges of the court; and afterwards attended the adjourned meeting of the Anti-slavery Society. The vexed question of “women’s rights” was again brought forward in another shape; the names on both sides again called for, with the same result as before. My belief was fully confirmed, that those who differ so widely in sentiment, have no alternative but to meet and act in distinct organizations.

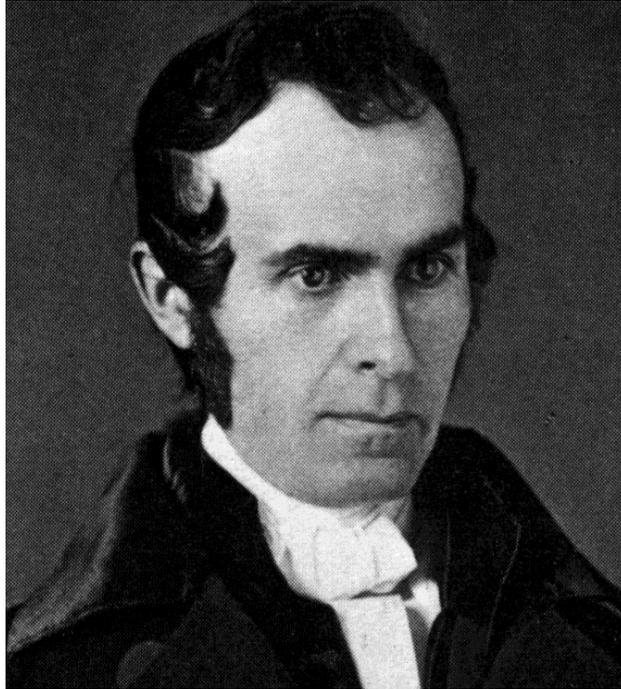
The *Amistad* captives arrived at Hartford on the afternoon of the same day, and were to address a meeting in the evening. An anti-slavery bazaar or fair which I visited this day, furnished ample testimony of the zeal of the female friends of the oppressed slave in this district. I returned the same evening to New Haven, and subsequently received a copy of two resolutions, approving the proceedings of the general Anti slavery Convention, in which it is stated by the Connecticut anti-slavery committee, “they have abundant evidence that the cause of the slave has been essentially promoted thereby;” also recommending “that a convention of men from all parts of the world, friendly to the cause of immediate emancipation, be again called in London, in the summer of 1842.”

June: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was on tour with an Englishman, Friend [Joseph Sturge](#), who was going to the various meetings on the Atlantic seaboard to speak of his experiences in the freeing of the slaves of Jamaica.



When they reached the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) held at [Newport](#), they were informed that they would not be allowed to use the [Great Meetinghouse](#) for any such antislavery discussion. The two young men were considered by this [Quaker](#) group to represent the practice of arriving at decisions “by majorities, frequently after excited discussions,” when what was needed was silence, compassion, unanimity, and a gradualist approach. Rather than whip up opposition to the evil white people of the South by lecturing among the good white people of the North, the [Rhode Island](#) Friends felt it would be better to appeal directly to the consciences of the good white people in the South who were most directly involved in this evil. “In order for his peaceful release, the hearts of those who now control him [the slave] must be touched and softened.” After such a

rebuff, Friend Whittier for several years would refuse to attend his yearly meeting.



Here are the reactions of Friend Joseph Sturge upon touring a slave trading emporium near Washington DC at some point during this month:

In the afternoon I proceeded by a steam packet, with one of my friends, to Alexandria, about six miles distant, on the other side of the Potomac. A merchant, to whom I had an introduction, kindly accompanied us to a slave-trading establishment there, which is considered the principal one in the district. The proprietor was absent; but the person in charge, a stout, middle aged man, with a good-natured countenance, which little indicated his employment, readily consented to show us over the establishment. On passing behind the house, we looked through a grated iron door, into a square court or yard, with very high walls, in which were about fifty slaves. Some of the younger ones were dancing to a fiddle, an affecting proof, in their situation, of the degradation caused by slavery. There were, on the other hand, others who seemed a prey to silent dejection. Among these was a woman, who had run away from her master twelve years ago, and had married and lived ever since as a free person. She was at last discovered, taken and sold, along with her child, and would shortly be shipped to New Orleans, unless her husband could raise the means of her redemption, which we understood he was endeavouring to do. If he failed, they are lost to him for ever. Another melancholy looking woman was here with her nine children, the whole family having been sold away from their husband and father, to this slave-dealer, for two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. This unfeeling separation is but the beginning of their sorrows. They will, in all probability, be re-sold at New Orleans, scattered and divided, until not perhaps



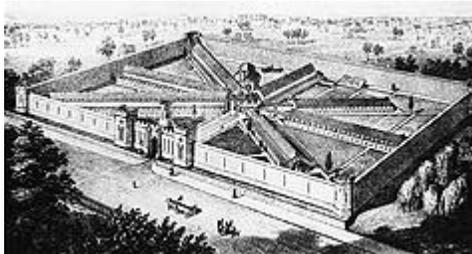
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two of them are left together. The most able-bodied negro I saw, cost the slave-dealer six hundred and eighty-five dollars.

Our guide told us that they sometimes sent from this house from fifteen hundred to two thousand slaves to the south in a year, and that they occasionally had three hundred to four hundred at once in their possession. That the trade was not now so brisk, but that prices were rising. The return and profits of this traffic appear to be entirely regulated by the fluctuations in the value of the cotton. Women are worth one-third less than men. But one instance of complete escape ever occurred from these premises, though some of the slaves were occasionally trusted out into the fields. He showed us the substantial clothing, shoes, &c., with which the slaves were supplied when sent to the south; a practice, I fear, enforced more by the cupidity of the buyers, than the humanity of the seller. Our informant stated, in answer to enquiries, that by the general testimony of the slaves purchased, they were treated better by the planters than was the case ten years ago. He also admitted the evils of the system, and said, with apparent sincerity, he wished it was put an end to.

June 1, day: In his American travels, the English [Quaker](#) abolitionist [Joseph Sturge](#) visited the Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents and the [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) on Cherry Hill near downtown Philadelphia:



During my short stay in Philadelphia on this occasion, I visited several of its prisons, philanthropic institutions, et cet. These are pro-eminently the glory of this beautiful city; yet as they have been often described, I shall pass them by in silence, with the exception of two, the Refuge, and the Penitentiary; which I briefly notice because I may offer a few general remarks in another place, on the important subject of prison discipline. The Refuge is an asylum for juvenile delinquents, founded on the just and benevolent principle that offences against society, committed by very young persons, should be disciplined by training and education, rather than by punishment. In this establishment there are from eighty to ninety boys, and from forty to fifty girls, of ages varying from eight to twenty-one years. The former are employed in various light handicraft trades, and the latter in domestic services, and both spend a certain portion of their time in school. They remain from six months to four years. From the statements of the superintendent and matron, it appeared that about three-fourths of the male, and four-fifths of the female inmates become respectable members of society, and the remainder are chiefly



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

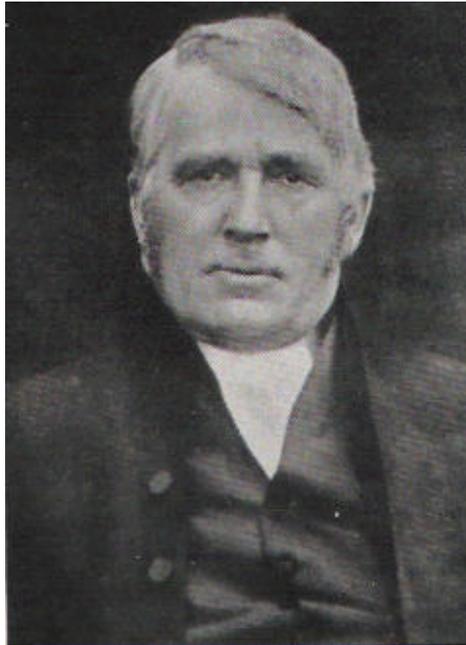
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

such as are fifteen or sixteen years of age when first admitted into the Refuge, an age at which character may be considered as in a great measure formed. The labour of the children pays about one-fifth of the expense of the establishment, the rest being defrayed by the legislature.

The prejudice of colour intrudes even here, no children of that class being admitted into the Refuge. Coloured delinquency is left to ripen into crime, with little interference from public or private philanthropy. As might have been expected, coloured, are more numerous than white criminals, in proportion to relative population; and this is appealed to as a proof of their naturally vicious and inferior character; when in fact the government and society at large are chargeable with their degradation.

The Penitentiary contained, at the time of my visit, about three hundred and forty male, and thirty-five female prisoners. In this celebrated prison, hard labour is combined with solitary confinement, a system which is technically known as the "separate" system. Silence and seclusion are so strictly enforced as to be almost absolute and uninterrupted; even the minister who addresses the prisoners on the sabbath is known to them only by his voice. A marked feature of this institution is security without the aid of any deadly weapon, none being allowed in the possession of the attendants, or indeed upon the premises. As compared with the "silent" system, exhibited in the not less famed prisons of the State of New York, this is much less economical, as the mode of employing the prisoners, in their solitary cells, greatly lessens the power of a profitable application of their labour.

July 30: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) took the visiting English Quaker abolitionist [Joseph Sturge](#) on a tour of a Lowell mill:



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

On the 30th, in company with JOHN G. WHITTIER and C. STEWART PENSNAW, I went over to Lowell, the chief seat of the woollen and cotton manufacture in America. Less than twenty years ago, there were not more than forty or fifty houses on the site of this flourishing city, which now contains upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. Its numerous mills are all worked by water power, and belong to incorporated joint-stock companies. We were obligingly shown over two of the largest woollen and cotton factories, where every stage of the manufacture was in process, from the cotton, or sheep's wool, to the finished fabric. We also visited works, where the printing of cottons is executed in a superior style, besides a new process for dyeing cotton in the thread, invented by an Englishman, now in the establishment. The following abstract of the manufacturing statistics of Lowell, on the first of January, 1841, will show the great importance to which this new branch of industry has attained with such unprecedented rapidity.

Ten joint-stock companies, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, having thirty-two woollen and cotton factories, besides print works, et cat., with one hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight spindles, and five thousand five hundred and eighty-eight looms, employing two thousand one hundred and seventy-two males, and six thousand nine hundred and twenty females; who made, in 1840, sixty-five millions eight hundred and two thousand four hundred yards of cotton and woollen cloths, in which were consumed twenty-one millions four hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds of cotton alone.

The average amount earned by the male hands employed, exclusive of their board, is four dollars and eighty cents, or about twenty shillings sterling per week, and of the females two dollars, or about eight shillings and



sixpence per week.

But the most striking and gratifying feature of Lowell, is the high moral and intellectual condition of its working population. In looking over the books of the mills we visited, where the operatives entered their names, I observed very few that were not written by themselves; certainly not five per cent. of the whole number were signed with a mark, and many of these were evidently Irish. It was impossible to go through the mills, and notice the respectable appearance and becoming and modest deportment of the “factory girls,” without forming a very favourable estimate of their character and position in society. But it would be difficult indeed for a passing observer to rate them so high as they are proved to be by the statistics of the place. The female operatives are generally boarded in houses built and owned by the “corporations” for whom they work, and which are placed under the superintendence of matrons of exemplary character, and skilled in housewifery, who pay a low rent for the houses, and provide all necessaries for their inmates, over whom they exercise a general oversight, receiving about one dollar and one-third from each per week. Each of these houses accommodates from thirty to fifty young women, and there is a wholesome rivalry among the mistresses which shall make their inmates most comfortable. We visited one of the boarding houses, and were highly pleased with its arrangement. A considerable number of the factory girls are farmers’ daughters, and come hither from the distant States of Vermont and New Hampshire, et cet., to work for two, three, or four years, when they return to their native hills, dowered with a little capital of their own earnings. The factory operatives at Lowell form a community that commands the respect of the neighbourhood, and of all under whose observation they come. No female of an immoral character could remain a week in any of the mills. The superintendent of the Boote Corporation informed me, that, during the five and a half years of his superintendence of that factory, employing about nine hundred and fifty young women, he had known of but one case of an illegitimate birth—and the mother was an Irish “immigrant.” Any male or female employed, who was known to be in a state of inebriety, would be at once dismissed.

At the suggestion of the benevolent and intelligent superintendent of the Boote Company, we waited to see the people turn out to dinner, at half-past twelve o’clock. We stood in a position where many hundreds passed under our review, whose dress, and quiet and orderly demeanour, would have done credit to any congregation breaking up from their place of worship. One of the gentlemen with me, who is from a slave State, where all labour is considered degrading, remarked, with emotion, “What would I give if-, (naming a near relative in the slave States,) could witness this only for a quarter of an hour!” We dined with one of our abolition friends at Lowell, who informed us that many hundreds of the factory girls were members of the Anti-slavery Society; and that, although activity in this cause has been pretty much suspended by the division in the ranks of its friends, yet there is no diminution of good feeling on the subject. The following extracts, from a pamphlet published by a respectable citizen of Lowell, in 1839, will further illustrate the moral statistics of the place, which, I believe, can be paralleled by no other manufacturing town in the world. The work is dated July, 1839:—

How shall I go to work to satisfy the reader of the high standard of morals among the female part of our population? I know of but one method, and that is, avoiding as much as possible all loose generalities, to state all such settled, ascertained, undisputed facts as bear directly on the question.

The amount of strictly religious influences will be best and most clearly shown, by the number of accessions to the several churches. The aggregate number of these I am not able to give, from want of the requisite materials. I have been able, however, to procure returns from nine of the fifteen churches in the city. These churches were organized at different times since the origin of the city, and the whole number of persons who have joined them by profession, amounts to five thousand five hundred and fifty nine. From eight to nine tenths of these were females, a large proportion of whom were employed in the mills.

There are now in the city fourteen regularly organized religious societies, besides one or two others quite



recently established. Ten of these societies constitute a Sabbath School Union. Their third annual report was made on the fourth of the present month, and it has been published within a few days. I derive from it the following facts. The number of scholars connected with the ten schools at the time of making the report, was four thousand nine hundred and thirty-six, and the number of teachers was four hundred and thirty-three, making an aggregate of five thousand three hundred and sixty-nine. The number who joined the schools during the year, was three thousand seven hundred and seventy, the number who left was three thousand one hundred and twenty-nine. About three-fourths of the scholars are females. A large proportion of the latter are over fifteen years of age, and consist of girls employed in the mills. More than five hundred of these scholars have, during the last year, become personally interested in practically piety, and more than six hundred have joined themselves to the several churches. Now let it be borne in mind, that there are four or five Sunday Schools in the city, some of which are large and flourishing, not included in this statement. Let it be borne in mind, too, that a great proportion of these scholars are the factory girls, and furthermore, that these most gratifying results just given, have nothing in them extraordinary-they are only the common, ordinary results of several of the past years. There has been no unusual excitement; no noise, no commotion. Silently, quietly, unobtrusively, from Sabbath to Sabbath, in these little nurseries of truth, duty and religion, has the good seed been sowing and springing up-watered by the dews, and warmed by the smiles of heaven-to everlasting life.

I shall now proceed to enumerate some of the influences which have been most powerful in bringing about these results. Among these are the example and watchful care and oversight of the boarding house keepers, the superintendents, and the over-seers. But a power vastly more active, all pervading and efficient, than any and all of these, is to be found in the jealous and sleepless watchfulness, over each other, of the girls themselves. The strongest guardianship of their own character, as a class, is in their own hands, and they will not suffer either overseer or superintendent to be indifferent to this character with impunity.

The relationship which is here established between the Sunday school scholar and her teacher-between the member of the church and her pastor-the attachments which spring up between them, are rendered close and strong by the very circumstances in which these girls are placed. These relationships and these attachments take the place of the domestic ties and the home



affections, and they have something of the strength and fervency of these.

The next extract shows their prosperity in a pecuniary point.

"The average wages, clear of board, amount to about two dollars a week. Many an aged father or mother, in the country, is made happy and comfortable, by the self-sacrificing contributions from the affectionate and dutiful daughter here. Many an old homestead has been cleared of its incumbrances, and thus saved to the family by these liberal and honest earnings. To the many and most gratifying and cheering facts, which, in the course of this examination, I have had occasion to state, I here add a few others relating to the matter now under discussion, furnished me by Mr. CARNEY, the treasurer of the Lowell Institution for Savings. The whole number of depositors in this institution, on the 23rd July, was nineteen hundred and seventy-six; the whole amount of deposits was three hundred and five thousand seven hundred and ninety-six dollars and seventy cents (about 60,000 pounds.) Of these depositors nine hundred and seventy-eight are factory girls, and the amount of their funds now in the bank, is estimated by Mr. CARNEY, in round numbers, at one hundred thousand dollars. It is a common thing for one of these girls to have five hundred dollars in deposit, and the only reason why she does not exceed this sum is the fact, that the institution pays no interest on any larger sum than this. After reaching this amount, she invests her remaining funds elsewhere.

In confirmation of this description of the state of the Lowell population, I have obtained, through the kindness of a friend in Massachusetts, the following parallel statistics to a recent date: —

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—BY the report of the school committee for the year ending on the 5th of Fourth Month (April) 1841, it appears that the whole number of pupils in the schools, who attended during the whole or part of the year, was 5,830. The whole amount expended by the city for these schools, during the year, was 18,106 dollars, 51 cents.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.—The number of scholars and teachers in the Sabbath Schools, connected with the various religious societies in Lowell, during the year ending on the 5th of Seventh Month (July) 1841, was 5,493.

SAVINGS' BANK.—The Lowell Institution for Savings, in its report of Fifth Month (May), 1840, acknowledges 328,395 dollars, 55 cents, deposits, from 2,137 persons; together with 16,093 dollars, 29 cents nett amount received for interest on loans and dividends in stocks, less expense and dividends paid —making in all, 344,488 dollars, 84 cents: net amount of interest, 24,714 dollars, 61 cents. Within the year, 120,175 dollars, 69 cents, had been deposited, and 70,384



dollars, 24 cents, drawn out.

PAUPERS.-The whole expense of the city for the support of the poor, during the year ending on the 31st of Twelfth Month (December) 1840, was 2,698 dollars, 61 cents.

As a proof, slight yet significant, of the spread of intellectual cultivation, I ought not to omit a notice of the "Lowell Offering," a little monthly magazine, consisting of original articles, written exclusively by the factory girls. The editor of the Boston Christian Examiner commends this little periodical to those who consider the

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factory system to be degrading and demoralizing; and expresses a doubt "whether a committee of young ladies, selected from the most refined and best educated families in any of our towns and cities, could make a fairer appearance in type than these hard-working factory girls." I have given, in the appendix, an article from this little periodical.

The city of Lowell has been distinguished by British tourists as the Manchester of the United States; but, in view of the facts above related, an American has declared it to be "not the Manchester of the United States."

**Article from "The Lowell Offering,
a Repository of Original Articles,
written by Females employed in the Mills."**

The following article from this miscellany has been selected without reference to literary merit, but as incidentally affording information respecting the origin, habits, manners, and tone of mind and morals of the "factory girls" of Lowell.

THE SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT.

"I will not stay in Lowell any longer; I am determined to give my notice this very day," said Ellen Collins, as the earliest bell was tolling to remind us of the hour for labour.

"Why, what is the matter, Ellen? It seems to me you have dreamed out a new idea? Where do you think of going? and what for?"

"I am going home, where I shall not be obliged to rise so early in the morning, nor be dragged about by the ringing of a bell, nor confined in a close noisy room from morning till night. I will not stay here; I am determined to go home in a fortnight."

Such was our brief morning's conversation.

In the evening, as I sat alone, reading, my companions having gone out to public lectures or social meetings, Ellen entered. I saw that she still wore the same gloomy expression of countenance, which had been manifested in the morning; and I was disposed to remove from her mind the evil influence, by a plain common-sense conversation.



"And so, Ellen," said I, "you think it unpleasant to rise so early in the morning, and be confined in the noisy mill so many hours during the day. And I think so, too. All this, and much more, is very annoying, no doubt. But we must not forget that there are advantages, as well as disadvantages, in this employment, as in every other. If we expect to find all sun-shine and flowers in any station in life, we shall most surely be disappointed. We are very busily engaged during the day; but then we have the evening to ourselves, with no one to dictate to or controul us. I have frequently heard you say, that you would not be confined to household duties, and that you disliked the millinery business altogether, because you could not have your evenings, for leisure. You know that in Lowell we have schools, lectures, and meetings of every description, for moral and intellectual improvement."

"All this is very true," replied Ellen, "but if we were to attend every public institution, and every evening school which offers itself for our improvement, we might spend every farthing of our earnings, and even more. Then if sickness should overtake us, what are the probable consequences? Here we are, far from kindred and home; and if we have an empty purse, we shall be destitute of friends also."

"I do not think so, Ellen. I believe there is no place where there are so many advantages within the reach of the labouring class of people, as exist here; where there is so much equality, so few aristocratic distinctions, and such good fellowship, as may be found in this community. A person has only to be honest, industrious, and moral, to secure the respect of the virtuous and good, though he may not be worth a dollar; while, on the other hand, an immoral person, though he should possess wealth, is not respected."

"As to the morality of the place," returned Ellen, "I have no fault to find. I object to the constant hurry of every thing. We cannot have time to eat, drink, or sleep; we have only thirty minutes, or at most three quarters of an hour, allowed us to go from our work, partake of our food, and return to the noisy clatter of machinery. Up before day, at the clang of the bell — and out of the mill by the clang of the bell — into the mill, and at work, in obedience to that ding-dung of a bell — just as though we were so many living machines. I will give my notice to-morrow: go, I will — I won't stay here and be a white slave."

"Ellen," said I, "do you remember what is said of the bee, that it gathers honey even in a poisonous flower?"



May we not, in like manner, if our hearts are rightly attuned, find many pleasures connected with our employment? Why is it, then, that you so obstinately look altogether on the dark side of a factory life? I think you thought differently while you were at home, on a visit, last summer—for you were glad to come back to the mill, in less than four weeks. Tell me, now—why were you so glad to return to the ringing of the bell, the clatter of the machinery, the early rising, the half-hour dinner, and so on?"

I saw that my discontented friend was not in a humour to give me an answer—and I therefore went on with my talk.

"You are fully aware, Ellen, that a country life does not exclude people from labour—to say nothing of the inferior privileges of attending public worship—that people have often to go a distance to meeting of any kind—that books cannot be so easily obtained as they can here—that you cannot always have just such society as you wish—that you"—

She interrupted me, by saying—"We have no bell, with its everlasting ding-dung."

"What difference does it make," said I, "whether you shall be awakened by a bell, or the noisy bustle of a farm-house? For, you know, farmers are generally up as early in the morning as we are obliged to rise."

"But there," said Ellen, "country people have none of the clattering of machinery constantly dinning in their ears."

"True," I replied, "but they have what is worse—and that is, a dull, lifeless silence all around them. The hens may cackle sometimes, and the geese gabble, and the pigs squeal"—

Ellen's hearty laugh interrupted my description—and presently we proceeded, very pleasantly, to compare a country life with a factory life in Lowell. Her scowl of discontent had departed, and she was prepared to consider the subject candidly. We agreed, that since we must work for a living, the mill, all things considered, is the most pleasant, and best calculated to promote our welfare; that we will work diligently during the hours of labour; improve our leisure to the best advantage, in the cultivation of the mind,—hoping thereby not only to increase our own pleasure, but also to add to the happiness of those around us.

ALMIRA.



GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. Curriculum and Financial Arrangements for Public Education.

THE reader who has accompanied me thus far, will not need to be informed that I have designedly omitted many of those remarks on scenery, manners, and institutions, which were naturally suggested to my own mind by a retrospect of my sojourn in the United States. On various subjects of great interest and importance, it would be difficult for me to add any thing new or valueable to the information contained in other and well known works; while on those points to which my attention was chiefly directed, I have endeavoured, as far as practicable, to incorporate the results of my inquiries in the preceding narrative. There remain, however, a few observations, for which, having found no appropriate place, I would bespeak attention in a concluding chapter.

In the northern States, education in the common acceptance of the term, may be considered as universal; in illustration of which it may be mentioned, that on the occasion of the late census, not a single American adult in the State of Connecticut, was returned as unable to read or write. Funds for education are raised by municipal taxation in each town or district, to such an amount as the male adults may decide. Their public schools are universally admitted to be well conducted and efficient, and combine every requisite for affording a sound, practical, elementary education to the children of the less affluent portion of the community. I need scarcely add that in a republican government, this important advantage being conceded, the road to wealth and distinction, or to eminence of whatever kind, is thrown open to all of every class without partiality-the coloured alone excepted.

The following extract from a letter received since my return from a respected member of the Society of Friends, residing in Worcester, Massachusetts, will give a lively idea of the general diffusion and practical character of education in the New England States.

The public schools of the place, like those throughout the State, are supported by a tax, levied on the people by themselves, in their primary assemblies or town meetings, and they are of so excellent a character as to have driven other schools almost entirely out from amongst us. They are so numerous as to accommodate amply all the children, of suitable age to attend. They are graduated from the infant school, where the A. B. C. is taught, up to the high school for the languages and mathematics, where boys are fitted for the University, and advanced so far, if they choose, as to enter the University one or two years ahead. These schools are attended by the children of the whole population promiscuously; and, in the same class, we find the children of the governor and the ex-Governor of the State, and those of their day-labourers, and of parents who are so poor that their children are provided with books and stationery from the school fund. Under this system, we have no children who do not acquire sufficient school learning to qualify them for transacting all the business which is necessary in the ordinary pursuits of life. A child growing up without school learning would be an anomaly with us. All standing thus on a level, as to advantages, talent is developed, wherever it happens to be; and neither wealth nor ancestral honours give any advantage in the even-handed contest which may here be waged for distinction. It is thus that we find, almost uniformly, that our first men, either in government or the professions, are the sons of comparatively poor and obscure persons. In



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places where the wealthier portion of the community have placed their children in select schools, they are found much less likely to excel, than when placed in contact and collision with the mass, where they are compelled to come in competition with those whose physical condition prepares them for mental labour, and whose situation in society holds forth every enticement to their exertion. To this system, which is co-eval with the foundation of the State, I attribute, in a great degree, that wonderful energy of character which distinguishes the people of New England, and which has filled the world with the evidences of their enterprise.

The preceding statements refer to New England, the oldest portion of the free States. The more recently settled Northern and Western States are necessarily less advanced, yet their educational statistics would probably bear comparison with any country in the world, except the most favoured portion of their own. In the slave States the aspect of things affords a striking contrast. Not only is the slave population, with but few exceptions, in a condition of heathen barbarism, a condition which it is the express object of those laws of the slave States, forbidding under the heaviest penalties, the instruction of the slaves, to perpetuate; but the want of common elementary education among large numbers of the privileged class is notorious. Compare Virginia with Massachusetts, — The American Almanac for the year 1841, states (page 210,) there are supposed to be hardly fewer than 30,000 adult white persons in Virginia who cannot read and write! An able writer gives the following facts.

No one of the slave States has probably so much general education as Virginia. It is the oldest of them —has furnished one half of the Presidents of the United States —has expended more upon her University than any State in the Union has done during the same time upon its colleges —sent to Europe nearly twenty years since for her most learned professors; and in fine, has far surpassed every other slave State in her efforts to disseminate education among her citizens; and yet, the Governor of Virginia in his message to the legislature, (Jan. 7, 1839) says, that “of four thousand six hundred and fourteen adult males in that State, who applied to the country clerks for marriage licenses in the year 1837, one thousand and forty seven were unable to write their names.” The governor adds, “these statements, it will be remembered are confined to one sex: the education of females, it is to be feared, is in a condition of much greater neglect.” —The editor of the Virginia Times published at Wheeling, in his paper of January, 23rd, 1839, says,— “We have every reason to suppose that one fourth of the people of the State cannot write their names, and they have not of course, any other species of education.” The destitution of the means of moral and religious improvement is in like manner very great.

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September 6: The Reverend [Issachar J. Roberts](#) was commissioned as a [Baptist](#) missionary to [China](#).

During this year the Hillman Brothers Shipyard of [New Bedford](#) had constructed the *Charles W. Morgan*, named after the [Quaker](#) businessman Charles Waln Morgan who was paying the cost of \$52,000. Most of the 80-year whaling career of this vessel would be on behalf of the firm of J.& W.R. Wing & Co. (1863-1913), a career which would involve 37 whaling expeditions ranging from 9 months to five years duration over the entire Pacific, Indian, and South Atlantic oceans and which would return 54,483 barrels of oil and 152,934 pounds of whalebone. Typically, she would sail with a crew of 33 men. She would never venture to the Arctic oceans, and at least 5 of her 21 masters would bring their wives and children along on its voyages.

This map of New Bedford's harbor would be created in 1846:

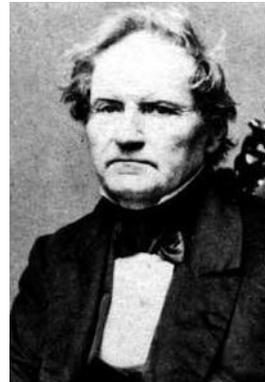


September 23: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) preached at Marlboro Chapel in Boston as part of the New England Non-Resistance Society's annual meeting.¹²⁸



Lucretia Coffin Mott in 1841

The opening prayer at the funeral of the [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) was offered by the [Reverend Convers Francis](#) of Watertown.



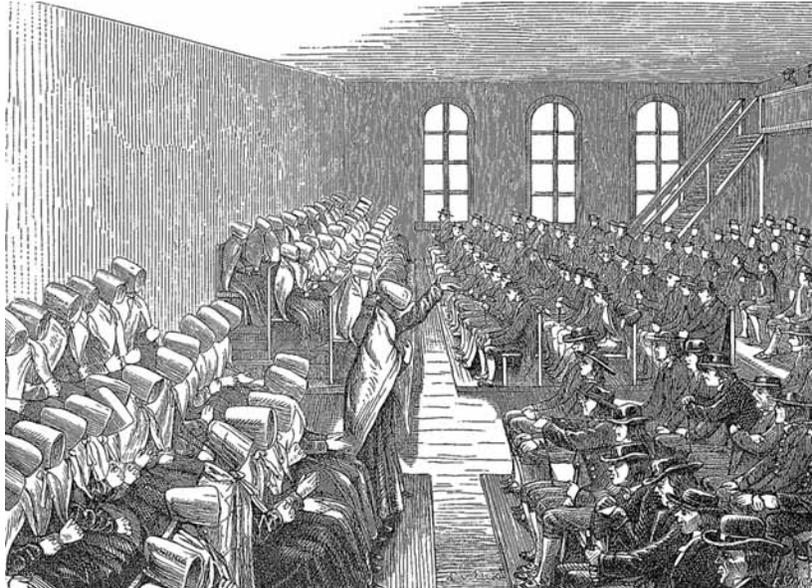
Since the First Parish Church structure was at this time undergoing restoration, his funeral had needed to be scheduled for the Trinitarian Congregational Church which stood across the brook. This ceremony would occasion “A Sermon Delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Ezra Ripley,” by the Reverend Barzillai Frost, and “Death of the Aged,” by the [Reverend Francis](#).

128. I do not know whether Thoreau came into Boston to hear her, or whether Mott made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know.

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October: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) traveled through the state of New York preaching at [Quaker](#) meetings without the benefit of a traveling minute from her own meeting.



She found that the New York Quakers were in a state of evangelical turmoil due to a minister George White who was proclaiming that it would obviously be better for one's soul, to be a slave such as Frederick Douglass had been, than to be an abolitionist such as he had become, and that therefore the antislavery movement must be an abomination in the sight of God, to whom the state of one's soul is of more significance than the state of one's mere corporeality.



Lucretia Coffin Mott in 1841

October 15: The Liberator reported further incidents caused by railroad racial segregation. At Lynn MA, for instance, John A. Collins and [Frederick Douglass](#) had again boarded the Eastern train and seated themselves side by side in a car reserved for white people, but this time a white woman abolitionist seated herself facing them and a white male abolitionist, James N. Buffum, seated himself behind them. The ride-inners, in their disputations with the conductor, had managed to get a vote of the other persons riding in the car, and the vote of the other passengers had been to allow the negroes to remain where they were. Nevertheless the conductor insisted that it was his job to see to it that the rules of the railroad were enforced, and went and got a gang of white men to



enforce the rules. They pulled so hard on Collins and Douglass, who were holding onto the seat, that the seat was pulled out of the train with them. This staged push-coming-to-shove business was all designed, of course, as part of a larger argument. Friend Buffum was taking the position that railroads should set a “holier example” by leading the way toward desegregation, and the Superintendent of the Eastern Railroad, Friend Stephen Chase, was taking the position that it was up to churches to set that “holier example,” by first abolishing their negro pews. Which [Quaker](#) would win this argument would depend primarily upon which one could marshal the most support from the other white riders on this railroad. The outcome of the push-and-shove indicated that in general the managers of the railroad enterprise would be willing to adopt whatever rules resulted in the greatest profits at the smallest inconveniences but that the white commuters riding this railroad at this time would only respond in order to minimize the inconvenience such struggles caused them as they used their train — and did not care a great deal whether in this process other people were being treated with decency or fairness. Soon, however, the Middlesex County Antislavery Society would join in supporting an attempt at a boycott of railroads which forcibly segregated their customers, suggesting that such violence as the dragging away of white people who desired to sit with black friends on the railroad, a violation of “our liberties,” demonstrated that the fortunes of white people were “intimately bound up” with the liberties of non-white people in such a manner that to increase the liberty of non-whites would be effectively to obtain an increase in the liberty of whites.



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1842

[Mary Howitt](#)'s WORK AND WAGES, OR LIFE IN SERVICE, WHICH IS THE WISER? OR PEOPLE ABROAD, and LITTLE COIN, MUCH CARE.

Publication of [Luke Howard](#)'s A CYCLE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS IN THE SEASONS OF BRITAIN; DEDUCED FROM METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE AT ACKWORTH, IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE, FROM 1824 TO 1841; COMPARED WITH OTHERS BEFORE MADE FOR A LIKE PERIOD (ENDING WITH 1823) IN THE VICINITY OF LONDON. BY LUKE HOWARD ... WITH FIVE PLATES. (London, J. Ridgway, 1842), an attempt to understand why

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

the weather was changing from one year to the next. In this volume he reported on his observations in Ackworth, Yorkshire and at his home in Tottenham near London that had led him to suspect the existence of some sort of natural weather cycle bringing sometimes warm years and other times cold ones. (Could it be that what he was noticing was the derivative impact in the North Atlantic of the El Niño/La Niña ENSO switcheroo in the South Pacific?)

Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1837-1843

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
1837	strong	in El Niño moderate +	adequate	drought	deficient	3d year, extremely poor
1838	strong	La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	4th year, quite weak
1839	strong	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	5th year, very low
1840	absent	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1841	absent	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1842	absent	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1843	absent	La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate

The southern ocean / atmosphere "seesaw" links to periodic Indonesian east monsoon droughts, Australian droughts, deficient Indian summer monsoons, and deficient Ethiopian monsoon rainfall causing weak annual Nile floods. This data is presented from Tables 6.2-6.3 of Quinn, William H. "A study of Southern Oscillation-related climatic activity for AD 622-1900 incorporating Nile River flood data," pages 119-49 in Diaz, Henry F. and Vera Markgraf, eds. EL NIÑO: HISTORICAL AND PALEOCLIMATIC ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OSCILLATION. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

The Indiana Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) invited Henry Clay, an advocate of the institution of [slavery](#), seating him in "one of the most conspicuous places in the house" and thus providing in regard to him "the strongest evidence" of "the high estimation in which they held him" and his pro-slavery sentiments. This conduct was, shall we say, noticed, and shall we say, objected to, by those Indiana Quakers who were opposed to the enslavement of others, and who interpreted it as an honoring not of a man but of an abomination, the peculiar institution of human enslavement.¹²⁹



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) was suspended due to religious dissension. In 1845 it would divide into a majority group and a minority group, Wilburites versus Gurneyites (conservative followers of Friend John Wilbur of Hopkinton versus liberal followers of English traveling minister Friend Joseph John Gurney). In 1847 divided worship would resume — until 1881 when the local Wilburite meeting would be laid down (discontinued), and 1899 when the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the [Yearly Meeting School](#) used \$5,000 of the money from the last will and testament of [Friend Moses Brown](#) to purchase two tracts of land of about ten acres each.

The New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) put out, over the signature of Clerk Samuel Boyd Tobey, and the firm of Knowles and Vose of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) printed, a 24-page pamphlet entitled AN APPEAL TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY, IN THE SOUTHERN STATES AND ELSEWHERE, ON THE SUBJECT OF [SLAVERY](#).

During two nights of anti-black rioting in Philadelphia, the worst in that city's history, angry mobs surrounded [Robert Purvis](#)'s home at 9th and Lombard Streets for 40 hours while he sat inside with a rifle. Although not one member of this racist assembly could summon the courage to invade the house, afterward the wealthy Purvis would relocate his family to a large farm he owned in Byberry, across the road from the Byberry [Friends Meetinghouse](#).



129. But they were definitely in the minority. Edgerton, SEPARATION IN INDIANA, pages 84-85. In an 1845 speech, [Frederick Douglass](#) would comment upon the strange fact that although Quakers had once been denouncing human enslavement “as contrary to the laws of God and religion” and requiring their members to free themselves of such entanglement, in fact even as of that year some important groupings of this religious society **were still allowing** members to be holding people in bondage.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the firm of Benjamin F. Moore, at No. 10 Market Street, Up Stairs, was printing a 2d edition of Jacob Frieze's A CONCISE HISTORY, OF THE EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE IN RHODE ISLAND; FROM THE YEAR 1811 TO 1842.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

During this year, after a successful 3,500-mile tour, [Frederick Douglass](#) would be hired as a full-time paid orator by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.



During this year he would meet the black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond and the white [Quaker](#) activists Isaac Post and Amy Post of Rochester, New York.

In either this year or the following one (it is said, although I have been unable as yet to obtain corroboration for this claim), he would inspire Jesse Hutchinson to become active in the abolitionist cause. The result would be the Hutchinson Family Singers, Judson Hutchinson-John W. Hutchinson-Asa Hutchinson-Abby Hutchinson.¹³⁰

"My brother Jesse was identified with the very beginnings of the anti-slavery agitation, was in the fullest sympathy with the leaders and cognizant of all the thrilling details of the work going on.... Through him we became familiar with the great agitation...."

—John W. Hutchinson

130. This would be a cause group. For instance, at one point Judson Hutchinson was becoming so distressed at the idea of their doing well by doing good, that according to Carol Ryrie Brink's HARPS IN THE WIND: THE STORY OF THE SINGING HUTCHINSONS (NY, 1947), he disrupted at least one of their concerts — by flinging their collected cash receipts into the crowd (eventually Judson would be a suicide).



February 25: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) wrote to Richard and Hannah Webb, whom she had met in London in 1840:

Philada. 2 Mo.
25th. 1842.

*My dear Richard & Hannah Webb
And our other dear friends in Dublin,*

For when writing to any one of our precious circle, I feel as if I were addressing all – C Corkran inclusive, in the yearnings of undiminished affection. As the result of our travel abroad, nothing affords more unmingled pleasure, than the reception of some 3 or 4 sheets of Richards "illegible scribblings." The very difficulty we have in deciphering seems to heighten the gratification for we know that when we have puzzled it out, we shall be paid for the effort. The last, to Sarah Pugh was the more interesting, from the fact of Sarah's hastening hither with it unopened, and letting us share the pleasure of the first reading with her. We often wish for Abby Kimber to enjoy with us the first impressions – but some of her notes to Sarah help to supply her absence. I wish Sarah would copy for you what she wrote at the close of the last year. It was so expressive of my feelings that the rapid flight of Time was placing our delightful visit in the more distant view; and so on, a heap of pretty sentiments just what I felt, but had not the ability to write out.

It happened soon after the reception of Richds. letter, that J. M. [her husband [James](#)] & self were meeting with the Indian Committee of the several Yearly Mgs. of our Frds. (of course). Philip E. Thomas was present – the author of the Balte. reply to J. J. Gurney.¹³¹ After our business was concluded –, I read to them the ^Richds.^ comments, on the language used – "itinerant foreigner". I did not know that P.E. Thomas had written the book, till I perceived all eyes directed to him, with a smile – & he commenced a defence of the expressions used. He said, he could not call [him?] [[Joseph John Gurney](#)] – a "travelling Friend", for he did not consider him one – that there was nothing contemptuous in the term "itinerant" nor in that of "foreigner". He considered the man very much out of his place, in attempting to address them, without having mingled with them at all, or knowing their sentiments, save by ex-parte statements. His conduct he regarded as impudent, & if that term – would answer as a substitute, he would think it quite as expressive. He then offered to supply our Dublin friends, with some copies of the review of the work, with his additional remarks. We have since received a parcel of that & another production of his pen; which at his request we herewith send. I

131. In his pamphlet, Review of Gurney's Attack on Friends of Baltimore, and of Their Defence (Baltimore: Wm. Woody, 1841) Thomas criticized a lengthy letter Gurney had written to the [Hicksite](#) Friends in Baltimore declining to visit their Lombard Street Meeting. Thomas quoted passages from the Hicksites' answer to Gurney (their "Defence") in which they professed their belief "in the Scriptures concerning Christ, both as to his outward manifestation in the flesh, and in relation to that Divine Principle of Light and Truth in man, which in Scripture is called 'the Christ.'" Thomas concluded that a reading of Gurney's attack and the Defence showed "that the Spirit of Orthodoxy is every where the same, that of insolence, assumption, and denunciation, that it is impossible for the meekest to keep any terms with it, except those of base, unmanly submission." He criticized Gurney as possessing the "assumption and narrow-mindedness of a foreigner" (10-14, 17-19, 22).

HDT

WHAT?

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM





fear – you will not get it without having to pay more postage on it, than it will be worth to you. If Richard & Anne Allen¹³² are not too orthodox to read what may be said by our side, please hand them one. I always feel rather more as if they belonged to English Friends, than I feel when writing to you. I cannot remember whether my husband wrote to Richard, after receiving his acceptable letter in 9 Mo last – or of that date; with a small addition from Anne. I shall take great pleasure in enclosing in this, for her, Whittier's autograph, at her request. Since I find she could bear our Anna's playful lines for her friend Sarah M'Kim, I should like to send her some others by the same author. We can hear with evident satisfaction, a little raillery at the expense of other sects, but few can bear to have [their?] own, made the subject of satire, or even pleasantry. Our veneration is trained to pay homage to ancient usage, rather than to truth, which is older than all. Else, why Church censure on marriages that are not of us? – on Parents conniving? on our members being present at such [&c? Oh] how our Discipline needs revising – & stripping of its objectionable features. I know not how fa[r yours] may differ from ours, but I know we have far too many disownable offences. Still with all our faults, I know of no religious association I would prefer to it. And I would rather hear of R. D. Webb laboring very faithfully, & with all Christian daring, in his society, than withdrawing from it. I felt so with regard to Wm. Bassett & hoped that his influence within the pale, might 'turn many to righteousness' [.]¹³³ I have frequently noticed that persons who were once useful in our society, withdrawg from it, became rather contracted & selfish – shut themselves out from society at large, and grew censorious. Their children also havg no rallying point, as they grew older, like following their natural inclination for Association, connected themselves with sects far behind the intelligence & light of their parents. This has been remarkably the case with the families of those who were cruelly severed from our society some 20 years ago in New England – called New lights[.] A case has lately occurred in this region. A daughr. of enlightened Parents, who withdrew from us 15 years ago, has lately joined the Catholics, & has in view to become a 'sister of charity.' Job Scott's childn. are Swedenborgians. These remarks may not apply to all. Wm. L. Garrison never was attached to any sect. Sarah Pugh, from the time of the separation among us, never felt her interests enlisted with either side; I have no fear of her talents rusting for want of use. N. P. Rogers, bound as he was, with a set of bigots & superstitious devotees, may increase his usefulness by his severance from such a denomination. J. A. Collins, ditto. What a Radical, and ultra reformer he is! I did not know him, nor much of his sentiments till since his return from England. I told him, consistency required of him to wear coarser clothing. He would not admit this, as his efforts were not so much to level the rich, as to

132. Richard Allen (1803-1886), abolitionist, an orthodox Quaker, and a cotton merchant, and his wife, Anne Webb Allen, cousin of Richard Webb (Mott to the Webbs, 28 May 1850, Boston Public Library). The Motts had first met the Allens in London. Frederick B. Tolles, ed., *Slavery and the "Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary* (Haverford: Friends Historical Association, 1952), 34.

133. Bassett (1803-71), originally an orthodox Quaker from Lynn, Mass., became a Unitarian and was ardently pro-Garrison. The quotation is from Daniel 12:3.



raise the poor – & furnish them with all the comforts & enjoyments of their wealthy neighbors. What has become of those queer separatists. – Jacobites, to whom we essayed to speak, but they would not? When you write, we should be glad to be informed how our aged friends, Dr. Hutton & wife are. Do they yet live? If from them our dear James Haughton could learn anything of their son Dr. Hutton & family of London, and impart it to us, it would be very acceptable. Dr. Drummond too.¹³⁴ Is he yet alive? And have you prevailed with him, to unite his talents & labors with those, engaged in works of reform.

It has been gratifying to see Jas. Haughton's name so frequently in public Meetgs. for the good of the people, & the spread of sound principles. His letter recd. last summer is valued by us even tho' we have made no adequate return. I want to send him a heretical sermon, preached by Theodore Parker in Boston last year – The "Transient & Permanent in Christianity." It created a great stir in New-England & led some of the old Unitarians to tremble for their reputation as Christians. The Orthodox were out upon them in all quarters; which led some of them to issue their disclaimers; whereupon, the Evangelicals, catching at a straw, foresaw a strong counter-movement, and were cheered with the belief that "doctrines which of old were held, would begin to re-assert their former claims; and Truth, hallowed by time & reverend by Apostolic teaching, & holy, from its conformity to the blessed lessons of the Son of God would become & remain the only standard of the Christian Life". Thus wrote my nephew Thos. C. Yarnall, who is studying in College for the ministry in the Episcopal Church. But to my understanding & reading Parker is equally full of faith in the real ground-work of religion in all ages, on which the truths of Scripture are based: not on miracles, or inexplicable creeds. We shall not make much progress as Christians, until we dare to read & examine the Jewish Scriptures, as we would any other of the ancient records. By what authority do we set so high a value on every text that may be drawn from this volume? Certainly not by any command therein found. On the contrary, again & again is there an appeal to the inner sense, – "why even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?["]¹³⁵ Parker's remarks on the BIBLE, in the Discourse above mentioned, I like very much – that its real & proper estimate will not be lessened by breaking through the Idolatry which is now paid to it. I read its pages ^I mean the scriptures^ over & over again with a keen relish and encourage our childn. to do the same, but I cannot do, as we saw Friends in England & Ireland do – make the reading of that book a religious rite in the family – and adopt a peculiar tone & solemn style of pronunciation – all the old terminations full & c. Let us venerate the Good & the True, while we respect not prejudice & Superstition!

R. D. Webb thinks I am a Humanitarian. I have never given my

134. The Jacobites were led in part by Joshua Jacob of Dublin, who publicly criticized those Quakers who did not adhere to their custom of extreme simplicity in dress and living habits; they wore nothing but white clothing and were often referred to as "White Quakers." See Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927), 126-29. Dr. Joseph Hutton (1790-1860), Unitarian minister in London. The Motts had met his father and mother in Dublin 23 July. William Hamilton Drummond (1778-1865), Presbyterian preacher in Dublin. See Tolles, *Diary*, 27, 31, 62, 64.

135. LUKE 12:57.



faith a name. The distinctions among Christian professors are found on an analysis, to be but hair-breadth, and it is puzzling to bear in mind the distinctive points in their creeds. We give a more Orthodox hue to ours, by retaining some expressions which do not convey our real sentiments. I do not wonder that Richard asks, what we mean by our professions. If he should hear some of our preachers, he would understand us better. The hearers are often told that they are not called to rest their hopes of salvation on the "Sacrifice without the gates of Jerusalem". The Divinity of Christ is held – not by miraculous power – so much as his spiritual creation – "the son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness." We never attempt to draw or define the precise relation to the Father – nor is a trinity acknowledged in our galleries. We rather, urge obedience to manifested duty, as the means of acceptance with the Searches of hearts. This is the old-fashioned Quaker doctrine – "neither is there salvation as in any other."¹³⁶ I have no doubt of the kindness & sincerity of the friend who warned you of the danger of association with some of us. Should she hear Richard say, how loosely society attachments rest upon him, she would feel as if there was a cause for her concern. He must be careful how he gives utterance to such sentiments. I have often felt the restraints & seen the [evils] of which he speaks; but after much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the advantages preponderate – I mean of religious Associations. It requires constant watching and care that we yield no principle; but only concede minor points, for the sake of unity. If the bearing of a faithful testimony to the world subjects us to excommunication, why then let us seek another rallying point for our childns. sake – as well as for the preservation of ourselves. You will see by the Standard how the New York pseudo-Quakers are conducting towards I.T. Hopper, J.S. Gibbons, & C. Marriott. I bear my testimony against their intolerance in every circle. In our Indian Committee of the Yearly Meetgs united – C Marriott has been a faithful & active member. In a meeting of that Com. last week, I expressed the regret I felt that he should be so unjustly deprived of his right to labor with us in that cause – Some present thot. we should be careful how we judged another Mo. Mg. I told them we did not hesitate 15 years ago, to judge of the persecuting spirit of our Orthodox opposers, and I viewed the treatment of these frds. in N. York in the same light. We were then struggling for freedom of opinion. We are now claimg the right of practice in accordance with our convictions. I wish you could see a correspondence growing out of my going to Boston last Autumn, to attend the Non-Resistance Anniversary and attendg New York Mg. on my way home.¹³⁷ The Elders & others there have been quite desirous to make me an offender for joining with those not in membership with us & accepting offices in these Societies. But our Friends here, know full well that such a

136. "The son of God with power according to spirit of holiness," Romans 1:4; "neither is there salvation in any other," Acts 4:12.
137. At the New England Non-Resistance Meeting held in Boston 21 and 22 September 1841, Mott said that "the feeling among us seemed truer and deeper" than at the meeting she had attended in 1839, and "I would ever have it more felt than expressed. Whatever we do express, I hope will be in fewer words and to the point" (Liberator, 19 November 1841:188). An editorial in the Practical Christian (reprinted in the Liberator, 12 November 1841:184) criticized the organization for not recognizing the prominence of the Christian religion in its proceedings.



position is neither contrary to our Discipline, to Scripture, to reason nor common sense. I was permitted to answer for myself & I found proof enough in the practice of Friends from the days of Wm. Penn to the present – of such "mixtures." They failed of bringing action against me. Richard says truly, – that "oil & water would unite as readily as G. F. White & L. M."¹³⁸ I can only account for some things in his course, on the ground of insanity. Some months ago he sent in a kind of resignation of his right of Membership. The Mo. Mg. had the paper examined, by a few frds., who reported unfavorably to its being read. It was all hushed & not more than a dozen individuals knew what the paper contained The next month he obtained a minute to attend Indiana Yearly Mg. On his return, when appearances indicated the restoration of I.T. Hopper & J.S. Gibbons to their rights, G.F. White announced to his Mg. what he had done & that he then repeated it – calling at the same time on the young people present to be prepared to act in the approachg hour of trial in the Society. Since the Quarterly Mg. confirmed the judgment, they appear satisfied – but as the Yearly Meeting draws near, another threat will doubtless be held out – as is the practice with the politicians in our Southern States; – unless indeed we should do as the Mass[.] petitioners have done – ask, ourselves, for a dissolution of the Union. But I don't wish to fill my whole sheet with these matters. Have you taken an interest in our Congressional proceedings this winter? or rather will you – when you hear or read how bravely our veteran J.Q. Adams is acquitting himself in Washington.¹³⁹ Before quite leaving the former subject, which Richard says fills his head from morning till night, I meant to tell you how Anne Knight in a letter to Margaretta Forten, & to M.W. Chapman, that to me I find was wholly on Woman's Rights, deplores my heresy. She says "Her forbearance of the wrongs encountered in Father-land would merit the term Christian, had [she] not so utterly disowned & insulted her Lord and Savior. The dreadful mistakes of her Theology have, I am sorry to say, excluded her from the hearts of many of our A. S. women; & their hospitality on that account was less warm. For my own part dearly as I love my savior – as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" &c – a half a page just as Orthodox writers express themselves, – she goes on to say "and knowing from Lucretia that she rejects her Lord, & turns with disgust from 'his hanging on a tree' his being slain, his blood shed, – that she recoils from what she calls so gross an idea, and desires not, what the angels desire to look into – the scheme of Redemption". – ["]Awfully as I regard this state of deep & hardened revolt, yet do I love L. M for her work's sake. – It was a joy to have the oppority of offering those attentions which others neglected" &c. &c. – She then goes on to speak of the narrow-minded bigotry of those at the Convention, who excluded women – not seeing herself on another subject, equally a bigot. "Oh, wad some Power"¹⁴⁰ &c. I can truly say "Father forgive her,"

138. In a letter to her husband, Maria Davis described White's criticism of those persons "disturbing religious Congregations — that they had no more right to do so from a sense duty, than to go the wharf, load a dray with sugar & rice & send it to some benevolent society, under a sense of duty" (10 December 1843, Mott Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

139. In the House of Representatives, former president John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) continued to protest Congress's refusal to allow him to submit anti-slavery petitions.



&c[.] I loved her for her courage in paying us so much attention & identifying herself with us. I shall write to her as soon as I finish this sheet, & try to convince her that altho' I do not interpret the "sacred text" precisely as she does, I am not on that count entitled to all the hard names, branded by a self-styled orthodoxy. She expresses a wish to have some of J. M.'s Books, wh. I shall take great pleasure in sending her – We have not sent one to England for we did not know but they would regard it an insult. I intend also to write & send one to Elizh. Pease. She wrote a kind letter to us last summer, which we have not yet acknowledged. I have little time to write – save a constant correspondence with my absent sister & a few friends in this land. I am travelling from home so much that, I have to be the more devoted to my family & domestic avocations when with them. And until I do [as?] Richard approves in Sarah Pugh – break off my attachment to our religious Society, I shall have frequent demand on my time & services in its behalf. An application has been made to our & Balte. Yearly Mg. for the establishment of a new Yearly-Mg. west of the Alleghany Mountains in this State. I visited the meetings to compose this Mg. this winter in co. with several of the Com. furnished also with a minute to appoint Meetings. We were absent 5 weeks, – travelled near 700 miles, and averaged nearly a Meeting a day during our absence. In some places where Orthodoxy pro-slavery had hitherto closed the door against us, access was now readily found. Elizh. Robson & companions preceded us & were not slow to represent the "Hicksites" as deniers of all that was sacred. We met with a gentleman in Mifflin County an entire stranger to Friends of either division. He told us what 'Mrs.' Robson & Co. had said & remarked this difference, that while they had much to say against us, we seemed to have nothing to say against them. He exerted himself to procure a house for a Mg. for us, & induced several who were opposed to Womens preaching to go & hear for themselves. He has since been in this City & took pains to come & see us & assure us, we should ever have a ready hearing at Lewistown.

You wish to hear all we can tell you of J. G. Whittier. Truly he is almost lost to us. Months & months pass without our hearing from him. New-Organizn. claims him and not without far too much reason. Maria Chapman wrote me, that he was in, a few moments, at the Boston Fair; adding, "he sins against the clearest light, & I may say – when I recall what our love for him was, before he destroyed it – – the truest love. He was in the Office a few months since, bemoaning to Garrison, that there should have been any divisions. 'Why could we not all go on together?' 'Why not indeed' said Garrison, 'we stand just where we did. I see no reason, why you cannot co-operate with the American Socy.' 'Oh,' replied Whittier, 'but the Am. Soc is not what it once was. It has the hat, & the coat & the waistcoat of the old Socy. but the life has passed out of it'. 'Are you not ashamed then,' said Garrison 'to come here, wondering why we cant go on together. No wonder you cant co-operate with a suit of old clothes'." Now I would far prefer to write something pleasant about him. He

140. "Oh wad some Pow'r the gifte gie us/ To see oursels as others see us!" (Robert Burns, "To a Louse").



seemed to enjoy going from place to place with [Joseph Sturge](#), and we were glad of their little calls on us.¹⁴¹ I cant help loving Whittier & J. Sturge too, even tho' they have wronged us, in the course they have pursued. So long as they retain any sympathy for the suffering bondsman, I shall feel a tender regard for them, even tho' in other respects they go halting. This is especially my feeling toward each component part of that London Convention – with the very slight exception of N. Colver & one or two others. Even Jesus – “the son of the Blessed”, treated hypocrites with severity. You will see in the *Liberator* that Colver was ready to make excuse for the Mg. houses being refused. “A work of Grace was going on,” &c.¹⁴²

What an interesting account of the Mass. Meetg. & of J. C. Fuller N. P. Rogers gives in the *Herald of Freedom* and how characteristic of the man, are his leading editorials! You will be pleased, as we have been, to hear how well Remond has been received since his return from your land; laden with the praises of Ireland – and with the Irish Address.¹⁴³ Miller M'Kim says, there has been quite a run on the A. S. Office here by the Repealers since that Address has been re-printed for gratuitous distribution. The seed sown seems to be taking root in Irish hearts. We are cheered on by some late manifestations in that quarter.

You will see H. B. Stanton's name among the 3rd. party speakers in Boston. How sorry I am that he has thus sold himself! They might have had Colver, if we could have kept him – and Whittier – & T. D. Weld. You will see in the *Standard* ^Feb.[3]^ or *Liberator*, the Washington correspondence of the N. York American, signed R.M.T.H. – giving an account of Adams's defence. It is supposed & with some reason, tho' yet a secret, that Theodore D. Weld is the writer of that & sundry other letters from Washn.¹⁴⁴ He has been there several months. Our New-Organ. Abolitionists are not idle. Let us give them credit for all the good they do. Elizabeth C. Stanton – noble soul! is at Johnstown N. Y. at her Father's; where they will remain while Henry is but a student at Law. The latest accot. of her is in a letter I lately recd. from C. C. Burleigh. I have half a mind to enclose it to Anne Allen, as another specimen of his familiar

141. Sturge visited the U.S. in the spring of 1841 and traveled with Whittier meeting abolitionists. See Whittier to Moses Cartland, 12 May 1841, in John B. Pickard, ed., *Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1975), 3 vols., 1:500.

142. In a letter signed “W.,” the writer described the Liberty Party convention taking place in Boston on February 16th, where Rev. Nathaniel Colver declared that Boston churches were already occupied “in the work of grace going on in the city” and therefore unavailable for the next day's session (*Liberator*, 25 February 1842:31).

143. Two articles reprinted from the *Herald of Freedom* described an antislavery meeting at the Massachusetts State House where Wendell Phillips, [Abby Kelley](#) and [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke. About Irish Quaker James C. Fuller (1793?-1847), who had emigrated to New York in the 1830s, Rogers wrote, “we have never known him speak so well.” See *Liberator*, 18 February 1842:26. Charles Lenox Remond (1810-73), black abolitionist from Salem, Mass. and a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, had stayed with the Webbs when visiting Ireland in December 1841. He returned to the U.S. with an address to the Irish-Americans written by Webb and Haughton, urging them to work to abolish slavery. See *Liberator*, 11 March 1842: 39; Richard S. Harrison, *Richard Davis Webb: Quaker Printer, 1805-1872* (Dublin: Red Barn, 1993), 26.

144. In his letter of 25 January, “R. M. T. H.” described in vivid language Adams's confrontation with the congressional Southern caucus: “in a tone of insulted majesty and reinvigorated spirit, [Adams] said, in reply to the audacious and atrocious charge of ‘high treason,’ — ‘I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#)! Read it! READ IT! And see what THAT says of the right of a people to reform, to change, to dissolve their government”” [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#), 3 February 1842:139. Weld had agreed to go to Washington to perform research on subjects such as colonization and the slave trade for a group of anti-slavery congressmen, including Adams. See Weld to Lewis Tappan, 14 December 1841, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight Dumond, eds., *Weld-Grimké Letters*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934), 2: 879-80, 905.



style; – only I fear it will give the impression, of a want of becoming reverence for institutions, regarded sacred. I will [send?] what Jas. says to it. E. Stanton writes to her frd. E. J. Neall, that she has lately made her debut in public, – in a Temperance speech, & was so eloquent in her appeals, as to affect not only her audience, but herself to tears – About 100 women were present. She infused into her speech a homoepathic [sic] dose of Womans Rights, & does the same in many private conversations. She wishes as many copies of S. Grimkes Letter on the Equality of the Sexes, we can send her – for that little book does execution. In a letter to me some time ago she says – "The more I think on the present condition of woman, the more am I oppressed with the reality of her degradation. The laws of our Country, how unjust are they! – our customs how vicious! What God has made sinful, both in man & woman, – custom has made sinful in woman alone. In talking with many people I have been much struck with this fact." After saying much more wh. my limits forbid my copying – she adds, "I have commenced the study of medicine. Having a great horror of both medical & theological quacks, I have come to the conclusion to take care of my own soul & body. I am examining Homoeopathy [sic]." &c – She will probably become a Mother in a few weeks.¹⁴⁵

I can readily imagine your brother James a fond Father; from the little evidence I had of his affection in the conjugal relations. I was pleased with his nice wife – and the addition since made to their family, is all that seems necessary in their beautiful abode, to render their bliss complete. We are glad that he & Thomas, do not leave their br. Richd. 'to serve alone'. We notice their honorable names occasionally, in the proceedings of your meetings. Oh; that delightful day at the sea-side with Thos. & Mary & the 3 little ones! how is the little lame daughter? The walk up Killiney hills – the prospect from the top – the addition to our company – all, all are remembered with dear delight. When, think you will come here? I cannot convey by expression how much I want to see you again. Why, we are far better acquainted now, than when we were with you. These dear, familiar letters to S. Pugh & A. Kimber & to ourselves – some of wh. are lying before me, bind you to our hearts, as bosom friends. Richd. takes pains to make us well acquainted with your valued friend R.R.R. Moore.¹⁴⁶ He forgets that we knew him so well in the 'Convention.' We were glad however of all he wrote about him. Among the scenes wh. made an indelible impression, was his very earnest speech & rapid utterance standing I think not far from the excluded women. Deleg[at]es. then – when we made a visit to you, at your lodgings – he was quite as earnest in protesting against some measure under discussion. I often

145. No record of Stanton's speech has been recovered. Mott quotes from Stanton's letter of 26 November 1841. A son, Daniel, was born 2 March. Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (NY: Oxford UP, 1984), 41; Ann D. Gordon, Ed., *In the School of Anti-Slavery: Selected papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 34. [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) published *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman* in 1838. For more on the impact of the Grimkés on moral reform in this period, see, "What Was the Appeal of Moral Reform to Antebellum Northern Women?" also on this website.

146. In addition to Richard and Hannah Webb, members of the Webb family were James Webb Sr. (1776-1854), his sons Thomas Webb (1806-1884) and James H. Webb Jr. (1810-1868), his wife Ann, all of whom attended the 1840 London convention. Mott described her visits with the Webb family in Dublin on 24-25 July in her diary. Robert Ross Rowan Moore (1811-1864) was active in antislavery and peace reform. See Tolles, *Diary*, 34, 63-64; Harrison, *Richard Davis Webb*, 23, 28.



smile when recurring to that visit. For I had scarcely learned where we were going – or to distinguish you from the numerous English Frds. who had been introduced. Hannah walked with me – took me thro' part of Covent Garden Market, which I had so oft read of when a child. Reaching your house, there were so many couples of the same name; beside Richd. & Anne Allen, that it was long before I could learn "who was who". Then your venerable Father sat there looking so grave as if he had some misgivings as to the propriety of his juxtaposition with heretics of the Hicksites order – his prudential silence when I ventured a little ultraism. – and withal the "Irish hospitality" with which we were entertained – each one doing so much to minister to our hungry appetites – and then crowning the eveg by R.D. Webb & R. Allen taking that long walk home with us – If I forget these things my memory will forget its office. Again, when in your social circle in Dublin, I presumed to read what I had written home, of your non-committal course in matters of Theology – suggesting as one reason, the fear of your Orthodox leaders – the earnestness & openness of countenance with which your brother Thomas ejaculated, "I'm not afraid," gave me a sensation of delight. It needs some to be "not afraid", in order to withstand the high-handed measures of the Quaker Hierarchy. I doubt whether the domination of any sect is more arbitrary. A handful of the distinct order in Rhode Island Yearly Mg placed their veto on the opening of Mg. houses for the lectures of the Abolitionists, and lo! they are nearly all closed. Hereaway the young people are kept from the benevolent efforts of the day – as if there would be defilement in the touch. I dont wonder that Richd. Webb feels the evils of these Sectarian organizations. Altho' I have written as I have on another page – I agree with him, (in the abstract,) that for those who are accustomed to reflect & come to conclusions for themselves, they are unnecessary.

When you have read the controversy between Paul & Amicus,¹⁴⁷ we should like to have your opinion of the work. It was first published in the 'Berean,'¹⁴⁸ a periodical, edited, in Wilmington Del. by Dr. Gibbons, Benjn. Ferris & a number more Friends of talent & worth – as well as of liberal views. 'Amicus' was Benjn. Ferris. He told us that every answer to Paul was written after his family had retired for the night – that frequently when he went to put his effusions into the Office, it was daylight. He never submitted one of them to the criticism of his friends, & never had any objection made to them. After the controversy was ended, the "Mg. for Sufferings" issued a kind of disclaimer of it – or protest against it – at the suggestion of Jonan. Evans – the Pope of that day, because it had not been submitted to

147. In a long series of exchanges from May 1821 until November 1822 in the Christian Repository, Presbyterian clergyman Eliphalet Gilbert (1793-1853), writing as "Paul" attacked Friends for "the characteristic notions and conduct of your society," describing Quakers as "Deists" and "Infidels." Writing under the name of "Amicus," the pro-Hicksite Quakers, including William Gibbons (1781-1845), a Wilmington, Delaware, doctor, denounced "Paul" and repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity. Jonathan Evans (c. 1759-1839), was clerk of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, the body which received reports and grievances from local meetings. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Wallingford: Pendle Hill, 1998), 17-18, 98-102.

148. James tells me I am mistaken – It was not published in the Berean – but in another Wilmington Paper – Paul is a Presbyterian Minister by the name of Gilbert.



their Orthodox tribunal, previously to its publication [']according to the 'good' order', prescribed in the Discipline. This occurred about a year or two before the 'Separation'. ^say 1823 or 4^ Our friends did not relish a reproof from that quarter – All the Editors of that paper, were on our side when the division took place. Not long after this Fanny Wright – R. D. Owen & some others of that school were at Wilmington, & some of these liberal writers & their childn. went to hear them lecture on 'knowledge' – 'education' &c. This alarmed Dr. G. B. Ferris, &c – & they came out with an "Expose of Modern Skepticism". Immediately another Paper was issued by B. Webb &c – called the "Delaware Free Press". Whereupon Dr. G. & co. entered a complaint to the Mg. of their Ultraism, & about 5 or 6 were disowned.¹⁴⁹ They appealed in vain to our Yearly Mg. many thinking it were better these should suffer, than that our august body should be in any manner identified with the 'Infidel Owenites'. The childn. of these persecuted brethren withdrew & Wilmington Mg. has had 'Ichabod' on its walls from that time to the present. These disowned members were among their most active, benevolent citizens and have continued respected & beloved. Now such arbitrary measures I detest My husband & self came near "losing our place", by uttering our indignant protest against their intolerance. These are the evils of religious – or sectarian organizns. We cry out against assumption of power & oppression – But no sooner do we successfully resist their influence, than the same weapons are wielded by us against those who take one step in advance of ourselves. We can be mighty charitable to the poor weaklings we consider behind us – but let some go on before, – we are as ready to cry stop & to condemn, as were those at whose hands we suffered such abuse. Where is our confidence in the Truth, that we are so fearful to meet error without denunciation. I never felt any special interest in Owen or his followers, but desired to meet them in a Christian spirit – knowing they would not ultimately prevail, only as they were in the right. Our dear Elizh. Pease & some others quaked with fear when Owen called on Wm. L.G. & the other American frds. at Mark Moore's, lest it might give us a bad name, but I regarded not such fears. How could a common observer of heads & countenance tremble for the influence of such a man[?] The most successful refutation of his visionary scheme is to suffer him to be his own expositor.¹⁵⁰ I forgot to tell you when speaking of E. Robson, that she has lately met with a little 'damper', by the Mo. Mg. of the Southern district of this City, refusing to receive family visits from her. She had been thro' the two or (I believe) three other Meetgs. – What the obstruction was, we have not heard. Josh. J. Gurney knew better than to try to his strength at that Mg. They have the name of being opposed to him – but we had thot. E. Robson was Anti-Gurney too. Perhaps her frds. thot. she was staying here too long.

149. According to Ingle, the [Hicksite](#) Wilmington meeting disowned Benjamin Webb for supporting the views of women's rights advocate and liberal reformer Fanny Wright (1795-1852) and the socialist and newspaper editor Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877). See *Quakers in Conflict*, pp. 61, 131.

150. When Mott met the Scottish socialist and textile manufacturer Robert Owen (1771-1858) in London on 30 June 1840, she described him as "altogether visionary — great benevolence." Tolles, *Diary*, 51.nT.



Your frd. Elizh. [Cosins?] I have not seen since I took her Richard's letter last summer. She was highly gratified to receive it – & may have acknowledged it before now. Neither have we seen for a year past, the Irish Friend or stranger against whom Richd. kindly warned us, with a graphic description of his appearance – "as if butter would not melt in his mouth" &c. We gave his partner a hint of his character – of wh. he appeared to be somewhat apprised; but hoped he would retrieve his good name[.]

The few lines from Hannah in your last letter to S. Pugh were much to my liking. The liberal Spirit breathed thro' it – and her remarks on Elisha Bates just suited me. It is truly astonishing that one who once occupied the place he did in the Society of Friends, should be a ranting, – 'Hellfire,' Methodist preacher – or indeed a preacher of any other Society – (unless it be Unitarian & not then for hire.)¹⁵¹ Several young Frds. of the Orthodox order have joined the church. This is not surprising, educated as they have been, these 10 years past, seeking "to be made perfect by the flesh".¹⁵² Not having the inspection of the Boston Bazaar boxes we had not the oppy. to see the Articles or Letters on Slavery – & find out which was written by Hannah. Wasn't that description of the Fair, by M[aria]. W[eston]. C[hapman]. good? When anything of interest appears in the Libr, Standard, or Herald of Freedom, I read it with the more zest, knowg. you will enjoy it too.

I have not told you what a nice visit we had from Lord Morpeth. It will do to place with yours from Father Mathew – the accot. of wh., & your remarks of him pleased us well. We felt some hesitancy about calling on "his Lordship," thinking he would not remember us – but in a letter from Dr. Channing to his son who is passing the winter here, he expressed a hope that we would see him.¹⁵³ So we went to his lodgings, card in hand reducing him to a common man, on our Republican principles. He was not at home. He soon returned the call, made himself very agreeable, accepted an invitn. the day following to breakfast with us & came each time unattended, walking as any of our Citizens would. We were pleased with the ease with which he accommodated himself to our American & Quaker simplicity. We invited an intelligent few Abolitionists to meet him here and had a delightful time. He gives general satisfaction in passing thro' the country. His amiable disposition & manner are pleasing, 'tho' rather awkward at the graces. Elizh. J. Neall has since met him in Washington. I wish she had a correspondent in Dublin – so that she might give you a description of their meeting.

I began this letter as dated. It is now 3 Mo. 7th. I can only write a little each day – having many interruptions. Another Lion has just arrived in the City – Charles Dickens. Our childn. have a strong desire to see him. I too have admired the benevolent character of his writings – tho' I have read very little in them. I did not expect to seek an interview, nor to

151. Elisha Bates (c.1779-1861), printer and orthodox Ohio Quaker, was disowned in 1837.

152. GALATIANS 3:3.

153. George William Frederick Howard (1802-64), then Lord Morpeth, later the 7th Earl of Carlisle, was on an extended tour of the U.S. Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) was a Franciscan priest and an Irish temperance leader. William Francis Channing (1820-1901) was then a medical student at the University of Pennsylvania.



invite him here, as he was not quite one of our sort – but just now there was left at the door, his & his wife’s card, with a kind & sweet letter from our dear friend E. J. Reid – London – introducing them & expressing a strong desire that we would make their acquaintance.¹⁵⁴ There is not a woman in London whose draft I would more gladly honor. So now I have a grand excuse to call on them, and our girls are in high glee. I regret that in Boston & New York, they have been so extravagant in their reception of the man.

I wonder if I could not keep on to the end of the year & find something to write you from day to day. I must stop so as to leave somewhat for Sarah Pugh & Abby Kimber to tell you. There may be much in this that they have already written – for Sarah filled & sent Abby’s last to you, without my seeing it. Abby has lately made a short, but pleasant visit to the City. Her enjoyment in retrospect is fresh as ever – & when she comes, Sarah accompanies her hither, so that we may all talk over past scenes. E. Neall too comes in for her share. Elizh. Reid asks me in her letter recd today, if the report is true that E. J. N[eall]. & J. G. Whittier are married. How wide of the truth it is! Mary Grew has lived too far from us quite in the lower part of the City, to meet with us often, when our Friends are with us – but there is a strong binding tie of affection with the band of rejected Delegates. Isaac Winslow is now in France, attendg to his br. Jereh’s. business, while he is in this country. He was in the City last week with two of his sisters – but we had only a little share of their compy. E Neall was more favored, having been at his house at Havre. Emily will probably return with her Father.¹⁵⁵ We yesterday attended the funeral of Jas. Forten.¹⁵⁶ You will see an acct. of his death in the Standard – an obituary written probably by Mary Grew.¹⁵⁷ It was a real amalgamation funeral – hundreds of white people & thousands of colored – Kindest remembrances to all thy loved circle. Will your Father come to America this season? – Remember us with much affection to C. Corkran when you write –

Yours truly Lucretia Mott

12th [March]. I have opened my envelope to say how rejoiced we are at the news of the safety of the Caledonia. Great anxiety has been felt. We have recd. several Dublin papers and the Irish Friend – all of which interested us & we are obliged by these continued marks of your attention. The article on Free Produce I rejoiced to see, for consistency calls loudly on us for this stand to be made – ask R. Allen to write on. His sympathy & appeals for the poor murderer Delahunt were grateful to my feelings.¹⁵⁸ How I felt that they were in vain! But the appeal will not be lost. Neither will Jas. Haughton’s to his poor

154. Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1795?-1866), Unitarian and close friend of Harriet Martineau’s. Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:663.

155. Both Isaac (1787-1867) and Jeremiah Winslow lived in France for some years while engaged in whaling. Isaac Winslow’s daughter Emily Annette (later Taylor) accompanied her father on his trip to the 1840 London convention. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:209; Tolles, Diary, 13.

156. The obituary of James Forten, who died 4 March, was published in the Standard, 10 March 1842:159.

157. No – that written by Mary Grew did not reach New York in time – the notice published was quite inferior to that written by Mary.



brethren on Peace – Slavery – &c – I liked his proposal to tax waste land. We called on Dickens – but he was [so? ??] that we could have but a few minutes interview We tried to engage a visit from him, but his stay in this City was only 3 or 4 days & was engaged all the time. 5 or 600 gentlemen called on him the mornng. we were there. Jas. Mott talked to him about his travels in the South and hoped he would not be deceived by the outside appearance – but try to get a peep behind the scenes – I too said a word or two on the same subject. – ¹⁵⁹

How gratifying is the decision of your Parliament on the Creole case – that & the Amistad are doing well for our cause – ¹⁶⁰

17th J.M. M'Kim's letter giving an account of Jas. Forten's funeral in todays Standard is good – & true – so was H.C. Wrights announcing his death¹⁶¹

I have written my letter to Anne Knight[.] M.W. Chapman says "Poor, dear Anne Knight! how sorry she will be to see my name to the call for the Bible Convention actually thinking me as good as Orthodox!¹⁶² I grieve to grieve her or any one else; but it would never do to be obliged to despise myself for a whole life-time, for neglecting an opport[unit]y. to do good, lest I should give offence". I was glad that C. Corkran withdrew from those Temperance bigots in London[.]

I have filled my sheets with out a word on Non-Resistance, Capital punishment, & other subjects, wh., tho' they do not "fill my head from mornng till night," yet occupy much of my thought. Thanks for the "Rhymes for the people" –, "[Hints?] about the Army" &c[.] Such appeals cannot fail to do good. I saw a lecture on Education I think, by the same author when in Lond[on] & have it somewhere among my papers. A parcel was just left at the door, containg 50 copies of "Four Letters to the Rev Jas. Caughy" – I turned to that from R. Allen wh. is all I have had time to read. I am glad he dealt so faithfully with the Priest.¹⁶³ We shall circulate them[.] Jas. Motts love he cant add

158. John Delahunt, who pleaded not guilty, was being tried in Dublin for the murder of a child. See The Times (London), 17 January 1842:6.

159. The visit of Charles Dickens (1812-70) to Philadelphia is briefly described in his American Notes, chapter 7. Theodore Cuyler reports that, on a visit to Dickens in London later in 1842, the latter told him, "If you see Mrs. Lucretia Mott tell her that I have not forgotten the slave." Letters of Charles Dickens, ed. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1974), 3:357.

160. On a voyage from the U.S. in November 1841, slaves on the American ship the Creole mutinied and forced the vessel to dock at the British port of Nassau. When British officials there freed all the slaves except the mutineering crew, the U.S. demanded that all the crew be returned to the U.S. for criminal proceedings. The British, however, refused. In another slave mutiny off Long Island in June 1839 on the Amistad, the slaves were also freed, thanks to John Quincy Adams's defense before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841. For more on this famous case, see the website, "Exploring Amistad."

161. James Miller McKim's obituary on James Forten appeared in the Standard on 17 March 1842:162. H.C. Wright's tribute and description of the funeral on 6 March was published in The Liberator, 11 March 1842:89. McKim, a noted abolitionist, went on to found The Nation in 1865. See Document 6 of "How Did White Women Aid Former Slaves during and after the Civil War and What Obstacles Did They Face," also on the website, "Exploring Amistad."

162. Chapman was one of four signers to a call for a Bible Convention for a "public discussion of the credibility and authority of the Scriptures" to be held in Boston 29 March (Liberator, 21 January 1842:11).

163. Rhymes for the people about battle, glory, and murder (Dublin: Webb and Chapman, n.d.); Four Letters to the Reverend James Caughy, Methodist Episcopal minister; on the participation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in the sin of American slavery — three from Robert Johnston and one from Richard Allen (Dublin: S. J. Machen, 1841).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Jas. thinks it not best to send more than one of each of P. E. Thomas's books – If you would like to have more you can send for them.

Late Spring: Friend [Isaac T. Hopper](#), a bookseller in New-York, was being disowned by his [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at this point, for being connected with an abolitionist publication that had attacked another Friends minister as soft on slavery.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Summer: Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) had their picture taken together.
They traveled through Virginia seeking meetings and conversations with slavemasters.





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1843

[Mary Howitt](#)'s NO SENSE LIKE COMMON SENSE and LOVE AND MONEY.

[Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s RELIGION AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.



Some 2,000 Indiana [Quakers](#) opposed to [slavery](#) separated from their Indiana Yearly Meeting on account of its tolerance of enslavement, and constituted themselves an “Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.”

[Luke Howard](#)'s SEVEN LECTURES ON METEOROLOGY ... FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1837. A 2D ED. CAREFULLY REV. BY THE AUTHOR (London, Harvey and Darton, 1843).

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

The [North Carolina](#) Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) condemned those [Quakers](#) who were offering shelter improperly to escaping [slaves](#). Yes, it was a principle that we ought to help those in need, but there were seen to be far more important principles than that one — such as the right to the unimpeded use of one's private property. Property has an inalienable right to be owned! Those negroes belonged to somebody! Wrong is wrong! Just as offing yourself constitutes murder, stealing yourself constitutes theft! —Yada yada yada.



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

Friend Maria Mitchell, an astronomer, had stopped wearing clothing made of cotton in protest against human slavery. She was disowned by her Nantucket Island monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends for "questioning" upon acknowledging that her "mind was not settled on religious subjects." Eventually she would affiliate as a Unitarian.

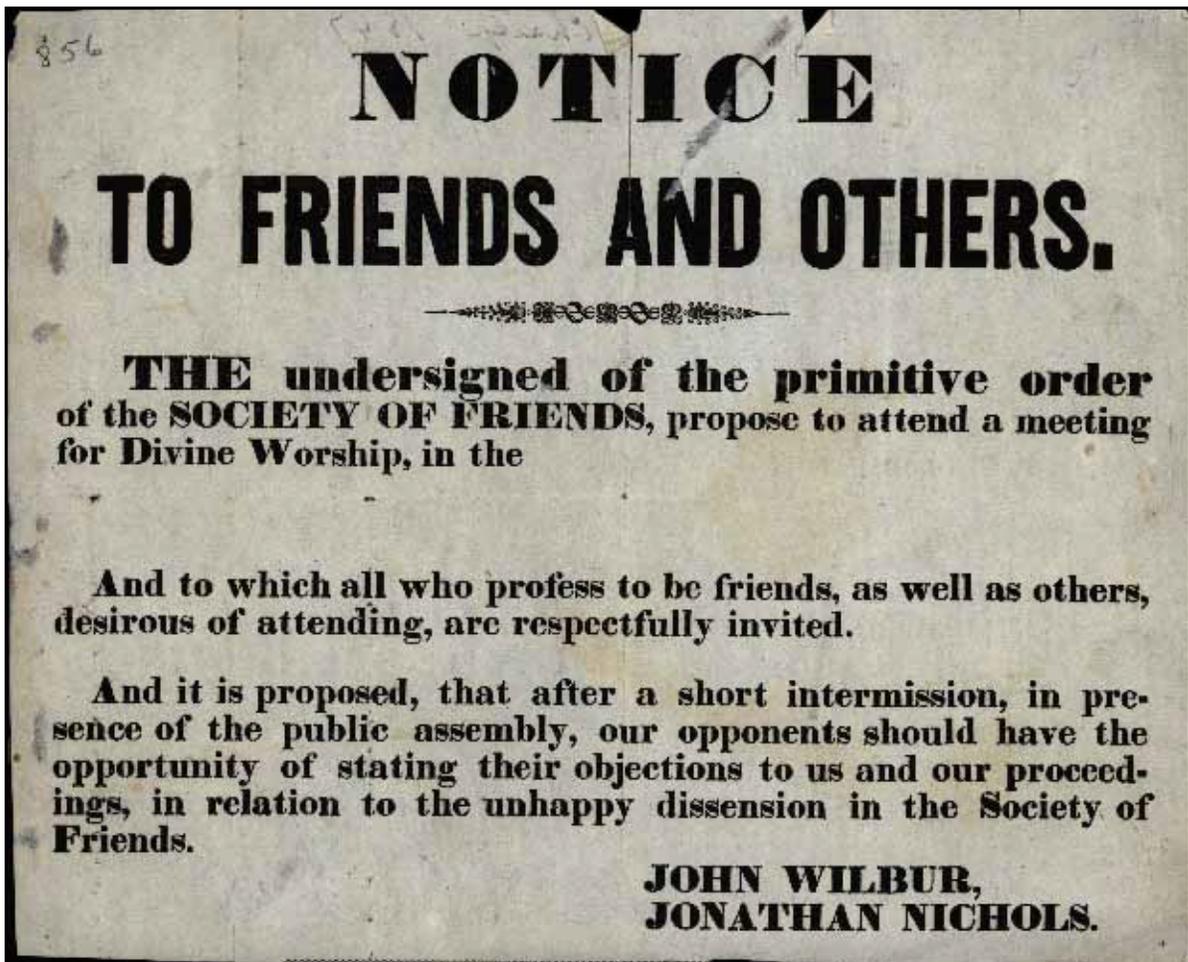


"It seems to me that if anything would make me an infidel, it would be the threats lavished against unbelief."

– Professor Maria Mitchell



January: Although the teachings of Friend [John Wilbur](#) were sustained by a large majority of his [Quaker](#) neighbors in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), that monthly meeting had been dissolved and its members added to the Greenwich, Rhode Island monthly meeting. At this point this monthly meeting formally [disowned](#) him, and its decision would subsequently be confirmed by the Friends quarterly meeting and then by the New England [Yearly Meeting](#). His supporters would form an independent yearly meeting, the members of which would be known as “Wilburites.”



January 21: [Waldo Emerson](#) visited [Lucretia Mott](#), in whom at that point he was interested primarily because she was a relative of his friend and hostess [Mary Rotch](#) of [New Bedford](#), the “New Light” enthusiast. He was alarmed to discover that [Friend Lucretia](#)’s interest in him was likewise limited, because of “an ordinance sometime somewhere” which he had opposed.

January 25: When the Motts visited Washington DC, the Representatives voted to decline to allow Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) to address them from the floor of the House, but John Quincy Adams made arrangements so she would



be able to address those members of the Congress who wished to attend, at the Unitarian Church nearby. Some 40 Congressmen attended, as did [Waldo Emerson](#). Afterwards the Motts walked up the hill and stopped by the office of President John Tyler. As they rose to depart, the President commented to Friend Lucretia:

I would like to hand Mr. Calhoun over to you.

Henry Thoreau wrote from [Concord](#) to [Mrs. Lucy Jackson Brown](#) in Plymouth MA:

Concord, Friday Evening,

January 25, 1843.

Dear Friend: —

Mrs. E— asks me to write you a letter, which she will put into her bundle to-morrow along with the Tribunes and Standards, and miscellanies, and what not, to make an assortment. But what shall I write. You live a good way off, and I don't know that I have anything which will bear sending so far. But I am mistaken, or rather impatient when I say this, — for we all have a gift to send, not only when the year begins, but as long as interest and memory last. I don't know whether you have got the many I have sent you, or rather whether you were quite sure where they came from. I mean the letters I have sometimes launched off eastward in my thought; but if you have been happier at one time than another, think that then you received them. But this that I now send you is another sort. It will go slowly, drawn by horses over muddy roads, and lose much of its little value by the way. You may have to pay for it, and it may not make you happy after all. But what shall be my new-year's gift, then? Why, I will send you my still fresh remembrance of the hours I have passed with you here, for I find in the remembrance of them the best gift you have left to me. We are poor and sick creatures at best; but we can have well memories, and sound and healthy thoughts of one another still, and an intercourse may be remembered which was without blur, and above us both.

Perhaps you may like to know of my estate nowadays. As usual, I find it harder to account for the happiness I enjoy, than for the sadness which instructs me occasionally. If the little of this last which visits me would only be sadder, it would be happier. One while I am vexed by a sense of meanness; one while I simply wonder at the mystery of life; and at another,

and at another, seem to rest on my oars, as if propelled by propitious breezes from I know not what quarter.

But for the most part, I am an idle, inefficient, lingering (one term will do as well as another, where all are true and none true enough) member of the great commonwealth, who have most need of my own charity, —if I could not be charitable and indulgent to myself, perhaps as good a subject for my own satire as any. You see how, when I come to talk of myself, I soon run dry, for I would fain make that a subject which can be no subject for me, at least not till I have the grace to rule myself.

I do not venture to say anything about your griefs, for it would be unnatural for me to speak as if I grieved with you, when I think I do not. If I were to see you, it might be otherwise. But I know you will pardon the trivialness of this letter; and I only hope—as I know that you have reason to be so—that you are still happier than you are sad, and that you remember that the smallest seed of faith is of more worth than the largest fruit of happiness. I have no doubt that out of S—'s death you sometimes draw sweet consolation, not only for that, but for long-standing griefs, and may find some things made smooth by it, which before were rough.

I wish you would communicate with me, and not think me unworthy to know any of your thoughts. Don't think me unkind because I have not written to you. I confess it was for so poor a reason as that you almost made a principle of not answering. I could not speak truly with this ugly fact in the way; and perhaps I wished to be assured, by such evidence as you could not voluntarily give, that it was a kindness. For every glance at the moon, does she not send me an answering ray? Noah would hardly have done himself the pleasure to release his dove, if she had not been about to come back to him with tidings of green islands amid the waste.

But these are far-fetched reasons. I am not speaking directly enough to yourself now, so let me say directly from

Your friend,

Henry D. Thoreau

Shortly before July 7: Henry Thoreau attended Quaker silent worship at the Hester Street meeting house in Brooklyn and heard Friend [Lucretia Mott](#).



For Thoreau's description of the event, refer to his letter to his sister Helen of July 21st.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 21: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to his sister [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#) in Roxbury MA from Staten Island, mentioning that [tomatoes](#) were being raised by the acre on this island on which [Huguenots](#) had settled,

*Dear Helen,
I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage- But I believe I have not taxed you before.- I have pretty much explored this island - inland and along the shore - finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy- I have visited Telegraph Stations - Sailor's Snug Harbors - Seaman's Retreats - Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed - Brittons Mills - and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm - 8 or 9 miles from here - where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Davenport formerly from Mass. - with 3 or four men to help him - raising sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads - which may after all be the surest crop - certainly not affected by drought.*



and also describing immigrants he had seen on the streets of New-York, and speaking of the [Quaker](#) meeting shortly before July 7th, in the Hester Street meetinghouse in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* Long Island at which

[Lucretia Mott](#) had spoken:

I liked all the proceedings very well -their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat- has a history, and comes from house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs, looking all like sisters and so many chick-a-dees- At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, Mrs Mott rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say, if all else failed - but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the BIBLE -and thence she straightway digressed to slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech -transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways, and the plainness of their meeting house. It looked as if it was indeed made for service.



The biographer Henry Seidel Canby has commented, about this worship service, that “Already, and long before [Emerson](#), [[Henry Thoreau](#)] sensed the dangerous quietism of the [Quakers](#), which was to be content with solidity and reform, and let the spirit speak too mildly. Indeed, his final conclusion as to all these idealists is a distrust of reformers.” Canby seems not to have been aware that Quakerism had torn itself apart, and that the very person and presence of this [Hicksite](#) traveling minister, Mott, was a reproach to these evangelical Quakers Canby so rightly here contemns for their dangerous self-righteous and self-satisfied quietism. With an understanding of what was going on within Quakerism at that point, we must place quite a different interpretation on that particular worship. Clearly Thoreau had no inclination to mouth his favorite gibe at those

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

who replace faith in deity with membership in community,

*"Why do all your prayers begin
'Now I lay me down to sleep'?"*



What precisely was it that Friend Lucretia said? The Herald incorrectly asserted that she handed her bonnet to

another woman before beginning to speak and incorrectly asserted that a handkerchief was laid over the



railing, so there is little in its report that we can accept as reliable. Those who wish to learn how she spoke to the condition of a [Henry Thoreau](#) she somehow knew, must consult representative sermons that we know were accurately transcribed, such as “Abuses and Uses of the BIBLE,” “Likeness to Christ,” and “Keep Yourself from Idols.”¹⁶⁴ One of the things she might have urged was:

“First that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual.” It is theology, not the Scriptures, that has degraded the natural ... skepticism has become a religious duty -skepticism as to the scheme of salvation, the plans of redemption, that are abounding in the religious world ... this kind of doubt, and unbelief are coming to be a real belief, and ... a better theology will follow -has followed. ... We need non-conformity in our age, and I believe it will come.

Another agenda she might have urged:

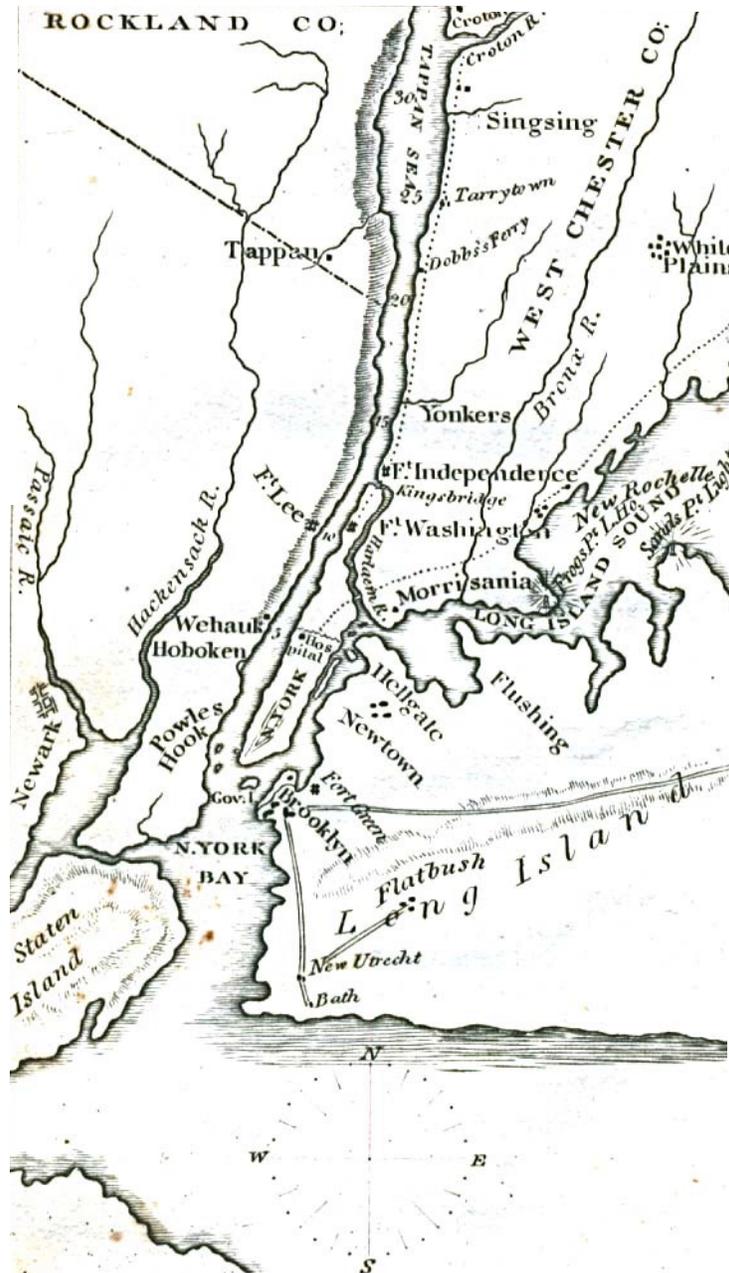
That while we are applying our principles to civil government we will not be unmindful of their application to ourselves in the regulation of our own tempers and in the government of our families, leading to the substitution of the law of peace and love.

Whatever. In that meeting at the [Religious Society of Friends](#) meeting-house on Hester Street in New York City shortly before July 7, 1843, despite the sectarian turmoil of the split between [Hicksite](#) and non-[Hicksite](#) Quakers, clearly Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) succeeded in putting a defensive 26-year-old man more or less at ease.

164. Mott 279-80. The volume does not, however, include a transcript of what she said at the Hester Street meeting in 1843 (which indicates there is more research that needs to be done, than I have as yet been able to do).

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



In this letter he characterized Horace Greeley as “cheerfully in earnest” and contrasted this with the “sadly in earnest” Reverend William Henry Channing with his Fourierist fantasies of resolving all human frictions. He mentioned obliquely that Greeley was at that point deeply involved in the creation of the Eagleswood intentional community — the New Jersey grounds of which, incidentally, he would one day, upon its failure and dissolution, be surveying into individual house lots:

Staten Island July 21st 43



Dear Helen,

*I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage— But I believe I have not taxed you before.— I have pretty much explored this island – inland and along the shore – finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy— I have visited Telegraph Stations – Sailor’s Snug Harbors – Seaman’s Retreats – Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed – Brittons Mills – and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm –8 or 9 miles from here– where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Dav-
enport formerly from Mass.– with 3 or four men to help him – raising sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads – which may after all be the surest crop – certainly not affected by drought.*

I am well enough situated here to observe one aspect of the modern world at least – I mean the migratory – the western movement. Sixteen hundred imigrants arrived at quarrantine ground on the fourth of July, and more or less every day since I have been here. I see them occasionally washing their persons and clothes, or men women and children gathered on an isolated quay near the shore, stretching their limbs and taking the air, the children running races and swinging – on this artificial piece of the land of liberty – while their vessels are undergoing purification. They are detained but a day or two, and then go up to the city, for the most part without having landed here. In the city I have seen since I wrote last – WH Channing – at whose house in 15th St. I spent a few pleasant hours, discussing the all absorbing question – What to do for the race. (He is sadly in earnest – About going up the river to rusticate for six weeks— And issues a new periodical called The Present in September.)— Also Horace Greeley Editor of the Tribune – who is cheerfully in earnest. – at his office of all work – a hearty New Hampshire boy as one would wish to meet. And says “now be neighborly” – and believes only or mainly, first, in the Sylvania Association somewhere in Pennsylvania – and secondly and most of all, in a new association to go into operation soon in New Jersey, with which he is connected.— Edward Palmer came down to see me Sunday before last— As for Waldo and Tappan we have strangely dodged one another and have not met for some weeks.

I believe I have not told you anything about Lucretia Motte. It was a good while ago that I heard her at the Quaker church in Hester St. She is a preacher, and it was advertised that she would be present on that day. I liked all the proceedings very well – their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat – has a history, and comes from a house to a house. The



women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs looking all like sisters and so many chic-a-dees— At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, M^{MS torn} Motte rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say if all else failed – but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the Bible – and thence she straightway digressed to Slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech – transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways and the plainness of their meeting-house— It looked as if it was indeed made for service. I think that Stearns Wheeler has left a gap in the community not easy to be filled. Though he did not exhibit the highest qualities of the scholar, he possessed in a remarkable degree many of the essential and rarer ones – and his patient industry and energy – his reverent love of letters – and his proverbial accuracy – will cause him to be associated in my memory even with many venerable names of former days— It was not wholly unfit that so pure a lover of books should have ended his pilgrimage at the great book-mart of the world. I think of him as healthy and brave, and am confident that if he had lived he would have proved useful in more ways than I can describe— He would have been authority on all matters of fact – and a sort of connecting link between men and scholars of different walks and tastes. The literary enterprises he was planning for himself and friends remind me of an older and more studious time— So much then remains for us to do who survive.

Tell mother that there is no Ann Jones in the Directory. Love to all—
Tell all my friends in Concord that I do not send m^{sealing wax}e to them but retain it still. yr affectionate Brother H.D.T.



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September 15, Tuesday: When [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) suggested plural marriage to Lydia Moon, she declined as she preferred to remain with her two elder sisters.

On this day and the following one [Frederick Douglass](#), Bradburn, and White lectured in Pendleton, a town southwest of Indianapolis.

Then, at an outdoor meeting in Fall Creek, Indiana on the 16th, the platform was broken up and the speakers, including Douglass, were set upon with clubs. Douglass was taken bleeding and unconscious some three miles in a wagon to the farm of a [Quaker](#) couple, the Hardys, where his shattered right hand would be treated. The bones would not properly set and full use of the hand would never be regained.¹⁶⁵

165. For some reason Horton and Horton have alleged that this assault took place in Pendleton, Ohio, a town near Cincinnati! Despite the injury, [Frederick Douglass](#) would continue his lecture tour, which might be considered to have been fortitude and bravery — or which might have been simple necessity since in the America of those years no injured free worker of any color for any employer had any income continuation protection of any degree.

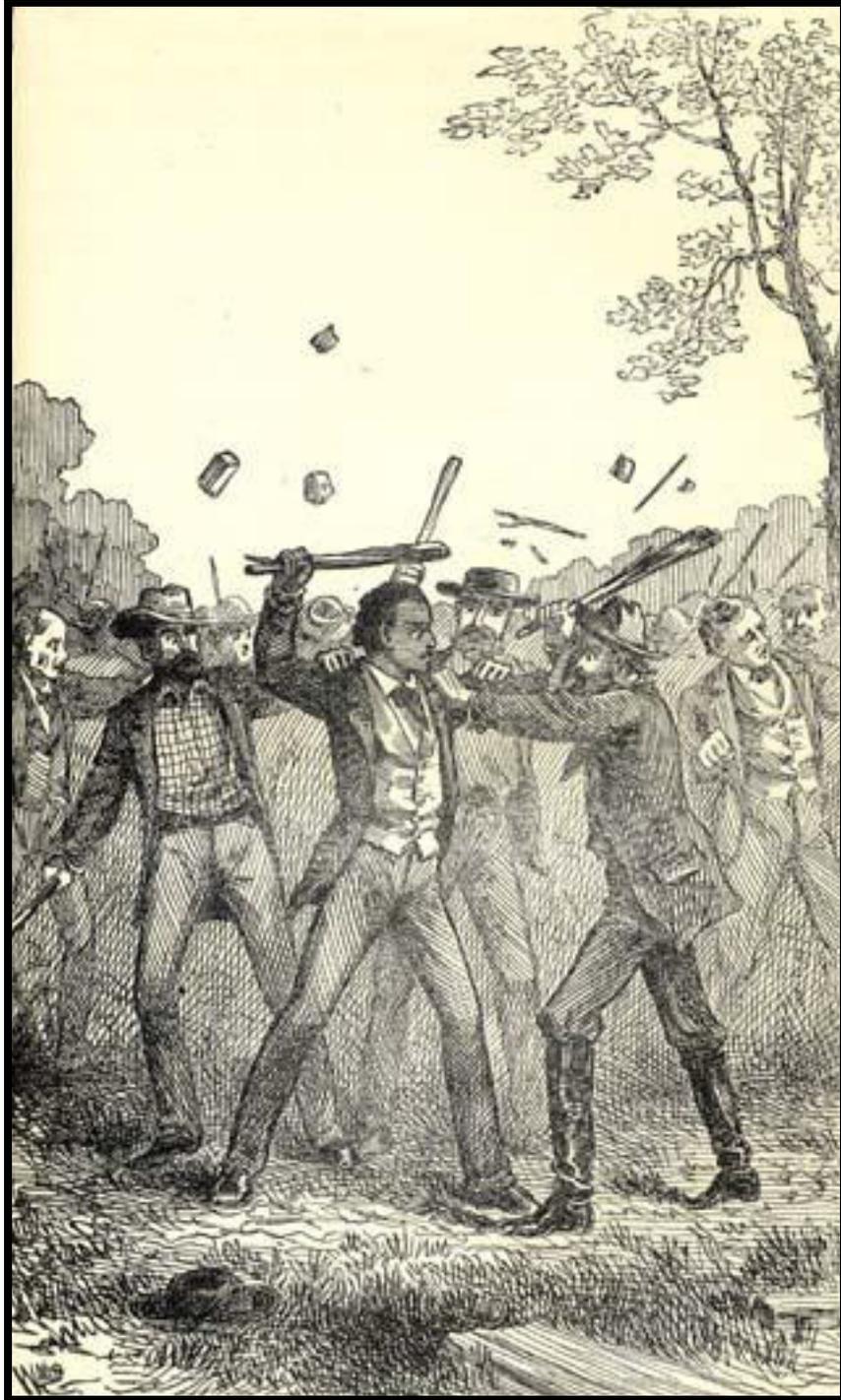
HDT

WHAT?

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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October: After this point Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) was in such trouble with her local Quaker meeting in Philadelphia that she would never again receive a traveling minute to legitimate her preaching, and would be forced to preach without such legitimation.



AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

1844

[Mary Howitt](#)'s MY UNCLE THE CLOCKMAKER and THE TWO APPRENTICES.

At the big brick [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Sandy Spring](#), William Henry Farquhar got married with Margaret Briggs, a daughter of Friend Isaac Briggs, surveyor.¹⁶⁶



He was 31, she 32.

This couple would produce Friends Arthur Bedford Farquhar, Edward Farquhar, and Henry Hill Farquhar.

In this year, also, William's brother, Dr. Charles Farquhar, Sr., would succumb to pneumonia after a trip to [Baltimore](#).

166. "I have appointed Isaac Briggs of Maryland, surveyor of the lands south of the Tennessee. He is a Quaker, a sound republican, and of a pure and unspotted character. In point of science, in astronomy, geometry and mathematics, he stands in a line with Mr. Ellicott, and second to no man in the United States. He set out yesterday for his destination, and I recommend him to your particular patronage." — President Thomas Jefferson.

The historian [George Bancroft](#), from his summer “cottage” Roseclyffe at [Newport](#) (see following screen), weighed into [Rhode Island](#)’s “Dorr War” on the side of Governor [Thomas Wilson Dorr](#).

BANCROFT AND DORR



The Reverend [John Stetson Barry](#) began to serve the Universalist congregation of [Pawtucket](#), [Rhode Island](#).

At the foot of Meeting Street at the corner of Town Street, the [Friends](#) put what had been their 2d meetinghouse in [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#) on heavy sledges and had it tugged (by a team of horses, we are told, although perhaps it was oxen) over snow down Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence. Thus its century-and-a-quarter old foundation was cleared, to hold up the west half of a new larger meetinghouse (the east half of this 3d structure would be on top of a crawl space). This 3d meeting house would last us 112 years, until the city of Providence needed a central site for a proposed new Fire Station. Another site would be available to the city, but a brick building on it would be more expensive to clear and its location between North Main Street and Canal Street would

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offer inferior access for fire equipment. So we would sell our lot to the City, and erect a 4th-generation brick meetinghouse with a slate roof at the top of College Hill, at the corner of Olney and Morris on Friend Moses Brown's donated property, in about 1952.

Belatedly recognizing the dangers of freebasing in your home kitchen in the presence of your children, [Perry Davis](#) purchased a building on Pond Street in which to mix up his patent vegetable painkiller consisting of [opiates](#) and [ethanol](#). It would be asserted that freebie "cases of Davis' medicine were shipped with every [Baptist](#) missionary bound for [India](#) and [China](#)."



(Doesn't that seem a bit like carrying coal to Newcastle? But it is not at all unusual –or so I have heard– for drug pushers to offer young people free samples in order to get them on the hook.)

[Friend Levi Coffin](#), one of the most famous of the [Underground Railroad](#) conductors, visited Canada West.



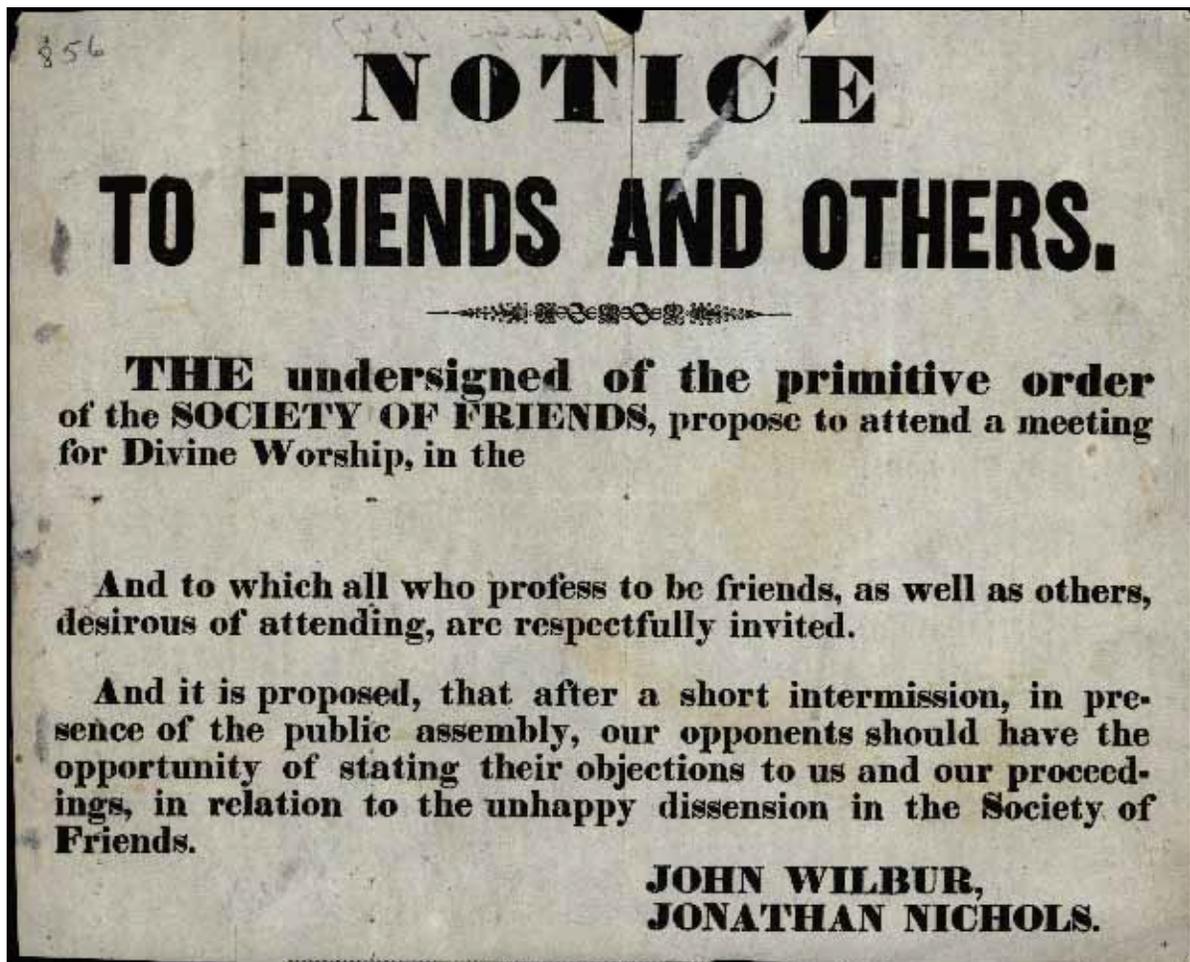
Not all Quakers agreed with Friend Levi about the moral obligation to help the black fugitive along his or her difficult path. Many Quakers held that to assist such a fugitive would create a moral hazard for them — since this might involve their needing to deceive the authorities and such deceitfulness is most definitely forbidden: “Of course we’d like to extend the hand of Christian charity to you, brother, but that would be wrong.”

The Quaker testimony of integrity also came into play: clandestine aid to fugitives, although integral to the success of the Underground Railroad, “invited making a virtue of falsehood” in the view of some Friends. Friends sought other ways to avoid having to abandon the truth: if they did not believe in such a thing as enslavement, they could truthfully respond “there are no slaves here” to anyone pursuing fugitives. An exchange between Friends in Indiana and [North Carolina](#) in 1843 and 1844 illustrates how deep the differences were on this issue. As much as North Carolina Friends worked to manumit those they had enslaved, they faced a “moral dilemma” when it came to harboring runaways because of their concerns about integrity.¹⁶⁷

After being [disowned](#) as a [Quaker](#) on account of his abolitionist activities, [William Bassett](#) joined the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Florence](#), Massachusetts. Describing his disownment by the Lynn MA monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), he commented that he was being “cast out of one of the ‘little cabins’ of sectarianism” into “Christianity itself.”

167. Page 106 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Julye’s FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

In the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) during this year and the following one, Friend [John Wilbur](#) would be maintaining that the Truth could be ascertained both from the records of past revelations encapsulated in the Scripture, and from continuing revelations which were coming from God to individuals of the present day. As an advocate of the personal Inner Light, he would be being opposed by Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#), a traveling minister from England, who would be holding that such personal revelations were of necessity pernicious should they differ in any particular from what we were deriving from a careful perusal of the Scripture. The upshot of this would be that Friend John would be [disowned](#) by the Society, and several of the monthly meetings in southern New England during this timeframe would find themselves separating into “Wilburite” versus “Gurneyite” meetings.



“Let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth – to see it as it is, and tell it like it is – to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth.”

– Republican Presidential nominee
Richard Milhouse

Nixon RICHARD MILHOUSE NIXON, 1968
(a birthright Quaker)



June 15: At the Temperance Hall in Jersey, [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#) made a presentation opposing the ingestion of [alcoholic](#) beverages the gist of which would soon be printed up as an 8-page tract, WATER IS BEST.



THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

[Thomas Campbell](#) died at Boulogne. The body would be interred in Westminster Abbey.



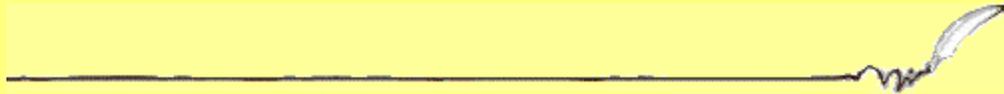


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

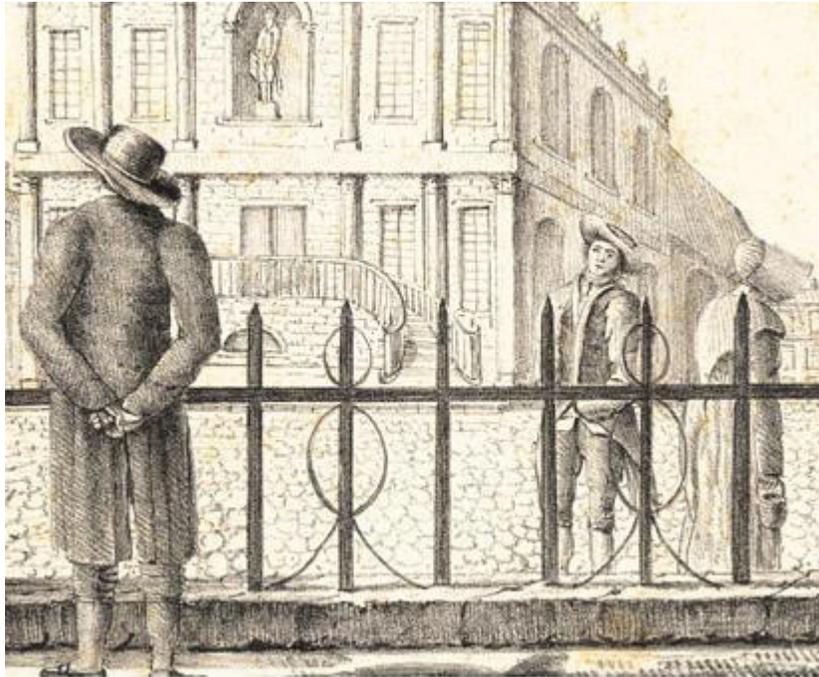
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Waldo Emerson](#) and [Isaac Hecker](#) went to Harvard, Massachusetts for a weekend with [the Alcott family](#) in their three rooms in the Lovejoy home (Fruitlands was no more) and with Charles Lane, and to tour the Shaker community. Emerson commented in his journal:

A second visit to the Shakers with Mr Hecker. Their family worship was a painful spectacle. I could remember nothing but the Spedale dei Pazzi at Palermo; this shaking of their hands like the paws of dogs before them as they shuffled in this duncedance seemed the last deliriation. If there was anything of heart & life in this it did not appear to me: and as Swedenborg said that the angels never look at the back of the head so I felt that I saw nothing else. My fellow men could hardly appear to less advantage before me than in this senseless jumping. The music seemed to me dragged down nearly to the same bottom. And when you come to talk with them on their topic, which they are very ready to do, you find such exaggeration of the virtue of celibacy, that you might think you had come into a hospital-ward of invalids afflicted with priapism. Yet the women were well dressed and appeared with dignity as honoured persons. And I judge the whole society to be cleanly & industrious but stupid people. And these poor countrymen with their nasty religion fancy themselves **the Church** of the world and are as arrogant as the poor negroes on the Gambia river.



September 21: In Philadelphia, [Frederick Douglass](#) lectured in Gardiner's Church, and at the [Friends'](#) Meetinghouse.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

According to the New Orleans newspaper *Daily Picayune*, Frances Roupell Pie Williams, the wife of Edward Pinkney Williams, died.

[Waldo Emerson](#) was out for a walk on this day, and “met two or three men who told [him] they had come thither to sell and buy a field, on which they wished [him] to bid as a purchaser.” Emerson would record this in his journal:

As it was on the shore of the pond, and now for years I had a sort of daily occupancy of it, I bid on it and bought it, eleven acres, for \$8.10 per acre. The next day I carried some of my well-beloved gossips to the place, and they decided that the field was not worth anything if Heartwell Bigelow should cut down his pine grove, I bought, for \$125 more, his pretty wood-lot of three or four acres, and am now landlord and water-lord of fourteen acres, more or less, on the shore of Walden, and can raise my own blackberries.

1845

Friend [Bernard Barton](#)'s HOUSEHOLD VERSES. This volume would be brought to the attention of Sir Robert Peel, who would arrange a Civil List pension of £100 a year (£1,200 having already been raised for his support among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)).



[Mary Howitt](#)'s MY OWN STORY, OR THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHILD and FIRESIDE VERSES.

The Friends of Germantown, Pennsylvania extended their [Quaker](#) schooling beyond primary into secondary education.

QUAKER EDUCATION



Publication of [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s PUSEYISM TRACED TO ITS ROOT.



http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Bouverie_Pusey

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), which had in 1842 been suspended due to religious dissension, at this point divided itself into a Gurneyite group and a Wilburite group. In 1847 divided worship would resume — until 1881 when the local Wilburite meeting would be laid down (discontinued), and 1899 when the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.

This would seem to be a relevant endpoint at which to insert into the database, the accumulated contents of this meeting's marriage record, and birth and death record, for the Towns of South Kingstown, Charlestown, [Westerly](#), Hopkinton, and Richmond:

Marriages

A

Anthony, Sarah, and Joseph Irish, 2 mo., 7, 1754.

B

Babcock, Jonathan, of [South Kingstown](#), son of Jonathan and Esther, of Stonington, Connecticut; and Ruth Rodman, of Benjamin and Hannah, of [South Kingstown](#); 1 mo., 29, 1795.

Babcock, Hezekiah, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, son of Caleb and Waite, of [South Kingstown](#); and Dorcas Peckham, of William and Mercy, of [South Kingstown](#); 1 mo., 28, 1813.

Babcock, John, son of Hezekiah and Dorcas, and Mary P. Perry, of William S. and Lois; all of [South Kingstown](#), 9 mo., 25, 1856.

Borden, Elizabeth, and Stephen Perry, 6 mo., 2, 1763.

Borden, Sarah, and Joshua Rathbun, 10 mo., 30, 1766.

Borden, Martha, and Peter Davis, 10 mo., 16, 1782.

Boss, Solomon B., son of Jabez and Sarah, and Catherine Knowles, of Robert an Lucy Anna, all of [South Kingstown](#), 5 mo., 25, 1813.

Bowen, Elizabeth, and John Collins, 3 mo., 15, 1744.



- Bradley, Joshua, of New London, Connecticut, son of Joshua and Sarah, and Dorcas Rathbun, of [Acors?] and Lydia, of Stonington, Connecticut, 1 mo., 1, 1801.
- Bragg, Anna, and William Wilbur, 6 mo., 3, 1790.
- Bragg, Temperance, and Ethan Foster, 3 mo., 12, 1801.
- Brayton, Preserved, son of Stephen, deceased, and Hannah, of [Rehoboth](#), Massachusetts; and Patience Greene, of David and Mary, of [North Kingstown](#), 5 mo., 18, 1758.
- Browning, Thomas, of Charlestown, son of John and Anne, of [South Kingstown](#); and Anne Hoxsie, of Solomon and Mary, of Richmond, 6 mo., 2, 1767.
- Browning, Anne, and Simeon Perry, 4 mo., 29, 1776.
- Browning, Eunice, and Othniel Foster, 11 mo., 10, 1803.
- Browning, Jeremiah 3d, of Stonington, Connecticut, son of Jeremiah and Sarah, and Martha Foster, of John and Ruth, of Stonington, 11 mo., 12, 1805.
- Browning, Amie, and Samuel Sheffield, 9 mo., 13, 1829.
- Brown, Hannah, and John D. Williams, 10 mo., 3, 1822.
- Brown, Anna, and Thomas Williams, 9 mo., 12, 1826.
- Brown, Sarah W., and Francis H. Rathbun, 9 mo., 24, 1832.
- Brown, William F., of Betterments, Otsego Co., New York, son of Joseph and Mary of this place; and Elizabeth N. Collins, of Lewis and Lydia, deceased, of Hopkinton, 10 mo., 7, 1839.

C

- Carr, Joanna, and Benjamin Hazard, 5 mo., 12, 1814.
- Carr, George W., of Jamestown, son of Benjamin, deceased, and Elizabeth, and Sarah Foster, of Othniel and Eunice, of [South Kingstown](#), 4 mo., 4, 1838.
- Chase, Stephen Abbott, of New Market, N. H., son of Abijah and Mary, of Essex, Massachusetts; and Anna Atmore Robinson, of James and Mary, of [South Kingstown](#), 7 mo., 26, 1830.
- Collins, John, of John, of Charlestown, and Elizabeth Bowen, of Dan and Mehitabel, 3 mo., 15, 1744.
- Collins, Joseph, of Hezekiah and Catherine, of Hopkinton, and Bathsheba Hoxsie, of Solomon and Mary, of Richmond, 3 mo., 8, 1764.
- Collins, Catherine, and Benjamin Hoxsie, 2 mo., 7, 1782.
- Collins, Joseph, Jr., of Joseph and Bathsheba, and Hannah Sheffield, of Samuel and Elizabeth; all of Hopkinton, 2 mo., 5, 1789.
- Collins, Abel, of Stonington, of Abel and Thankful, and Mary Wilbur, of Thomas and Mary, of Hopkinton, 10 mo., 14, 1790.
- Collins, Solomon, of Hopkinton, of Joseph and Bathsheba, and Sarah Perry, of Stephen and Elizabeth, deceased, of [Newport](#), 3 mo., 8, 1792.
- Collins, Isaac, of Stonington, of Amos and Thankful, and Mary Collins, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 3 mo., 15, 1792.
- Collins, Mary, and Isaac Collins, 3 mo., 15, 1792.
- Collins, Lydia, and John Wilbur, 10 mo., 17, 1793.
- Collins, Ruth, and John H. Kenyon, 11 mo., 8, 1804.



- Collins, Deborah, and Peter Collins, 11 mo., 12, 1807.
- Collins, Peter, of Hopkinton, of Joseph and Bathsheba, and Deborah Collins, of Abel and Mary, of North Stonington, 11 mo., 12, 1807.
- Collins, Lewis, of Jabez and Sarah, and Lydia Kenyon, of George and Martha; all of Hopkinton, 12 mo., 5, 1811.
- Collins, Hannah, and William Earle, 10 mo., 28, 1812.
- Collins, Thankful, and Peleg Kenyon, 3 mo., 3, 1814.
- Collins, Dinah, and Asa Sisson, 5 mo., 27, 1818.
- Collins, Phebe, and Job Monroe, 11 mo., 25, 1818.
- Collins, Isaac, of Hopkinton, of Isaac and Mary, and Rachel Kenyon, of George, deceased, and Rachel, 2 mo., 13, 1823.
- Collins, Timothy C., of Abel and Mary, of North Stonington, and Mary Ann Gardiner, of Peleg and Hannah, of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 2, 1823.
- Collins, Sarah, and Joseph Greene, 4 mo., 28, 1824.
- Collins, Catherine E., and John H. Knowles, 10 mo., 4, 1827.
- Collins, Catherine, and William Earle, 9 mo., 22, 1829.
- Collins, Elizabeth N., and William F. Brown, 10 mo., 7, 1839.
- Collins, Ephraim C., of Hopkinton, of Isaac and Mary, and Mary Foster, of Othniel and Eunice, of [South Kingstown](#), 4 mo., 6, 1836.
- Collins, Luke, of Brookfield, Madison Co., N. Y., son of Hezekiah and Mary, of this place; and Elizabeth Foster, of Ethan and Temperance, 5 mo., 13, 1841.
- Collins, Abel Francis, and Electa Jane Collins; married at New Hartford, N. Y., 1 mo., 11, 1844.
- Collins, Electa Jane, and Abel F. Collins, 1 mo., 11, 1844.
- Collins, Thankful, and John Spencer, 3 mo., 2, 1848.
- Collins, Mary A., and Nathaniel Hawkes, 1 mo., 29, 1856.
- Collins, Charles G., of Hopkinton, of Lewis and Lydia F., and Mary S. Knowles, of John H. and Catherine E., 3 mo., 10, 1859.
- Collins, Anna Elizabeth , and Frederic Augustus Dalton, 8 mo., 9, 1877.
- Congdon, Martha, and Jonathan Hoag, 4 mo., 25, 1768.
- Congdon, John, of William and Frelove, and Alice Knowles, of Joseph and Bathsheba; all of [South Kingstown](#), 12 mo., 21, 1780.
- Congdon, Charles, of William and Frelove, and Sarah Knowles, of Joseph and Bathsheba; all of [South Kingstown](#), 11 mo., 14, 1782.
- Congdon, Sarah, and Simeon Perry, 5 mo., 30, 1787.
- Congdon, John, of [South Kingstown](#), of William and Frelove, and Sarah Kenyon, of George and Martha, 11 mo., 7, 1799.
- Congdon, Joseph, of Joseph and Susannah, and Deborah Rodman, of Benjamin and Hannah; all of [South Kingstown](#), 2 mo., 6, 1807.
- Congdon, Ann, and Thomas Wilbur, 11 mo., 23, 1825.



Cross, Dorcas, and Joshua Gardiner, 2 mo., 10, 1803. p. 70 - 72:

D

Dalton, Frederic Augustus, of [Providence](#), of Hiram A., and Maria S., of New York City; and Anna Elizabeth Collins, of Peter H. and Ruth Ann, of Hopkinton, 8 mo., 9, 1877.

Dalton, Lizzie Maria, and Isaac Sutton, 8 mo., 23, 1880.

Davis, John, of Peter and Mary, of [Westerly](#), and Patience Palmer, of William and Mary, of Stonington, 9 mo., 26, 1747.

Davis, Lydia, and William Palmer, 12 mo., 8, 1749.

Davis, Benjamin, of Peter and Mary, of [Westerly](#), and Mehitable Moon, of Robert and Ann, of Exeter, 1 mo., 23, 1752.

Davis, Peter, of [Westerly](#), and Martha Borden, widow of Abraham, late of [Westerly](#), deceased, 10 mo., 16, 1782.

Davis, Martha, and Joseph Healey, 9 mo., 11, 1794.

Davis, Lois, and William S. Perry, 7 mo., 4, 1821.

Dockray, John, of [Newport](#), son of Benjamin, of Wigton, England, County of Cumberland; and Mary Robinson, of William and Abigail, of [South Kingstown](#), 2 mo., 17, 1757.

Dockray, John Bigland, of John and Mary, and Mercy Peckham, of William and Mercy; all of [South Kingstown](#), 11 mo., 8, 1809.

Dye, Richard, of Richmond, of John and Thankful, and Zerviah Rogers, of Thomas and Elizabeth, 12 mo., 5, 1782.

Dye, Samuel, of Richmond, of John and Thankful, and Anna Rogers, of Thomas and Elizabeth, deceased, 1 mo., 20, 1785.

E

Earle, William, of Swansea, Massachusetts, of Caleb and Hannah, and Hannah Collins, of Amos and Thankful, of Stonington, 10 mo. 28, 1812.

Earle, William, of Swansea, Massachusetts, of Caleb and Hannah, both deceased; and Catherine Collins, of Jabez and Sarah, deceased, of Hopkinton, 9 mo., 22, 1829.

Eldred, Emma L., and George E. Perry, 10 mo., 6, 1879.

F

Foster, Card, of John and Margery, of [Westerly](#), and Sarah Mumford, of John and Judeth; both of Exeter, 8 mo., 4, 1750.

Foster, John, of Card and Sarah, of Richmond, deceased, and Ruth Hoxsie, of Stephen and Elizabeth, of Richmond, 4 mo., 4, 1776.

Foster, Sarah, and James Sheffield, 1 mo., 15, 1795.

Foster, Ethan, of Stonington, of John and Ruth, and Temperance Bragg, of Hopkinton, of Nicholas and Sarah, of Easton, N. Y., 3 mo., 12, 1801.

Foster, Othniel, of Stonington, of John and Ruth, and Eunice Browning, of Jeremiah Jr., and Sarah, of this place, 11 mo., 10, 1803.

Foster, Martha, and Jeremiah Browning, 11 mo., 12, 1805.

Foster, Elizabeth, and Thomas Perry, 11 mo., 10, 1808.

Foster, Ethan, of Groton son of John and Ruth, of Charlestown; and Mary Wilbur, of William and Anna, of Hopkinton, 6 mo., 3, 1824.

Foster, Thomas, of Ethan and Temperance, and Phebe Wilbur, of John and Lydia; all of Hopkinton, 11 mo., 15, 1827.



Foster, Judith, and John Peckham, 10 mo. 28, 1828.
Foster, Mary Ann, and George Shove, 11 mo. 30, 1833.
Foster, Mary, and Ephraim C. Collins, 4 mo., 6, 1836.
Foster, Ethan Jr., of [Westerly](#), of Ethan and Temperance, of Hopkinton; and Anna A. Wilbur, of John and Lydia, of the latter place, 10 mo. 24, 1837.
Foster, Sarah, and George W. Carr, 4 mo., 4, 1838.
Foster, Elizabeth, and Luke Collins, 5 mo., 13, 1841. Fry, James N., of Northbridge, Massachusetts, of Jonathan and Amime, of Bolton, Massachusetts; and Mary Elizabeth Munroe, of Job and Phebe C., of North Stonington, 11 mo. 22, 1847.

G

Gardiner, Abigail, and Richard Smith, 4 mo., 21, 1744.
Gardiner, Joshua, of Stonington, of Abiel, deceased, and Ruth, and Dorcas Cross, of John and Susannah, of [South Kingstown](#), 2 mo., 10, 1803.
Gardiner, Mary Ann, and Timothy C. Collins, 10 mo., 2, 1823.
Gardiner, Joshua, of Joshua and Dorcas, of Stonington, and Elizabeth Wilbur, of Isaac and Susanna, of Hopkinton, 11 mo., 10, 1825.
Gardiner, Susan, and Gideon Wilbur, 11 mo., 13, 1828.
Gifford, William, of John and Dinah, of [Westerly](#), and Martha Wilkinson, widow of John, of Charlestown, 3 mo., 9, 1745.
Gorton, Elizabeth, and Nathan Spencer, 3 mo., 30, 1785.
Greene, Patience, and Preserved Brayton, 5 mo., 18, 1758.
Greene, Waite, and Stephen Kilton, 12 mo., 20, 1764.
Greene, Joseph, of Jamestown, of Joseph and Abigail, both deceased; and Sarah Collins, of Jabez and Sarah, of Hopkinton, 4 mo., 28, 1824.

H

Hadsall, James, of Joseph, of [Westerly](#), and Rachel his wife, deceased; and Content Worden, of Peter, deceased, and Rebecca, 8 mo., 12, 1752.
Hawkes, Nathaniel, of Ezra and Hannah, of Jackson, Waldo Co., Maine; and Mary A. Collins, of Timothy C. and Mary Ann, of [South Kingstown](#), 1 mo., 29, 1856.
Hazard, Thomas, of Robert of Boston Neck, and Elizabeth Robinson, of William, 3 mo., 27, 1742.
Hazard, Thomas, of Benjamin and Mehitable, deceased, and Hannah Knowles, of Joseph and Bathsheba; all of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 2, 1783.
Hazard, George, of Richard and Susannah, both deceased, and Sarah Knowles, of John and Susannah, deceased, 8 mo., 30, 1786.
Hazard, Benjamin, of Thomas B. and Hannah, of [South Kingstown](#), and Joanna Carr, of Peleg and Sarah, of Hopkinton, 5 mo., 12, 1814.
Hazard, William R., of Rowland and Mary, of [South Kingstown](#), and Mary Wilbur, of John and Lydia, of Hopkinton, 10 mo., 2, 1828.
Hazard, Sarah, and Amos C. Wilbur, 1 mo., 4, 1838.



- Healey, Christopher, of Hopkinton of Joseph and Rachel, and Alice Sheffield, of Samuel and Elizabeth, 12 mo., 12, 1793.
- Healey, Joseph, of Hopkinton, of Joseph and Prudence, of Greenwich, and Martha Davis, of William, deceased, and Mary, of [Westerly](#), 9 mo., 11, 1794.
- Healey, Peter D., of Hopkinton, of Joseph and Martha, deceased, and Elizabeth Read, of Martin and Abigail, of [South Kingstown](#), 6 mo., 3, 1819.
- Hoag, Jonathan, of Portage, Dutchess Co., N. Y., and Martha Congdon, of James, late of Charlestown, 4 mo., 25, 1768.
- Hoxsie, Benjamin, of Charlestown, son of John, of [Westerly](#), and Sarah Knowles, of Robert and Ann, of Charlestown, 9 mo., 19, 1741.
- Hoxsie, Benjamin, of Charlestown, of John, of [Westerly](#), and Mary Stanton, of Thomas and Mary, of Charlestown, 11 mo., 16, 1752.
- Hoxsie, Martha, and George Kenyon, 3 mo., 16, 1758.
- Hoxsie, Mary, and Thomas Wilbur, 7 mo., 27, 1761.
- Hoxsie, Barnabus, of Stephen and Elizabeth, of Richmond, and Elizabeth Wilbur, of Thomas and Edge, deceased, 12 mo., 8, 1763.
- Hoxsie, Bathsheba, and Joseph Collins, 3 mo., 8, 1764.
- Hoxsie, Anne, and Thomas Browning, 6 mo., 2, 1767.
- Hoxsie, Ruth, and John Foster, 4 mo., 4, 1776.
- Hoxsie, Dorcas, and Zebulon Weaver, 11 mo., 6, 1777.
- Hoxsie, Mary, and John Knowles, 1 mo., 1, 1778.
- Hoxsie, Benjamin, of Charlestown and Catherine Collins of Hopkinton, 2 mo., 7, 1782.
- Hoxsie, Peter, of Richmond, of Solomon, deceased, and Mary, and Sarah Rathbun, widow of Joshua 3d, deceased, 12 mo., 30, 1784.
- Hoxsie, Stephen, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, of Richmond, and Anna Kenyon, of George and Martha, of Hopkinton, 2 mo., 17, 1791.
- Hoxsie, Hannah, and Simeon Perry, 2 mo., 6, 1794.
- Hoxsie, Esther, and John Warner Knowles, 2 mo., 5, 1801.
- Hoxsie, Joshua, of Richmond, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, and Elizabeth Kenyon, of George and Martha, of Hopkinton, 4 mo., 5, 1804.
- Hoxsie, Elizabeth, and Joshua Rathbun, 10 mo., 18, 1804.
- Hoxsie, Lydia, and Thomas Rodman Knowles, 9 mo., 6, 1810.

I

- Irish, Joseph, of Jedediah and Mary, of [Westerly](#), and Dorcas Sheffield, widow of Nathan, late of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 1, 1748.
- Irish, Job, of Jedediah and Mary, of [Westerly](#), and Mary Weaver, of Thomas, deceased, and Mary, of this place, 5 mo., 3, 1753.
- Irish, Joseph, of Jedediah, of Stonington, and Sarah Anthony, of [South Kingstown](#), 2 mo., 7, 1754.

K



- Kenyon, George, of Thomas and Catherine, and Martha Hoxsie, of Solomon and Mary, all of Richmond, 3 mo., 16, 1758.
- Kenyon, Mary, and John Taylor Nichols, 1 mo., 18, 1787.
- Kenyon, Solomon, of George and Martha, of Hopkinton, and Eunice Sheffield, of Elisha and Lydia, of [South Kingstown](#), 3 mo., 5, 1789.
- Kenyon, Anna, and Stephen Hoxsie, 2 mo., 17, 1791.
- Kenyon, George, of Hopkinton, of George and Martha, and Rachel Sheffield, of Elisha and Lydia, of [South Kingstown](#), 11 mo., 14, 1793.
- Kenyon, Sarah, and John Congdon, 11 mo., 7, 1799.
- Kenyon, Catherine, and Woodman Wilbur, 12 mo., 8, 1803.
- Kenyon, Elizabeth, and Joshua Hoxsie, 4 mo., 5, 1804.
- Kenyon, John H., of George and Martha, of Hopkinton, and Ruth Collins, of Amos and Thankful of Stonington, 11 mo., 8, 1804.
- Kenyon, Lydia, and Lewis Collins, 12 mo., 5, 1811.
- Kenyon, Peleg, of Solomon and Eunice, and Thankful Collins, of Isaac and Mary; all of Richmond, 3 mo., 3, 1814.
- Kenyon, Rachel, and Isaac Collins, 2 mo., 13, 1823.
- Kenyon, John T., of Solomon and Eunice, and Sarah S. Wilbur, of John and Lydia; all of Hopkinton, 5 mo., 13, 1824.
- Kenyon, Bathsheba, and Isaiah Ray, 1 mo., 13, 1828.
- Kenyon, Mary C., and William A. Sherman, 4 mo., 28, 1841.
- Kilton, Stephen, of [Providence](#), and Waite Greene, of David and Mary, of [North Kingstown](#), 12 mo., 20, 1764.
- Knowles, Sarah, and Benjamin Hoxsie, 9 mo., 19, 1741.
- Knowles, Susannah, and William Underwood, 11 mo., 19, 1743.
- Knowles, Joseph, of Robert and Ann, and Bathsheba Seager, of John and Alice; all of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 11, 1753.
- Knowles, Ann, and Jonathan Reynolds, 12 mo., 11, 1755.
- Knowles, Robert, of John, and Catherine Rodman, of Benjamin; all of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 31, 1774.
- Knowles, John, of Richmond, of John and Hannah, deceased, and Mary Hoxsie, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 1 mo., 1, 1778.
- Knowles, Alice, and John Congdon, 12 mo., 21, 1780.
- Knowles, Sarah, and Charles Congdon, 11 mo., 14, 1782.
- Knowles, Robert, of Joseph and Bathsheba, and Lucy Anna Rodman, of Benjamin and Hannah; all of [South Kingstown](#), 11 mo., 21, 1782.
- Knowles, Hannah, and Thomas Hazard, 10 mo., 2, 1783.
- Knowles, Sarah, and George Hazard, 8 mo., 30, 1786.
- Knowles, John Warner, of [South Kingstown](#), of Robert and Catherine, and Esther Hoxsie, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, of Richmond, 2 mo., 5, 1801.
- Knowles, Hannah, and John Knowles, 4 mo., 14, 1803.



Knowles, John, of Richmond, of John, deceased, and Mary, and Hannah Knowles, of Robert and Lucy Anna, of [South Kingstown](#), 4 mo., 14, 1803.

Knowles, Thomas Rodman, of Robert and Catherine, of [South Kingstown](#), and Lydia Hoxsie, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, of Richmond, 9 mo., 6, 1810.

Knowles, Catherine, and Solomon B. Boss, 5 mo., 25, 1813.

Knowles, John H., of Richmond, of John and Hannah, and Catherine E. Collins, of Hopkinton, of Isaac and Mary, 10 mo., 4, 1827.

Knowles, Mary S., and Charles G. Collins, 3 mo., 10, 1859.

M

Mitchell, Joseph, of Nantucket, of George and Phebe, and Elizabeth Ray, of Isaiah and Mary, of Hopkinton, 6 mo., 8, 1841.

Moon, Sarah, and Card Foster, 8 mo., 4, 1750.

Moon, Mehitable, and Benjamin Davis, 1 mo., 23, 1752.

Munroe, Job, of John and Parthenia, of Plainfield, Connecticut, and Phebe Collins, of Abel and Mary, of Stonington, 11 mo., 25, 1818.

Munroe, Mary Elizabeth, and James N. Fry, 11 mo., 22, 1847.

N

Nichols, John Taylor, of [South Kingstown](#), of Andrew, and Anne, and Mary Kenyon, of George and Martha, of Hopkinton, 1 mo., 18, 1787.

Nichols, Sarah Ann, and William H. Perry, 11 mo., 9, 1854.

Niles, Hannah, and Benjamin Rodman, 3 mo., 29, 1753.

P

Palmer, Patience, and John Davis, 9 mo., 26, 1747.

Palmer, William, of William and Mary, of Stonington, and Lydia Davis, of Peter and Mary of [Westerly](#), 12 mo., 8, 1749.

Palmer, Elizabeth, and Rowland Robinson, 7 mo., 26, 1756.

Parker, James, of George, deceased, and Elizabeth of West Greenwich, and Elizabeth Sherman, of Ezekiel and Margaret of Richmond, 2 mo., 1, 1763.

Parke, John, of Nathaniel, of Preston, Connecticut, and Patience Wage, of Joshua, deceased, 3 mo., 30, 1767.

Peckham, Sarah, and Acors Rathbun, 2 mo., 12, 1794.

Peckham, Alice, and Rowland Rathbun, 10 mo., 14, 1801.

Peckham, Mercy, and John Bigland Dockray, 11 mo., 8, 1809.

Peckham, Dorcas, and Hezekiah Babcock, 1 mo., 28, 1813.

Peckham, John, of Little Compton, of Isaac and Phebe, deceased, and Judith Foster, of Charlestown, of John and Ruth, 10 mo., 28, 1828.

Perry, James, of James, of [South Kingstown](#), and Mercy Potter, of John, deceased, 3 mo., 3, 1750.

Perry, Alice and Sylvester Robinson, 12 mo., 18, 1755.

Perry, Stephen, of Charlestown, of Samuel, deceased, and Elizabeth Borden, of Abraham, of [Westerly](#), 6 mo., 2, 1763.



- Perry, Simeon, of Charlestown, of Samuel and Susannah, both deceased, and Anna Browning, of [South Kingstown](#), widow of Thomas, and daughter of Solomon and Mary Hoxsie, of Richmond, 4 mo., 29, 1776.
- Perry, Simeon, of Charlestown, of Samuel and Susannah, both deceased, and Sarah Congdon, widow of John and daughter of Joseph and Mary Hoxsie, 5 mo., 30, 1787.
- Perry, Sarah, and Solomon Collins, 3 mo., 8, 1792.
- Perry, Simeon, of Charlestown, of Samuel and Susannah, and Hannah Hoxsie, of Richmond, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 2 mo., 6, 1794.
- Perry, Thomas, of Simeon and Anna, of Charlestown, and Elizabeth Foster, of John and Ruth, of North Stonington, 11 mo., 10, 1808.
- Perry, William S., and Lois Davis, both of [South Kingstown](#), 7 mo., 4, 1821.
- Perry, William H., of William S. and Lois, and Sarah Ann Nichols, 11 mo., 9, 1854.
- Perry, Mary P., and John Babcock, 9 mo., 23, 1856.
- Perry, George E., and Emma L. Eldred, 10 mo., 6, 1879.
- Potter, Mercy and James Perry, 3 mo., 3, 1750.

R

- Rathbun, Joshua, of Joshua, of [Westerly](#) and Sarah Borden, of Abraham, 10 mo., 30, 1766.
- Rathbun, Acors, and Lydia Robinson, of John, 11 mo., 9, 1775.
- Rathbun, Sarah, and Peter Hoxsie, 12 mo., 30, 1784.
- Rathbun, Acors, of Joshua and Sarah, of Stonington, and Sarah Peckham, of William and Mercy, of So. Kingstown, 2 mo., 12, 1794.
- Rathbun, Dorcas, and Joshua Bradley, 1 mo., 1, 1801.
- Rathbun, Rowland, of Acors and Lydia, of Stonington, and Alice Peckham, of William and Mercy, of So. Kingstown, 10 mo., 14, 1801.
- Rathbun, Lydia, and John H. Weaver, 11 mo., 10, 1803.
- Rathbun, Joshua, of Acors and Lydia, of Stonington, and Elizabeth Hoxsie, of Peter and Sarah, of Richmond, 10 mo., 18, 1804.
- Rathbun, Francis H., of Rowland, of [Smithfield](#), and Sarah W. Brown, of William and Ann, of So. Kingstown, 9 mo., 24, 1832.
- Ray, Isaiah, of Alexander and Elizabeth, and Bathsheba Kenyon, of George and Martha, deceased, all of Hopkinton, 1 mo., 31, 1828.
- Ray, Isaiah, of Alexander and Elizabeth, and Susan C. Wilbur, of John and Lydia, of Hopkinton, 3 mo., 4, 1841.
- Ray, Elizabeth, and Joseph Mitchell, 6 mo., 8, 1841.
- Read, Elizabeth, and Peter D. Healey, 6 mo., 3, 1819.
- Reynolds, Jonathan of John and Hannah, of Exeter, and Ann Knowles, of Robert and Ann, of [South Kingstown](#), 12 mo., 11, 1755.
- Robinson, Elizabeth, and Thomas Hazard, 3 mo., 27, 1742.
- Robinson, Abigail, and John Wanton, 10 mo., 8, 1752.



Robinson, Sylvester, of [South Kingstown](#), of William and Abigail, and Alice Perry, of James and Anna, 12 mo., 18, 1755.

Robinson, Rowland, of [Westerly](#), of John and Elizabeth Palmer, of William, of Stonington, 7 mo., 26, 1756.

Robinson, Mary, and John Dockray, 2 mo., 17, 1757.

Robinson, John, of Hopkinton, and Sarah Weaver, daughter of Peter Davis, of [Westerly](#), 6 mo, 3, 1773.

Robinson, Lydia, and Acors Rathbun, 11 mo., 9, 1775.

Robinson, Anna Atmore, and Stephen Abbott Chase, 7 mo., 26, 1830.

Rodman, Benjamin, of [South Kingstown](#), of Thomas, and Hannah Niles, of Jamestown, of Nathaniel, 3 mo., 29, 1753.

Rodman, Catherine, and Robert Knowles, 10 mo., 31, 1774.

Rodman, Lucy Anna, and Robert Knowles, 11 mo., 21, 1782.

Rodman, Ruth, and Jonathan Babcock, 1 mo., 29, 1795.

Rodman, Deborah, and Joseph Congdon, 2 mo., 6, 1807.

Rogers, Zerniah, and Richard Dye, 12 mo., 5, 1782.

Rogers, Anna, and Samuel Dye, 1 mo., 20, 1785.

S

Seager, Joseph, of John and Alice, of [South Kingstown](#), and Mary Taylor, of William and Ann, of said town, 11 mo., 24, 1750.

Seager, Bathsheba, and Joseph Knowles, 10 mo., 11, 1753.

Sheffield, Dorcas, and Joseph Irish, 10 mo., 1, 1748.

Sheffield, Dorcas, and Woodman Wilbur, 4 mo., 6, 1769.

Sheffield, Sarah, and Thomas Wilbur, 1 mo., 15, 1784.

Sheffield, Hannah, and Joseph Collins, 2 mo., 5, 1789.

Sheffield, Eunice, and Solomon Kenyon, 3 mo., 5, 1789.

Sheffield, Rachel, and George Kenyon, 11 mo., 14, 1793.

Sheffield, Alice, and Christopher Healey, 12 mo., 12, 1793.

Sheffield, James, of Hopkinton, son of Samuel and Elizabeth, and Sarah Foster, of John and Ruth, of Richmond, 1 mo., 15, 1795.

Sheffield, John, of James and Sarah, of Richmond, and Anna Wilbur, of William and Anna, of Hopkinton, 6 mo., 28, 1820.

Sheffield, Samuel, of Richmond, son of James, deceased, and Sarah, and Amie Browning, of Christopher and Martha, of [South Kingstown](#), 9 mo., 13, 1829.

Sherman, Elizabeth, and James Parker, 2 mo., 1, 1763.

Sherman, William A., of Fall River, of Lot, deceased, and Isabella, and Mary C. Kenyon, of Peleg and Thankful, of Hopkinton, 4 mo., 28, 1841.

Shove, Josiah, of Mendon, Massachusetts, son of Nathaniel and Hannah, late of Dighton, Massachusetts; and Sarah Wilbur, of Hopkinton, of William Sheffield and Louis [sic], 9 mo., 22, 1818.



- Shove, Calvin, of Thomas and Hannah, of Uxbridge, Massachusetts, and Sarah T. Wilbur, of William and Anna, of Hopkinton, 9 mo., 23, 1823.
- Shove, George, of [Smithfield](#), of Thomas B., and Hannah, of Uxbridge, Massachusetts; and Mary Ann Foster, of Ethan and Temperance, of Hopkinton, 11 mo., 30, 1833.
- Sisson, Asa, of North [Providence](#), of Joseph and Ruth, of Seakonk [sic], Massachusetts; and Dinah Collins, of Jabez and Sarah, of Hopkinton, 5 mo., 27, 1818.
- Smith, Richard, of James, of Groton, Connecticut, and Abigail Gardiner, of Stephen, late of Warwick, Connecticut, 4 mo., 21, 1744.
- Spencer, Nathan, of East Greenwich, of William and Margaret, and Elizabeth Gorton, of John, of [South Kingstown](#), 3 mo., 30, 1785.
- Spencer, John, of [Westerly](#), of Fones and Sarah of East Greenwich; and Thankful Collins, of North Stonington, daughter of Abel and Mary A., 3 mo., 2, 1848.
- Stanton, Mary, and Benjamin Hoxsie, 11 mo., 16, 1752.
- Sutton, Isaac, of [Providence](#), of Aaron and Mary, and Lizzie Maria Dalton, of Hiram A., and Maria S., of New York City, 8 mo., 23, 1880.

T

- Taylor, Mary, and Joseph Seager, 11 mo., 24, 1750.

U

- Underwood, William, of [South Kingstown](#), of William, deceased, of [Newport](#); and Susannah Knowles, of Henry, deceased, of [South Kingstown](#), 11 mo., 19, 1743.

W

- Wage, Patience, and John Parke, 3 mo., 30, 1767.
- Wanton, John, of Gideon and Mary, of [Newport](#), and Abigail Robinson, of William, deceased, and Abigail, of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 8, 1752.
- Weaver, Mary, and Job Irish, 5 mo., 3, 1753.
- Weaver, Sarah, and John Robinson, 6 mo., 3, 1773.
- Weaver, Zebulon, of Thomas, deceased, and Sarah, of [Westerly](#), and Dorcas Hoxsie, of John, late of [Newport](#), deceased, and Mary, 11 mo., 6, 1777.
- Weaver, John H., of Hopkinton, of Zebulon and Dorcas, and Lydia Rathbun, of Stonington, of Acors and Lydia, 11 mo., 10, 1803.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of Hopkinton, son of William and Esther, of Little Compton; and Mary Hoxsie, of Solomon and Mary, of Richmond, 7 mo., 27, 1761.
- Wilbur, Elizabeth, and Barnabus Hoxsie, 12 mo., 8, 1763.
- Wilbur, Woodman, of Thomas and Edith, deceased, of Hopkinton, and Dorcas Sheffield, of same town, daughter of Nathan and Dorcas, deceased, 4 mo., 6, 1769.
- Wilbur, Thomas, Jr., of Hopkinton, of Thomas and Mary, and Sarah Sheffield, of William and Lois, of [South Kingstown](#), 1 mo., 15, 1784.
- Wilbur, William, of Thomas and Mary, of Hopkinton, and Anna Bragg, of Nicholas and Sarah, of Easton, Albany Co., N. Y., 6 mo., 3, 1790.



- Wilbur, Mary, and Abel Collins, 10 mo., 14, 1790.
- Wilbur, John, son of Thomas and Mary, of Hopkinton, and Lydia Collins, of Stonington, daughter of Amos and Thankful, 10 mo., 17, 1793.
- Wilbur, Isaac, son of Thomas and Mary, of Hopkinton, and Susanna Wilcox, of Elisha and Elizabeth, of Exeter, 10 mo., 15, 1794.
- Wilbur, Mary, and Jabez Wing, 1 mo., 30, 1799.
- Wilbur, Woodman, of Thomas and Edith, of Hopkinton, and Catherine Kenyon, of George and Martha, of this town, 12 mo., 8, 1803.
- Wilbur, Sarah, and Josiah Shove, 9 mo., 22, 1818.
- Wilbur, Anna, and John Sheffield, 6 mo., 28, 1820.
- Wilbur, Sarah T., and Calvin Shove, 9 mo., 23, 1823.
- Wilbur, Sarah S., and John T. Kenyon, 5 mo., 13, 1824.
- Wilbur, Mary, and Ethan Foster, 6 mo., 3, 1824.
- Wilbur, Elizabeth, and Joshua Gardiner, 11 mo., 10, 1825.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of Swansea, Massachusetts, son of John and Lydia, of Hopkinton, and Ann Congdon, of John and Sarah, of the latter town, 11 mo., 23, 1825.
- Wilbur, Phebe, and Thomas Foster, 11 mo., 15, 1827.
- Wilbur, Mary, and William R. Hazard, 10 mo., 2, 1828.
- Wilbur, Gideon, of Hopkinton, of Isaac and Susannah, and Susan Gardiner, of Joshua and Dorcas, of Stonington, 11 mo., 13, 1828.
- Wilbur, Anna A., and Ethan Foster, 10 mo., 24, 1837.
- Wilbur, Amos C., of [South Kingstown](#), son of John and Lydia, of Hopkinton, and Sarah Hazard, of So. Kingstown, daughter of Benjamin and Joanna, 1 mo., 4, 1838.
- Wilbur, Susan C., and Isaiah Ray, 3 mo., 4, 1841.
- Wilcox, Susanna, and Isaac Wilbur, 10 mo., 15, 1794.
- Wilkinson, Martha, and William Gifford, 3 mo., 9, 1745.
- Williams, John D., of [South Kingstown](#), son of David and Mary, of [Newport](#), and Hannah Brown, of William and Ann, of [South Kingstown](#), 10 mo., 3, 1822.
- Williams, Thomas of Troy, N. Y., son of John and Jane, both deceased, of [South Kingstown](#); and Anna Brown, of [South Kingstown](#), daughter of William and Ann, 9 mo., 12, 1826.
- Wing, Jabez, of Smithfield, and Mary Wilbur, widow of Thomas, of Hopkinton, 1 mo., 30, 1799.
- Worden, Content, and James Hadsall, 8 mo., 12, 1752.

Births and Deaths

B

- Babcock, Peleg, born 4m. 29, 1742, died 6m. 7, 1826.
- Babcock, Esther Hazard, (his daughter) born 5m. 24, 1772, died 4m. 25, 1819.
- Babcock, Susan Perry, (his daughter) born 1mo. 28, 1787, died 5m. 3, 1824.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Babcock, Lucy, (his daughter) died 4m. 14, 1813.
Babcock, Ruth Hannah, of Jonathan and Ruth, 11m. 26, 1795.
Babcock, Ruth, wife of Jonathan, died 12m. 16, 1795.
Babcock, Dorcas Gardiner of Hezekiah and Dorcas, 2m. 26, 1816.
Babcock, William Peckham, of Hezekiah and Dorcas, 4m. 28, 1818.
Babcock, Hezekiah, of Hezekiah and Dorcas, 10m. 31, 1820.
Babcock, Adam, of Hezekiah and Dorcas, 12m. 24, 1822, died at [Providence](#), 10m. 26, 1872.
Babcock, John, of Hezekiah and Dorcas, 5m. 23, 1831.
Babcock, Hezekiah Sen. died 3m. 4, 1870.
Babcock, Dorcas (Peckham of William,) his wife, died 10m. 22, 1859.
Babcock, Waite, widow of Caleb and mother of Hezekiah, died 4m. 12, 1836.
Babcock, Lucy, of Peleg and Lucy, died 4m. 14, 1813.
Babcock, Lois Elma, of John and Mary, 9m. 6, 1857.
Babcock, John Edward, of John and Mary, 10m. 7, 1858.
Babcock, William H., of John and Mary, 12m. 15, 1864.
Bicknell, Mary Alma, of Japheth and Julia, 2nd wife, 4m. 6, 1830.
Bicknell, Julia Ann, of Japheth and Julia, 2nd wife, 5m. 17, 1832.
Bicknell, Japheth, died 9 m. --- 1831.
Bicknell, Ruth, wife of Japheth, died age 49 years, 3m. 5, 1824.
Bradley, Joshua, born 4m. 30, 1775.
Bradley, Dorcas, his wife, born 12m. 29, 1782.
Bradley, Lydia, of Joshua and Dorcas, 6m. 15, 1803.
Bradley, Mary, of Joshua and Dorcas, 6m. 6, 1805.
Bradley, Sally M., of Joshua and Dorcas, 5m. 6, 1807.
Bradley, Joshua T. C., of Joshua and Dorcas, 4m. 4, 1809.
Bradley, Deborah, of Joshua and Dorcas, 5m. 6, 1811.
Bradley, Abby Ann, of Joshua and Dorcas, 6m. 13, 1813.
Bradley, Clarinda W., of Joshua and Dorcas, 10m. 13, 1815.
Bragg, Daniel, of Nicholas and Sarah, 4m. 22, 1769.
Bragg, Temperance, of Nicholas and Sarah, 4m. 28, 1771.
Bragg, Benjamin, of Nicholas and Sarah, 7m. 2, 1773.
Bragg, Isreal, of Nicholas and Sarah, 3m. 24, 1775.
Bragg, Isreal, of Nicholas and Sarah, died 10m. 27, 1783.
Bragg, Sarah, of Nicholas and Sarah, 8m. 21, 1777.
Briggs, Prudence Autum [sic], died aged 70 years, 1786.



- Boss, Lucy Anna, of Solomon B. and Catherine, 6m. 27, 1814.
- Bowen, Mehitable, widow of John, died aged 92 years wanting 8 days, 11m. 15, 1792; buried 18th. in Friends burial yard Hopkinton.
- Browning, Jeremiah Jr., born 9m. 7, 1758.
- Browning, Sarah, his wife, born 10m. 10, 1762.
- Browning, Jeremiah 3d of Jeremiah and Sarah, 10m. 23, 1783.
- Browning, Eunice, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 7m. 26, 1785.
- Browning, Robert, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 9m. 17, 1788.
- Browning, Sarah, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 3m. 29, 1791.
- Browning, Catherine, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 4m. 21, 1793.
- Browning, Peter Yarnall, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 5m. 7, 1795.
- Browning, Anna, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 4m. 8, 1797.
- Browning, Hannah, of Jeremiah and Sarah, 5m. 21, 1799, died 1m. 18, 1805; buried 20th. in Friends' burial yard Hopkinton.
- Browning, Christopher, born 9m. 25, 1758, died 11m. 3, 1840.
- Browning, Amie, (his daughter) born 5m. 24, 1804, died 2m. 8, 1845; wife of Samuel Sheffield.
- Browning, Elizabeth, (his daughter) born 7m. 28, 1795.
- Bull, Hannah, of Ephraim and Patience, 7m. 26, 1727.
- Bull, Ephraim, of Ephraim and Patience, 7m. 6, 1729.
- Bull, Jerah, of Ephraim and Patience, 11m. 15, 1731.
- Bull, Joseph, of Ephraim and Patience, 12m. 28, 1733.
- Bull, Hannah, of Ephraim and Patience, 3m. 9, 1736.
- Bull, Henry, of Ephraim and Patience, 5m. 4, 1738.
- Bull, Thomas, of Ephraim and Patience, 9m. 7, 1740.
- Bull, Thomas, of Ephraim and Patience, 12m. 19, 1742.
- Bull, Patience, of Ephraim and Patience, 6m. 13, 1745.
- Burdick, Willie Lincoln, born 3m. 20, 1865.

C

- Carr, Sarah, 5m 29, 1765, died 7m, 16, 1817.
- Carr, Mary, of Sarah, 8m, 4, 1790, died 4m 18, 1833.
- Carr, Myra, of Sarah, 3m, 14, 1792.
- Carr, Sarah, of Sarah, 9m, 9, 1793.
- Carr, Joanna, of Sarah, 7m, 1, 1795.
- Collins, Susannah, wife of John, of Charlestown, died aged 68 years, 11m. 8d; 1m. 14, 1753.
- Collins, Samuel, of John and Susannah, of Charlestown; died 8m. 13, 1753. Accidentally struck overboard of a sloop in Egg Harbor and buried there.



- Collins, John of Charlestown, died aged 75 years 3m. 9d.; 10m. 20, buried 21, 1755, in Charlestown.
- Collins, John of Stonington, son of John and Susannah of Charlestown, died aged 63 years, 10m. 1, 1778; buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Collins, Samuel, of John and Mehitable, of Stonington, died aged 26 years; 6m. 3, 1779; buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Collins, Hezekiah, 8m. 1707, died 10m. 10, 1775.
- Collins, Catharine (Hoxsie) his wife, d, aged 83 years; 5m. 13, 1801.
- Collins, Joseph, 4m. 18, 1738, died 9m. 26, 1827.
- Collins, Bethsheba, his wife, 5m. 14, 1740, died 1m. 27, 1823.
- Collins, Hezekiah, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 1m. 15, 1765.
- Collins, Solomon, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 3m. 17, 1766.
- Collins, Joseph, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 10m. 8, 1767.
- Collins, William, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 1m. 10, 1770.
- Collins, Beriah, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 1m. 25, 1772.
- Collins, Mary, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 5m. 1, 1774.
- Collins, Peter, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 2m. 1, 1776.
- Collins, Catherine, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 7m. 6, 1778.
- Collins, Catherine, of Joseph and Bathsheba, died, 8m. ---, 1779.
- Collins, Joshua, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 6m. 1, 1780.
- Collins, John, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 2m. 2, 1745.
- Collins, Susannah, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 12m. 5, 1746.
- Collins, Amos, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 5m. 16, 1749.
- Collins, Benjamin, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 7m. 5, 1751.
- Collins, Samuel, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 4m. 24, 1754.
- Collins, Sarah, (born Charlestown) of John and Mehitable, 12m. 6, 1756.
- Collins, Abigail, (Stonington), of John and Mehitable, 4m. 6, 1760.
- Collins, Stephen, (Stonington), of John and Mehitable, 2m. 6, 1763.
- Collins, Ruth, (Stonington), of John and Mehitable, 7m. 20, 1765.
- Collins, Timothy, (born Stonington), of Amos, 5m. 25, 1768.
- Collins, Abel, (Hopkinton), of Amos, 5m. 2, 1770.
- Collins, Isaac, (Stonington), of Amos, 12m. 13, 1771.
- Collins, Amos, (Stonington), of Amos, 2m. 20, 1773.
- Collins, Susannah, (Stonington), of Amos, 3m. 12, 1775.
- Collins, Timothy, of Amos, died 3m. 25, 1776.
- Collins, Lydia, (Stonington), of Amos, 4m. 29, 1778.
- Collins, William, (Stonington), of Amos, 3m. 26, 1780.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- Collins, John, (Stonington), of Amos, 11m. 19, 1781.
- Collins, Ruth, (Hopkinton), of Amos, 5m. 2, 1784.
- Collins, William, (Stonington), of Amos, died 5m. 11, 1785.
- Collins, Hannah, (Stonington), of Amos, 8m. 29, 1786.
- Collins, Nancy, (Stonington), of Amos, 5m. 2, 1789, died 9m. 11, 1790. The above who died buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Collins, Amos W., died aged 72 y. 9m. 14, died 12m. 22, 1845.
- Collins, Lucy F., his wife, born 2m. 1, 1810, died 3m. 21, 1863.
- Collins, Abel James, of Amos W. and Lucy F., died 5m. 12, 1840.
- Collins, Jonathan Fry, of Amos W. and Lucy F., died 4m. 18, 1848.
- Collins, Mary Amie, of Amos W. and Lucy F., died 11m. 18, 1849.
- Collins, Giffard, of Jabez, 7m. 25, 1776.
- Collins, Dinah, of Jabez, 10m. 17, 1777.
- Collins, Lewis, of Jabez, 3m. 7, 1779.
- Collins, Sarah, of Jabez, 10m. 14, 1780.
- Collins, Catherine, of Jabez, 4m. 21, 1783.
- Collins, Susanna, of Jabez, born 3m. 17, 1785, died 2m. 17, 1812.
- Collins, Martha, of Jabez, 8m. 12, 1787.
- Collins, Catherine, of Hezekiah and Mary, 1m. 24, 1789.
- Collins, Hezekiah, of Hezekiah and Mary, 12m. 10, 1790.
- Collins, Elizabeth, of Hezekiah and Mary, 8m. 26, 1792.
- Collins, Joseph, of Joseph Jr., 2m. 13, 1790.
- Collins, Beriah, of Joseph Jr., 3m. 25, 1792.
- Collins, Sheffield, of Joseph Jr., 7m. 24, 1793.
- Collins, Job, of Joseph Jr., 12m. 25, 1794.
- Collins, Hannah, of Joseph Jr., 8m. 22, 1796.
- Collins, Rhoda, of Joseph Jr., 8m. 19, 1798.
- Collins, Bathsheba, of Joseph Jr., 6m. 5, 1800.
- Collins, Elizabeth, of Joseph Jr., 3m. 24, 1802.
- Collins, Peter, of Joseph Jr., 5m. 16, 1804.
- Collins, Obediah, of Joseph Jr., born 8m. 16, 1807, died 3m. 2, 1808 buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Collins, Deborah, of Abel and Mary, 9m. 30, 1791.
- Collins, Ira, of Abel and Mary, 3m. 3, 1793.
- Collins, Phebe, of Abel and Mary, 8m. 25, 1794.
- Collins, Mary Wilbur, of Abel and Mary, 6m. 7, 1796.
- Collins, Timothy Clarke, of Abel and Mary, 1m. 4, 1799.



- Collins, Abigail, of Abel and Mary, 3m. 12, 1801.
- Collins, Amos, of Abel and Mary, 3m. 8, 1803.
- Collins, Thankful, of Abel and Mary, 3m. 8, 1803.
- Collins, Gulielma, of Abel and Mary, 6m. 22, 1805.
- Collins, Abel, of Abel and Mary, 1m. 22, 1809.
- Collins, Ira, (died) of Abel and Mary, 3m. 10, 1793.
- Collins, Abigail, (died) of Abel and Mary, 7m. 00, 1834. [sic]
- Collins, Gulielma, (died), of Abel and Mary, 7m. 4, 1845.
- Collins, Abel, died aged 64y, 4m. 19; died 9m. 17, 1834. The above children born in Stonington.
- Collins, Elizabeth, of Solomon and Elizabeth, 12m. 8, 1792.
- Collins, Solomon, of Solomon and Elizabeth, 8m. 18, 1796.
- Collins, Hezekiah, of Solomon and Elizabeth, 9m. 27, 1798.
- Collins, Stephen Perry, of Solomon and Elizabeth, 6m. 3, 1800.
- Collins, Sarah, of Solomon and Elizabeth, 7m. 22, 1802.
- Collins, William C., of Isaac and Mary, 5m. 31, 1793.
- Collins, Nancy, of Isaac and Mary, 1794 [born], died in Hopkinton 12m. 7, 1879.
- Collins, Thankful, of Isaac and Mary, 8m. 31, 1795.
- Collins, Amos, of Isaac and Mary, 3m. 29, 1797.
- Collins, Mary, of Isaac and Mary, 3m. 23, 1799.
- Collins, Isaac, of Isaac and Mary, 12m. 20, 1801.
- Collins, Catherine Eliza, of Isaac and Mary, 1m. 28, 1803.
- Collins, Joseph, of Isaac and Mary, 12m. 27, 1805.
- Collins, Ephraim, of Isaac and Mary, 4m. 12, 1807.
- Collins, John W., of Isaac and Mary, 8m. 15, 1811.
- Collins, Charles Willetts, of Isaac and Mary, 5m. 22, 1813.
- Collins, Thomas J., of Isaac and Mary, 3m. 7, 1815. The five eldest of the above children born in Stonington, the others Richmond.
- Collins, Isaac, died, 1m. 3, 1841.
- Collins, Mary J., died 12m. 3, 1863.
- Collins, Bathsheba, died 10m. 8, 1847.
- Collins, William C., died 8m. 17, 1832.
- Collins, Mary, died 5m. 9, 1853.
- Collins, John W., died 10m. 5, 1873.
- Collins, Joseph, died 8m. 12, 1874.
- Collins, Mary, wife of Dr. Isaac, died 12m. 3, 1863.
- Collins, Amos, died, 5m. 22, buried 25, 1796.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Collins, Thankful, his wife, died, 7m. 30, buried 31, 1831. Both buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.

Collins, Timothy, born 1m. 4, 1799, died 5m. 5, 1867.

Collins, Mary Ann, his wife, born 11m. 15, 1800, died 11m. 19, 1863.

Collins, Mary Ann, of Timothy and Mary Ann, 12m. 24, 1825, died, 2m. 19, 1847.

Collins, Abel Clarke, of Timothy and Mary A., 8m. 17, 1828.

Collins, Peleg G., of Timothy and Mary A., 8m. 17, 1828.

Collins, Hannah Clarke, of Timothy and Mary A., 10m. 15, 1831.

Collins, John, of Timothy and Mary A., 4m. 23, 1836, died, 2m. 29, 1847.

Collins, Lydia W., of Lewis and Lydia, 8m. 21, 1812, died, 1m. 3, 1833.

Collins, Mary D., of Lewis and Lydia, 6m. 25, 1814, died, 3m. 29, 1815.

Collins, Sarah Ann, of Lewis and Lydia, 4m. 2, 1816, died, 8m. 10, 1853.

Collins, Eliza N., of Lewis and Lydia, 11m. 6, 1817, died (wife of William Brown), 1m. 1, 1840.

Collins, George Lewis, of Lewis and Lydia, 12m. 31, 1820, died in [Providence](#), 8m. 10, 1853.

Collins, Charles Gilbert, of Lewis and Lydia, 7m. 4, 1828.

Collins, Lydia, wife of Lewis, died aged 58y. 00m. 27d., 4m. 13, 1834.

Collins, Catherine Hosena (Gifford), wife of Hezekiah, died aged 83 years, 5m. 13, 1801.

Collins, Samuel, of Hezekiah and Catherine H., died aged 61y. 11m. 25., 7m. 29, 1811.

Collins, Abel Francis, born 1m. 22, 1809.

Collins, Electa Jane, his wife, (born New Hartford, New York), 8m. 22, 1818.

Collins, Clarkson Abel, of A. F. and E. J., 12m. 16, 1853.

Collins, Francis Wendall, of A. F. and E. J., 6m. 2, 1845. [sic]

Collins, Abel Chalkley, of A. F. and E. J., 3m. 27, 1857.

Collins, Peter Hoxsie, of Peter and Deborah, 6m. 5, 1809.

Collins, Mary D., of Peter and Deborah, 12m. 25, 1810, died, 7m. 9, 1873.

Collins, Hannah Dennis, of Peter and Deborah, 8m. 16, 1812, died, 5m. 19, 1842.

Collins, Abel T., of Peter and Deborah, 5m. 12, 1814.

Collins, Joseph W., of Peter and Deborah, 8m. 24, 1816.

Collins, Anna Maria, of Peter and Deborah, 3m. 21, 1821.

Collins, Edward William, of Peter and Deborah, 4m. 16, 1826.

Collins, Peter Sen., died aged 63y. 6m. 27d., 8m. 18, 1839.

Collins, Deborah his wife, (daughter of Abel), died aged 66y. 1m. 27 d., 11m. 26, 1857.

Collins, Peter H., born 6m. 5, 1809.

Collins, Ruth Ann, his wife, born 6m. 12, 1814.

Collins, Wm., Thurston, of Peter H., & Ruth A., 8m. 29, 1848.

Collins, James Robinson, of Peter H. & Ruth A., 8m. 3, 1850.



- Collins, Anne Elizabeth, of Peter H. & Ruth A., 8m. 2, 1858, died, 11m. 26, 1878.
- Collins, George W., of Isaac, 4m. 15, 1824.
- Collins, Gilbert, of Isaac, 10m. 1, 1826, died 11m. 14, 1826.
- Collins, Charles R., of Isaac, 10m. 6, 1830, died 3m. 7, 1831.
- Collins, William C., of Isaac, 10m. 20, 1832.
- Collins, Mary E., of Isaac, 5m. 12, 1836.
- Collins, Peleg G., born 5m. 17, 1828.
- Collins, Mary W., his wife, born 6m. 2, 1826.
- Collins, Hannah Clarke, of P. G. & M. W., 7m. 1, 1852.
- Collins, Charles Atherton, of P. G. & M. W., 9m. 30, 1853.
- Collins, Alfred Gardiner, of P. G. & M. W., 3m. 18, 1855.
- Collins, Ella Winslow, of P. G. & M. W., 4m. 11, 1857.
- Collins, Mary Winslow, of P. G. & M. W., 12m. 16, 1858.
- Collins, Lillian Gardiner, of P. G. & M. W., 5m. 3, 1862.
- Collins, Sarah Stanton, of P. G. & M. W., 5m. 25, 1864.
- Collins, Peleg Clarke, of P. G. & M. W., 12m. 14, 1868.
- Collins, Charles A., of P. G. & M. W., died 12m. 23, 1854.
- Collins, Abel, born 5m. 17, 1828.
- Collins, Mary Tabor, his wife, born 10m. 11, 1835.
- Collins, Francis Wendall, of Abel and Mary T., 2m. 6, 1845. [sic]
- Collins, Alice Victoria, of Abel and Mary T., 9m. 17, 1855.
- Collins, Mary Anna, of Abel and Mary T., 12m. 13, 1864.
- Collins, Mary Anna, of Abel and Mary T., 4m. 18, 1877.
- Collins, Francis Winfield, of Abel and Mary T., 12m. 12, 1878.
- Collins, Thomas Foster, of Ephraim, 6m. 6, 1837.
- Collins, Abel James, of Amos W. and Lucy F., 5m. 12, 1846.
- Collins, Mary A., wife of Abel, and daughter of Thomas and Mary Wilbur; died aged 85y. 3m. 11d., 2m. 20, 1858, and buried in Hopkinton.
- Collins, Deborah, died 11m. 26, 1857.
- Collins, Mary Wilbur, died aged 65y. 2m. 10d., 8m. 17, 1861.
- Collins, Abby R., of Abel and Mary A., died 7m. 6, 1834.
- Collins, Abel, died in his 65th years, 9m. 17, 1835.
- Collins, Lydia F., 2nd wife of Lewis, died, 1m. 5, 1862.
- Collins, Lewis, died, 6m. 11, 1848.
- Collins, Gilbert Lewis, of Charles G. & Mary S., 8m. 31, 1860.
- Collins, Mary Lydia, of Charles G. & Mary S., 12m. 15, 1862.



Collins, Catherine Elvira, of Charles G. & Mary S., 5m. 26, 1865.
Congdon, John, born 11m. 21, 1752, died 9m. 27, 1831.
Congdon, Alice, his wife, born, died 5m. 26, 1798.
Congdon, Sarah, his wife, born 5m. 30, 1767.
Congdon, Hannah, of John and Alice, born 1m. 19, 1782, died 2m. 13, 1782.
Congdon, Mary Alice, of John and Sarah, 9m. 12, 1800.
Congdon, Sarah Ann, of John and Sarah, 5m. 29, 1803.
Congdon, Bathsheba, of Charles and Sarah, 9m. 23, 1783.
Congdon, William, of Charles and Sarah, 12m. 10, 1785.
Congdon, Mary, of Charles and Sarah, 3m. 23, 1789.
Congdon, Joseph, of Charles and Sarah, 5m. 26, 1792.
Congdon, Charles, of Charles and Sarah, 8m. 2, 1794.
Congdon, Sarah, wife of Charles, died, 3m. 3, 1796.
Congdon, Freelove, wife of William, of [South Kingstown](#), died, 8m. 17, 1812.
Cook, Rebecca, died, 3m. 18, buried 20, 1792.

D

Davis, Content, wife of Peter, died in her 64th year, 1m. 4, 1781.
Davis, Martha, wife of Peter, died aged 88 years, 4m. 12, 1809.
Davis, Peter, died aged 100y. 11m. 5d., 9m. 22, 1812, buried 24. All the above buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
Davis, Lois, 6m. 13, 1796.
Davis, Moses, died 12m. 27, buried 29, 1815.
Dockray, Mary, wife of John B., died at [South Kingstown](#), 3m. 12, 1814.
Dockray, Mercy, (Peckham of William), wife of John B., died, 11m. 29, 1850.
Dockray, John Bigland, Jr., of John B. and Mercy, of [South Kingstown](#), 4m. 24, 1813.
Dockray, William Peckham, of same parents, 1m. 14, 1815.
Dockray, Mercy, of same parents, 10m. 23, 1819.
Dockray, James Perry, of same parents, 5m. 18, 1820.
Dye, Samuel, of John and Thankful, 2m. 26, 1757.
Dye, Richard, of John and Thankful, 10m. 18, 1760.
Dye, Elizabeth, of John and Thankful, 2m. 8, 1765.
Dye, Jonah, of John and Thankful, 6m. 15, 1770.
Dye, John, of John and Thankful, 10m. 7, 1776.
Dye, William, of John and Thankful, 10m. 21, 1781.
Dye, Stephen, of John and Thankful, 8m. 1, 1784.



Dye, Richard, of John and Thankful, 6m. 15, 1786.
Dye, Thankful, of John and Thankful, 2m. 4, 1790.
Dye, Russell, of John and Thankful, 5m. 16, 1792.
Dye, Elizabeth, of John and Thankful, 3m. 16, 1795.
Dye, Daniel, 5m. 28, 1771.
Dye, Elizabeth Nichols, 2m. 9, 1776.
Dye, Andrew, 3m. 19, 1778.
Dye, James, 1m. 10, 1780.
Dye, Rachel Nichols, 3m. 12, 1782.
Dye, Daniel, of Samuel and Anne, 10m. 4, 1785.
Dye, Elizabeth, of Samuel and Anne, 4m. 30, 1788.
Dye, George, of Samuel and Anne, 11m. 22, 1790.
Dye, Deborah, of Samuel and Anne, 10m. 4, 1794.

F

Foster, Martha, born Richmond, of Card & Sarah, 7m. 8, 1751.
Foster, Judeth, born Richmond, of Card & Sarah, 11m. 6, 1752.
Foster, John, born 8m. 18, 1755; died, 9m. 27, 1825.
Foster, Ruth, [no dates given]
Foster, Sarah, of John and Ruth, 3m. 22, 1777.
Foster, Ethan, of John and Ruth, 8m. 15, 1779.
Foster, Othniel, of John and Ruth, 6m. 13, 1782.
Foster, Martha, of John and Ruth, 12m. 22, 1785.
Foster, Elizabeth, of John and Ruth, 6m. 18, 1788.
Foster, Judeth, of John and Ruth, 12m. 1, 1790.
Foster, John, of John and Ruth, 2m. 13, 1793, died, 11m. 3, 1833.
Foster, Temperance, of Thomas and Phebe, 3m. 9, 1829, died, 1861.
Foster, John Wilbur, of Thomas and Phebe, 9m. 1, 1830.
Foster, Ethan Bragg, of Thomas and Phebe, 1m. 26, 1832.
Foster, Thomas Wilbur, of Thomas and Phebe, 3m. 20, 1834.
Foster, George Garfield, of Thomas and Phebe, 9m. 20, 1835.
Foster, Lydia Wilbur, of Thomas and Phebe, 10m. 19, 1837, died, 1861.
Foster, Phebe Hannah, of Thomas and Phebe, 6m. 7, 1840, died, 5m. 10, 1862.
Foster, John, of Ethan and Temperance, 9m. 24, 1802.
Foster, Thomas, of Ethan and Temperance, 4m. 22, 1804.
Foster, Elizabeth, of Ethan and Temperance, 3m. 15, 1806.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Foster, Ethan, of Ethan and Temperance, 6m. 5, 1808.
Foster, Mary Ann, of Ethan and Temperance, 9m. 1, 1812.
Foster, Sarah W., of Ethan and Temperance, 1m. 12, 1815. Two eldest of above born in Richmond, the others not stated.
Foster, John, Jr., born 9m. 25, 1802.
Foster, Pelina, his wife, born 5m. 17, 1819.
Foster, John H., of John and Pelina, 6m. 5, 1839.
Foster, Charles, of John and Pelina, 10m. 28, 1840.
Foster, Eunice, of Othniel and Eunice, 11m. 26, 1804, died 2m. 31, 1808.
Foster, Sarah, of Othniel and Eunice, 7m. 25, 1807.
Foster, Ruth Anna, of Othniel and Eunice, 2m. 14, 1809.
Foster, Jeremiah, of Othniel and Eunice, 7m. 3, 1811.
Foster, John B., of Othniel and Eunice, 3m. 30, 1813.
Foster, Mary, of Othniel and Eunice, 1m. 26, 1815.
Foster, George, of Othniel and Eunice, 8m. 30, 1816.
Foster, Elizabeth, of Othniel and Eunice, 4m. 15, 1818.
Foster, Stephen Hoxsie, of Othniel and Eunice, 2m. 1, 1820.
Foster, Martha, of Othniel and Eunice, 1m. 29, 1823.
Foster, Lydia Mitchell, of Othniel and Eunice, 7m. 27, 1824.
Foster, Dorcas Peckham, of Othniel and Eunice, 10m. 26, 1827.
Foster, Mary, (formerly Wilbur), died, 9m. 8, 1831.
Foster, Ruth, widow of John and daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth Hoxsie, died aged 86 years and about 9 months;
9m. 9, 1836.
Foster, Ethan, died 8m. 5, 1838.

G

Gardiner, Abiel, born 1m. 20, 1727, died 1m. 8, 1801.
Gardiner, Hannah, born 4m. 10, 1760, died 6m. 13, 1839.
Gardiner, Joshua, born 4m. 12, 1762.
Gardiner, Dorcas, his wife, born 12m. 22, 1767.
Gardiner, Joshua, of Joshua and Dorcas, 12m. 25, 1803.
Gardiner, Abiel, of Joshua and Dorcas, 12m. 25, 1804.
Gardiner, Susannah, of Joshua and Dorcas, 4m. 2, 1807.
Gardiner, John W., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 1m. 9, 1829.
Gardiner, Abbie Wilbur, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 1m. 21, 1838.
Gardiner, Mary Ann, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 9m. 8, 1839.
Gifford, Hannah, of William and Martha, 2m. 16, 1746.



Gifford, Jabez, of William and Martha, 12m. 5, 1747.
Gifford, William, of William and Martha, 1m. 28, 1750.
Greene, Sarah, born 1m. 14, 1793.
Greene, Elizabeth, born 9m. 19, 1805.

H

Hazard, Sarah, of Thomas (of Robert) and Elizabeth (Robinson of William), born 11m. 10, 1747, died, 5m. 26, 1753.
Hazard, Robert, of same parents, 10m. 17, 1753.
Hazard, Thomas, of same parents, born 11m. 13, 1755, died 3m. 15, 1756.
Hazard, Thomas, 2nd, of same parents, born 11m. 15, 1758.
Hazard, Sarah, wife of George, died, aged 26y. 10m.; 4m. 12, 1783; buried in old Meeting-house yard So. Kingstown.
Hazard, Benjamin, of Thomas (of Benj'n), and Hannah, 11m. 4, 1784.
Hazard, Thomas, of same parents, 5m. 8, 1787.
Hazard, Hannah, of same parents, 11m. 14, 1791.
Hazard, Isaac Senter, of same parents, born 3m. 27, died 29, 1795.
Hazard, Isaac Senter, 2nd, of same parents, born 5m. 10, died 11, 1796.
Hazard, Thomas, of Robert and Sarah, died in his 78 year, 8m. 26, 1798.
Hazard, Sarah, of Benjamin and Joanna, 9m. 11, 1815.
Hazard, Hannah, of Benjamin and Joanna, 6m. 9, 1817.
Hazard, Esther, died in her 47 year, 4m. 21, 1819.
Hazard, Mary Abbie, of Jonathan Nichols and Mary (Congdon), his wife, 4m. 29, 1828.
Hazard, Anna Congdon, of same parents, 3m. 19, 1830, died, 7m. 10, 1832.
Hazard, Sarah Congdon, of same parents, 12m. 28, 1831.
Hazard, Anna Congdon 2nd, of same parents, 1m. 26, 1834, died, 10m. 11, 1835.
Hazard, John Congdon, of same parents, 3m. 31, 1836.
Hazard, Rowland, of same parents, 4m. 20, 1838.
Hazard, George, died, 8m. 1, 1825.
Hazard, Sarah, his wife, died, 10m. 31, 1834.
Hazard, Alice R., died, 1m. 1, 1837.
Hazard, Mary R., died, 3m. 26, 1837.
Hazard, Jane, died aged 73y. 4m. 11d., 4m. 13, 1862.
Hazard, Thomas B., died 9m. 28, buried 30, 1845.
Healey, Mary Davis, of Martha, 4m. 11, 1782.
Healey, Martha, of Martha, 3m. 4, 1790.
Healey, Hannah, of Christopher and Alice, 10m. 28, 1794, died, 9m. 28, 1796.
Healey, Samuel, of Christopher and Alice, 4m. 28, 1796.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Healey, Elizabeth, of Christopher and Alice, 6m. 6, 1797.
Healey, Peter Davis, of Joseph and Martha, 8m. 11, 1795.
Healey, Hannah, of Joseph and Martha, 10m. 3, 1798. above children born in Hopkinton.
Healey, Joseph S., 2m. 21, 1799.
Healey, Rachel, 8m. 30, 1800.
Healey, Thomas, 12m. 10, 1802.
Hoxsie, Martha, of Solomon and Mary, 3m. 2, 1735.
Hoxsie, Mary, of Solomon and Mary, 7m. 9, 1736.
Hoxsie, Bathsheba, of Solomon and Mary, 3m. 14, 1740.
Hoxsie, John, of Solomon and Mary, 6m. 29, 1742.
Hoxsie, Peter, of Solomon and Mary, 11m. 17, 1744.
Hoxsie, Anne, of Solomon and Mary, 1m. 15, 1747.
Hoxsie, Solomon, of Solomon and Mary, 6m. 00, 1751. [sic] above children born in Charlestown.
Hoxsie, Barnabus, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 9m. 1, 1735.
Hoxsie, Stephen, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 3m. 8, 1738.
Hoxsie, Elizabeth, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 5m. 13, 1740.
Hoxsie, Edward, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 11m. 9, 1742, died, 9m. 4, 1750.
Hoxsie, Hannah, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 11m. 7, 1744.
Hoxsie, Samuel, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 6m. 13, 1747.
Hoxsie, Ruth, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 11m. 4, 1749.
Hoxsie, John, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 5m. 28, 1752.
Hoxsie, Edward, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 11m. 11, 1754.
Hoxsie, Mary, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 3m. 23, 1757.
Hoxsie, Gideon, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 9m. 9, 1759.
Hoxsie, Presberry, of Stephen and Elizabeth, 1m. 14, 1762. The eldest of the above born [Westerly](#), the next six Charlestown, the rest Richmond.
Hoxsie, Elizabeth, wife of Stephen, died age 59 years, 10m. 25, 1778.
Hoxsie, Benjamin, of Benjamin and Sarah, 1m. 14, 1743.
Hoxsie, Bathsheba, of Benjamin and Sarah, 9m. 13, 1744.
Hoxsie, Sarah, of Benjamin and Sarah, 8m. 22, 1746.
Hoxsie, Ann, of Benjamin and Sarah, 6m. 3, 1748. above children born in Charlestown.
Hoxsie, Dorcas, of John and Mercy, of [South Kingstown](#), 5m. 18, 1749.
Hoxsie, Editha, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 7m. 31, 1764.
Hoxsie, Stephen, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 1m. 00, 1768. [sic]
Hoxsie, Enoch, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 7m. 27, 1769.
Hoxsie, Elizabeth, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 4m. 1, 1772.



Hoxsie, Esther, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 5m. 21, 1772 [sic], died, 4m. 10, 1778.

Hoxsie, Joshua, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 4m. 8, 1776.

Hoxsie, Esther, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 5m. 7, 1782.

Hoxsie, Lydia, of Barnabus and Elizabeth, 6m. 22, 1788.

Hoxsie, Barnabus, died, 4m. 11, 1799.

Hoxsie, Elizabeth, his wife, died, 4m. 12, 1799. buried in one grave in Friends burial yard Richmond.

Hoxsie, Solomon, of Peter and Sarah, 10m. 14, 1784, died, 11m. 3, 1793; buried in Friend's burial yard Richmond.

Hoxsie, Elizabeth, of Peter and Sarah, 10m. 22, 1787.

Hoxsie, Solomon, died, 3m. 23, 1781, buried near his house Richmond.

Hoxsie, Stephen, died aged 80y. 00m. 26d.; 10m. 24, 1793, buried 27, in Friend's burial yard Richmond.

Hoxsie, Elizabeth, of Stephen and Anna, 1m. 12, 1792.

Hoxsie, Thomas W., of Stephen and Anna, 9m. 8, 1794.

Hoxsie, William B., of Stephen and Anna, 10m. 25, 1795.

Hoxsie, Stephen, of Stephen and Anna, 8m. 31, 1797.

Hoxsie, Anna, of Stephen and Anna, 10m. 7, 1799.

Hoxsie, George, of Stephen and Anna, 10m. 14, 1801.

Hoxsie, Martha, of Stephen and Anna, 9m. 30, 1803.

Hoxsie, Edith, of Stephen and Anna, 10m. 23, 1805.

Hoxsie, Edward, of Stephen and Anna, 1m. 7, 1808.

Hoxsie, Solomon Kenyon, of Stephen and Anna, 9m. 9, 1811.

Hoxsie, John Woodman, of Stephen and Anna, 8m. 3, 1815.

Hoxsie, Benjamin, died at [Westerly](#), aged 78 years lacking 1m. 11d.; 1m. 14, buried 16, 1795.

Hoxsie, Mary, died, aged 90 years and about 5 months, buried 20th. near where she lived; 3m. 18, 1797.

Hoxsie, Joshua, Jr., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 4m. 12, 1805, died, 7m. 16, 1806.

Hoxsie, Solomon W., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 8m. 11, 1806.

Hoxsie, Edith Ann, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 6m. 23, 1809.

Hoxsie, Rowland K., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 4m. 1, 1811.

Hoxsie, Gideon K., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 2m. 19, 1815.

Hoxsie, Eliza N., of Joshua and Elizabeth, 2m. 26, 1818.

Hoxsie, Peter, died, 8m. 1, 1819.

Hoxsie, Sarah, (supposed widow of Peter), died aged 79y. 3m. 2.; 3m. 29, 1828.

Hoxsie, John, died, 3m. 19, 1833.

Hoxsie, Anne, widow of Stephen, died, 1m. 23, 1838.

Hull, Joseph, of Joseph and Susanna, 8m. 14, 1714.

Hull, Susanna, of Joseph and Susanna, 2m. 20, 1716.



Hull, Mary, of Joseph and Susanna, 12m. 19, 1718.

Hull, Experience, of Joseph and Susanna, 6m. 21, 1722, died 10m. 31, 1748.

Hull, Susanna, wife of Joseph, died in her 62nd year, 7m. 25, 1748.

Hull, Joseph, died aged 67y. 4m. 10d.; 3m. 24, 1791 buried 26th, in Friend's burial yard near Tower Hill, [South Kingstown](#).

I

Irish, Benjamin , of Joseph and Dorcas, of [South Kingstown](#), born 3m. 16, 1750.

Irish, Mary, of same parents, 6m. 24, 1751.

Irish, Dorcas, wife of Joseph, of [South Kingstown](#), died, 7m. 24, 1752.

Irish, Dorcas, of Joseph and Sarah, 7m. 20, 1755.

Irish, Assa [sic], of Joseph and Sarah, 7m. 20, 1755.

Irish, Amos, of Joseph and Sarah, 5m. 20, 1757. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).

Irish, Benjamin, of Job and Mary, 11m. 1, 1753.

Irish, Elizabeth, of Job and Mary, 2m. 20, 1756.

Irish, Lydia, of Job and Mary, 5m. 4, 1759.

Irish, Jedediah, of Job and Mary, 3m. 3, 1762.

Irish, Mary, of Job and Mary, 10m. 19, 1765.

Irish, Peter Davis, of Job and Mary, 7m. 14, 1768. the first four of the children born [South Kingstown](#), the next Pomfret, the last Stonington.

Irish, Mary, wife of John, of Stonington, died in her 75 year buried 15th. in Friends burial yard [Westerly](#); died 4m. 13, 1799.

K

Kenyon, George, 2m. 4, 1733, died 12m. 8, 1819.

Kenyon, Martha, his wife, 5m. 2, 1735, died 11m. 22, 1818.

Kenyon, Mary, of George and Martha, 3m. 25, 1759.

Kenyon, Catherine, of George and Martha, 3m. 25, 1759.

Kenyon, Martha, of George and Martha, 11m. 15, 1760.

Kenyon, Thomas, of George and Martha, 2m. 57 [sic], 1762.

Kenyon, Solomon, of George and Martha, 2m. 27, 1762.

Kenyon, George, of George and Martha, 4m. 23, 1764.

Kenyon, Bathsheba, of George and Martha, 11m. 20, 1765.

Kenyon, Sarah, of George and Martha, 5m. 30, 1767.

Kenyon, Gideon, of George and Martha, 5m. 16, 1770.

Kenyon, Anne, of George and Martha, 4m. 6, 1772.

Kenyon, Elizabeth, of George and Martha, 1m. 31, 1774.

Kenyon, Lydia, of George and Martha, 3m. 17, 1776.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- Kenyon, Bathsheba, of George and Martha, 4m. 9, 1778.
- Kenyon, John H., of George and Martha, 5m. 24, 1780.
- Kenyon, Martha, of Solomon and Eunice, 2m. 27, 1790.
- Kenyon, Peleg, of Solomon and Eunice, 2m. 24, 1892. [sic]
- Kenyon, Solomon, of Solomon and Eunice, 5m. 19, 1793.
- Kenyon, Catherine, of Solomon and Eunice, 4m. 20, 1795.
- Kenyon, George C., of Solomon and Eunice, 11m. 26, 1797.
- Kenyon, Elisha, of Solomon and Eunice, 7m. 29, 1799.
- Kenyon, Elisha, of Solomon and Eunice, died, 8m. 9, 1799.
- Kenyon, John T., of Solomon and Eunice, 1m. 11, 1801.
- Kenyon, Eunice, of Solomon and Eunice, 2m. 9, 1805.
- Kenyon, Elwood, of Solomon and Eunice, 4m. 21, 1807.
- Kenyon, Lydia, of Solomon and Eunice, 11m. 29, 1809.
- Kenyon, Lydia, of Solomon and Eunice, died, 1m. 30, 1810.
- Kenyon, Thomas Elwood, of Solomon and Eunice, 4m. 21, 1807. the first seven of the above children born in [South Kingstown](#), the others in Richmond.
- Kenyon, Mary, of Gideon and Sarah, 11m. 30, 1793.
- Kenyon, Sarah, of Gideon and Sarah, 1m. 7, 1796.
- Kenyon, Martha, of Gideon and Sarah, 4m. 22, 1798.
- Kenyon, Martha, of Gideon and Sarah, died, 5m. 15, 1829.
- Kenyon, Deborah, of Gideon and Sarah, 4m. 9, 1800.
- Kenyon, Gideon H., of Gideon and Sarah, 4m. 9, 1802.
- Kenyon, Gideon H., of Gideon and Sarah, died, 5m. 24, 1810.
- Kenyon, Catherine, of Gideon and Sarah, 5m. 16, 1804.
- Kenyon, Elijah, of Gideon and Sarah, 6m. 21, 1807.
- Kenyon, Gideon, of Gideon and Sarah, 2m. 19, 1811.
- Kenyon, George S., of George and Rachel, 1m. 23, 1795.
- Kenyon, Elisha, of George and Rachel, 12m. 30, 1796.
- Kenyon, Lydia, of George and Rachel, 8m. 25, 1799.
- Kenyon, Elizabeth, of George and Rachel, 9m. 17, 1802.
- Kenyon, Rachel, of George and Rachel, 4m. 20, 1804.
- Kenyon, Mary, of George and Rachel, 7m. 27, 1806.
- Kenyon, David, of George and Rachel, 11m. 28, 1808.
- Kenyon, Abel Collins, of George and Rachel, 10m. 3, 1811. the first four of the above children born [South Kingstown](#), the next two Hopkinton, the two last Richmond.
- Kenyon, Rowland, of John H. and Ruth, 11m. 21, 1805, died, 9m. 14, 1807.



Kenyon, Rowland, 2nd, of same parents, 8m. 2, 1808, died, 5m. 30, 1814.

Kenyon, Mary Ann, of the same parents, 9m. 19, 1810.

Kenyon, Julina, of the same parents, 5m. 17, 1814.

Kenyon, John H., of the same parents, 4m. 20, 1816.

Kenyon, Eunice, died, 9m. 13, 1819.

Knowles, John, born 5m. 25, 1720, died 2m. 9, 1793. buried in Friend's burial yard Richmond.

Knowles, Susanna, his wife, born 7m. 1724, died 9m. 1767.

Knowles, Sarah, of Robert and Ann, 3m. 9, 1722.

Knowles, William, of Robert and Ann, 8m. 13, 1725.

Knowles, Robert, of Robert and Ann, 12m. 27, 1727.

Knowles, Joseph, of Robert and Ann, 1m. 16, 1730.

Knowles, Ann, of Robert and Ann, 8m. 20, 1737.

Knowles, Robert, son of John, born 6m. 16, 1749.

Knowles, Catherine, his wife, born 12m. 29, 1753.

Knowles, John Warner, of Robert and Catherine, 1m. 31, 1776.

Knowles, Elizabeth, of Robert and Catherine, 4m. 13, 1784.

Knowles, Thomas Rodman, of Robert and Catherine, 12m. 19, 1786.

Knowles, Catherine Fry, of Robert and Catherine, 1m. 15, 1790.

Knowles, Benjamin, of Robert and Catherine, 9m. 1, 1792.

Knowles, Ruth, of Robert and Catherine, 6m. 29, 1796.

Knowles, Alice, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 10m. 24, 1754.

Knowles, Robert, of Joseph and Bathsheba, 8m. 29, 1758. above children born [South Kingstown](#).

Knowles, Bathsheba, wife of Joseph, died aged near 68 years; buried 31st., in new meeting house yard [South Kingstown](#); 1m. 29, 1800.

Knowles, Joseph, died aged 79 years wanting 9 days, 3m. 7, 1809.

Knowles, Mary (Hoxsie), wife of John, died, 3m. 23, 1757.

Knowles, Susanna, of John and Mary, 6m. 2, 1779.

Knowles, John, of John and Mary, 3m. 2, 1781.

Knowles, William, of John and Mary, 4m. 25, 1783.

Knowles, Daniel, of John and Mary, 6m. 25, 1785.

Knowles, Stephen, of John and Mary, 7m. 27, 1787.

Knowles, Elizabeth, of John and Mary, 1m. 19, 1789.

Knowles, John, died, 8m. 24, 1791; buried 25, in Friend's burial yard Richmond.

Knowles, William T., born 5m. 22, 1758, died 8m. 20, buried 22, 1803; in Friend's burial yard, Richmond.

Knowles, Avis, his wife, born 3m. 8, 1758.

Knowles, Avis, of William T. and Avis, 12m. 5, 1791.



- Knowles, Sarah, of William T. and Avis, 1m. 22, 1793.
Knowles, John, of William T. and Avis, 4m. 12, 1794.
Knowles, Benjamin, of William T. and Avis, 8m. 28, 1796.
Knowles, Jonathan, of William T. and Avis, 9m. 6, 1797.
Knowles, William, of William T. and Avis, 1m. 21, 1799.
Knowles, Susanna, of William T. and Avis, 5m. 12, 1801.
Knowles, George, of William T. and Avis, 6m. 4, 1802.
Knowles, Amie, born 2m. 15, 1769, died 7m. 23, 1850.
Knowles, Elizabeth, died, 2m. 1, 1785; buried at Friend's burial yard, Tower Hill.
Knowles, Hannah, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 10m. 14, 1783.
Knowles, Henry, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 1m. 27, 1786.
Knowles, Bathsheba, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 4m. 19, 1788.
Knowles, Alice, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 7m. 8, 1790.
Knowles, Catherine, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 7m. 20, 1792.
Knowles, Anna, of Robert and Lucy Anna, 7m. 30, 1795.
Knowles, Benjamin Rodman; of above parents, 8m. 15, 1797.
Knowles, Sarah, of above parents, 6m. 10, 1799.
Knowles, Jonathan, of William, 9m. 14, 1797.
Knowles, George, of William, died aged 13m.; 7m. 14, 1803.
Knowles, Elizabeth, of John W. and Esther, 1m. 5, 1802.
Knowles, Barnabus, of John W. and Esther, 8m. 30, 1804.
Knowles, Deborah, of John W. and Esther, 10m. 19, 1805.
Knowles, John H., of John and Hannah, 7m. 1, 1804.
Knowles, Solomon R., of John and Hannah, 9m. 3, 1807.
Knowles, Sarah, of John and Hannah, 1m. 9, 1810.
Knowles, Mary, of John and Hannah, 3m. 9, 1813.
Knowles, Calvin, of John and Hannah, 5m. 22, 1816.
Knowles, Robert R., of John and Hannah, [no date given - could be twin to next child]
Knowles, Anna Almy, of John and Hannah, 9m. 6, 1821.
Knowles, Horace Browning, of John and Hannah, 1m. 27, 1824.
Knowles, John, of John, died, 11m. 30, 1864.
Knowles, Hannah, his wife died, 12m. 31, 1871.
Knowles, John Hoxsie, born 7m. 1, 1804.
Knowles, Catherine E., his wife, died, 12m. 2, 1880.
Knowles, William Collins, of John H. and Catherine E., 7m. 12, 1828.



Knowles, Robert, died in his 61st. year, 2m. 1, 1810; buried in Friend's burial yard Richmond.
Knowles, Henry A., of Henry and Susanna, 2m. 21, 1811.
Knowles, Abraham, of Henry and Susanna, 1m. 10, 1813.
Knowles, Susanna, of Henry and Susanna, 5m. 7, 1815.
Knowles, Mary, of Henry and Susanna, 9m. 13, 1816.
Knowles, Abraham, of Henry and Susanna, died, 7m. 18, 1814. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).
Knowles, Catherine, died, 3m. 24, 1825.

M

Munroe, Phebe, of Collins, died aged 59 years 6 1-5 m. [sic] buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton; died 12m. 3, 1854.
Munroe, Thankful, 3m. 28, 1855.

N

Nichols, Martha, born 10m. 24, 1741.
Nichols, John Taylor, of Andrew and Anne, 9m. 3, 1764.
Nichols, John Taylor, of Andrew and Anne, died, 1m. 20, 1835.
Nichols, Andrew, of Andrew and Anne, 1m. 3, 1766.
Nichols, Elizabeth, of Andrew and Anne, 9m. 10, 1768.
Nichols, William, of Andrew and Anne, 11m. 22, 1770.
Nichols, Elizabeth, of Andrew and Anne, 8m. 29, 1773.
Nichols, Susanna Neau, of Andrew and Anne, 7m. 17, 1796.
Nichols, Andrew, of Andrew and Anne, 6m. 28, 1808.
Nichols, Rachel, died aged 88 y. 7m. 3d., and buried in Friend's burial yard; died, 5m. 15, 1792.
Nichols, John, of Andrew and Rachel, died aged 64 years; 9m. 17, 1800; buried in Friend's burial yard.
Nichols, Mary, wife of John Taylor Nichols, died 12m. 9, 1841, aged 82 years.
Nichols, John Taylor, Jr., died aged 73 years, 2m. 17, 1870.
Nichols, Andrew, died aged 82 years, 9m. 4, 1841.
Nichols, Mary, his wife, died aged 80 years, 4m. 1, 1844.
Nichols, Elizabeth, died at her birth, buried next day. [no date given]
Nichols, William, died 1m. 27, 1853, buried the 30th.
Nichols, Elizabeth, died 11m. 27, buried 30, 1882. The burials of the above family were in the Friend's burial yard near Tower Hill.

O

Oatley, Mary, died aged 83y. 5m. 24d., was buried near house in lower meeting house lot [South Kingstown](#), died 5m. 20, buried 22, 1786.

P



Parker, Catherine, died aged 77y. 11m. 19d., 11m. 14, 1781, buried in Friend's burial yard Tower Hill.

Peckham, Sarah, of William and Mercy, 11m. 28, 1777.

Peckham, Alice, of William and Mercy, 1m. 19, 1780.

Pekcham, William, of William and Mercy, 11m. 4, 1781.

Peckham, Mercy, of William and Mercy, 7m. 11, 1783.

Peckham, Dorcas, of William and Mercy, 2m. 7, 1787.

Peckham, Perry, of William and Mercy, 6m. 30, 1789.

Peckham, Elizabeth, of William and Mercy, 11m. 9, 1792.

Peckham, Elizabeth, of William and Mercy, 3m. 1, 1878 [sic - year of death?]

Peckham, Mary, of William and Mercy, 3m. 27, 1795.

Peckham, Mary, of William and Mercy, died, 1m. 27, 1827.

Peckham, William, died aged 68 years, 5m. 19, 1820.

Peckham, Mercy, his wife, died, 7m. 24, 1810.

Peckham, Dorcas, widow of William, died, 4m. 15, 1831.

Peckham, Elizabeth, wife of Peleg, died, 9m. 12, 1788.

Peckham, Mary, died, 10m. 1, 1827.

Perry, Mary, of James and Alice, 8m. 25, 1719.

Perry, James, of James and Alice, 8m. 27, 1728.

Perry, Alice, of James and Anna, 5m. 20, 1736.

Perry, Jonathan, of James and Anna, 7m. 2, 1738.

Perry, Samuel, of James and Anna, 12m. 24, 1739.

Perry, Alice, wife of James, died, 12m. 7, 1731.

Perry, Thomas, of Simeon and Anne, 12m. 7, 1776.

Perry, Hoxsie, of Simeon and Anne, 5m. 10, 1778.

Perry, Sarah, of Simeon and Anne, 8m. 17, 1780.

Perry, Solomon, of Simeon and Anne, 6m. 25, 1782.

Perry, Anne, wife of Simeon and daughter of Solomon Hoxsie, deceased, died, 10m. 27, 1785.

Perry, Elizabeth, wife of Simeon, died aged 35y. 10m., buried 22, near house in Hopkinton, died, 6m. 20, 1778.

Perry, Martha, of Stephen and Elizabeth, died, 4m. 2, 1789, buried near house in Hopkinton.

Perry, Sarah, wife of Simeon of Charlestown, died 6m. 1, 1792.

Perry, Simeon of Charlestown, died, 12m. 2, 1802.

Perry, Hannah, widow of Simeon, died 4m. 10, 1817.

Perry, William S., born 3m. 1, 1799, died, 8m. 4, 1862.

Perry, Lois, his wife, born 6m. 13, 1796.

Perry, Edward Burrough, of Wm. S. & Lois, 3m. 3, 1822.



Perry, Francis Howgall, of Wm. S. & Lois, 9m. 5, 1824.
Perry, Lois Anthony, of Wm. S. & Lois, 7m. 6, 1827.
Perry, Mary Peckham, of Wm. S. & Lois, 3m. 29, 1829.
Perry, William Henry, of Wm. S. & Lois, 5m. 1, 1831.
Perry, Robert Barclay, of Wm. S. & Lois, 11m. 23, 1833.
Perry, Robert Barclay, of Wm. S. & Lois, died 9m. 12, 1854.
Perry, Preserved, of Wm. S. & Lois, 1m. 22, 1837.
Perry, Preserved, of Wm. S. & Lois, 9m. 19, 1841. [sic - died??]
Perry, Susan Amie, of Wm. S. & Lois, 5m. 2, 1840.
Perry, Susan Amie, of Wm. S. & Lois, died 9m. 23, 1841.
Perry, Susan Amie, 2nd, of Wm. S. & Lois, 9m. 4, 1843.
Perry, Charles, of Thomas and Elizabeth, 9m. 27, 1809.
Perry, Anna, of Thomas and Elizabeth, 9m. 2, 1812.
Perry, Thomas, of Thomas and Elizabeth, 6m. 6, 1814.
Perry, William Henry, born 5m. 1, 1831.
Perry, Sarah Anna (Nichols), his wife, born 6m. 15, 1836, died, 5m. 29, 1880.
Perry, Elizabeth, his wife, born 6m. 4, 1837.
Perry, George E., of William H. and Sarah, 8m. 26, 1855.
Perry, William F., of William H. and Sarah, 3m. 12, 1857.
Perry, Herbert Burton, of William H. and Sarah, 1m. 28, 1859.
Perry, Elvira Maria, of William H. and Sarah, 5m. 14, 1861.
Perry, Daniel Edward, of William H. and Sarah, 10m. 31, 1863.
Perry, Albert Henry, of William H. and Sarah, 11m. 14, 1865.
Perry, John Branch, of William H. and Sarah, 11m. 14, 1867.
Perry, Sidney Howard, of William H. and Sarah, 11m. 5, 1869.
Perry, Lois Anna, of William H. and Sarah, 10m. 19, 1871.

R

Rathbun, Joshua, of Joshua (deceased) and Sarah, 8m. 25, 1767.
Rathbun, Abraham Borden, of same parents, 11m. 10, 1769.
Rathbun, Acors, (born Stonington), of same parents, 1m. 23, 1772.
Rathbun, Benjamin Bagnall, of same parents, 3m. 17, 1774.
Rathbun, Rowland R., of Acors and Lydia, 9m. 1, 1776.
Rathbun, Mary, of Acors and Lydia, 8m. 27, 1778, died in her 5th year.
Rathbun, Joshua, of Acors and Lydia, 10m. 4, 1780.
Rathbun, Dorcas, of Acors and Lydia, 12m. 29, 1782.



- Rathbun, Lydia, of Acors and Lydia, 11m. 29, 1785.
- Rathbun, Lydia, wife of Acors, died, 8m. 14, 1788. died at Stonington Point, buried with her father and mother in Hopkinton.
- Rathbun, Sarah, of Abraham B. and Deborah, 7m. 21, 1793.
- Rathbun, Joshua, of Acors and Sarah, 11m. 24, 1794, died 1m. 24, 1795.
- Rathbun, William, of Acors and Sarah, 2m. 18, 1796.
- Rathbun, Sarah, of Acors and Sarah, 11m. 11, 1797.
- Rathbun, Solomon, of Acors and Sarah, 6m. 30, 1799.
- Rathbun, Wells, of Acors and Sarah, 2m. 12, 1801.
- Rathbun, Deborah, wife of Abraham Borden Rathbun, of [South Kingstown](#), died aged 27y. 6m. 10d., buried 29th. in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton, died, 5m. 16, 1795.
- Rathbun, Solomon Hoxsie, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 10m. 19, 1805.
- Rathbun, Sarah, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 8m. 15, 1807.
- Rathbun, George, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 10m. 27, 1810.
- Rathbun, George, of Joshua and Elizabeth, died, 4m. 19, 1812.
- Rathbun, George Fox, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 6m. 10, 1813.
- Rathbun, Peter Hoxsie, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 11m. 4, 1815.
- Rathbun, Mary Alice, of Joshua and Elizabeth, 3m. 4, 1818.
- Rathbun, Rowland Robinson, of above parents, 9m. 11, 1822.
- Ray, Bathsheba, 2nd wife of Isaiah, died, 10m. 20, 1838.
- Read, Elizabeth, 2m. 16, 1796.
- Richmond, Stephen, born 8m. 3, 1704, died 6m. 26, 1787.
- Richmond, Anne, born 9m. 1, 1706, died, 5m. 12, 1785, married John Hoxsie.
- Richmond, Jane, of Cyrus and Phebe, 4m. 7, 1733.
- Richmond, Cyrus, of Cyrus and Phebe, 3m. 6, 1737.
- Richmond, Phebe, of Cyrus and Phebe, 8m. 25, 1739.
- Richmond, Abigail, of Cyrus and Phebe, 5m. 16, 1743.
- Richmond, Mary, of Cyrus and Phebe, 5m. 15, 1745.
- Robinson, William A., (born Huntington, New Jersey) 10m. 18, 1797.
- Robinson, Dorcas (Brown), his wife, (born Danby, Vermont) 3m. 26, 1807.
- Robinson, Mary Atmore, of William A. and Dorcas, 8m. 28, 1829.
- Robinson, James, of same parents, 5m. 19, 1831.
- Robinson, Edward Hadwin, of same parents, 1m. 16, 1833.
- Robinson, Caroline, of same parents, 6m. 8, 1834.
- Robinson, Anne Atmore, of same parents, 5m. 30, 1837.
- Robinson, William Atmore, of same parents, 5m. 7, 1841. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).



Robinson, Rowland, of James and Mary A., 5m. 29, 1806.
Robinson, Sylvester C., of James and Mary A., 11m. 19, 1808, died at Salem, Massachusetts, 3m. 2, 1883.
Rodman, Robert, of Samuel and Penelope, 9m. 28, 1745.
Rodman, Daniel, of Samuel and Penelope, 3m. 4, 1747.
Rodman, William, of Samuel and Penelope, 9m. 19, 1748.
Rodman, Catherine, of Samuel and Penelope, 5m. 9, 1751.
Rodman, Penelope, of Samuel and Penelope, 5m. 9, 1751. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).
Rodman, Catherine, of Benjamin and Hannah, 12m. 29, 1753.
Rodman, Mary, of Benjamin and Hannah, 12m. 16, 1755.
Rodman, Anne, of Benjamin and Hannah, 12m. 11, 1757.
Rodman, Lucy Anna, of Benjamin and Hannah, 4m. 28, 1760.
Rodman, Ruth, of Benjamin and Hannah, 8m. 12, 1763.
Rodman, Deborah, of Benjamin and Hannah, 8m. 5, 1766. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).
Rodman, Abigail, wife of Thomas of [South Kingstown](#), died aged 78 years 5 months, and buried 19th. in the Friend's burial yard near Tower Hill, died, 1m. 16, 1761.
Rogers, Anna, 1m. 28, 1764.
Rogers, Zerniah, 4m. 29, 1765.

S

Seager, Hannah, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 11m. 12, 1746.
Seager, Alice, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 3m. 16, 1748.
Seager, John, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 7m. 18, 1749.
Seager, Samuel, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 7m. 19, 1740. [sic]
Seager, John, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 1m. 14, 1743. [sic]
Seager, Elizabeth, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, 1m. 23, 1755.
Seager, John, of John Jr. and Elizabeth, died, 2m. 18, 1750.
Seager, John Jr., died, 9m. 24, 1754.
Seager, Elizabeth, wife of John Jr., died, 3m. 3, 1755. above children born in [South Kingstown](#).
Seager, Rebecca, born 3m. 13, 1762, died, 2m. 11, 1850.
Sheffield, Hannah, 12m. 15, 1770.
Sheffield, James, 1m. 27, 1773, died 6m. 10, 1825.
Sheffield, Alice, 8m. 8, 1775.
Sheffield, Joshua, 12m. 1, 1777.
Sheffield, Samuel, 10m. 1, 1780.
Sheffield, Elizabeth, 6m. 2, 1783.
Sheffield, John, 6m. 7, 1786.



Sheffield, Mary, 11m. 5, 1788.
Sheffield, James, born 1m. 27, 1773, died 6m. 10, 1825.
Sheffield, Sarah, his wife, 3m. 22, 1777.
Sheffield, John, of James and Sarah, 7m. 20, 1796.
Sheffield, Ruth, of James and Sarah, 9m. 3, 1798.
Sheffield, Samuel, of James and Sarah, 11m. 4, 1803.
Sheffield, Card Foster, of James and Sarah, 2m. 28, 1816.
Sheffield, John, died at Richmond, aged 31 years 3 months, 10m. 19, 1827.
Sheffield, Eunice, of John and Ann, 3m. 4, 1821.
Sheffield, Edward, of John and Ann, 3m. 22, 1823.
Sheffield, Edward, of John and Ann, died, 3m. 2-- , 1823.
Sheffield, Edward K., of John and Ann, 10m. 31, 1824.
Sheffield, Mary P., of John and Ann, 1m. 25, 1826.
Sheffield, Mary P., of John and Ann, died, 10m. 19, 1826.
Sheffield, Martha, of Samuel and Amie, 11m. 8, 1830.
Sheffield, Elizabeth, of Samuel and Amie, 12m. 19, 1833.
Sheffield, James, of Samuel and Amie, 1m. 18, 1838.
Sheffield, Amie Knowles, of Samuel and Amie, 9m. 17, 1835.
Sheffield, Samuel Christopher, of Samuel and Amie, 2m. 2, 1845.
Slocum, Jonathan, 3m. 10, 1808.
Smith, Mehitable, of Richard and Abigail, 7m. 20, 1745.
Smith, Abigail, of Richard, of Groton, Connecticut, died, 6m. 15, 1799.
Smith, Richard, of Groton, Connecticut, died, 8m. 28, 1800.

T

Tripp, Ann, of Lot and Susannah, 7m. 11, 1743.
Tripp, Mary, of Lot and Susannah, 6m. 11, 1745.
Tripp, Lot, of Lot and Susannah, 5m. 18, 1747.
Tripp, Joseph, of Lot and Susannah, 3m. 5, 1750.
Tripp, Joseph, of Lot and Susannah, died, 9m. 25, 1752.
Tripp, Experience, of Lot and Susannah, 11m. 4, 1752.
Tripp, Experience, of Lot and Susannah, died, 12m. 10, 1752.
Tripp, Experience, 2d, of Lot and Susannah, 2m. 22, 1754.
Tripp, Tabitha, of Lot and Susannah, 8m. 29, 1755.
Tucker, Joshua, born 9m. 4, 1750, died, 2m. 19, 1832.

W



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- Watson, Jeffrey, born 8m. 30, 1786, died, 1m. 6, 1838.
- Watson, Elizabeth, his wife, born 8m. 19, 1794.
- Watson, Ezekiel, of Jeffrey and Elizabeth, 12m. 17, 1812.
- Watson, Dorcas G., of Jeffrey and Elizabeth, 3m. 9, 1814.
- Watson, Elizabeth B., of Jeffrey and Elizabeth, 5m. 30, 1821.
- Watson, William T., of Jeffrey and Elizabeth, 4m. 27, 1824.
- Watson, Elizabeth B., of Jeffrey and Elizabeth, died, 8m. 2, 1837.
- Watson, Hannah, widow of Ezekiel, born 6m. 5, 1767, died, 2m. 5, 1832.
- Waud, Eliza, of Eliphalet, 5m. 12, 1807.
- Weaver, Anne, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 10m. 1, 1778.
- Weaver, John Hoxsie, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 5m. 3, 1780.
- Weaver, Ruth, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 12m. 24, 1781.
- Weaver, Zebulon, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 9m. 26, 1783.
- Weaver, Lydia, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 11m. 3, 1785.
- Weaver, Joshua, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 2m. 21, 1788.
- Weaver, Dorcas, of Zebulon and Dorcas, 8m. 7, 1792.
- Wilbur, Woodman, born 10m. 13, 1743, died, 7m. 24, 1825. Buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, Dorcas, [no dates listed]
- Wilbur, Esther, 12m. 17, 1769.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of Thomas and Mary, 5m. 7, 1762.
- Wilbur, William, of Thomas and Mary, 6m. 10, 1765.
- Wilbur, Solomon, of Thomas and Mary, 2m. 11, 1768.
- Wilbur, Isaac, of Thomas and Mary, 6m. 2, 1771.
- Wilbur, Mary, of Thomas and Mary, 11m. 9, 1772.
- Wilbur, John, of Thomas and Mary, 7m. 17, 1774.
- Wilbur, Dorcas, died, 1m. 1, 1770.
- Wilbur, Thomas Burgeuss, of William and Anna, 3m. 7, 1791, died, 3m. 25, 1795; buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, Mary, of William and Anna, 4m. 25, 1792.
- Wilbur, Sarah Greene, of William and Anna, 2m. 10, 1794.
- Wilbur, Ann, of William and Anna, 6m. 4, 1797.
- Wilbur, William, of William and Anna, 5m. 30, 1799.
- Wilbur, Hannah S., of William and Anna, 4m. 14, 1805.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of Isaac and Susanna, 12m. 8, 1795.
- Wilbur, Isaac, of Isaac and Susanna, 6m. 7, 1798.
- Wilbur, Isaac, of Isaac and Susanna, died, 7m. 19, 1799.



- Wilbur, Elizabeth, of Isaac and Susanna, 5m. 22, 1800.
- Wilbur, Gideon, of Isaac and Susanna, 4m. 6, 1803.
- Wilbur, Abbie, of Isaac and Susanna, 3m. 20, 1806.
- Wilbur, Alice, of Isaac and Susanna, 2m. 8, 1809.
- Wilbur, Daniel, of Isaac and Susanna, 1m. 22, 1812.
- Wilbur, Isaac Peckham, of Isaac and Susanna, 2m. 3, 1815.
- Wilbur, Mary Ann, of Isaac and Susanna, 1m. 11, 1818. the first of the above children born Richmond, the second [South Kingstown](#), the rest Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of John and Lydia, 1m. 16, 1795.
- Wilbur, Amos Collins, of John and Lydia, 11m. 25, 1796.
- Wilbur, Lydia, of John and Lydia, 8m. 23, 1798.
- Wilbur, Phebe, of John and Lydia, 5m. 29, 1800.
- Wilbur, Susan Cole, of John and Lydia, 4m. 12, 1802.
- Wilbur, Sarah S., of John and Lydia, 5m. 4, 1804.
- Wilbur, Mary, of John and Lydia, 10m. 2, 1806. above children, eldest born Stonington, the next four Hopkinton, two youngest not stated.
- Wilbur, Thomas, died, 8m. 3, 1796, buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, Solomon, died, 5m. 17, buried 18, 1779.
- Wilbur, Thomas, of Thomas and Mary, died aged 39y. 4m. 18d.; buried 28, died, 3m. 26, 1821. both of the above buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, John, of John and Lydia, 7m. 4, 1809.
- Wilbur, Hannah Collins, of John and Lydia, 8m. 19, 1811.
- Wilbur, Ruth, of John and Lydia, 12m. 24, 1813.
- Wilbur, Ruth, of John and Lydia, died, 8m. 5, 1814.
- Wilbur, William Hale, of John and Lydia, 3m. 10, 1816.
- Wilbur, Anna A., of John and Lydia, 4m. 20, 1818.
- Wilbur, Elizabeth Walker, of John and Lydia, 1m. 16, 1821.
- Wilbur, Isaac, died aged 54y. 5m., 2m. 11, 1825, buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.
- Wilbur, Isaac Gardiner, of Gideon and Susan, 3m. 15, 1830.
- Wilbur, Benjamin Knowles, of Gideon and Susan, 7m. 8, 1832.
- Wilbur, Benjamin Hammond, of Gideon and Susan, died, 1m. 4, 1878.
- Wilbur, Susan Howland, of Gideon and Susan, 11m. 7, 1835.
- Wilbur, Susan Howland, of Gideon and Susan, died, 1m. 17, 1878.
- Wilbur, Benjamin T., died, 3m. 6, 1879.
- Wilbur, Hannah Collins, of John and Lydia, died aged 21 y. 00m. 3d.; 6m. 21, 1832.
- Wilbur, Lydia, of John and Lydia, died aged 38y. 9m. 21d., 6m. 14, 1837.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- Wilcox, Susanna, 11m. 27, 1773.
- Wilkinson, Mary, of John and Martha, 3m. 16, 1735.
- Wilkinson, William, of John and Martha, 10m. 14, 1736.
- Wilkinson, Dinah, of John and Martha, 9m. 14, 1738.
- Wilkinson, Mary, of John and Martha, 12m. 16, 1740.
- Wilkinson, John, of John and Martha, 3m. 9, 1742.
- Wilkinson, Mary, of John and Martha, died, 1m. 28, 1738.
- Wilkinson, Mary, 2nd, of John and Mary, died, 1m. 6, 1750. two youngest of the above born in Charlestown.
- Williams, Caroline Smith, of John Dockray and Hannah (Brown) 3m. 24, 1826, died, 1m. 27, 1838.
- Williams, Edward Brown, of same parents, 2m. 2, 1828.
- Williams, Charles, of same parents, 12m. 22, 1833.
- Williams, John Dockray, of same parents, 12m. 22, 1835.
- Wing, Mary, widow of John, and formerly wife of Thomas Wilbur, died, 8m. 4, 1827, buried in Friend's burial yard Hopkinton.

London Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had a leading in regard to [capital punishment](#):

This punishment fails to produce the effect of deterring others....
[I]t is even the means of hardening in sin many who witness public executions.

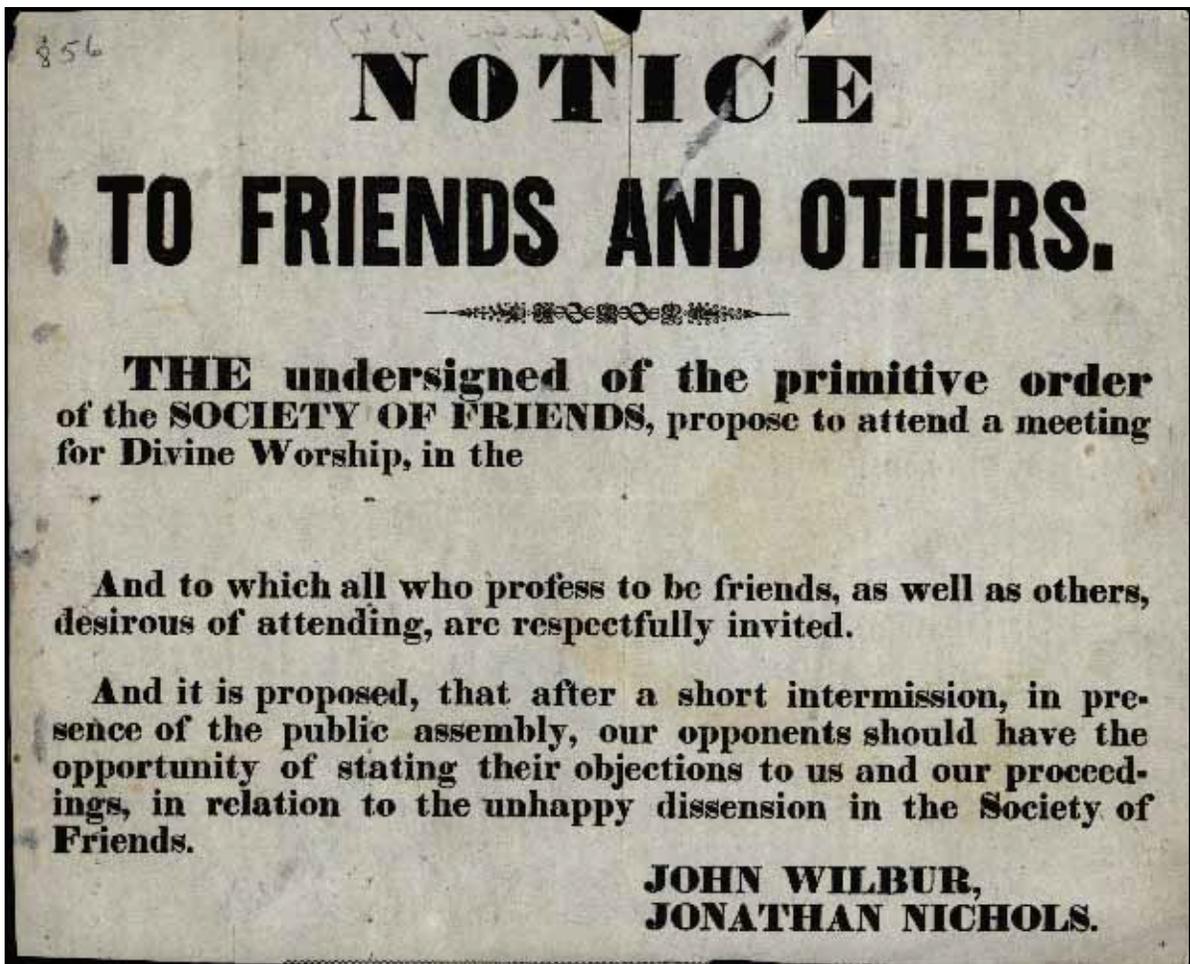
Meanwhile, the person being awarded the distinction of being the last to [hang](#) in [Rhode Island](#) was an immigrant named John Gordon. Many believed at that time that this 20-year-old was simply a victim of local prejudice against the Irish — and the consensus now seems to be that indeed he was most likely innocent of the crime for which he was being hanged. (But who knows, maybe he had something else reprehensible on his conscience and was able to muse on that error as they placed the hood over his head — there's precious few of us who aren't guilty of **something!**)

COLDBLOODED MURDER

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1845

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
11/01	Mary Sheming	51	Bury St Edmunds	Murder of son
23/04	Sarah Freeman	28	Taunton	Murder of brother

The [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was split by the great Wilburite schism of 1844, having to do with the message of Friend [John Wilbur](#), a [Rhode Island](#) farmer and traveling Friend (minister). At the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) they [disowned](#), not only Friend John, but his entire monthly meeting as well. (These separated Friends formed a separate body which they called the “New England Yearly Meeting of Friends” to distinguish it from the “Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England,” or simply “the smaller body” in distinction from “the larger body,” the Gurneyite bolsheviks –adherents of the English evangelical Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#)– claiming 8,136 adherents, the Wilburite mensheviks claiming only 629. One group, the Wilburites, became the Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket. This meeting would be laid down in 1881, its members joining to [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting and worshiping until 1892 as the Pawtucket Worship Group.)



As the [Yearly Meeting School](#) affiliated with the Gurneyite grouping, letting the Wilburites depart, its enrollment plunged to 55 resident young scholars.

Friends Olney Thompson and Lydia Thompson came to the school as superintendents.



Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen and Hannah, Asst. Supts.
1835-1836.	Davis, Seth and Mary.
1837.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1838-1839.	Rathbun, Rowland and Alice.
1840-1844.	Wing, Allen and Olive.
1845-1846.	Thompson, Olney and Lydia.
1847.	Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia.
1847-1852.	Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.

The Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) declared itself to be a Wilburite meeting, following the teachings of Friend [John Wilbur](#) in regard to the ongoing divine inspiration provided by an Inner Light. With the Gurneyite split among the [Quakers](#), some of the former members of the disbanded [Hicksite](#) meeting on [Nantucket Island](#) joined this new Gurneyite meeting.

READ ALL ABOUT IT

During a visit to [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Edgar Allan Poe, always a man with an eye for the ladies, laid an eye upon [Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#). At this time she was unaware of the attention, and he was



unaware that she was a widow possessed of funds. Poe's "The Raven" appeared, first in the New-York [Evening Mirror](#) and then in Wiley and Putnam's *THE RAVEN AND OTHER POEMS*, and its author was made the lead reviewer of the [Broadway Journal](#) and purchased that journal on credit. It was possibly in this year that Walt



Whitman met him:

“Specimen Days”

BROADWAY SIGHTS

Besides Fulton ferry, off and on for years, I knew and frequented Broadway – that noted avenue of New York’s crowded and mixed humanity, and of so many notables. Here I saw, during those times, Andrew Jackson, [Daniel Webster](#), Clay, William Henry Seward, Martin Van Buren, filibuster Walker, [Lajos Kossuth](#), Fitz Greene Halleck, Bryant, the Prince of Wales, Charles Dickens, the first Japanese ambassadors, and lots of other celebrities of the time. Always something novel or inspiriting; yet mostly to me the hurrying and vast amplitude of those never-ending human currents. I remember seeing James Fenimore Cooper in a court-room in Chambers street, back of the city hall, where he was carrying on a law case – (I think it was a charge of libel he had brought against some one.) I also remember seeing Edgar A. Poe, and having a short interview with him, (it must have been in 1845 or ’6,) in his office, second story of a corner building, (Duane or Pearl street.) He was editor and owner or part owner of “the Broadway Journal.” [Page 702] The visit was about a piece of mine he had publish’d. Poe was very cordial, in a quiet way, appear’d well in person, dress, &c. I have a distinct and pleasing remembrance of his looks, voice, manner and matter; very kindly and human, but subdued, perhaps a little jaded. For another of my reminiscences, here on the west side, just below Houston street, I once saw (it must have been about 1832, of a sharp, bright January day) a bent, feeble but stout-built very old man, bearded, swathed in rich furs, with a great ermine cap on his head, led and assisted, almost carried, down the steps of his high front stoop (a dozen friends and servants, emulous, carefully holding, guiding him) and then lifted and tuck’d in a gorgeous sleigh, envelop’d in other furs, for a ride. The sleigh was drawn by as fine a team of horses as I ever saw. (You needn’t think all the best animals are brought up nowadays; never was such horseflesh as fifty years ago on Long Island, or south, or in New York city; folks look’d for spirit and mettle in a nag, not tame speed merely.) Well, I, a boy of perhaps thirteen or fourteen, stopp’d and gazed long at the spectacle of that fur-swathed old man, surrounded by friends and servants, and the careful seating of him in the sleigh. I remember the spirited, champing horses, the driver with his whip, and a fellow-driver by his side, for extra prudence. The old man, the subject of so much attention, I can almost see now. It was John Jacob Astor.

The years 1846, ’47, and there along, see me still in New York city, working as writer and printer, having my usual good health, and a good time generally.

March 28, day: On March 12th, [Henry Thoreau](#) had written a letter to the editor of [The Liberator](#).



THE LIBERATOR

DL. I.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

[NO

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, APRIL 23,

The substance of it was that on March 11th, at the Lyceum in [Concord](#), Wendell Phillips had presented the non-cooperation-with-government position. We now reprint this letter as it appeared in [The Liberator](#), as an editorial: “Wendell Phillips Before the Concord Lyceum.” Thoreau was reporting that: “We must give Mr. Phillips the credit of being a clean, erect, and what was once called a consistent man. He at least is not responsible for slavery ... for the hypocrisy and superstition of the church, nor the timidity and selfishness of the state.... In this man the audience might detect a sort of moral principle and integrity.” He punned (rather tastelessly, it seems to us now) on Frederick Douglass’s “fair intellect,” and on his “colorless reputation.”

John Tawell had been born in 1784 as the 2d son of Thomas Tawell, who for a considerable number of years kept a general shop in the parish of Aldely, a village in Norfolk, about six miles from Beccles. As a teen he had been friends with a Quaker linen-draper, Joseph Hunton, who had ultimately been executed for forgery. He entered the service of a widow of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who kept a general shop in the village of Pakefield, near Lowestoft, in Suffolk and began to attend meeting for worship and gradually assimilated himself, applying in London late in 1803 or early in 1804 to be recognized as a “convinced” Friend. Ultimately the Religious Society of Friends in London had recognized this slight and seemly applicant, but then in 1806 while living in Whitechapel under the auspices of a Quaker, at the age of 22 he had seduced a servant-girl. They married. While working in a druggist’s shop, he was detected in the forgery of a £10 note on Smith’s Bank of Uxbridge and was in 1820 sentenced to [hang](#) (he was disowned by the Quakers but they persuaded the court to commute the sentence to transportation for 14 years). In Australia he initially labored on coal boats but then got a job in a convict hospital and became a clerk to Mr. Isaac Wood of the Sydney Academy. After three years he was pardoned, on the basis of his earlier experience, granted a license by the medical board to dispense drugs. He opened a small chemist shop, still attired in Quaker garb. He was granted a ticket of leave and began a prosperous business in Sydney. In 3 years he became an undoubted success by cornering the market in whalebone for combs and toothbrushes. In 1823 Tawell’s wife and their two sons John Junior and William were able to join him in Australia with their trip paid for by the Crown. His son William Tawell died in 1833. In 1837 he prepared a Quaker meetinghouse in Sydney, with a plaque

JOHN TAWELL — TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

He made a public display of his temperance by pouring casks of gin and rum into the sea at Sydney Cove. After some 15 years as a chemist in Australia he returned to England somewhat wealthy. His wife became ill so he hired Sarah Lawrence to attend her. He began an affair with this nurse and she gave birth to his child, and then another. His wife and his remaining son John Tawell, Jr. died in 1838. In 1841 he remarried with a Quaker

widow, Mrs. Sarah Cutforth, who had run a school in Clerkenwell (she would be disowned for this marriage with a man who had been disowned). Apparently the nurse Sarah Lawrence who had given birth to two of his children had been expecting that eventually he would marry her, but instead she was removed with her two children to a cottage in Salt Hill near Slough where she would be known as “Sarah Hart.” She secured a court order that he maintain her and the children and he was providing a weekly allowance of £1. Between 6PM and 7PM on January 1, 1845 a man in Quaker garb was observed departing from Sarah’s cottage hurriedly, leaving 30-year-old Sarah moaning on the floor. Two glasses were on the table, one empty and the other containing some porter. The man was followed and was observed to board a slow train for London. The telegraph apparatus in use at Slough was a model patented in 1837 by Fothergill Cooke and Charles Wheatstone (this was a complicated apparatus in which the wiggling of two needles would be interpreted to stand for a letter of the alphabet –or if preceded by a number signal, for a number– and for simplicity its code used G for J, K for Q, and S for Z). The stationmaster telegraphed at once to Paddington Station,

A MURDER HAS GUST BEEN COMMITTED AT SALT HILL AND THE SUSPECTED MURDERER WAS SEEN TO TAKE A FIRST CLASS TICKET TO LONDON BY THE TRAIN THAT LEFT SLOUGH AT 7 42 PM HE IS IN THE GARB OF A KWAKER WITH A GREAT COAT ON WHICH REACHES NEARLY DOWN TO HIS FEET HE IS IN THE LAST COMPARTMENT OF THE SECOND CLASS COMPARTMENT

TELEGRAPHY



The trial took place on March 12, 1845 at Aylesbury County Court under Judge Baron Parke. The defendant appeared in the attire of a Quaker and it was established that he had recently purchased from a chemist he knew in Bishopgate, London two bottles of Scheele’s Prussic Acid, a compound used for the treatment of varicose veins. Attorney for the defense Sir Fitzroy Kelly, a promoter of the Appeals Court and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, had attempted to make a plausible case that since there had been a large barrel of apples in the house, the deceased might accidentally have poisoned herself by ingesting apple seeds or “pips” that do contain trace amounts of hydrogen cyanide (for this inventiveness the barrister would ever after be known as “Apple-pip Kelly”). Neither the judge nor the jury had credited such a defense and at the age of 61 Tawell had

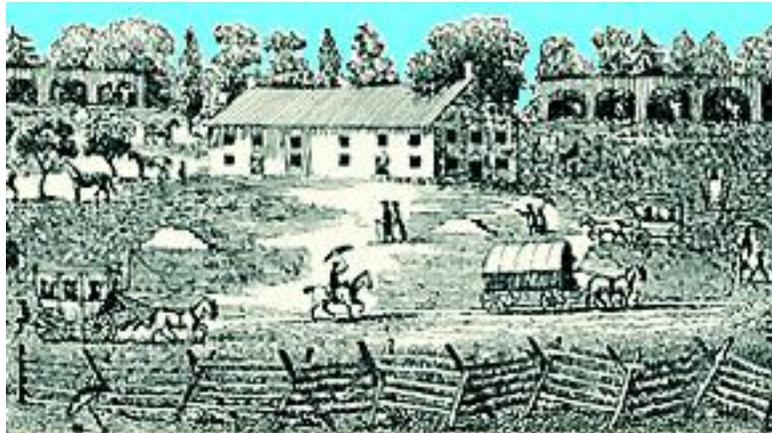
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Summer: [Abby Kelley](#) attempted to speak for antislavery at a yearly meeting of an orthodox group of [Quakers](#), at Mount Pleasant, Ohio.¹⁶⁸



This illustration of the annual meeting there dates to the following year, 1846:



168. The town of Mount Pleasant itself had been laid out in 1803 by Jesse Thomas and Robert Carothers. The 3-story brick building containing an auditorium with a balcony, used for the Quaker Annual Meeting, had been built in 1814 as the first yearly [Quaker](#) meetinghouse west of the Alleghenies and would be in regular use until 1909. It could hold 2,000 Friends. The auditorium could be divided by lowering a wooden partition, so men and women could meet separately.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

This is what their [Quaker](#) boarding school looked like:



When [Abby Kelley](#) would not be silent and went limp, they carried her bodily out of the building. In dealing with Kelley, we must bear in mind that her sisters Joanna and Diana were married to the brothers Amos and Olney Ballou, cousins of the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), and Joanna and Amos lived at the [Hopedale](#) community run by him in Milford MA, which was based on the principle of non-resistance to evil. (Diana and Olney were also at one point planning to move there.) The Reverend Ballou was president of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Hopedale was only a few miles from the farm on which Abby Kelley grew up. For a number of years between her mother's death and her marriage, about the only address Kelley would have, as she engaged in her anti-slavery travels, was Hopedale.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

August 6: [Waldo Emerson](#) delivered “Discourse” at the commencement exercises of Connecticut Wesleyan University in Middletown. The president of the university was so alarmed by some of the things that were said that he begged Emerson not to repeat them and thus alienate the institution’s financial backers. Emerson promised. From Middletown Emerson went on to Staten Island, to visit his brother.



The Thoreaus had removed from Whitwell’s house on Pinckney Street in Boston to “Brick House, Concord, to spring of 1826,” and from that point forward had remained in the town of [Concord](#).



Playing the flute at his cabin on Walden Pond at some point in time subsequent to August 6th, 1845, Henry Thoreau recollected that the Thoreau family, [John Thoreau](#), Sr. and [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#) with their little David Henry, as well as the two older two siblings [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#) and [John Thoreau, Jr.](#) and the younger [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), with their grandmother the widow Mary Jones Dunbar Minot, had spent a

pic nic day on Walden Pond. When at this point in time he wrote this into his [WALDEN](#) manuscript, as below, he was recollecting it as his having been at the age of four, but later he would correct this to his having already turned five:



[WALDEN](#): When I was four years old, as I well remember, I was brought from Boston to this my native town, through these very woods and this field, to the pond. It is one of the oldest scenes stamped on my memory. And now to-night my flute has waked the echoes over that very water. The pines still stand here older than I; or, if some have fallen, I have cooked my supper with their stumps, and a new growth is rising all around, preparing another aspect for new infant eyes. Almost the same johnswort springs from the same perennial root in this pasture, and even I have at length helped to clothe that fabulous landscape of my infant dreams, and one of the results of my presence and influence is seen in these bean leaves, corn blades, and potato vines.

The remark about the flute at this point in [WALDEN](#) may remind us that Thoreau's intent was, importantly, to see with "new infant eyes."



After August 6, 1845: ... Well now to-night my flute awakes the echoes over this very water, but one generation of pines has fallen and with their stumps I have cooked my supper, And a lusty growth of oaks and pines is rising all around its brim and preparing its wilder aspect for new infant eyes. ...

[WALDEN](#): In warm evenings I frequently sat in the boat playing the flute, and saw the perch, which I seemed to have charmed, hovering around me, and the moon travelling over the ribbed bottom, which was strewn with the wrecks of the forest. Formerly I had come to this pond adventurously, from time to time, in dark summer nights, with a companion, and making a fire close to the water's edge, which we thought attracted the fishes, we caught pouts with a bunch of worms strung on a thread; and when we had done, far in the night, threw the burning brands high into the air like skyrocket, which, coming down into the pond, were quenched with a loud hissing, and we were suddenly groping in total darkness. Through this, whistling a tune, we took our way to the haunts of men again. But now I had made my home by the shore.

At this point in Thoreau's life, was the cloth pouch with drawstrings in which he carried his flute already made from a piece of one of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)'s old gray-lady Quaker dresses? For we know from a letter he had written to his sister that by this point Thoreau had already encountered Friend Lucretia, at a [Quaker](#) silent worship:



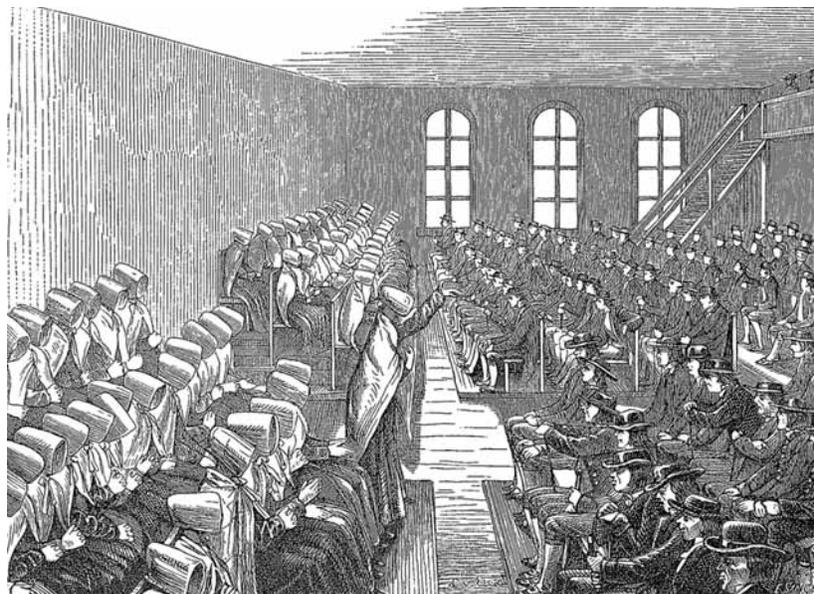
I liked all the proceedings very well—their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat—has a history, and comes from house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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handkerchiefs, looking all like sisters and so many chick-a-dees— At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, Mrs Mott rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say, if all else failed—but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the BIBLE—and thence she straightway digressed to slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech—transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways, and the plainness of their meeting house. It looked as if it was indeed made for service.



Aug 6, 1845: I have just been reading a book called “The Crescent & the Cross” till now I am somewhat ashamed of myself. Am I sick, or idle—that I can sacrifice my energy—America—and to-day—

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to this mans ill remembered and indolent story– Carnac and Luxor are but names, and still more desert sand and at length a wave of the great ocean itself are needed to wash away the filth that attaches to their grandeur. Carnac –Carnac –this is carnac for me and I behold the columns of a larger and a purer temple. May our childish and fickle aspirations be divine, while we descend to this mean intercourse. Our reading should be heroic –in an unknown tongue –a dialect always but imperfectly learned –through which we stammer line by line, catching but a glimmering of the sense –and still afterward admiring its unexhausted hieroglyphics –its untranslated columns.

Here grow around me nameless trees and shrubs each morning freshly sculptured –rising new stories day by day –instead of hideous ruins– their myriad-handed worker –uncompelled as un compelling This is my carnac –that its unmeasured dome –the measuring art man has invented flourishes and dies upon this temples floor nor ever dreams to reach that ceilings height. Carnac & Luxor crumble underneath – their shadowy roofs let in the light once more reflected from the ceiling of the sky Behold these flowers –let us be up with Time not dreaming of 3000 years ago. Erect ourselves and let those columns lie –not stoop to raise a foil against the sky– Where is the *spirit* of that time but in this present day –this present line 3000 years ago are not agone –they are still lingering here aye every one,

And Memnon’s mother sprightly greets us now
Wears still her youthful blushes on her brow
And Carnac’s columns why stand they on the plain?
T’ enjoy our Opportunities they would fain remain

This is my Carnac whose unmeasured dome
Shelters the measuring art & measurer’s home
Whose propylaeum is the system nigh
And sculptured facade the visible sky



Where there is memory which compelleth time the muse’s mother and the muses nine –there are all ages– past and future time unwearied memory that does not forget the actions of the past –that does not forego –to stamp



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them freshly— That old mortality industrious to retouch the monuments of time, in the world's cemetery through out every clime

The student may read [Homer](#) or AEschylus in the original Greek —for to do so implies to emulate their heroes —the consecration of morning hours to their page—

The heroic books though printed in the character of our mother tongue —are always written in a foreign language dead to idle & degenerate times, and we must laboriously seek the meaning of each word and line, conjecturing a larger sense than the text renders us at last out of our own valor and generosity.

A man must find his own occasions in himself. The natural day is very calm, and will hardly reprove our indolence. If there is no elevation in our spirits —the pond will not seem elevated like a mountain tarn, but a low pool a silent muddy water —a place for fishermen.

I sit here at my window like a priest of Isis —and observe the phenomena of 3000 years ago, yet unimpaired. The tantivy of wild pigeons [**Passenger Pigeon** ■ *Ectopistes migratorius*], an ancient race of birds —gives a voice to the air —flying by twos and threes athwart my view or perching restless on the white pine boughs occasionally —a fish-hawk dimples the glassy surface of the pond and brings up a fish —And for the last half hour I have heard the rattle of rail-road cars conveying travellers from Boston to the country.

After the evening train has gone by and left the world to silence and to me The Whippoorwill chants her vespers for half an hour— And when all is still at night the owls take up the strain like mourning women their ancient ululu. Their most dismal scream is truly Ben-Jonsonian —wise midnight hags —It is no honest and blunt Tu whit Tu who of the poets but without jesting a most solemn graveyard ditty —but the mutual consolation of suicide lovers remembering the pangs and the delights of supernal love —in the infernal groves.

And yet I love to hear their wailing their doleful responses trilled along the wood side reminding me sometimes of music and singing birds as if it were the dark and tearful side of music —the regrets and sighs that would fain be sung —The spirits —the low spirits —and melancholy forebodings —of fallen spirits —who once in human shape night-walked the earth and did the deeds of darkness now expiating with their wailing hymns —threnodia their sins in the very scenery of their transgressions. They give me a new sense of the vastness and mystery of that nature which is the common dwelling of us both.

Oh-o-o-o-o —that I never had been bor-or-or-or-orn —sighs one on this side of the pond and circles in the restlessness of despair to some new perch in the grey oaks. “That I never had been bor-or-or-or orn” echoes one on the farther side with a tremulous sincerity —and “born or-or-or-orn” comes faintly from far in the Lincoln woods.

And then the frogs —bull Frogs— They are the more sturdy spirits of ancient wine bibbers and wassailers still unrepentant —trying to sing a catch in their stygian lakes. They would fain keep up the hilarious good fellowship and all the rules of their old round tables —but they have waxed hoarse and solemnly grave and serious their voices mocking at mirth —and their wine has lost its flavor and is only liquor to distend their paunches —and never comes sweet intoxication to drown the memory of the past but mere saturation and waterlogged dulness and distension— Still the most Aldermanic with his chin upon a pad, which answers for a napkin to his drooling chaps under the eastern shore quafs a deep draught of the once scorned water— And passes round the cup —with the ejaculation —tr-r-r-r-r-oonk —tr-r-r-r-r-oonk —tr-r-r-r-r-oonk. And straightway comes over the water from some distant cove the self-same pass word where the next in seniority and girth has gulped down to his mark— And when the strain has made the circuit of the shores —then ejaculates the master of ceremonies with satisfaction Tr-r-r-r-oonk —and each in turn repeats the sound —down to the least distended, leakiest —flabbiest paunched —that their be no mistake—

And the bowl goes round again until the sun dispels the mornings mist and only the Patriarch is not under —the pond —but vainly bellowing —Troonk from time to time —pausing for a reply.



After August 6: All nature is classic and akin to art— The sumack and pine and hickory which surround my house remind me of the most graceful sculpture. Some times the trees do not make merely a vague impression — but their tops or a single limb or leaf seems to have grown to a distinct expression and invites my life to a like distinctness and emphasis.

Poetry Painting Sculpture claim at once and associate with themselves those perfect pieces of art —leaves —vines acorns— The critic must at last stand as mute though contented before a true poem — as before an acorn or a vine leaf. The perfect work of art is received again into the bosom of nature whence its material proceeded — and that criticism which can only detect its unnaturalness has no longer any office to fulfill.

The choicest maxims that have come down to us are more beautiful or integrally wise —that they are wise to our understandings— This wisdom which we are inclined to pluck from their stalk is the fruit only of a single association. Every natural form —palm leaves and acorns —oak-leaves and sumack and dodder —are untranslatable aphorisms

I love to gaze at the opposite or south side of the pond which has a foreign shore —low hills skirted with oaks



and pines which seem but the front rank of a forest beyond which stretches a level country, the earth I read of, as far as Tartary and the empire of the Grand Khan –where tribes of men dwell in tents. The struggle of the hero Ajax are thus forcibly described in the 16th book of the Iliad. He endeavors to ward off fire from the ships while Patroclus is interceding with Achilles for his armor and his Myrmidons.

“Thus *they* spoke such things to oneanother.

But Ajax no longer stood fast; for he was forced by javelins;
Both the will of Zeus overcame him & the illustrious Trojans,
Hurling (their darts); and his bright helmet being struck
Had a terrible clanging about his temples; and he was struck incessantly
Upon his well-made armor. he was disabled in his left shoulder
Always holding firm his variegated shield; –nor were they able
(Around him to make an impression), striving with their weapons.
But all the while he was breathing hard, and the sweat
And much sweat ran down from him on every side from his limbs, nor ever had he
To breathe; and on every side misfortune succeeded surely to misfortune.
or better

Thus they were speaking such words to oneanother.

i.e. (Patroclus & Achilles)

But Ajax no longer stood his ground; for he was compelled by weapons;
The will of Zeus subdued him, and the illustrious Trojans,
Hurling (their javelins); and his bright helmet being struck
Had a terrible clang about his temples, & he was struck incessantly
Upon his well-made armor; he was wounded in his left shoulder
Always holding firm his variegated shield; nor were they able
Around to stagger him, striving with their weapons.
But constantly he breathed with difficulty; and much sweat
Ran down on every side from his limbs, nor ever had he
(A chance) to breathe; And on every side misfortune was riveted to misfortune

Twenty three years since when I was 5 years old, I was brought from Boston to this pond, away in the country which was then but another name for the extended world for me –one of the most ancient scenes stamped on the tablets of my memory –the oriental asiatic valley of my world –whence so many races and inventions have gone forth in recent times. That woodland vision for a long time made the drapery of my dreams. That sweet solitude my spirit seemed so early to require that I might have room to entertain my thronging guests, and that speaking silence that my ears might distinguish the significant sounds. Some how or other it at once gave the preference to this recess among the pines where almost sunshine & shadow were the only inhabitants that varied the scene, over that tumultuous and varied city –as if it had found its proper nursery.

Well now to-night my flute awakes the echoes over this very water, but one generation of pines has fallen and with their stumps I have cooked my supper, And a lusty growth of oaks and pines is rising all around its brim and preparing its wilder aspect for new infant eyes.

Almost the same johnswort springs from the same perennial root in this pasture.–

Even I have at length helped to clothe that fabulous landscape of my imagination – – and one result of my presence and influence is seen in the bean leaves and corn blades and potatoes vines.

Seek to preserve the tenderness of your nature as you would the bloom upon a peach.

Most men are so taken up with the cares and rude practice of life — that its finer fruits can not be plucked by them. Literally the laboring man has not leisure for a strict and lofty integrity day by day he cannot afford to sustain the fairest and noblest relations. His labor will depreciate in the market.

How can he remember well his ignorance who has so often to use his knowledge



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August 16: Frederick Douglass sailed from Boston on the Cunard steamship *Cambria*, bound for Liverpool in steerage class in the vessel's stern. Douglass's traveling companion in steerage was James N. Buffum, a successful white carpenter of Lynn MA and a [Quaker](#). They had to travel in steerage because of **the captain's and the other passengers' prejudice** against Douglass's skin color. Friend Buffum had to be along, and handle the money, because of **the anti-slavery society's prejudice** against Douglass's skin color. When Douglass would attempt to speak on the abolition of chattel slavery, other passengers on this ocean liner would threaten to throw him overboard¹⁶⁹ — then, while in Liverpool, Douglass would make a point of visiting “the home of my paternal ancestors.”¹⁷⁰

While in England, Frederick Douglass, always the politician, would forge an alliance with the Chartist leaders Henry Vincent and William Lovett of the Complete Suffrage Union.

October 12: [Elizabeth Fry](#) died.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1846

Mary W. Kirk and [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) reestablished the Fair Hill Boarding School (there would not be any public school system in Montgomery County, [Maryland](#) until 1860).

The reprinting, in Boston, of [Friend Jonathan Dymond](#)'s DYMOND ON WAR or CAUSES OF WAR as Publication Number LVII by the American Peace Society).

READ THIS BOOK

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

169. Also on board was the Hutchinson quartet but, as they were antislavery singers, one may well doubt that they would have been among those threatening to throw Douglass overboard. It would be interesting to find out, however, to what extent this family was willing to jeopardize their own standing among white people in order to help protect Douglass or intercede on his behalf.

170. Talk about confrontation politics! Talk about street theatre! –I wish I could have witnessed this! Why has no Hollywood movie been based on this drama? We may cast our eyes forward to the time, sometime after 1876, when Douglass's former owner Thomas Auld lay dying, and Douglass went to visit him:

— We shook hands cordially and in the act of doing so, he, having been long stricken with palsy, shed tears as men thus afflicted will do when excited by any deep emotion.



Here is a typically negative attitude toward Quakers in the arts, as expressed during this year in an epistle of the London Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#): "...we believe [music] to be both in its acquisition and its practice, unfavourable to the health of the soul.... Serious is the waste of time of those who give themselves up to it.... It not unfrequently leads into unprofitable, and even pernicious associations, and in some instances to a general indulgence in the vain amusements of the world."

There had come to be more lay opportunities for education than had previously been the case, and some Friends had begun to send their children to secular academies rather than to the Quaker school. In this year the School Committee reported that "The improved condition of schools, both public and private, within the limits of New England, may seem to have diminished the necessity of placing our children in the Boarding School; but we believe that most of these schools will be found to exercise an influence adverse to the simplicity and purity of our Christian profession, and many of them to expose the susceptible minds of our youth to those corrupting associations from which it has ever been the concern of Friends carefully to guard them." Also, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) was splitting apart, into conservative followers of Friend John Wilbur of Hopkinton and liberal followers of English traveling minister Friend Joseph John Gurney, and this was having an impact on the school's attendance (attendance for the year ending in 1844 had been merely 55, which was less than in any year since the school had been in operation at Providence). In an attempt to cope with the ongoing problems at their [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and elsewhere, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) established a General Committee on Education. This new committee was charged to give their personal attention closely to the school, meeting on campus monthly, attending instruction during school hours and "witnessing, advising, and directing in relation to the process of instruction." The members of the committee were charged to enter into free intercourse with both the young scholars and their teachers, and would "judge of the standing and progress of the children."

An anonymous Philadelphia publication celebrated the lives of Christ, [Friend George Fox](#), [Friend William Penn](#), [Friend Robert Barclay](#), [Friend William Edmundson](#), [Friend Edward Burroughs](#), [Friend James Parnel](#), [Friends Francis Howgill and Hubberthorn](#), [Friend Isaac Penington](#), [Friend Richard Sellers](#), [Friends Mary Dyer and William Robinson](#) and [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and William Leddra, [Friend William Coddington](#) of [Rhode Island](#), and [Friend Robert Hodgson](#):

**THE ANCIENT BANNER;
OR
Brief Sketches
OF PERSONS AND SCENES IN THE EARLY HISTORY
OF FRIENDS.**

"THOU HAST GIVEN A BANNER TO THEM THAT FEARED THEE,
THAT IT MAY BE DISPLAYED BECAUSE OF THE TRUTH."
Psalm 60,—4.

**PHILADELPHIA:
JOSEPH KITE & CO., PRINTERS,
No. 50 North Fourth Street.**



1846.

THE
ANCIENT BANNER.

In boundless mercy, the Redeemer left,
The bosom of his Father, and assumed
A servant's form, though he had reigned a king,
In realms of glory, ere the worlds were made,
Or the creating words, "Let there be light"
In heaven were uttered. But though veiled in flesh,
His Deity and his Omnipotence,
Were manifest in miracles. Disease
Fled at his bidding, and the buried dead
Rose from the sepulchre, reanimate,
At his command, or, on the passing bier
Sat upright, when he touched it. But he came,
Not for this only, but to introduce
A glorious dispensation, in the place
Of types and shadows of the Jewish code.
Upon the mount, and round Jerusalem,
He taught a purer, and a holier law,—
His everlasting Gospel, which is yet
To fill the earth with gladness; for all climes
Shall feel its influence, and shall own its power.
He came to suffer, as a sacrifice
Acceptable to God. The sins of all
Were laid upon Him, when in agony
He bowed upon the cross. The temple's veil
Was rent asunder, and the mighty rocks,
Trembled, as the incarnate Deity,
By his atoning blood, opened that door,
Through which the soul, can have communion with
Its great Creator; and when purified,
From all defilements, find acceptance too,
Where it can finally partake of all
The joys of His salvation.

But the pure Church he planted,—the pure Church
Which his apostles watered,—and for which,
The blood of countless martyrs freely flowed,
In Roman Amphitheatres,—on racks,—
And in the dungeon's gloom,—this blessed Church,
Which grew in suffering, when it overspread
Surrounding nations, lost its purity.
Its truth was hidden, and its light obscured
By gross corruption, and idolatry.
As things of worship, it had images,
And even painted canvass was adored.
It had a head and bishop, but this head
Was not the Saviour, but the Pope of Rome.
Religion was a traffic. Men defiled,
Professed to pardon sin, and even sell,
The joys of heaven for money,—and to raise
Souls out of darkness to eternal light,
For paltry silver lavished upon them.
And thus thick darkness, overspread the Church
As with a mantle.

At length the midnight of apostacy
Passed by, and in the horizon appeared,
Day dawning upon Christendom. The light,
Grew stronger, as the Reformation spread.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

For Luther, and Melancthon, could not be
 Silenced by papal bulls, nor by decrees
 Of excommunication thundered forth
 Out of the Vatican. And yet the light,
 Of Luther's reformation, never reached
 Beyond the morning's dawn. The noontide blaze
 Of Truth's unclouded day, he never saw.
 Yet after him, its rising sun displayed
 More and more light upon the horizon.
 Though thus enlightened, the professing Church,
 Was far from many of the precious truths
 Of the Redeemer's gospel; and as yet,
 Owned not his Spirit's government therein.
 But now the time approached, when he would pour
 A larger measure of his light below;
 And as he chose unlearned fishermen
 To spread his gospel when first introduced,
 So now he passed mere human learning by,
 And chose an instrument, comparable
 To the small stone the youthful David used,
 To smite the champion who defied the Lord.

Apart from human dwellings, in a green
 Rich pasturage of England, sat a youth,
 Who seemed a shepherd, for around him there
 A flock was feeding, and the sportive lambs
 Gambolled amid the herbage. But his face
 Bore evidence of sadness. On his knee
 The sacred book lay open, upon which
 The youth looked long and earnestly, and then,
 Closing the book, gazed upward, in deep thought
 This was the instrument by whom the Lord
 Designed to spread a clearer light below
 And fuller reformation. He appeared,
 Like ancient Samuel, to be set apart
 For the Lord's service from his very birth.
 Even in early childhood, he refrained
 From youthful follies, and his mind was turned
 To things of highest moment. He was filled
 With awful feelings, by the wickedness
 He saw around him. As he grew in years,
 Horror of sin grew stronger; and his mind
 Became so clothed with sadness, and so full
 Of soul-felt longings, for the healing streams
 Of heavenly consolation, that he left
 His earthly kindred, seeking quietude
 In solitary places, where he read
 The book of inspiration, and in prayer,
 Sought heavenly counsel.

In this deep-proving season he was told,
 Of priests, whose reputation had spread wide
 For sanctity and wisdom; and from these
 He sought for consolation,—but in vain.
 One of these ministers became enraged,
 Because the youth had inadvertently
 Misstepped within his garden; and a priest
 Of greater reputation, counselled him
 To use tobacco, and sing holy psalms!
 And the inquirer found a third to be
 But as an empty, hollow cask at best.

Finding no help in man, the youthful Fox,
 Turned to a higher and a holier source,
 For light and knowledge. In his Saviour's school,
 He sat a scholar, and was clearly shown
 The deep corruption, that had overspread
 Professing Christendom. And one by one,
 The doctrines of the Gospel, were unveiled,



To the attentive student,—doctrines, which,
Though clearly written on the sacred page,
Had long been hidden, by the rubbish man's
Perversions and inventions heaped thereon.
He saw that colleges, could not confer,
A saving knowledge of the way of Truth,
Nor qualify a minister to preach
The everlasting Gospel; but that Christ,
Is the true Teacher, and that he alone
Has power to call, anoint, and qualify,
And send a Gospel minister to preach
Glad tidings of salvation. He was shown,
No outward building, made of wood and stone
Could be a holy place,—and that the Church—
The only true and living Church—must be
A holy people gathered to the Lord,
And to his teaching. He was clearly taught,
The nature of baptism, by which souls
Are purified and fitted for this Church;
That this was not, by being dipped into,
Or sprinkled with clear water, but it was
The one baptism of the Holy Ghost.
He saw the Supper was no outward food,
Made and administered by human hands,—
But the Lord's Table was within the heart;
Where in communion with him, holy bread
Was blessed and broken, and the heavenly wine,
Which cheers the fainting spirit, handed forth.
The Saviour showed him that all outward wars,
Are now forbidden,—that the warfare here,
Is to be waged within. Its weapons too,
Though mighty, even to the pulling down,
Of the strong holds of Satan, are yet all
The Spirit's weapons. He was shown, that oaths
Judicial or profane, are banished from
The Christian dispensation, which commands,
“Swear not at all.” He saw the compliments,—
Hat honour, and lip service of the world,
Sprang from pride's evil root, and were opposed
To the pure spirit of Christ's holy law.
And by His inward Light, was clearly seen
The perfect purity of heart and life
For which that Saviour calls, who never asked,
Things unattainable.

These truths and others, being thus revealed,
Fox was prepared and qualified to preach,
The unveiled Gospel, to the sons of men.
Clothed with divine authority, he went
Abroad through Britain, and proclaimed that Light,
Which Christ's illuminating Spirit sheds,
In the dark heart of man. Some heard of this,
Who seemed prepared and waiting, to receive
His Gospel message, and were turned to Him,
Whose Holy Spirit sealed it on their hearts.
And not a few of these, were called upon,
To take the message, and themselves declare
The way of Truth to others. But the Priests,
Carnal professors, and some magistrates,
Heard of the inward light, and purity,
With indignation, and they seized upon,
And thrust the Preacher within prison walls.
Not once alone, but often was he found,
Amid the very dregs of wickedness—
With robbers, and with blood-stained criminals,
Locked up in loathsome jails. And when abroad
Upon his Master's service, he was still

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Reviled and buffeted, and spit upon.
 But none of these things moved him, for within
 He felt that soul-sustaining evidence,
 Which bore his spirit high above the waves,
 Of bitter persecution.

But now the time approached, for his release
 From suffering and from labour. He had spent,
 Long years in travel for the cause of Truth,—
 Not all in Britain,—for he preached its light,
 And power in Holland,—the West Indian isles,
 And North America. Far through the wild,
 And trackless wilderness, this faithful man,
 Carried his Master's message; he lived,
 To see Truth's banner fearlessly displayed
 Upon both continents. He lived to see,
 Pure hearted men and women gathered to
 The inward teaching of the Saviour's will,—
 Banded together in the covenant,
 Of light and life. But his allotted work,
 Was now accomplished, and his soul prepared,
 For an inheritance with saints in light,
 And with his loins all girded, he put off
 His earthly shackles, triumphing in death,
 That the Seed reigned, and Truth was over all!

Where the dark waters of the Delaware,
 Roll onward to the ocean, sweeping by,
 Primeval forests, where the red man still,
 Built his rude wigwam, and the timid deer
 Fled for concealment from the Indian's eye,
 And the unerring arrow of his bow;
 There, in the shadow of these ancient woods,
 A sea-worn ship has anchored. On her deck,
 Men of grave mien are gathered. One of whom,
 Of noble figure, and quick searching eyes,
 Surveys the scene, wrapt in the deepest thought.
 And this is [William Penn](#). He stands among,
 Fellow believers, who have sought a home,
 And place of refuge, in this wilderness.

Born of an ancient family, his sire
 An English Admiral, the youthful Penn,
 Might, with his talents, have soon ranked among
 The proudest subjects of the British throne.
 He chose the better part—to serve that King
 Who is immortal and invisible.
 While yet a student within college halls,
 He heard Truth's message, and his heart was reached,
 And fully owned it, though it came through one
 Of that despised and persecuted class,
 Called in derision Quakers. Thus convinced,
 He left the college worship, to commune
 In spirit with his Maker. And for this,
 He was expelled from Oxford; and was soon
 Maltreated by his father, who, enraged,
 Because his only son, had turned away
 From brilliant prospects, to pursue the path
 Of self-denial, drove him harshly forth
 From the paternal roof. But William Penn,
 Had still a Father, who supported him,
 With strength and courage to perform his will;
 And he was called and qualified to preach,
 And to bear witness of that blessed Light
 Which shines within. He suffered in the cause,
 His share of trial. He was dragged before
 Judges and juries, and was shut within
 The walls of prisons.

Looking abroad through England, he was filled



With deep commiseration, for the jails—
The loathsome, filthy jails—were crowded with
His brethren in the Truth. For their relief,
He sought the ear of royalty, and plead
Their cruel sufferings; and their innocence;
And thus became the instrument through which
Some prison doors were opened. But he sought
A place of refuge from oppression's power,
That Friends might worship the Creator there,
Free from imprisonment and penalties.
And such a place soon opened to his view,
Far in the Western Wilderness, beyond
The Atlantic's wave.

And here is William Penn, and here a band
Of weary emigrants, who now behold
The promised land before them; but it is
The Indian's country, and the Indian's home.
Penn had indeed, received a royal grant,
To occupy it; but a grant from one
Who had no rightful ownership therein;
He therefore buys it honestly from those
Whose claims are aboriginal, and just.
With these inhabitants, behold, he stands
Beneath an ancient elm, whose spreading limbs
O'erhang the Delaware. The forest chiefs
Sit in grave silence, while the pipe of peace
Goes round the circle. They have made a league
With faithful Onas—a perpetual league,
And treaty of true friendship, to endure
While the sun shines, and while the waters run.

And here was founded in the wilderness,
A refuge from oppression, where all creeds
Found toleration, and where truth and right
Were the foundation of its government,
And its protection. In that early day,
The infant colony sought no defence
But that of justice and of righteousness;
The only guarantees of peace on earth,
Because they ever breathe, good will to men.

His colony thus planted, William Penn
Sought his old field of labour, and again,
Both through the press and vocally, he plead
The right of conscience, and the rights of man;
And frequently, and forcibly he preached
Christ's universal and inshining Light.
His labour was incessant; and the cares,
And the perplexities connected with
His distant province, which he visited
A second time, bore heavily upon
His burdened spirit, which demanded rest;—
That rest was granted. In the midst of all
His labour and his trials, there was drawn
A veil, in mercy, round his active mind,
Which dimmed all outward things; but he still saw
The beauty and the loveliness of Truth,
And found sweet access to the Source of good.
And thus, shut out from the perplexities
And sorrows of the world, he was prepared
To hear the final summons, to put off
His tattered garments, and be clothed upon
With heavenly raiment.

Scotland, thou hadst a noble citizen,
In him of Ury! Born amid thy hills,
Though educated where enticing scenes,
Crowd giddy Paris, he rejected all
The world's allurements, and unlike the youth



Who talked with Jesus, Barclay turned away
From great possessions, and embraced the Truth.
He early dedicated all the powers
Of a well cultivated intellect
To the Redeemer and His holy cause.
He was a herald, to proclaim aloud,
Glad tidings of salvation; and his life
Preached a loud sermon by its purity.
Not only were his lips made eloquent,
By the live coal that touched them, but his pen,
Moved by a force from the same altar, poured
Light, truth, and wisdom. From it issued forth
The great Apology, which yet remains
One of the best expositors of Truth
That man has published, since that sacred book
Anciently written. Seekers are still led
By its direction, to that blessed Light,
And inward Teacher, who is Jesus Christ.
But now, this noble servant of the Lord,
Rests from his faithful labour, while his works
Yet follow him.

Early believers in the light of Truth,
Dwelt not at ease in Zion. They endured
Conflicts and trials, and imprisonments.
Even the humble Penington, whose mind
Seemed purged and purified from all the dross
Of human nature—who appeared as meek
And harmless as an infant—was compelled
To dwell in loathsome prisons. But he had,
Though in the midst of wickedness, sublime
And holy visions of the purity,
And the true nature of Christ's living Church.
While Edmundson, the faithful pioneer
Of Truth in Ireland, was compelled to drink
Deeply of suffering for the blessed cause.
Dragged from his home, half naked, by a mob
Who laid that home in ashes, he endured
Heart-rending cruelties. But all of these,
Stars of the morning, felt oppression's hand,
And some endured it to the closing scene.
Burroughs, a noble servant of the Lord,
Whose lips and pen were eloquent for Truth,
Drew his last breath in prison. Parnel, too,
A young and valiant soldier of the Lamb,
Died, a true martyr in a dungeon's gloom.
Howgill and Hubberthorn, both ministers
Of Christ's ordaining, were released from all
Their earthly trials within prison walls.
And beside these, there was a multitude
Of faithful men, and noble women too,
Who past from scenes of conflict, to the joys
Of the Redeemer's kingdom, within jails,
And some in dungeons. But amid it all,
Light spread in Britain, and a living Church
Was greatly multiplied. The tender minds,
Even of children, felt the power of Truth,
And showed the fruit and firmness it affords.
When persecution, rioted within
The town of Bristol, and all older Friends
Were locked in prison, little children met,
Within their place of worship, by themselves,
To offer praises, in the very place
From which their parents had been dragged to jail.

But let us turn from Britain, and look down,
Upon an inland sea whose swelling waves
Encircle Malta. There a cloudless sun,



In Eastern beauty, pours its light upon
The Inquisition. All without its walls
Seems calm and peaceful, let us look within.
There, stretched upon the floor, within a close,
Dark, narrow cell, inhaling from a crack
A breath of purer air, two women lie.
But who are these, and wherefore are they here?
These are two ministers of Christ, who left
Their homes in England, faithfully to bear,
The Saviour's message into eastern lands.
And here at Malta they were seized upon
By bigotted intolerance, and shut
Within this fearful engine of the Pope.
Priests and Inquisitor assail them here,
And urge the claims of popery. The rack,
And cruel deaths are threatened; and again
Sweet liberty is offered, as the price
Of their apostacy. All, all in vain!
For years these tender women have been thus,
Victims of cruelty. At times apart,
Confined in gloomy, solitary cells.
But all these efforts to convert them failed:
The Inquisition had not power enough
To shake their faith and confidence in Him,
Whose holy presence was seen anciently
To save his children from devouring flames;
He, from this furnace of affliction, brought
These persecuted women, who came forth
Out of the burning, with no smell of fire
Upon their garments, and again they trod,
Their native land rejoicing.

In Hungary, two ministers of Christ,
Were stretched upon the rack. Their tortured limbs
Were almost torn asunder, but no force
Could tear them from their Master, and they came
Out of the furnace, well refined gold.
Nor were these all who suffered for the cause
Of truth and righteousness, in foreign lands.
For at Mequinez and Algiers, some toiled,
And died in slavery. But nothing could
Discourage faithful messengers of Christ
From his required service. They were found
Preaching repentance where the Israelites
Once toiled in Egypt, and the ancient Nile
Still rolls its waters. And the holy light
Of the eternal Gospel was proclaimed,
Where its great Author had first published it—
Where the rich temple of King Solomon,
Stood in its ancient glory. Even there,
The haughty Musselmen, were told of Him,
The one great Prophet, who now speaks within.

For their refusing to participate
In carnal warfare, many early Friends,
Were made to suffer. On a ship of war
Equipped for battle, Richard Sellers bore,
With a meek, Christian spirit, cruelties
The most atrocious, for obeying Him
Who was his heavenly Captain, and by whom,
War is forbidden. Sellers would not touch,
The instruments of carnage, nor could all
The cruelties inflicted, move his soul
From a reliance on that holy Arm,
Which had sustained him in the midst of all
His complicated trials; and he gained
A peaceful, but a greater victory
Than that of battle, for he wearied out



Oppression, by his constancy, and left
A holy savor, with that vessel's crew.

But let us turn from persecuting scenes,
That stain the annals of the older world,
To young America, whose virgin shores
Offer a refuge from oppression's power.
Here lies a harbour in the noble bay
Of Massachusetts. Many little isles
Dot its expanding waters, and Nahant
Spreads its long beach and eminence beyond,
A barrier to the ocean. The whole scene,
Looks beautiful, in the clear northern air,
And loveliness of morning. On the heights
That overlook the harbour, there is seen
An infant settlement. Let us approach,
And anchor where the Puritans have sought,
For liberty of conscience. But there seems,
Disquietude in Boston. Men appear
Urged on by stormy passions, and some wear
A look of unrelenting bitterness.
But what is that now rising into view,
Where crowds are gathered on an eminence?
These are the Puritans. They now surround
A common gallows. On its platform, stands
A lovely woman in the simple garb
Worn by the early Quakers. Of the throng,
She only seems unmoved, although her blood
They madly thirst for.

The first professors of Christ's inward Light,
Who brought this message into Boston bay,
Were inoffensive women. They were searched
For signs of witchcraft, and their books were burned.
The captain who had brought them, was compelled
To carry them away. But others came,
Both men and women, zealous for the Truth.
These were received with varied cruelties—
By frequent whippings and imprisonments.
Law after law was made excluding them;
But all in vain, for still these faithful ones
Carried their Master's message undismayed
Among the Puritans, and still they found
Those who received it, and embraced the Truth,
And steadily maintained it, in the midst
Of whipping posts, and pillories, and jails!
A law was then enacted, by which all
The banished Quakers, who were found again
Within the province, were to suffer death.
But these, though ever ready to obey
All just enactments, when laws trespassed on
The rights of conscience, and on God's command,
Could never for a moment hesitate,
Which to obey.—And soon there stood upon
A scaffold of New England, faithful friends,
Who, in obeying Christ, offended man!
Of these was Mary Dyer, who exclaimed,
While passing to this instrument of death,
"No eye can witness, and no ear can hear,
No tongue can utter, nor heart understand
The incomes and refreshings from the Lord
Which now I feel." And in the spirit which
These words a little pictured, Robinson,
Past to the presence of that Holy One
For whom he laboured, and in whom he died.
Then Stevenson, another faithful steward
And servant of the Lamb, was ushered from
Deep scenes of suffering into scenes of joy.



But Mary Dyer, who was all prepared,
To join these martyrs in their heavenward flight,
Was left a little longer upon earth.
But a few fleeting months had rolled away,
Ere this devoted woman felt constrained,
Again to go among the Puritans,
In Massachusetts, and in Boston too.
And here she stands! the second time, upon
A gallows of New England. No reprieve
Arrests her sentence now. But still she feels
The same sweet incomes, and refreshing streams
From the Lord's Holy Spirit. In the midst
Of that excited multitude, she seems
The most resigned and peaceful.—But the deed
Is now accomplished, and the scene is closed!
Among the faithful martyrs of the Lamb,
Gathered forever round His Holy Throne,
She doubtless wears a pure and spotless robe,
And bears the palm of victory.

The blood of Leddra was soon after shed,
Which closed the scene of martyrdom among
The early Quakers in this colony,
But not the scene of suffering. Women were
Dragged through its towns half-naked, tied to carts,
While the lash fell upon their unclothed backs,
And bloody streets, showed where they past along.
And such inhuman treatment was bestowed
On the first female minister of Christ,
Who preached the doctrine of his inward Light.

But in New England, there was really found
A refuge from oppression, justice reigned
Upon Rhode Island. In that early day,
The rights of conscience were held sacred there,
And persecution was a thing unknown.
A bright example, as a governor,
Was William Coddington. He loved the law—
The perfect law of righteousness—and strove
To govern by it; and all faithful Friends
Felt him a brother in the blessed Truth.

In North America, the Puritans
Stood not alone in efforts to prevent
The introduction and the spread of light.
The Dutch plantation of New Amsterdam,
Sustained a measure of the evil work.
The savage cruelties inflicted on
The faithful Hodgson, have few parallels
In any age or country; but the Lord
Was with His servant in the midst of all,
And healed his tortured and his mangled frame.

The early Friends were bright and shining stars,
For they reflected the clear holy light
The Sun of Righteousness bestowed on them.
They followed no deceiving, transient glare—
No ignis fatuus of bewildered minds;
They followed Jesus in the holiness
Of His unchanging Gospel. They endured
Stripes and imprisonment and pillories,
Torture and slavery and banishment,
And even death; but they would not forsake
Their Holy Leader, or His blessed cause.
Their patient suffering, and firm steadfastness,
Secured a rich inheritance for those
Who have succeeded them. Do these now feel
That firm devotion to the cause of Truth—That
singleheartedness their fathers felt?
Do they appreciate the price and worth



Of the great legacy and precious trust
Held for their children? The great cruelties
Borne by the fathers, have not been entailed
On their descendants, who now dwell at ease.
The world does not revile them. Do not some
Love it the more for this? and do they not
Make more alliance with it, and partake
More and more freely of its tempting baits,
Its fashions and its spirit? but are these
More pure and holy than they were of old,
When in the light of Truth, their fathers saw
That deep corruption overspread the world?
Other professors latterly have learned
To speak of Quakers with less bitterness
Than when the name reproachfully was cast
In ridicule upon them. Has not this
Drawn watchmen from the citadel of Truth?
Has it not opened doors that had been closed,
And should have been forever? And by these,
Has not an enemy been stealing in,
To spoil the goods of many; to assail,
And strive in secrecy to gather strength,
To overcome the citadel at last?
Is it not thought illiberal to refuse
Alliances with those who now profess
Respect and friendship? Must the Quaker then
Bow in the house of Rimmon, saying, Lord
Pardon in this thy servant? Do not some
Fail to resist encroachments, when they come
Clothed in enticing words, and wear the guise
Of charity and kindness, and are veiled,
Or sweetened to the taste, by courtesy?
But is a snare less certain, when concealed
By some enticing bait? or is a ball
Less sure and fatal, when it flies unheard,
Or, when the hand that sends it is unseen,
Or offers friendship? Did not Joab say,
“Art thou in health my brother?” and appeared
To kiss Amasa, while he thrust his sword
Into his life-blood? And when Jonas fled
From the Lord’s service, and the stormy waves
Threatened the ship that bore him, was the cause
Not found within it? Was there not a calm
When he, whose disobedience to the Lord
Had raised the tempest, was no longer there?
Truth has a standard openly displayed,
Untorn—unsullied. Man indeed may change,
And may forsake it; but the Standard still
Remains immutable. May all who love
This Holy Banner, rally to it now!
May all whose dwellings are upon the sand,
Seek for a building on that living Rock,
Which stands forever;—for a storm has come—
A storm that tries foundations! Even now,
The flooding rains are falling, and the winds
Rapidly rising to a tempest, beat
Upon all dwellings. They alone can stand
Which have the Rock beneath them, and above
The Omnipresent and Omnipotent.

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s VOICES OF FREEDOM. During this year, also, he wrote his short poem "New Hampshire" in honor of the Granite State's bold unique stand against slavery. The final couplet, often quoted, is a stirring call to arms against human bondage with New Hampshire of course leading the way:

God bless New Hampshire! for her granite peaks
 Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks.
 The long-bound vassal of the exulting South
 For very shame her self-forged chain has broken;
 Torn the black seal of slavery from her mouth
 And in the clear tones of her old time spoken!
 Oh, all undreamed of, all unhop'd for changes!
 The tyrant's ally proves his sternest foe;
 To all his biddings, from her mountain ranges,
 New Hampshire thunders an indignant No!
 Who is it now despairs? Oh, faint of heart,
 Look upward to those Northern mountains cold,
 Flouted by freedom's victor-flag unrolled,
 And gather strength to bear a manlier part!
 All is not lost. The angel of God's blessing
 Encamps with Freedom on the field of fight;
 Still to her banner, day by day, are pressing
 Unlooked for allies, striking for the right!
 Courage, then, Northern hearts! Be firm, be true;
 What one brave State hath done, can ye not also do?



We need to pay attention to the fact that the Granite State reality was considerably less glorious than as he depicted. New Hampshire's early track record in opposing discrimination, if it deserved a poem, deserved no gold metal. Why would Whittier have gone so overboard? The answer is politics: he was backing Senator John P. Hale of Dover NH. Hale eventually even would be running for President as the candidate of the Free Soil Party, which would advocate the creation of no new slave states. Well, but Hale and his "Hale men" would not oppose slavery as such, but only its spread by way of the annexation of Texas. Hale first made headlines as a NH legislator when he defied the "Gag Rule" created by another New Hampshire legislator and openly discussed the topic of slavery. Hale debated against soon-to-be-President Franklin Pierce, another New Hampshire man. By talking about slavery Hale made himself not only a magnet for Whittier's praise but also a target — one of his southern colleagues on the floor of the US Senate would issue a death threat.

After the election of 1856, in which the Free Soil Party would make enormous gains, and presaging its ultimate victory in the election of 1860, Whittier would write:

A SONG, INSCRIBED TO THE FRÉMONT CLUBS.

BENEATH thy skies, November!
 Thy skies of cloud and rain,
 Around our blazing camp-fires
 We close our ranks again.
 Then sound again the bugles,

Call the muster-roll anew; ...

Some verses by Friend [John](#) were published during this year in the Boston [Chronotype](#), in reference to a letter that supposedly had been written by the chairman of the “Central Clique” at Concord NH to the Honorable M.N., Jr. of Pittsfield at Washington DC, telling that the abolitionist, John P. Hale, had been elected to the US Senate:

A LETTER.

’Tis over, Moses! All is lost!
 I hear the bells a-ringing;
 Of Pharaoh and his Red Sea host
 I hear the Free-Wills¹⁷¹ singing.

We’re routed, Moses, horse and foot,
 If there be truth in figures,
 With Federal Whigs in hot pursuit,
 And Hale, and all the “niggers.”

Alack! alas! this month or more
 We’ve felt a sad foreboding;
 Our very dreams the burden bore
 Of central cliques exploding;
 Before our eyes a furnace shone,
 Where heads of dough were roasting,
 And one we took to be your own
 The traitor Hale was toasting!

Our Belknap brother¹⁷² heard with awe
 The Congo minstrels playing;
 At Pittsfield Reuben Leavitt saw
 The ghost of Storrs a-praying,¹⁷³
 And Carroll’s woods were sad to see,
 With black-winged crows a-darting;
 And Black Snout looked on Ossipee,
 New-glossed with Day and Martin.

We thought the “Old Man of the Notch”
 His face seemed changing wholly —
 His lips seemed thick; his nose seemed flat;
 His misty hair looked woolly;
 And Co’s teamsters, shrieking, fled
 From the metamorphosed figure.
 “Look there!” they said, “the Old Stone Head
 Himself is turning nigger!”



gone but not forgotten

The schoolhouse¹⁷⁴ out of Canaan hauled
 Seemed turning on its track again,
 And like a great swamp-turtle crawled
 To Canaan village back again,
 Shook off the mud and settled flat
 Upon its underpinning;

A nigger on its ridge-pole sat,
 From ear to ear a-grinning.

Gray H—d heard o’ nights the sound

171. The New Hampshire Legislature had refused to grant incorporation papers to the Free-Will [Baptists](#) in Dover NH, because their newspaper and their leading preachers were abolitionist in sentiment.

172. The senator who edited the Belknap [Gazette](#) was offended at what he termed “niggers” and “nigger parties.”

173. Reuben Leavitt was the justice before whom Elder Storrs was brought for preaching abolition on a writ drawn by the Honorable M.N. Jr., of Pittsfield. The sheriff had served the writ on Storrs while the elder was praying.

174. When the academy at Canaan NH had accepted one or two pupils of color, some racist Democrats had played a little joke by hooking up teams of horses or oxen and dragging the building into an adjoining swamp.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Of rail-cars onward faring;
Right over Democratic ground
The iron horse came tearing.
A flag waved o'er that spectral train,
As high as Pittsfield steeple;
Its emblem was a broken chain;
Its motto: "To the people!"

I dreamed that Charley took his bed,
With Hale for his physician;
His daily dose an old "unread
And unrefereed" petition.¹⁷⁵

There Hayes and Tuck as nurses sat,
As near as near could be, man;
They leeched him with the "Democrat;"
They blistered with the "Freeman."

Ah! grisly portents! What avail
Your terrors of forewarning?
We wake to find the nightmare Hale
Astride our breasts at morning!
From Portsmouth lights to Indian stream
Our foes their throats are trying;
The very factory-spindles seem
To mock us while they're flying.

The hills have bonfires; in our streets
Flags flout us in our faces;
The newsboys, peddling off their sheets,
Are hoarse with our disgraces.

In vain we turn, for gibing wit
And shoutings follow after,
As if old Kearsarge had split
His granite sides with laughter!

What boots it that we pelted out
The anti-slavery women,¹⁷⁶
And bravely strewed their hall about
With tattered lace and trimming?
Was it for such a sad reverse
Our mobs became peacemakers,
And kept their tar and wooden horse
For Englishmen and Quakers?

For this did shifty Atherton
Make gag rules for the Great House?
Wiped we for this our feet upon
Petitions in our State House?
Plied we for this our axe of doom,
No stubborn traitor sparing,
Who scoffed at our opinion loom,
And took to homespun wearing?

Ah, Moses! hard it is to scan
These crooked providences,
Deducing from the wisest plan
The saddest consequences!
Strange that, in trampling as was meet
The nigger-men's petition,
We sprung a mine beneath our feet
Which opened up perdition.

175. The gag-law introduced in the House by Mr. Atherton ordered that "Papers and memorials touching the subject of slavery shall be laid on the table without reading, debate or reference."

176. At the first meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Concord NH, the building was pelted with stones and brickbats.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

How goodly, Moses, was the game
In which we've long been actors,

Supplying freedom with the name
And slavery with the practice!
Our smooth words fed the people's mouth,
Their ears our party rattle;
We kept them headed to the South,
As drovers do their cattle.

But now our game of politics
The world at large is learning;
And men grown gray in all our tricks
State's evidence are turning.
Votes and preambles subtly spun
They cram with meanings louder,
And load the Democratic gun
With abolition powder.

The ides of June! Woe worth the day
When, turning all things over,
The traitor Hale shall make his hay
From Democratic clover!
Who then shall take him in the law,
Who punish crime so flagrant?
Whose hand shall serve, whose pen shall draw,
A writ against that "vagrant"?

Alas! no hope is left us here,
And one can only pine for
The envied place of overseer
Of slaves in Carolina!
Pray, Moses, give Calhoun the wink,
And see what pay he's giving!
We're practised long enough, we think,
To know the art of driving.

And for the faithful rank and file,
Who know their proper stations,
Perhaps it may be worth their while
To try the rice plantations.
Let Hale exult, let Wilson scoff,
To see us southward scamper;
The slaves, we know, are "better off
Than laborers in New Hampshire!"

Friend John Greenleaf Whittier's "The Branded Hand":



Jonathan Holman



WELCOME home again, brave seaman! with thy thoughtful brow and gray,
 And the old heroic spirit of our earlier, better day;
 With that front of calm endurance, on whose steady nerve in vain
 Pressed the iron of the prison, smote the fiery shafts of pain!
 Is the tyrant's brand upon thee? Did the brutal cravens aim
 To make God's truth thy falsehood, His holiest work thy shame?
 When, all blood-quenched, from the torture the iron was withdrawn,
 How laughed their evil angel the baffled fools to scorn!
 They change to wrong the duty which God hath written out
 On the great heart of humanity, too legible for doubt!
 They, the loathsome moral lepers, blotched from footsole up to crown,
 Give to shame what God hath given unto honor and renown!
 Why, that brand is highest honor! than its traces never yet
 Upon old armorial hatchments was a prouder blazon set;
 And thy unborn generations, as they tread our rocky strand,
 Shall tell with pride the story of their father's branded hand!
 As the Templar home was welcome, bearing back from Syrian wars
 The scars of Arab lances and of Paynim scimitars,
 The pallor of the prison, and the shackle's crimson span,
 So we meet thee, so we greet thee, truest friend of God and man.
 He suffered for the ransom of the dear Redeemer's grave,
 Thou for His living presence in the bound and bleeding slave;
 He for a soil no longer by the feet of angels trod,
 Thou for the true Shechinah, the present home of God!
 For, while the jurist, sitting with the slave-whip o'er him swung,
 From the tortured truths of freedom the lie of slavery wrung,
 And the solemn priest to Moloch, on each God-deserted shrine,
 Broke the bondman's heart for bread, poured the bondman's blood for wine;
 While the multitude in blindness to a far-off Saviour knelt
 And spurned, the while, the temple where a present Saviour dwelt;
 Thou beheld'st Him in the task-field, in the prison shadows dim,
 And thy mercy to the bondman, it was mercy unto Him!
 In thy lone and long night-watches, sky above and wave below,
 Thou didst learn a higher wisdom than the babbling schoolmen know;
 God's stars and silence taught thee, as His angels only can,
 That the one sole sacred thing beneath the cope of heaven is Man!
 That he who treads profanely on the scrolls of law and creed,
 In the depth of God's great goodness may find mercy in his need;
 But woe to him who crushes the soul with chain and rod,
 And herds with lower natures the awful form of God!
 Then lift that manly right-hand, bold ploughman of the wave!
 Its branded palm shall prophesy, "Salvation to the Slave!"
 Hold up its fire-wrought language, that who so reads may feel
 His heart swell strong within him, his sinews change to steel.
 Hold it up before our sunshine, up against our Northern air;
 Ho! men of Massachusetts, for the love of God, look there!



Take it henceforth for your standard, like the Bruce's heart of yore,
In the dark strife closing round ye, let that hand be seen before!
And the masters of the slave-land shall tremble at that sign,
When it points its finger Southward along the Puritan line
Can the craft of State avail them? Can a Christless church withstand,
In the van of Freedom's onset, the coming of that hand?

The Pine Tree, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#). (1846)

Written on hearing that the Anti-Slavery Resolves of Stephen C. Phillips had been rejected by the Whig Convention in Faneuil Hall, in 1846.

LIFT again the stately emblem on the Bay State's rusted shield,
Give to Northern winds the Pine-Tree on our banner's tattered field.
Sons of men who sat in council with their Bibles round the board,

Answering England's royal missive with a firm, "Thus saith the Lord!"
Rise again for home and freedom! set the battle in array!
What the fathers did of old time we their sons must do to-day.

Tell us not of banks and tariffs, cease your paltry pedler cries;
Shall the good State sink her honor that your gambling stocks may rise?
Would ye barter man for cotton? That your gains may sum up higher,
Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the fire?
Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?

O my God! for that free spirit, which of old in Boston town
Smote the Province House with terror, struck the crest of Andros down!
For another strong-voiced Adams in the city's streets to cry,
"Up for God and Massachusetts! Set your feet on Mammon's lie!
Perish banks and perish traffic, spin your cotton's latest pound,
But in Heaven's name keep your honor, keep the heart o' the Bay State sound!"

Where's the man for Massachusetts! Where's the voice to speak her free?
Where's the hand to light up bonfires from her mountains to the sea?
Beats her Pilgrim pulse no longer? Sits she dumb in her despair?
Has she none to break the silence? Has she none to do and dare?
O my God! for one right worthy to lift up her rushed shield,
And to plant again the Pine-Tree in her banner's tattered field!

To a Southern Statesman, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#). (1846)

John C. Calhoun, who had strongly urged the extension of slave territory by the annexation of Texas, even if it should involve a war with England, was unwilling to promote the acquisition of Oregon, which would enlarge the Northern domain of freedom, and pleaded as an excuse the peril of foreign complications which he had defied when the interests of slavery were involved.

Is this thy voice whose treble notes of fear
Wail in the wind? And dost thou shake to hear,
Actæon-like, the bay of thine own hounds,
Spurning the leash, and leaping o'er their bounds?
Sore-baffled statesman! when thy eager hand,
With game afoot, unslipped the hungry pack,
To hunt down Freedom in her chosen land,
Hadst thou no fear, that, erelong, doubling back,
These dogs of thine might snuff on Slavery's track?
Where's now the boast, which even thy guarded tongue,
Cold, calm, and proud, in the teeth o' the Senate flung,

O'er the fulfilment of thy baleful plan,
Like Satan's triumph at the fall of man?



How stood'st thou then, thy feet on Freedom planting,
And pointing to the lurid heaven afar,
Whence all could see, through the south windows slanting,
Crimson as blood, the beams of that Lone Star!
The Fates are just; they give us but our own;
Nemesis ripens what our hands have sown.
There is an Eastern story, not unknown,
Doubtless, to thee, of one whose magic skill
Called demons up his water-jars to fill;
Defty and silently, they did his will,
But, when the task was done, kept pouring still.
In vain with spell and charm the wizard wrought,
Faster and faster were the buckets brought,
Higher and higher rose the flood around,
Till the fiends clapped their hands above their master drowned!
So, Carolinian, it may prove with thee,
For God still overrules man's schemes, and takes
Craftiness in its self-set snare, and makes
The wrath of man to praise Him. It may be,
That the roused spirits of Democracy
May leave to freer States the same wide door
Through which thy slave-cursed Texas entered in,
From out the blood and fire, the wrong and sin,
Of the stormed city and the ghastly plain,
Beat by hot hail, and wet with bloody rain,
The myriad-handed pioneer may pour,
And the wild West with the roused North combine
And heave the engineer of evil with his mine.

At Washington, by [John Greenleaf Whittier.](#)

Suggested by a visit to the city of Washington, in the 12th month of 1845.

WITH a cold and wintry noon-light.
On its roofs and steeples shed,
Shadows weaving with the sunlight
From the gray sky overhead,
Broadly, vaguely, all around me, lies the half-built town outspread.

Through this broad street, restless ever,
Ebbs and flows a human tide,
Wave on wave a living river;
Wealth and fashion side by side;
Toiler, idler, slave and master, in the same quick current glide.

Underneath yon dome, whose coping
Springs above them, vast and tall,
Grave men in the dust are groping.
For the largess, base and small,
Which the hand of Power is scattering, crumbs which from its table fall.

Base of heart! They vilely barter
Honor's wealth for party's place;
Step by step on Freedom's charter
Leaving footprints of disgrace;
For to-day's poor pittance turning from the great hope of their race.

Yet, where festal lamps are throwing
Glory round the dancer's hair,
Gold-tressed, like an angel's, flowing
Backward on the sunset air;
And the low quick pulse of music beats its measure sweet and rare:

There to-night shall woman's glances,
Star-like, welcome give to them;
Fawning fools with shy advances



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Seek to touch their garments' hem,
With the tongue of flattery glozing deeds which God and Truth condemn.

From this glittering lie my vision
Takes a broader, sadder range,
Full before me have arisen
Other pictures dark and strange;
From the parlor to the prison must the scene and witness change.

Hark! the heavy gate is swinging
On its hinges, harsh and slow;
One pale prison lamp is flinging
On a fearful group below
Such a light as leaves to terror whatsoever it does not show.

Pitying God! Is that a woman
On whose wrist the shackles clash?
Is that shriek she utters human,
Underneath the stinging lash?
Are they men whose eyes of madness from that sad procession flash?

Still the dance goes gayly onward!
What is it to Wealth and Pride
That without the stars are looking
On a scene which earth should hide?
That the slave-ship lies in waiting, rocking on Potomac's tide!

Vainly to that mean Ambition
Which, upon a rival's fall,
Winds above its old condition,
With a reptile's slimy crawl,
Shall the pleading voice of sorrow, shall the slave in anguish call.

Vainly to the child of Fashion,
Giving to ideal woe
Graceful luxury of compassion,
Shall the stricken mourner go;
Hateful seems the earnest sorrow, beautiful the hollow show!

Nay, my words are all too sweeping:
In this crowded human mart,
Feeling is not dead, but sleeping;
Man's strong will and woman's heart,
In the coming strife for Freedom, yet shall bear their generous part.

And from yonder sunny valleys,
Southward in the distance lost,
Freedom yet shall summon allies
Worthier than the North can boast,
With the Evil by their hearth-stones grappling at severer cost.

Now, the soul alone is willing.
Faint the heart and weak the knee;
And as yet no lip is thrilling
With the mighty words, "Be Free!"
Tarryth long the land's Good Angel, but his advent is to be!

Meanwhile, turning from the revel
To the prison-cell my sight,
For intenser hate of evil,
For a keener sense of right,
Shaking off thy dust, I thank thee, City of the Slaves, to-night!

"To thy duty now and ever!
Dream no more of rest or stay:
Give to Freedom's great endeavor



All thou art and hast to-day:"
Thus, above the city's murmur, saith a Voice, or seems to say.

Ye with heart and vision gifted
To discern and love the right,
Whose worn faces have been lifted
To the slowly-growing light,
Where from Freedom's sunrise drifted slowly back the murk of night!

Ye who through long years of trial
Still have held your purpose fast,
While a lengthening shade the dial
From the westering sunshine cast,
And of hope each hour's denial seemed an echo of the last!

O my brothers! O my sisters!
Would to God that ye were near,
Gazing with me down the vistas
Of a sorrow strange and drear;
Would to God that ye were listeners to the Voice I seem to hear!

With the storm above us driving,
With the false earth mined below,
Who shall marvel if thus striving
We have counted friend as foe;
Unto one another giving in the darkness blow for blow.

Well it may be that our natures
Have grown sterner and more hard,
And the freshness of their features
Somewhat harsh and battle-scarred,
And their harmonies of feeling overtaken and rudely jarred.

Be it so. It should not swerve us
From a purpose true and brave;
Dearer Freedom's rugged service
Than the pastime of the slave;
Better is the storm above it than the quiet of the grave.

Let us then, uniting, bury
All our idle feuds in dust,
And to future conflicts carry
Mutual faith and common trust;
Always he who most forgiveth in his brother is most just.

From the eternal shadow rounding
All our sun and starlight here,
Voices of our lost ones sounding
Bid us be of heart and cheer,
Through the silence, down the spaces, falling on the inward ear.

Know we not our dead are looking
Downward with a sad surprise,
All our strife of words rebuking
With their mild and loving eyes?
Shall we grieve the holy angels? Shall we cloud their blessed skies?

Let us draw their mantles o'er us,
Which have fallen in our way;
Let us do the work before us,
Cheerly, bravely, while we may,
Ere the long night-silence cometh, and with us it is not day!

The Freed Islands, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).



Written for the anniversary celebration of the first of August, at Milton, 1846.

A FEW brief years have passed away
Since Britain drove her million slaves
Beneath the tropic's fiery ray:
God willed their freedom; and to-day
Life blooms above those island graves!

He spoke! across the Carib Sea,
We heard the clash of breaking chains,
And felt the heart-throb of the free,
The first, strong pulse of liberty
Which thrilled along the bondman's veins.

Though long delayed, and far, and slow,
The Briton's triumph shall be ours:

Wears slavery here a prouder brow
Than that which twelve short years ago
Scowled darkly from her island bowers?

Mighty alike for good or ill
With mother-land, we fully share
The Saxon strength, the nerve of steel,
The tireless energy of will,
The power to do, the pride to dare.

What she has done can we not do?
Our hour and men are both at hand;
The blast which Freedom's angel blew
O'er her green islands, echoes through
Each valley of our forest land.

Hear it, old Europe! we have sworn
The death of slavery. When it falls,
Look to your vassals in their turn,
Your poor dumb millions, crushed and worn,
Your prisons and your palace walls!

O kingly mockers! scoffing show
What deeds in Freedom's name we do;
Yet know that every taunt ye throw
Across the waters, goads our slow
Progression towards the right and true.

Not always shall your outraged poor,
Appalled by democratic crime,
Grind as their fathers ground before;
The hour which sees our prison door
Swing wide shall be their triumph time.

On then, my brothers! every blow
Ye deal is felt the wide earth through;
Whatever here uplifts the low
Or humbles Freedom's hateful foe,
Blesses the Old World through the New.

Take heart! The promised hour draws near;
I hear the downward beat of wings,
And Freedom's trumpet sounding clear:
"Joy to the people! woe and fear
To new-world tyrants, old-world kings!"

Lines

From a Letter to a Young Clerical Friend, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).

A STRENGTH Thy service cannot tire,
 A faith which doubt can never dim,
 A heart of love, a lip of fire,
 O Freedom's God! be Thou to him!

Speak through him words of power and fear,
 As through Thy prophet bards of old,
 And let a scornful people hear
 Once more Thy Sinai-thunders rolled.

For lying lips Thy blessing seek,
 And hands of blood are raised to Thee,
 And on Thy children, crushed and weak,
 The oppressor plants his kneeling knee.

Let then, O God! Thy servant dare
 Thy truth in all its power to tell,
 Unmask the priestly thieves, and tear
 The Bible from the grasp of hell!

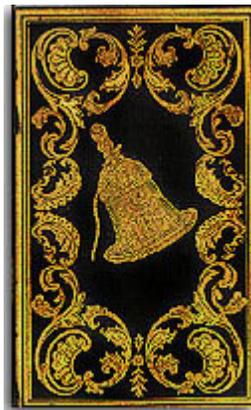
From hollow rite and narrow span
 Of law and sect by Thee released,
 Oh, teach him that the Christian man
 Is holier than the Jewish priest.

Chase back the shadows, gray and old,
 Of the dead ages, from his way,
 And let his hopeful eyes behold
 The dawn of Thy millennial day;

That day when lettered limb and mind
 Shall know the truth which maketh free,
 And he alone who loves his kind
 Shall, childlike, claim the love of Thee!

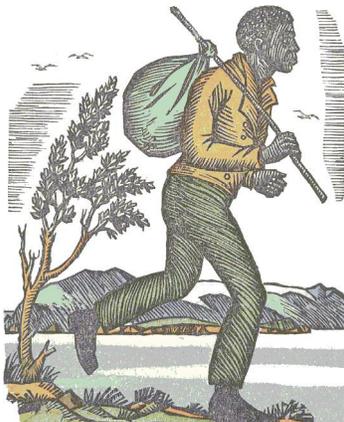
The propagating fissure in the Liberty Bell had by this point gotten too bad to permit ringing it any more, unless something was done to stop this propagation and to stop the rough edges of the hairline fissure from rubbing together.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":



- Thompson, George. "A Fragment, Verbatim et Literatim From my Journal in Upper India"
- Howitt, William. "Onward! Right Onward!"

- Atkinson, William P. "The True Reformer"
- Higginson, J. W. "Sonnet to William Lloyd Garrison"
- Parker, Theodore. "A Parable"
- Longfellow, Henry W. "The Poet of Miletus"
- Joshua Reed Giddings. "Fugitive Slaves in Northern Ohio"



- Anonymous. "Our Country"
- Cabot, Susan C. "Thought"
- Anonymous. "Interference: On Reading a Paper, In Defence [sic] of Slavery, Written by a Clergyman"
- Hitchcock, Jane Elizabeth. "All are Needed"
- Parker, Theodore. "Jesus There is No Name So Dear as Thine"
- ---. "Oh Thou Great Friend to All the Sons of Men"
- ---. "Dear Jesus Were Thy Spirit Now on Earth"
- Clarkson, Thomas. "Letter"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Song, for the Friends of Freedom"
- Harriet Martineau. "A Communication"
- Jones, Benjamin S. "Our Duty"
- Samuel Joseph May. "Extract From a Speech at the Anti-Texan Meeting in Faneuil Hall, 1845"
- Thompson, George. "Early Morning"
- ---. "Sonnet: To Blanche"
- Fuller, S. Margaret. "The Liberty Bell"
- Hornblower, Jane E. "A Fragment"
- Haughton, James. "Pro-Slavery Appeal To the World for Sympathy, Answered from Old Ireland"
- Spooner, Allen C. "Jubilee"
- ---. "Discouragements and Incentives"
- Ross, Georgiana Fanny. "Stanzas On Reading J. H. Wiffen's Translation of Tasso"
- Browne, John W. "A Vision of the Fathers"
- Watts, Alaric A. "A Remonstrance"
- Lee, E [probably Eliza Buckminster]. "The Dream within a Dream"
- Bowring, John. "Think of the Slave"
- Furness, William H. "Self-Denial"
- William Lloyd Garrison. "Fight On!"
- Howitt, Mary. "Some Passages from the Poetry of Life"
- William Lloyd Garrison "Sonnet . . . Character"
- Wendell Phillips. "The Church"
- [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#). "Lines to the Trans-Atlantic Friends of the Slave"
- Kirkland, Caroline M. "Recollections of Anti-Slavery at the West"

This familiar essay reveals the same lively, ironic style that made the author's *A New Home: Who'll Follow?* popular.

- Quincy, Edmund. "Phoebe Mallory; the Last of the Slaves"
A narrative of the life of Phoebe Mallory, the last living person to have been enslaved in Massachusetts. Mallory died in 1845.
- Lowell, James Russell. "The Falconer"
- The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#). "Is there any Friend?"
- Lowell, Maria. "The Slave-Mother"
- [Lucretia Mott](#). "What is Anti-Slavery Work?"
- Clay, Cassius M. "God and Liberty"
- L'Instant. "Influence de l'emigration Europeenne Sur le Sort de la Race Africaine aux Etats Unis d'Amerique"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet in Memory of [Elizabeth Fry](#)"
- Howitt, William. "The Worst Evil of Slavery"



April 28: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) wrote Elizabeth Pease in England to express her sympathy on the death of Elizabeth's father and to share her own feelings on the recent death of her own mother, Friend Anna Coffin, incidentally mentioning Frederick Douglass, James N. Buffum, and citing without any undue deference [Henry C. Wright](#) (Wright had, while recovering recently from an illness at her home, fallen in love with Elizabeth):

You have Douglass & Buffum with you -good men & true- H.C. Wright also -still stirring the muddy waters of sect- and preachg. humanity. How much need is there of his labors of love, while your National cry is, "Blessed are the War makers" - rather than the peace-makers! What dreadful battles on the plains of India! a monstrous sacrifice of human life, by a professedly Christian

Nation!



Here is Friend Lucretia's letter in full:

Philada. 4 Mo. 28th, 1846.

My dear Elizh. Pease

More than two years have passed, since the reception of thy truly acceptable letter. During that time I have not written to any of our dear English or Irish friends – for after the severe illness which so greatly affected my nervous system I was advised to avoid much reading or writing. Edwd. M. Davis' prospect of again visiting your country & seeing some of our friends revived the desire to communicate with you again. More especially do I wish to convey a line to thee dear Elizh., expressive of the sympathy I feel with thee, in thy late bereavement.¹⁷⁷ Thy long-continued devotion to thy dear Father, doubtless renders this stroke doubly trying to thee. In many ways we feel such a loss! Your feelings & sentiments were congenial upon many points. You could travel together & were each other's helper in the truth. The tear will then naturally flow at the severance of such a tie. And far be it from me to seek to stay it. I know full well the keenness of the separation between Parent & child. My dear Mother was taken from us, when I could illy bear such a shock to my nature. She was companionable in every way. Her Grandchildn. as well as her childn. delighted in her society. She was vigorous in constitution of both body & mind, and promised a longer life than 73 – But we had to yield her – and resignation to the event has been a hard lesson. I therefore feel less able to preach it to others. The thought has already occurred to us, now, that thou hast no longer that tender tie to home, whether a visit to this Country may not be effected by thee – gladdening the hearts of many here, and perhaps cheering for the time some lonely hours for thyself. We need not say such a visit would be very pleasant to us, and a hearty welcome would await thee as a guest, under which of our roofs thou might choose to abide. The contents of thy last letter may not, after so long silence on my part in reply, be familiar to thee now. Thou alluded to our intercourse together, in England – and thy remarks to H.C. Wright respectg some little restraint that thou afterward

177. Joseph Pease died 16 March 1846. Dictionary of Quaker Biography, Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London.



thought existed between us.¹⁷⁸ As to thy fear of engrossing too much of our time, & thy regardg us, as among the 'lions of the Convention' the thought I believe never occurred to us – We felt truly grateful for thy prompt attention to us, while some from Sectarian bigotry were standing aloof. As to the lion part, we felt much more, that we were "counted as sheep for the slaughter." That feeling added to the knowledge that many among you were greatly shocked at our supposed heresies, did cause a little restraint in our mingling with you. I remember Sarah Pugh reproved me after our first call or visit at your lodgings, because I did not go forward more cordially & offer the hand, in takg. leave of thy Father & Mother. When I was restrained by the feeling, that they would not care to give me the "right hand of fellowship" in any respect. Again, when we met accidentally at Meeting, at the Devonshire house I think, I felt quite a pity for thee, that thou would be brought into a strait after Meeting, whether to speak cordially to us, & thus identify thyself with those, who were "despised & rejected of Men;" or to "cut" us, and thus do violence to the promptings of thy kind nature. So, thy after feelings were not without some foundation. But, the more intercourse we had, the more these fears & restraints vanished – and our latter interviews – specially the last, at Liverpool were "free & easy" as any could desire. Since that time, our firm adherance to the great cause, which first bound us together, and the freedom of correspondence have knit us together 'as the heart of one man', and we can greet one another as very friends. As to differences in points of faith sundering us, if that be sufficient cause of division, "oh Lord, who shall stand?"¹⁷⁹ Have not those, who at that time, formed a strong & united phalanx of opposition to "Hicksism," now become divided among themselves, on little hair-splitting points of Theology? Let us rather look, as the truth-loving Jesus recommended, for the fruits which proceed from a good heart – for about these there is no controversy. There is a response in every heart to the exhibition of justice – mercy – love – peace – & Charity, which goes far to convince prove that God has created man upright; and that the counter doctrine of human depravity, has done much to make the heart wicked, and to produce the giant sins that afflict mankind. But I wish not to provoke discussion. A similar feeling to that I have endeavored to express, prevented my calling on thy cousin John Pease, when in this City, & trying to influence him in accordance with thy wish, for the Slave. He did not identify himself with any Anti-Slavery Socy. here. Neither have your pseudo-Abolitionists – the Forsters, Stacey &c –¹⁸⁰ Have they not shamefully betrayed the cause of the Slave, for their love of sect? Thy letter mentioned a concern to write an out-door Epistle of sympathy for the Indiana Seceders – Now, that 2 years have passed since the

178. Sponsored by the New England Non-Resistance Society, Henry C. Wright toured Britain from 1842 to 1847. According to Walter Merrill, Wright fell in love with Pease while recovering from an illness at her home. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 3:16, 126. In her diary Mott described frequent meetings with the Pease family in 1840, including a farewell breakfast in Liverpool. See Tolles, Diary, 23-25, 32, 35, 41, 44, 47-49, 53, 56-58, 77.

179. "Sheep for the slaughter," Psalms 44:22; "despised and rejected," Isaiah 53:3. Possibly a variation of "who then is able to stand before me?" (Job 41:10) or "who shall stand in his holy place?" (Psalms 24:3).

180. Probably George Stacey (1786-1857), clerk of the London Yearly Meeting and an anti-Hicksite. Tolles, Diary, 30.



concern arose, has it not ripened into completion? It would doubtless cheer their disappointed hearts, after such a visit from the English bigots – or sectarians – (for I dont want to use hard words –) – and is it not a duty, to do what we can to strengthen one another in this great work. I am ready at any time to sign such an Epistle to our Green Plain Friends – who are set at naught by their rulers. Genessee Yy. Mg. ^Anti. S. Frds. met in conference last year^ did so – and others will likely follow their example.¹⁸¹ We still have much opposition to encounter in our several Meetings, as the accompanyg. documents will shew. But of this, as well as of our progress in the great cause, so constant a reader as thyself of our Liberators & Standard, needs not to be informed. You have Douglass & Buffum with you – good men & true – H. C. Wright also – still stirring the muddy waters of sect – and preachg. humanity. How much need is there of his labors of love, while your National cry is, "Blessed are the War makers" – rather than the peace-makers! What dreadful battles on the plains of India! a monstrous sacrifice of human life, by a professedly Christian Nation!¹⁸² And your poor starved people at home too – overworked & underpaid until driven to desperation. What is to be done, in view of all these evils? The remedy looks at times so hopeless, that I am ready to choose death rather than life, if I must feel as I have done for these classes. There was an extensive Strike of the hand-loom weavers, in this City last winter. They were a month or more idle about twelve hundred – until reduced almost to starvation – depriving themselves of some 25 or \$30.000, wh. they might have recd. even at their all-too low wages. I could not but sympathise with them, in their demand for a better recompense to their early & late toil. But it was most unfortunate for them, for they did not gain the added wages claimed – for "with the Oppressor there is power."¹⁸³ I have written thus far, without telling thee, how much we have felt for Elizh. J. (Neall) Gay during the two or three weeks past, in the extreme illness & death of her Father. She came on from New York soon after he was confined to his bed, and ministered constantly to his wants during his ten days suffering[.] He will be much missed as a friend to the poor – as a liberal-minded overseer of our Meeting, and such are needed, and as the Slave's friend. The Obituary in the Freeman & Standard is a just tribute to his worth – Poor Elizh. feels it deeply. It will be the

181. In 1845 a delegation from the London Yearly Meeting went to Indiana to try to resolve differences between the two branches after the 1842-43 split. The anti-slavery branch, the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, protested that the London delegation had sided with the anti-abolitionist stand of the Indiana Yearly Meeting. Further evidence of discord was the rejection by the Ohio Yearly Meeting of the May 1845 epistle from the Green Plain Friends Quarterly Meeting asking for acceptance. In New York some Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting signed an epistle in June 1845 expressing support to the Green Plain Quarterly Meeting and other meetings which had been disowned by Indiana Yearly Meeting. The epistle criticized the proscriptive spirit which "impugns the actions of brethren and sisters, in their efforts to relieve suffering humanity" and urged Friends to "Hold all your meetings in the Power of God." Pennsylvania Freeman 6 November 1845:3; National Anti-Slavery Standard, 14 August:42; 21 August:46; 9 October 1845:74; see also Thomas Hamm, *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 63, 67-68.

182. James N. Buffum (1807-1887), abolitionist and vice-president of the Friends of Social Reform, was touring Britain with Frederick Douglass, then an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. See Ruchames and Merrill, *Letters*, 3:138. The British continued their conquest of India with a February 1846 victory over the Sikhs in Kashmir.

183. Most weavers worked at home and in February 1846 in Moyamensing struck unsuccessfully for higher wages. Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-50* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1980), 159. The final quote comes from Ecclesiastes 4:1.

breaking up of the pleasant home here, for many of our Anti-Slavery lecturers & friends. He had paid Sydney & Elizh. a very pleasant visit, only a short time before he was taken ill.¹⁸⁴ I must refer thee to our E.M. Davis for any further particulars of our doings. We shall miss him much from the Mgs. of our Ex. Com. as well as from our family circle. They are settled next door to us, & it has added much to our enjoyment to have them so near us. An added son to their family, prevented Maria's accompanyg. him to England, as was their first plan – when it would not have taken much persuasion to induce J. Mott & self to cross the Atlantic again. Our childn. are all married save one – and all settled in this City. We are lookg. for S.S. Foster & his Abby (Kelly)¹⁸⁵ next week accomp'd. by 2 of their frds. from Ohio. Abby Kimber is now in the City. Her company is ever pleasant to us. She & Sarah Pugh – Isaac Winslow & Emily visited us last week. We talked over our visit abroad as we ever do when we meet. We go to Sarah's this eveg. to the Ex. Com. where we always find something interesting to engage us. I dont know whether Sarah & Abby are writing to thee by Edward – Mary Grew will meet with us this evening. She is putting her talents to good use as editor of the Freeman – Let me hear from thee soon & please write on thicker paper – so that my old eyes may more easily decipher it. My J. Mott desires most affectionate remembrances –

Thine – L. Mott –

Thy contributn. to our Fair was gratefully recd. as S. Pugh says she wrote thee.

Fall: The Hicksite Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) addressed a [Unitarian](#) assembly.¹⁸⁶ Some Unitarians were outraged at this, and sought assurances from their church that they would never again be addressed by a woman. Some Quakers were outraged by this, and raised issues such as whether Lucretia had misrepresented herself as an “accredited agent” of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Suggestions were being made in Quaker circles that whatever it was she thought she was, this woman was “really a Unitarian.”



184. Elizabeth Neall had married Sydney Howard Gay 7 November 1845. Daniel Neall died 15 April 1846. National Anti-Slavery Standard, 23 April 1846:3.

185. [Stephen S. Foster](#) (1809-81), antislavery lecturer, had married [Abby Kelley](#) on December 21, 1845.

186. Incidentally, she used the same voice on such occasions as she used in Quaker meetings for worship, as she did not use the Quaker singsong that [Elias Hicks](#) had used — nor did she kneel during public prayers, nor did she engage in any intercessory prayer.

1847

Friend [William Henry Farquhar](#) would serve as the principal of the Fair Hill Boarding School in Montgomery County, [Maryland](#) until 1855.

The Reverend Thomas Timpson's MEMOIRS OF MRS. [ELIZABETH FRY](#); INCLUDING A HISTORY OF HER LABOURS IN PROMOTING THE REFORMATION OF FEMALE PRISONERS, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF BRITISH SEAMEN (London, Aylott and Jones):

READ THE FULL TEXT

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), which had in 1842 been suspended due to religious dissension, and had in 1845 divided itself, at this point resumed the worship of God as one Gurneyite group and another Wilburite group. This would be the local situation until 1881, when the local Wilburite meeting would be laid down (discontinued), and 1899 when the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.

[Mary Howitt](#)'s BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans).



Also, her THE CHILDREN'S YEAR.

In this year Friends Mary and [William Howitt](#) left the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (the couple would become involved in Spiritualism).

HDT

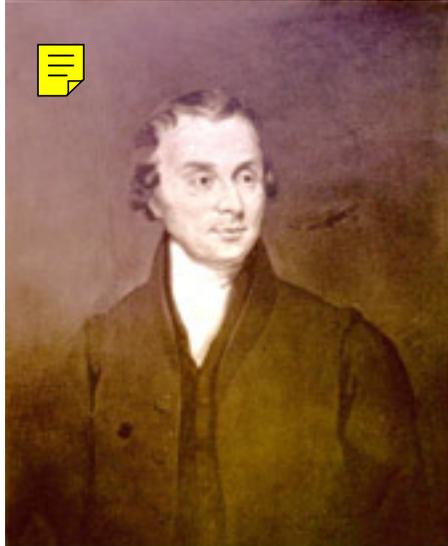
WHAT?

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Luke Howard](#)'s *BAROMETROGRAPHIA*.



HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

After her formal education, [Friend Ann Preston](#) had been needed at home due to the ill health of her mother, Margaret Smith Preston. After her six younger brothers had grown up, she decided to study female physiology and teach hygiene to local classes of women and girls. She enrolled as an apprentice in the office of Dr. Nathaniel R. Moseley. After two years of apprenticeship she applied to medical colleges but was turned down because of her gender. No American medical school had ever accepted a female student. Young women who wanted to involve themselves in medicine beyond the bathing of patients and the carrying around of bedpans needed to read medicine in the offices of family friends as she had done, but could have no expectation of ever acquiring the status of MD.¹⁸⁷



SEXISM
FEMINISM

187. In this year, however, it would later be learned, Geneva College in New York was making a one-time exception for Elizabeth Blackwell — who would become the first certified American woman medical doctor.

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was wounded in the cheek by a boy, Philip Butler, who was firing a gun not far from his garden. So that he would not alarm relatives, Whittier bound up his face in a handkerchief, and had the wound dressed by a doctor before he let them know of it.



(As a [Quaker](#), he of course forgave the boy for this accident.)

[TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS](#)

Whittier's four-room home at 86 Friend Street in Amesbury MA was enlarged in this year. In 1903, this house being under renovation, a letter from Lewis Tappan of New York dating to this year would be discovered inside a wall, and it would be noted that the letter, which had included a check for \$100.⁰⁰ in payment for editorial work performed, was urging the Quaker poet "judiciously" to invest in real estate.

Randolph of Roanoke, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#). (1847)

O MOTHER EARTH upon thy lap
 Thy weary ones receiving,
 And o'er them, silent as a dream,
 Thy grassy mantle weaving,
 Fold softly in thy long embrace
 That heart so worn and broken,
 And cool its pulse of fire beneath
 Thy shadows old and oaken.

Shut out from him the bitter word
 And serpent hiss of scorning;
 Nor let the storms of yesterday
 Disturb his quiet morning.
 Breathe over him forgetfulness
 Of all save deeds of kindness,
 And, save to smiles of grateful eyes,
 Press down his lids in blindness.

There, where with living ear and eye
 He heard Potomac's flowing,
 And, through his tall ancestral trees,
 Saw autumn's sunset glowing,
 He sleeps, still looking to the west,
 Beneath the dark wood shadow,
 As if he still would see the sun
 Sink down on wave and meadow.

Bard, Sage, and Tribune! in himself
 All moods of mind contrasting, —
 The tenderest wail of human woe,
 The scorn like lightning blasting;
 The pathos which from rival eyes
 Unwilling tears could summon,
 The stinging taunt, the fiery burst
 Of hatred scarcely human!

Mirth, sparkling like a diamond shower,
 From lips of life-long sadness;
 Clear picturings of majestic thought



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Upon a ground of madness;
And over all Romance and Song
A classic beauty throwing,
And laurelled Clio at his side
Her storied pages showing.

All parties feared him: each in turn
Beheld its schemes disjointed,
As right or left his fatal glance
And spectral finger pointed.
Sworn foe of Cant, he smote it down
With trenchant wit unsparing,

And, mocking, rent with ruthless hand
The robe Pretence was wearing.

Too honest or too proud to feign
A love he never cherished,
Beyond Virginia's border line
His patriotism perished.
While others hailed in distant skies
Our eagle's dusky pinion,
He only saw the mountain bird
Stoop o'er his Old Dominion!

Still through each change of fortune strange,
Racked nerve, and brain all burning,
His loving faith in Mother-land
Knew never shade of turning;
By Britain's lakes, by Neva's tide,
Whatever sky was o'er him,
He heard her rivers' rushing sound,
Her blue peaks rose before him.

He held his slaves, yet made withal
No false and vain pretences,
Nor paid a lying priest to seek
For Scriptural defences.
His harshest words of proud rebuke,
His bitterest taunt and scorning,
Fell fire-like on the Northern brow
That bent to him in fawning.

He held his slaves; yet kept the while
His reverence for the Human;

In the dark vassals of his will
He saw but Man and Woman!
No hunter of God's outraged poor
His Roanoke valley entered;
No trader in the souls of men
Across his threshold ventured.

And when the old and wearied man
Lay down for his last sleeping,
And at his side, a slave no more,
His brother-man stood weeping,
His latest thought, his latest breath,
To Freedom's duty giving,
With failing tongue and trembling hand
The dying blest the living.

Oh, never bore his ancient State
A truer son or braver!
None trampling with a calmer scorn
On foreign hate or favor.

He knew her faults, yet never stooped
 His proud and manly feeling
 To poor excuses of the wrong
 Or meanness of concealing.

But none beheld with clearer eye
 The plague-spot o'er her spreading,
 None heard more sure the steps of Doom
 Along her future treading.
 For her as for himself he spake,
 When, his gaunt frame upbracing,
 He traced with dying hand "Remorse!"
 And perished in the tracing.

As from the grave where Henry sleeps,
 From Vernon's weeping willow,
 And from the grassy pall which hides
 The Sage of Monticello,
 So from the leaf-strewn burial-stone
 Of Randolph's lowly dwelling,
 Virginia! o'er thy land of slaves
 A warning voice is swelling!

And hark! from thy deserted fields
 Are sadder warnings spoken,
 From quenched hearths, where thy exiled sons
 Their household gods have broken.
 The curse is on thee, — wolves for men,
 And briers for corn-sheaves giving!
 Oh, more than all thy dead renown
 Were now one hero living!

January 4: [Joseph John Gurney](#) died where he had been born, at Earlham Hall near Norwich, England. In this year [Friend Bertrand Barton](#) would prepare a little volume in his memory.



JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY

In the High Sierra, the Donner Party disaster continued on this day and the following days. Mrs. Reed, her daughter Virginia, Milt Elliott, and Eliza Williams set out to cross the mountains, leaving the smaller Reed children with others. First Eliza, then the others, gave up and returned to the cabins. The Reeds took refuge with the Breens, Eliza with the Graveses.



January 15: The [Religious Society of Friends](#) of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, etc., authorized the Clerk of their meeting to send a petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, expressing the society's condemnation of the current war against our neighbor Mexico:

The memorial of the Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c.,

Respectfully represents:

That firmly believing as we do in the truth and divine authority of the Christian religion as set forth and explained in the precepts of our Lord and his apostles, and exemplified in their lives and conduct, we are constrained to consider all wars, whatever their ostensible object may be, as originating in the unbridled passions of men, which it is the one great object of our holy religion to regulate and control; and as irreconcilable with the tenor and spirit of the gospel, which was ushered in by the angelic anthem of Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. The injunction of our blessed Redeemer, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you," is of primary and perpetual obligation, and contains a prohibition of the passions and feelings in which wars are unavoidably prosecuted, too forcible and direct to be shaken by argument or entangled by sophistry; and that his petition for his persecutors when expiring on the cross, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," furnishes an illustration too clear to be mistaken of the genuine spirit of Christianity.

Situated as the people of the United States under the favor of an all bountiful Providence happily are, with a country possessing almost every variety of climate and soil, and which by its varied extensive and increasing productions offers to foreign nations much greater advantages from peaceful commerce than they can possibly expect from hostile aggression, we are under strong and peculiar obligation to appreciate the blessings we enjoy, and to manifest our gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, by cultivating peace among ourselves, and promoting the virtue and happiness of all who fall within the sphere of our influence.

There is probably no other nation on the surface of the globe, which possesses in an equal degree with the people of the United States, the means and the opportunity of holding up to the world, the example of a nation devoting its energies and resources entirely to the improvement of its moral and social condition, and to the maintenance of peace throughout the world; and commensurate with that opportunity must be our condemnation, if we suffer it to pass unimproved.

Entertaining these sentiments in relation to war in general, and of the duty incumbent on the people of the United States, we trust we shall not be charged with being actuated by party or political motives, or with hostility to the government under which we live, when we express our unwavering conviction, that the contest now waged with a neighboring nation, when examined by the standard which the religion of our Lord and Savior has given us, forms no exception to the character of wars at large,



and must fall under like condemnation.

Deploring as we do, the deterioration of morals incident to national contests, and the sufferings of our fellow men dying in camps, with few of those alleviations which their condition demands, or bleeding on the field amidst the confusion and uproar of contending armies, and the numbers thus hurried without preparation to their everlasting account; regretting that the bounties of a munificent Providence, and the hard-earned productions of the laboring classes should be wasted and melted away in the profuse expenditures of war; believing that the best interests of our beloved country would be essentially promoted by the restoration of peace, and that no injuries past or prospective which could be sustained while the relations of peace are maintained can be compared with the evils unavoidably resulting from war; and fervently desiring that the rulers of this great and growing republic may experience, in the administration of its numerous and complicated concerns, a portion of the wisdom which comes from above, "and which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits," we respectfully but earnestly solicit the government to adopt with the least possible delay, efficient measures to stop the effusion of blood, and restore to the North American continent the blessings of peace.

Signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Pennsylvania, &c., held in Philadelphia, the 15th of the First month, 1847.

William Evans, Clerk

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

April: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) inquired of Lewis Tappan where his friend [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) had vanished to. He was no longer to be located among the foot soldiers of the anti-slavery crusade.



Tappan response indicated bitterness at his betrayal by someone among his foot soldiers who had come to believe that the spirit in which the struggle was being waged against slavery by the white abolitionists was the same spirit which was causing white slaveholders to cling so tenaciously to the institution of slavery:

*"Where is Weld?" He is in a ditch opposite his house, doing the work any Irishman could do for 75 cents a day. His wife is "suckling fools and chronicling small beer." **The quakers did it, they say.***

Well, bully for them Quakers!

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) attended the New England Anti-Slavery meetings in Boston.



July: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) spoke in Worcester. ¹⁸⁸



Frederick Llewellyn Hovey Willis would belatedly lay claim, in 1915,  to be able to remember having visited Henry Thoreau with [the Alcott family](#) during this month, on pages 91-94 of his *ALCOTT MEMOIRS* (Boston MA: Badger). When this “keen recollection” of his, of St. Francis Thoreau and the animules, allegedly was formed, he was at the age of 17 or 18, which is definitely enough to know better! Also, it would be nice to know, was this lad Freddy Willis the son of the J. Willis who lived over on Barrett’s Pond? And, it would be nice to know, was this lad Freddy Willis related to a Quaker born in about 1818, Sarah L. Willis? –Or to the essayist N. Parker Willis who was writing so many excellent articles for magazines during Thoreau’s lifetime?

I have a keen recollection of the first time I met Henry David Thoreau. It was upon a beautiful day in July, 1847, that Mrs. Alcott told us we were to visit Walden. We started merrily a party of seven, Mr. and Mrs. Alcott, the four girls and myself, for the woods of oak and pine that encircled the picturesque little lake called Walden Pond. We found Thoreau in his cabin, a plain little house of one room containing a wood stove. He gave us gracious welcome, asking us within. For a time he talked with Mr. Alcott in a voice and with a manner in which, boy as I was, I detected a something akin with Emerson. He was a tall and rugged-looking man, straight as a pine tree. His nose was strong, dominating his face, and his eyes as keen as an eagle’s. He seemed to speak with them, to take in all about him in one vigorous glance. His brows were shaggy as in people who observe rather than see.

He was talking to Mr. Alcott of the wild flowers in Walden woods when, suddenly stopping, he said: “Keep very still and I will show you my family.” Stepping quickly outside the cabin door, he gave a low and curious whistle; immediately a woodchuck came running towards him from a nearby burrow. With varying note, yet still low and strange, a pair of gray squirrels were summoned and approached him fearlessly. With still another note several birds, in two crows, flew towards him, one of the crows nestling upon his shoulder. I remember it was the crow resting close to his head that made the most vivid impression upon me, knowing how fearful of man this bird is. He fed them all from his hand, taking food from his pocket, and petted them gently before our

188. Bear in mind that in America at that time, under the frightening rubric “female greatness,” every attempt was made to prevent women from having a public voice. Quakerism was the sole exception. One of the tactics typically used when it was known that a woman intended to address a reforming society –but only one of them, there were other tactics as well for employment prior to such an encounter, and then there were tactics for use afterward such as light cartooning– was for male members to arrive early and bolt the doors from the inside.



delighted gaze; and then dismissed them by different whistling, always strange and low and short, each little wild thing departing instantly at hearing its special signal.

Then he took us five children upon the pond in his boat, ceasing his oars after a little distance from the shore and playing the flute he had brought with him, its music echoing over the still and beautifully clear water. He suddenly laid the flute down and told us stories of the Indians that "long ago" had lived about Walden and Concord; delighting us with simple, clear explanations of the wonders of Walden woods. Again he interrupted himself suddenly, speaking of the various kinds of lilies growing about Walden and calling the wood lilies, stately wild things. It was pond lily time and from the boat we gathered quantities of their pure white flowers and buds; upon our return to the shore he helped us gather other flowers and laden with many sweet blossoms, we wended our way homewards rejoicingly. As we were going he said to me: "Boy, you look tired and sleepy; remember, sleep is half a dinner."

I saw him afterwards very many times in the company of his most intimate friends, Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott. He often came to our home; indeed, aside from visits to his father, mother, sisters, and Mr. Emerson, he visited no one else. Upon some of these occasions I remember him saying "that he had a great deal of company in the morning when nobody called;" and "I have never found the companion who is so companionable as solitude." I also remember, "in Walden Woods I hunt with a glass; for a gun gives you but the body while a glass gives you the bird." He possessed to an uncanny degree a knowledge of flowers, plants, and trees. He kept a careful calendar of the shrubs and flora about Walden and showed it me in explanation many times.

The land upon which his cabin was built had been given him by Emerson; the cabin he built himself at a cost of less than thirty dollars and for the first nine months of his life in it his expenses amounted to sixty-two dollars. He thus proved that most of us waste our time and substance upon superficialities, that one hundred dollars per year will suffice for one's living expenses, and that, best of all, one could really live and still have two-thirds of one's time to one's self....

This is but a record of youthful memory; its aim is to compass nothing else. During the nearly sixty years since Thoreau's death I have read, I think, all that has been said about him. But among it nothing has, nor do I believe ever will, be better said than a paragraph from Emerson's funeral tribute to his dead friend: "He has in a short life exhausted the capabilities of this world; wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, he will find a home."

I do not remember ever seeing him laugh outright, but he was ever ready to smile at anything that pleased him; and I never knew him to betray any tender emotion except on one occasion, when he was narrating to me the death of his only brother, John Thoreau, from lockjaw, strong symptoms of which, from his sympathy with the sufferer, he himself experienced. At this time his voice was choked, and he shed tears, and went to the door for air. The subject was of course dropped, and never recurred



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

to again. [his friend Daniel Ricketson, quoted in Harding, THOREAU AS SEEN, page 103]

October 1: On [Nantucket Island](#), the parents of former Friend [Maria Mitchell](#), who had been read out of her monthly [Quaker](#) meeting in 1843 at the age of 25 on account of her tendency toward “questioning,” had a noisy party going with their friends and Maria couldn’t sleep, so she went up onto the roof of the Pacific National Bank of which her dad was head cashier, to look at the sky through her telescope. Five degrees from Polaris, the north star, she detected a spot which did not belong on the standard star map. She had discovered a telescopic comet (Comet 1847 VI, the modern designation of which is C/1847 T1). The only previous woman to discover a comet had been Caroline Herschel, who had noticed one that was visible to the naked eye. Maria would be honored in America and Europe, with the King of Denmark presenting her with a gold medal.

ASTRONOMY

1848

Friend [Elizabeth Fry](#)’s daughters published her papers as MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF ELIZABETH FRY: WITH EXTRACTS FROM HER JOURNAL AND LETTERS / BY ELIZABETH GURNEY FRY, ELIZABETH FRY, KATHARINE FRY, RACHEL ELIZABETH CRESSWELL (London: C. Gilpin)

READ THE 1ST VOLUME

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

READ THE 2D VOLUME

\$200 Reward.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of Thursday, the 30th of September,

FIVE NEGRO SLAVES,

To-wit: one Negro man, his wife, and three children.

The man is a black negro, full height, very erect, his face a little thin. He is about forty years of age, and calls himself *Washington Reed*, and is known by the name of Washington. He is probably well dressed, possibly takes with him an ivory headed cane, and is of good address. Several of his teeth are gone.

Mary, his wife, is about thirty years of age, a bright mulatto woman, and quite stout and strong.

The oldest of the children is a boy, of the name of FIELDING, twelve years of age, a dark mulatto, with heavy eyelids. He probably wore a new cloth cap.

MATILDA, the second child, is a girl, six years of age, rather a dark mulatto, but a bright and smart looking child.

MALGOLM, the youngest, is a boy, four years old, a lighter mulatto than the last, and about equally as bright. He probably also wore a cloth cap. If examined, he will be found to have a swelling at the navel.

Washington and Mary have lived at or near St. Louis, with the subscriber, for about 15 years.

It is supposed that they are making their way to Chicago, and that a white man accompanies them, that they will travel chiefly at night, and most probably in a covered wagon.

A reward of \$150 will be paid for their apprehension, so that I can get them, if taken within one hundred miles of St. Louis, and \$200 if taken beyond that, and secured so that I can get them, and other reasonable additional charges, if delivered to the subscriber, or to THOMAS ALLEN, Esq., at St. Louis, Mo. The above negroes, for the last few years, have been in possession of Thomas Allen, Esq., of St. Louis.

WM. RUSSELL.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 1, 1847.

The world's first women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th and 20th. Three hundred people attended. A Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions was debated and ultimately signed by 68 women and 32 men, setting the agenda for the women's rights movement that followed. Elizabeth Oakes Smith was a leader at the Seneca Falls conference for women's rights. Susan B. Anthony's younger sister (Mary) attended the Adjourned Convention in Rochester of the first Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls. At the time she was more interested in pursuing temperance reform. (Temperance is the restraint in the use of alcoholic liquors.) Her commitment to temperance came in part as a result of her [Quaker](#) upbringing. She never did officially leave the Quaker meeting, although at this time she also began attending the liberal Unitarian Church.

Susan B. Anthony herself in this year was joining the Daughters of Temperance. A few years later, she would not be allowed to speak at a temperance rally in Albany not on account of her being crosseyed but on account of her being a woman. She would leave the Society upon this insult, and shortly thereafter form the Woman's New York State Temperance Society. Here is her portrait in this year at the age of 28:



Edgar Allan Poe, his life falling apart, wrote the poems "Ulalume" and "Annabel Lee," and the story "Hop-Frog," and began a long prose poem entitled EUREKA in which he was going to unite his consciousness with the cosmos, or, at least, with the *KOSMOS* of [Alexander von Humboldt](#) — to whom "with very profound respect" he would dedicate this work. Our poet was one guy who was going to hold it together if it could possibly be held together! As a study on the nature and origin of the universe this 150-page prose poem on what today we would term "cosmology" was remarkably prescient regardless of its author's personal lack of qualifications to engage in scientific research. The conventional understanding of that day notwithstanding — that the universe was static and eternal— Poe depicted it as something that had exploded into being out of a "primordial particle" in "one instantaneous flash" (this, of course, is the Big Bang theory, that would not become received wisdom until the 1960s). The universe was held to be expanding, and the prospect was offered that it might one day collapse (this is the inference that Alexander Friedmann would in 1922 derive from Albert Einstein's equations). Poe toyed with the idea of something like black holes. He provided a correct appreciation of Olbers Paradox, the issue of why the sky is dark at night rather than suffused with light: the universe is finite both in space and in time. For more of an appreciation of Poe's musings, consult Tom Siegfried's *STRANGER MATTERS: UNDISCOVERED IDEAS ON THE FRONTIERS OF SPACE AND TIME* (Joseph Henry Press, 2002). Poe wrote to a friend during this year that

"What I have propounded will (in good time) revolutionize the world

of Physical & Metaphysical Science. I say this calmly — but I say it.”



A rich and well-connected and middle-aged [Providence, Rhode Island](#) widow and poet, [Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#), addressed a Valentine’s Day poem to this eligible widower poet cosmologist, whom she had met three years earlier — and he replied with his poem “To Helen” and they became engaged. Friend Sarah began a campaign to get her fiancée to stop drinking. Sarah’s mother, who had been burned by the behavior of Sarah’s father, insisted that her daughter protect herself by obtaining from Poe a prenuptial agreement turning her property over to her mother. Scandalous stories were at the time in circulation about the behavior of the poet, who, apparently, in the middle of all this, staged a suicide gesture. (This was the year in which he coined our term “normality,” evidently as an oppositional term to whatever it was that he personally was representing.) Poe continued to drink, so Sarah called off the wedding. Poe would level accusations against her family and, less than a year later, would attempt another such marriage, this time with Sarah Elmira Royster — and would shortly thereafter be found unconscious in [Baltimore](#), and would die.

[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke on “The Law of Progress” in New-York, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.



In this year Friend Lucretia became ill while attending a meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Indiana. A medical doctor who was a member of that meeting, in disagreement with her views, refused to treat her. Did he suppose that it would be a good thing, if Friend Lucretia were to die due to lack of medical attention?¹⁸⁹ Later, in justification of this unseemly and one might almost be tempted to say “un-Christian” conduct,¹⁹⁰ this physician sponsored a resolution to condemn those who were “running to and fro in the earth ... babbling of temperance, and non-resistance, and slavery, and benevolence, and communities ... and women’s rights.” In this resolution Friend Lucretia and those like here were characterized as

...the thieves that cannot abide the way of humility and the cross, but climb up some other way, and steal the testimonies of Jesus, and are lifted up in their self-sufficiency...

Was this merely a case of one solitary physician in Indiana, who needed most of all to heal himself? Evidently not, for in fact that man’s intemperate diatribe was **adopted** by his branch of the Indiana Quakers — and his branch was the [Hicksite](#) branch! Perhaps it was a temporary plague of the *Boobus Hoosieranus* virus? –Go figure.¹⁹¹

189. I am here, of course, pretending to accept the consensus platitude that what people die of is lack of medical attention, when we now know perfectly well that statistically a larger %age of the Americans who were receiving medical attention in the 19th Century were dying of it, than were dying of lack of it. If you were wounded on a Civil War battlefield, for instance, crawl, crawl, to get away from the male nurses who would take you to the surgeons!

190. Or, might one be tempted to say that this sort of conduct is all too typical of types who consider themselves Christians?

191. Time would tell that this man really did have something to worry about. According to statistics of the Civil War period, quite as great a %age of the Quaker young men of Indiana marched off to kill their brothers during this period of national insanity, as of other Indiana young men not anointed by contact with the Peace Testimony.



A [Quaker](#) attitude toward the arts: “Sorrowful it is, that even some in conspicuous and influential stations, have actually ‘sat’ for their portraits; and this, not for the hasty moment of the Daguerreo-typist (questionable as even this prevalent indulgence is), but patiently awaiting the slow business of the limner. Shallow indeed must be the religion of him who knows not that in himself, as a man, dwelleth no good thing.... We cannot suppose that our primitive Friends would for a moment have sanctioned so vain and weak an indulgence.”¹⁹²

In this timeframe more than seven out of every ten American [Quaker](#) children were receiving secular educations, at non-Quaker schools.

YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL

March 23-24: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) addressed an “Anti-Sabbath” convention in Boston.¹⁹³



192. “Biographies and portraits,” extract from the [Philadelphia Friend](#), reprinted in the [British Friend](#).

193. I do not know whether Thoreau came into Boston to hear her, or whether [Lucretia Mott](#) made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know. Incidentally, an “Anti-Sabbath” movement is anti Blue Laws. Since every day can be (and should be) equally a day of worship, activity on the Sabbath day need not be unduly restricted by law as it was in New England at that time. Lucretia explained that although she sewed on the Sabbath, she kept her materials ready to be hidden away should anyone visit her. She would no longer put her sewing away, and she raised the question “why it is regarded a greater crime to do an innocent thing on the first day of the week — to use the needle for instance — than to put a human being on the auction block on the second day.” (She was attacked for this as one of the “spouters of heresy.”)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 9: Elizabeth Cady Stanton met with her friends Martha Wright and Mariane McClintock at the Seneca Falls, New York, home of Jane Hunt, for a tea in honor of Philadelphia [Quaker](#) minister [Lucretia Mott](#). They decided to hold a woman's rights convention in that town.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

July 20: Continuation of the world's 1st convention for Women's Rights, at Seneca Falls NY, was organized by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

Resolved, that all men and women are created equal.



Frederick Douglass was present.

At this first convention, even the organizers weren't sure of the appropriateness of having a female chair a public meeting, so the job fell to a couple of Quaker males, Friend [James Mott](#) and Friend Thomas M'Clintock. A Quaker female, Friend Mary Ann M'Clintock, Jr., was allowed to fill the function of Secretary.

This meeting would be satirized in [Harper's Magazine](#). It has been noted that in this illustration, several of the male figures appear to have horns, one of the female figures is exhibiting her stockings, one of the female figures appears to be reclining, and in the balcony, a male audience is hooting and hollering, but which one of these figures is the solitary black man in attendance — might he be any other than the seated figure in the center front of the illustration, the male who has a slouching female outrageously leaning her elbow on his shoulder?



August: At the 1st women's rights convention, earlier this year in Seneca Falls, no-one had been settled that it would be appropriate for a female to be in charge of a public assembly, so the important positions were filled by [Quaker](#) males. At the 2nd Woman's Rights Convention, at Rochester, New York during this month, a [Quaker](#) woman of Rochester, Friend Abigail Bush, was allowed to chair the meeting.

1849

In this year Sojourner Truth would have been approximately 52 years old, and it was an auspicious year, the year of freedom for Peter, her 2d child.¹⁹⁴

In [Rhode Island](#), the 1719 [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was remodeled.

Upon the return of the square-rigged whaler *Charles W. Morgan* to [New Bedford](#) from its 2d whaling expedition, [Friend](#) Charles Waln Morgan sold it to Edward M. Robinson et al.



194. A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July 1827 received their formal [manumission](#) papers. Isabella had received some financial assistance from the [Quakers](#) in seeking the return of her son Peter from the South.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The Boys School accommodations of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were during this year enlarged. We have a receipt from this year, for a payment that a [Quaker](#) father, Friend George G.T. Burling, made for the education of two daughters at the facility's Girls School:

*Friends Y. M. S. School
Providence 9 Mo 14 - 1849*

<i>John Burling</i>	<i>To School</i>	<i>Dr</i>	<i>\$</i>
<i>To Board & Tuition of his two daughters</i>	<i>18 Weeks each</i>	<i>37.50</i>	<i>75.00</i>
<i>To use of Books</i>			<i>.20</i>
			<i>75.20</i>
<i>Received Payment</i>			
<i>Wm. Smith</i>			

<i>75.20</i>	
<i>45.00</i>	
<i>30.20</i>	

Publication in this year in [Providence](#) of a memorial to certain deceased members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).¹⁹⁵

READ ALL ABOUT IT

195. The lives which are memorialized are those of Huldah B. Hoag of the Sandwich, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Phebe B. Taber of the Unity monthly meeting in Albion, Maine, John Page and Lydia Breed of the Weare, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Alice Rathbun of the Smithfield, Rhode Island monthly meeting, and Noah Reed of the Windham, Massachusetts monthly meeting.

In about this year a Daguerreotype was made of Friend Pliny Earle, MD:



Some land north of Olney Street, which had been purchased in 1842 by the school with money left in the last will and testament of Friend Moses Brown, was resold by the school.

[Friend Ann Preston](#) created a volume of rhymed tales for children, *COUSIN ANN'S STORIES*. After two years of apprenticeship in the office of Dr. Nathaniel R. Moseley, she applied to medical colleges, only to be turned down because of her gender.





January 15: In downtown [Boston](#)—where everything that happens of course happens for the greater glory of God—Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw lectured [Washington Goode](#) for an hour and a half on the habits of “intemperance” which he had had, the “ungodly” associates which he had had, the “dens of crime” which he had frequented, etc., informed him that having led such a life there was simply “no hope” that the governor of the state might reduce his sentence. The lecture probably was just what Seaman Goode needed. The judge then consigned him to be [hanged](#) by the neck, on May 25, Friday, 1849 (this seems to have been a traditional day upon which to conduct public hangings), until he was dead.¹⁹⁶ The opponents of the death penalty, to wit, the Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, would have a little more than four months to mobilize public opinion to bring pressure to bear on Governor George Nixon Briggs:

Why Sir, even the boys, and they are worth saving, for we have nothing else to make men, and even Governors of, are now saying in our streets, “it is only a nigger.”

During those four months 24,440 signatures would be collected, petitioning the Governor Briggs to commute Seaman Goode’s sentence, from death by hanging to life in prison without any possibility of parole.

For instance, [Friend Joseph Ricketson](#), [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#)’s brother who, if I mistake not, was a birthright [Quaker](#) in good standing with his Monthly Meeting, reported that:

I have exerted myself very much for the last month in behalf of Washington Goode; there were several petitions here and we obtained 746 signatures.

In addition to the 24,440 signatures mentioned, there was one petition, from Woburn, Massachusetts, bearing a total of nine signatures, which demanded that Governor Briggs remain steadfast in the plan of “execution.”

An article would appear in the [Boston Republican](#), pointing up the fact that in France the guillotine had been adopted, after consultation with medical men, as the least painful mode of execution, and that since the last hanging in Boston, “the [Ether](#) discovery has taken place.”

The question now arises, how shall the *hanging* be performed here in Boston.... Shall not the convict share also the advantage of this benign discovery? He is to be hanged by the neck. Shall not this be done *with the least possible pain*? If we follow the spirit of the law, there would seem to be no doubt that it must be done with the least possible pain. And it seems equally clear that it is within the *discretion* of the Sheriff, to permit any form of alleviating the pain, which is consistent with the one thing imposed upon him by the law; namely, the hanging of Goode, by the neck, until he is dead. We will not undertake to determine, whether Humanity does not require, that the convict, if he chooses, shall be allowed the benefit of ETHER. We content ourselves with saying that it is clearly within the *discretion* of the Sheriff to permit the pains of the convict to be thus alleviated.

196. In fact, [Boston](#) had not [hanged](#) anyone for simple homicide since 1826, almost a quarter of a century before, and there was another prisoner, Augustus Dutee, whose sentence to be hanged was being commuted during this period to life in prison—but then, we may presume that Augustus Dutee was a white man, not only because his sentence was commuted but also because the documents do not comment on his race as they would most assuredly have commented had he been anything other than white. In addition to Dutee, seven other murderers were then serving life in Massachusetts prison after having had their sentences to be hanged commuted by the state governor.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The petition to commute the sentence of seaman Goode to life in prison without opportunity for parole that was being circulated and sponsored in Concord (either by Anna Maria Whiting, one of the town's leading abolitionists, or by Caroline Hoar, the wife of Rockwood Hoar) is still in existence and bears, on the men's side of the sheet, the signature of [Henry David Thoreau](#) as second in that column. It bears, on the women's side of the sheet, the signature of his younger sister, [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), as 5th in that column, followed in immediate succession by the signature of his mother, [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#), the signature of his elder sister, [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#), the signature of his aunt [Louisa Dunbar](#), and the signature of his [Aunt Jane Thoreau](#). The signature of his father [John Thoreau, Sr.](#), however, appears nowhere on this petition. **Why not?** Thoreau's father was 62 years old at this point and still very actively engaged in his home business. Is one to suppose that he, quite alone in his home, **wanted** Seaman Goode to dance on air?

The full text of that petition, as it came to be circulated in the [Prisoner's Friend](#), had been as follows:



WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, solemnly protest against the intended execution of Washington Goode, as a crime in which we would under no circumstances participate, which we would prevent, if possible, and in the guilt of which we will not, by the seeming assent of silence, suffer ourselves to be implicated.

We believe the execution of this man will involve all who are instrumental in it in the crime of murder – of the murder in cold blood of a helpless fellow being.

The arguments by which executions are generally defended are wholly wanted here. The prisoner is not one who in spite of good instruction and example, for purposes of avarice, revenge or lust, deliberately planned the murder of a fellow-being. The intended victim of law was a man of misfortune from birth, made by his social position, and still more by the color which God gave him, the victim of neglect, of oppression, of prejudice, of all the evils inflicted upon humanity by man. If in a paroxysm of drunken rage, he killed his opponent, (and this is the utmost alleged against him,) his case comes far short of premeditated murder.

But even this fact is extremely doubtful. It is supported only by the most suspicious testimony, and such as would not have weighed with any jury to touch the life of a white man. And since the trial, facts have come to light materially lessening the credibility of the evidence which led to conviction.

The glaring unfairness of his mode of trial is of itself sufficient ground for this protest. The maxim which gives to the accused a trial by his peers was essentially violated. In a community where sympathy with a colored man is a rare and unpopular sentiment, the prisoner should have been tried by a jury composed partly, at least, of his own race. This violation of the principles of equal justice demands our solemn protest.

We claim also that the petition of more than 20,000 of our fellow-citizens to have this man's life spared, demands respect. Such a number of voluntary petitioners, all upon one side, indicates the will of the sovereign people of the State, that the penalty should be commuted. Our respect for the right of the people to a voice and a just influence in the administration of public justice, also demands this solemn protest against the legal murder of Washington Goode.

February 11: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) addressed medical students at the Cherry Street Meeting House in Philadelphia:

I must confess to you, my friends, that I am a worshiper after the way called heresy, a believer after the manner that many deem infidel.... God is the teacher of his people himself.



AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

February 19: Henry Thoreau was written to by [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) in Salem.

*My dear Thoreau,
The managers request that you will lecture before the Salem Lyceum on Wednesday evening after next — that is to say, on the 28th inst. May we depend on you? Please to answer immediately, if convenient.
Mr Alcott delighted my wife and me, the other evening, by announcing that you had a book in press. I rejoice at it, and nothing doubt of such success as will be worth having. Should your manuscripts all be in the printers' hands, I suppose you can reclaim one of them, for a single evening's use, to be returned the next morning; — or perhaps that Indian lecture, which you mentioned to me, is in a state of forwardness. Either that, or a continuation of the Walden experiment (or, indeed, anything else,) will be acceptable.
We shall expect you at 14, Mall-street.*

*Very truly Yours,
Nathl Hawthorne.*

19 of 2 mo 1849: [Bernard Barton](#) died. [Lucy Barton](#) allied with Edward J. Fitzgerald to produce a selection of her father's materials, POEMS AND LETTERS OF [BERNARD BARTON](#), SELECTED BY LUCY BARTON, WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE BY EDWARD FITZGERALD (this was long before Fitzgerald had even so much as heard of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam).

“THE QUAKER POET”

HDT

WHAT?

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LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



August 23, Thursday: [Edward Hicks](#) died, having been known for his entire life primarily as a [Quaker](#) minister rather than as any sort of artist.

During this year he had struggled for one last time to portray General George Washington's crossing of the Delaware River:



He also painted yet another surreal bucolic landscape — but this one without any obvious symbolic freight:



September 30: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) delivered the following at the Cherry Street Meeting in Philadelphia:

It is time that Christians were judged more by their likeness to Christ than their notions of Christ. Were this sentiment generally admitted we should not see such tenacious adherence to what men deem the opinions and doctrines of Christ while at the same time in every day practise is exhibited anything but a likeness to Christ. My reflections in this meeting have been upon the origin, parentage, and character of Jesus. I have thought we might profitably dwell upon the facts connected with his life, his precepts, and his practise in his walks among men. Humble as was his birth, obscure as was his parentage, little known as he seemed to be in his neighborhood and country, he has astonished the world and brought a response from all mankind by the purity of his precepts, the excellence of his example. Wherever that inimitable sermon on the mount is read, let it be translated into any language and spread before the people, there is an acknowledgement of its truth. When we come to judge the sectarian professors of his name by the true test, how widely do their lives differ from his?

Instead of going about doing good as was his wont, instead of being constantly in the exercise of benevolence and love as was his practice, we find the disposition too generally to measure



the Christian by his assent to a creed which had not its sign with him nor indeed in his day. Instead of engaging in the exercise of peace, justice, and mercy, how many of the professors are arrayed against him in opposition to those great principles even as were his opposers in his day. Instead of being the bold nonconformist (if I may so speak) that he was, they are adhering to old church usages, and worn-out forms and exhibiting little of a Christ like disposition and character. Instead of uttering the earnest protests against the spirit of proselytism and sectarianism as did the blessed Jesus – the divine, the holy, the born of God, there is the servile accommodation to this sectarian spirit and an observance of those forms even long after there is any claim of virtue in them; a disposition to use language which shall convey belief that in the inmost heart of many they reject.

Is this honest, is this Christ like? Should Jesus again appear and preach as he did round about Judea and Jerusalem and Galilee, these high professors would be among the first to set him at naught, if not to resort to the extremes which were resorted to in his day. There is no danger of this now, however, because the customs of the age will not bear the bigot out in it, but the spirit is manifest, which led martyrs to the stake, Jesus to the cross, [Mary Dyer](#) to the gallows. This spirit is now showing itself in casting out the name one of another, as evil, in brother delivering up brother unto sectarian death. We say if Jesus should again appear – He **IS** here; he **HAS** appeared, from generation to generation and his spirit is now as manifest, in the humble, the meek, the bold reformers, even among some of obscure parentage.

His spirit is now going up and down among men seeking their good, and endeavoring to promote the benign and holy principles of peace, justice, and love. And blessing to the merciful, to the peacemaker, to the pure in heart, and the poor in spirit, to the just, the upright, to those who desire righteousness is earnestly proclaimed, by these messengers of the Highest who are now in our midst. These, the preachers of righteousness, are no more acknowledged by the same class of people than was the messiah to the Jews. They are the anointed of God, the inspired preachers and writers and believers of the present time. In the pure example which they exhibit to the nations, they are emphatically the beloved sons of God. It is, my friends, my mission to declare these things among you at the hazard of shocking many prejudices. The testimony of the chosen servants of the Highest in our day is equally divine inspiration with the inspired teaching of those in former times. It is evidence of the superstition of our age, that we can adhere to, Yea that, we can bow with profound veneration to the records of an Abraham, the sensualist Solomon, and the war-like David, inspired though they many have been, and I am not disposed to doubt it, more than to the equal inspiration of the writers of the present age. Why not acknowledge the inspiration of many of the poets of succeeding ages, as well as of Deborah and Miriam in their songs of victory of Job and David in their beautiful poetry and psalms,



or of Isaiah and Jeremiah in their scorching rebukes and mournful lamentations? These are beautifully instructive but ought they to command our veneration more than the divine poetic language of many, very many, since their day, who have uttered truth equally precious? Truth speaks the same language in every age of the world and is equally valuable to us. Are we so blindly superstitious as to reject the one and adhere to the other? How much does this society lose by this undue veneration to ancient authorities, a want of equal respect to the living inspired testimonies of latter time? Christianity requires that we bring into view the apostles of succeeding generations, that we acknowledge their apostleship and give the right hand of fellowship to those who have been and who are sent forth of God with Great truths to declare before the people; and also to practice lives of righteousness, exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, and even of the chosen ones of former times. The people in their childish and dark state, just emerging out of barbarism, were not prepared to exhibit all those great principles in the near approach to fullness, to the perfection that is called for at our hands. There is this continued advance toward perfection from age to age. The records of our predecessors give evidence of such progress. When I quote the language of [William Penn](#), "it is time for Christians to be judged more by their likeness to Christ than their notions of Christ," I offer the sentiment of one who is justly held in great regard if not veneration by this people, and whose writings may be referred to with as much profit as those of the servants of God in former ages; and we may well respect the memory of him and his contemporaries as well as of many not limited to our religious society, who have borne testimony to the truth.

It is of importance to us, also, to speak of those whom we know, those whose characters we have fuller acquaintance with, than we can have with such as lived in ages past, that we should bring into view the lives of the faithful of our generation.

Jesus bore his testimony – doing always the things which pleased his Father. He lived his meek, his humble and useful life – drawing his disciples around him, and declaring great truths to the people who gathered to hear him.

His apostles and their successors were faithful in their day – going out into the world, and shaking the nations around them. Reformers since their time have done their work in exposing error and wrong, and calling for priests of righteousness in place of vain forms. The bold utterances of [Elias Hicks](#) and his contemporaries aroused the sectarian and theological world in our day. Their demand for a higher righteousness was not in vain. Their examples of self-denials and faithfulness to duty should be held up for imitation. We overestimate those who have lived and labored in days long past, while we value not sufficiently the labors of those around us, who may have as high a commission as had their predecessors.

Let us not hesitate to regard the utterance of truth in our age, as of equal value with that which is recorded in the scriptures. None can revere more than I do the truths of the BIBLE. I have



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

read it perhaps as much as any one present, and, I trust, with profit. It has at times been more to me than my daily food. When an attempt was made some twenty years ago to engraft some church dogmas upon this society, claiming this book for authority, it led me to examine, and compare text with the content. In so doing I became so much interested that I scarcely noted the passage of time. Even to this day, when I open this volume, so familiar is almost every chapter that I can sometimes scarcely lay it aside from the interest I feel in its beautiful pages. But I should be recreant to the principle, did I not say, the great error in Christendom is in regarding these scriptures taken as a whole as the plenary inspiration of God, and their authority as supreme. I consider this as Elias Hicks did one of the greatest drawbacks, one of the greatest barriers to human progress that there is in the religious world, for while this volume is held as it is, and, by a resort to it, war, and slavery, wine drinking, and other cruel, oppressive, and degrading evils are sustained, pleading the example of the ancients as authority it serves as a check to human progress, as an obstacle in the way of these great and glorious reformers that are now upon the field. Well did that servant of God, Elias Hicks, warn the people against an undue veneration of the BIBLE, or of any human authority, any written record or outward testimony. The tendency of his ministry was to lead the mind to the divine teacher, the sublime ruler, that all would find within themselves, which was above men's teaching, human records, or outward authorities. Highly as he valued these ancient testimonies, they were not to take the place of the higher law inwardly revealed, which was and should be, the governing principle of our lives. One of our early friends, Richard Davies, attended a meeting of the independents, and heard the preacher express the sentiment that the time would come when Christians would have no more need of the BIBLE than of any other book. He remarked on this saying of the preacher, "Hast thou not experienced that time already come." Does not this imply, or may we not infer from this, that our worthy friend has experienced that time already come; was it a greater heresy, than that uttered by the apostle Paul, when he declared that those who had known a birth into the gospel, had no more need of the law? that they were under a higher dispensation than were they who were bound by their statutes and ceremonies? Let us also not hesitate to declare it, and to speak the truth plainly as it is in Jesus, that we believe the time is come when this undue adherence to outward authorities, or to any forms of baptism or of communion of church or sabbath worship, should give place to more practical goodness among men, more love manifested one unto another in our every day life, doing good and ministering to the wants and interests of our fellow beings the world over. If we fully believe this, should we be most honest, did we so far seek to please men, more than to please God, as to fail to utter in our meetings, and whenever we feel called upon to do so in our conversation, in our writings, and to exhibit by example, by a life of non-conformity, in accordance with these views, that we have faith and confidence

in our convictions? It needs, my friends, in this day that one should go forth saying neither baptism profiteth anything nor non-baptism, but faith which worketh by love, neither the ordinance of the communion table profiteth anything, nor the absence from the same, but faith which worketh by love. These things should never be regarded as the test of the worshipper. Neither your sabbath observance profiteth anything, nor the non-observance of the day, but faith with worketh by love. Let all these subjects be held up in their true light. Let them be plainly spoken of – and let our lives be in accordance with our convictions of right, each striving to carry out our principles. Then obscure though we may be, lost sight of almost, in the great and pompous religious associations of the day, we yet shall have our influence and it will be felt. Why do we wish it to be felt? Because we believe it is the testimony of truth, and our duty to spread it far and wide. Because the healthful growth of the people requires that they should come away from their vain oblations, and settle upon the ground of obedience to the requirings of truth.



I desire to speak so as to be understood, and trust there are among you ears blessed that they hear, and that these principles shall be received as the Gospel of the blessed son of God. Happy shall they be, who by observing these, shall come to be divested of the traditions and superstitions which have been clinging to them, leading them to erect an altar "to the unknown God."

In the place of this shall an altar be raised where on may be oblations of God's own preparing. Thus may these approach our Father in Heaven and hold communion with him – entering his courts with thanksgiving, and his gates with praise, even though there may be no oral expression. He may unite in prayer and in praise, which will ascend as sweet incense, and the blessing will come which we can scarcely contain.

1850

Friend [William Henry Farquhar](#) acted as a census taker in Montgomery County, [Maryland](#) during the federal census for this decade.

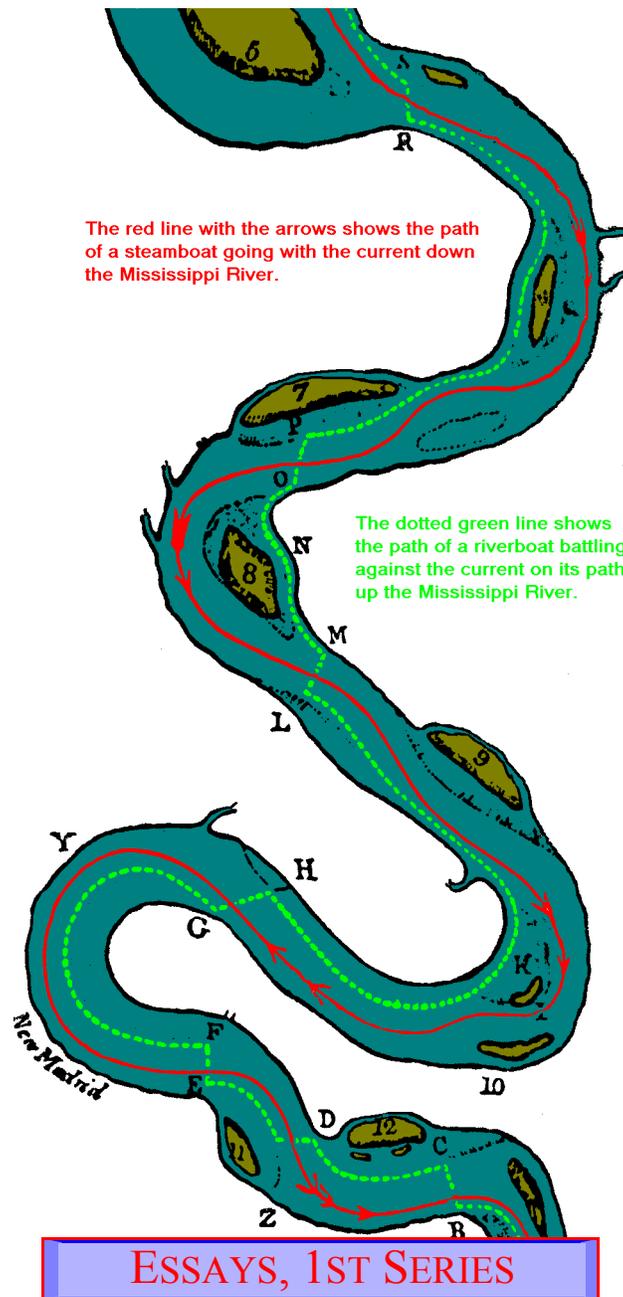
This is what the mammoth Quaker meetinghouse on [Aquidneck Island](#) looked like, during this year:

QUAKERS



RHODE ISLAND

Waldo Emerson published the lecture series that he had called "REPRESENTATIVE MAN" and during May and June made his first long lecture tour through the West, going down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, returning by stage and rail — offering copies for sale at the back of every hall.



In Waldo's newest book (a copy of which we would discover in the personal library of Henry Thoreau), in the

lecture “Goethe; or, the Writer”:

...The fiery reformer embodies his aspiration in some rite or covenant, and he and his friends cleave to the form, and lose the aspiration. The Quaker has established Quakerism, the Shaker has established his monastery and his dance; and, although each prates of spirit, there is no spirit, but repetition, which is anti-spiritual....

QUAKERS

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE



In this [REPRESENTATIVE MEN: SEVEN LECTURES](#) (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company; New York: James C. Derby), [Emerson](#) responded to criticism of his characteristic suck-up-to-the-centrists, worship-whatever-powers-there-be attitude by using the analogy of human society to the [Pestalozzian](#) school which I have here marked in **boldface**:



...The thoughtful youth laments the superfœtation of nature. "Generous and handsome," he says, "is your hero; but look at yonder poor Paddy, whose country is his wheelbarrow; look at his whole nation of Paddies." Why are the masses, from the dawn of history down, food for knives and powder? The idea dignifies a few leaders, who have sentiment, opinion, love, self-devotion; and they make war and death sacred; – but what for the wretches whom they hire and kill? The cheapness of man is every day's tragedy. It is as real a loss that others should be low, as that we should be low; for we must have society. **Is it a reply to these suggestions, to say, society is a Pestalozzian school: all are teachers and pupils in turn. We are equally served by receiving and by imparting.** Men who know the same things, are not long the best company for each other. But bring to each an intelligent person of another experience, and it is as if you let off water from a lake, by cutting a lower basin. It seems a mechanical advantage, and great benefit it is to each speaker, as he can now paint out his thought to himself. We pass very fast, in our personal moods, from dignity to dependence. And if any appear never to assume the chair, but always to stand and serve, it is because we do not see the company in a sufficiently long period for the whole rotation of parts to come about. As to what we call the masses, and common men; – there are no common men. All men are at last of a size; and true art is only possible, on the conviction that every talent has its apotheosis somewhere. Fair play, and an open field, and freshest laurels to all who have won them! But heaven reserves an equal scope for every creature. Each is uneasy until he has produced his private ray unto the concave sphere, and beheld his talent also in its last nobility and exaltation.



JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

The [Reverend George Gilfillan](#) reported, in [Palladium](#), on [Emerson's REPRESENTATIVE MEN: SEVEN LECTURES](#).

By this point the Orthodox Friends and the [Hicksite](#) Friends (the two groups created by the great split among the Quakers) had in effect each divided again: the majority of Orthodox Friends were presumably becoming Episcopalians, while the majority of Hicksite Friends were presumably going off in the direction of the Unitarians; both these were amalgamating with the world's people. The residual of each group, of the Orthodox Friends and the Hicksite Friends, remained serious Friends and looked forward to the day when they would be able to again worship together and remain untainted by entanglement with non-[Quakers](#) — even entanglement with non-Quaker abolitionists.

The splitting had begun, in Lynn and in [New Bedford](#), at a very early point in the 1920s and not as a direct expression of the views of Friend Elias Hicks, as a conflict between “New Light” individualistic inspirational Quakers and traditional authoritarian Quakers. The Ricketson family of New Bedford had gone with the New Lights. Here are [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) and Friend Louisa Sampson Ricketson as of this year, at the age of 37 — and you will immediately notice that they are no longer attired in Quaker costumes (no hat, no bonnet, cravat, lace):



The town of Mendon purchased Harrison Hall of its proprietors, for use as a town hall. The building that had been its 1st [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was sold to Colonel Israel Plummer and would be converted into a depot at the Northbridge Quarries on the [Providence](#) and Worcester Railroad.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

At this point the historian James Bowden felt that he had been able to get inside the minds of [Rhode Island](#) politicians of seven generations past. He has announced that the Rhode Island government of 1675/1676 had spurned an invitation from the other English colonies of New-England to unite with these other white people against the red people of the region, and has announced that he knows this to be because this was a warlike proposal to which the [Quakers](#) in that government could not “conscientiously accede”:

[I]n dependence on the protecting care of Him who hath the hearts of all men at his disposal, they refrained from engaging in the war.¹⁹⁷

Yeah, right. This report was –of course– not even a good first approximation to the truth on the ground:



“The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples.”



– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

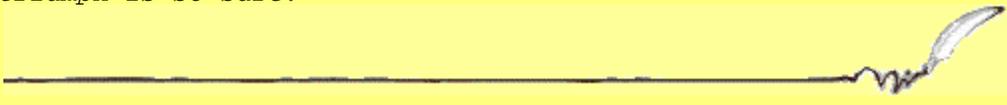
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

197. Bowden, James. *THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA*. Two volumes, London, 1850, 1854.

April 5: Frederick Douglass spoke at an Anti-Fugitive-Slave-Bill meeting in Rochester NY.

[Waldo Emerson](#), who was in Philadelphia this month delivering a series of six lectures, dined with [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) before his lecture on “Eloquence.” A newspaper reporter would decide that this lecturer could utter “some of the most original as well as some of the most unintelligible things of any man in the United States.”

Lucretia Mott is the flower of Quakerism. That woman has a unity of sense, virtue, & good-meaning perfectly impressed on her countenance which are a guarantee of victory in all the fights to which her Quaker faith & connection lead her. She told exceedingly well the story of her contest with the mob at Dover & Smyrna in Delaware, she and the wife of Mr _____ attending him down to the place where the mob were to tar & feather him, & it was perfectly easy to see that she might safely go & would surely defend herself & him. No mob could remain a mob where she went. She brings domesticity & common sense, & that propriety which every man loves, directly into this hurly-burly, & makes every bully ashamed. Her courage is no merit, one almost says, where triumph is so sure.



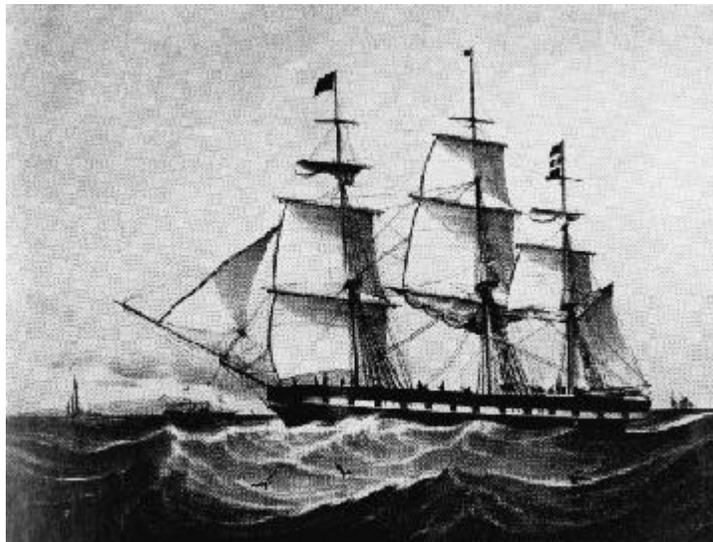


April 13, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF APRIL 13

Robert Collyer and his bride Ann Longbottom Collyer set sail from Liverpool for New-York aboard the *Roscius* of the Dramatic Line. Robert's son Samuel by his previous marriage was left behind in the care of the child's grandmother, Harriet Norman Wells Collyer, in Leeds.



[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) wrote Sydney H. Gay, the husband of her friend Elizabeth Neall Gay, alluding to the differences between the Garrisonian abolitionists and those who supported the Liberty Party, and mentioning some concerns in regard to the influence of certain English ladies upon Frederick Douglass.

Philada. 4 Mo 13th. 50

My dear Sydney H. Gay

Bless Richard D. Webb & thy dear Self also, that letter from Liverpool, was answered long ago. It probably reached its destination, about the time that Richard sent his to thee. It is true, we delayed too long, for it is not the easiest thing in the world, to give advice on such an important matter. My husband willingly accepted the transfer of the task to himself, as being better acquainted with farming & the choice of land. But "come to the pinch", he too shrunk from saying, "I would come," or, "I wouldn't." When people are making a comfortable living in their own native land, it is a serious thing to "pull up stakes", and go to a strange country – especially for an Englishman, surrounded with the comforts & elegancies of life, as described by Emerson, Colman, and others, to come here & settle down in our Western Wilds, where such a contrast must be constantly presented. Let the starving millions, & the oppressed operatives come, and every thing here will compare favorably. We did however say all we could to encourage their making the experiment, with the more courage, or hope of their success too,



because they contemplated joining Joseph Barker & other emigrants, & forming a neighborhood for themselves, on the Conn. Reserve in Ohio, which indeed is beginning to seem an old country, when compared with the Wisconsin & Iowas & Minnesotas. Our Correspondent – Suliot by name, ventured the hope that R. D. Webb & family might be induced to come with them.¹⁹⁸ We recd. a short letter from Richd. lately, wh. we intend to answer very soon. Sarah Pugh wrote him one of her prettiest, a short time since. Our subjects are so much in common, that it wont do to follow in too quick succession. I may however accept thy kind offer, & send a few lines to be enclosed in thine. I am glad to be remembered by thy "Lizzie" in any way and the rebuke contained in the article sent, was so well deserved, I ought to feel it "a kindness", for never had a raft of "curious Quakeresses["] less excuse for thrusting themselves into his clownish presence, "just to get a good look at" him.¹⁹⁹ He shewed himself at that time wanting in sympathy for the Slave, & since he now comes out a Negro hater, I feel less ashamed of our rudeness, in "boring" him thus. Thy words of sympathy, dear Sydney, were grateful to us. Edward & Maria appreciated them, as coming from a heart, touched also with sorrow. Altho' human consolation cannot recal the dead, & therefore seems unavailing, yet it is so natural to crave sympathy, in distress "Have pity upon me, Oh ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me."²⁰⁰ "Ye, who e'er lost an Angel, pity me!" and so natural too, to seek to alleviate grief & human suffering by kindly words, as well as deeds, that none need shrink from the heart's yearning in these directions. I confess however, to the feeling, to such a degree – that what I can offer, can be no alleviation, that I seldom attend a funeral, where expression seems to be called for. At such an hour, the inadequacy of words is paramount – & the inspiration to speak receives a check – For thy great loss, in the removal of so loved a brother, I did indeed feel keenly – & more than once essayed to express it to thee – but failed.²⁰¹ I cannot offer the kind of consolation, which many do, & which thou alludes to – "the ways of Providence", &c – because so firm a believer in the natural laws, that when such useful & beautiful lives, as thy dear br's. & our precious Charlie's are cut off – I can ascribe it to no other cause, than our ignorance of these laws, or our failure to observe them –

198. Apparently a Liverpool resident, Theodore E. Suliot, a teacher and cousin of the Webbs, wished to emigrate to the USA. See Mott to Richard and Hannah Webb, May 28, 1850, Boston Public Library; [Anti-Slavery Bugle](#), October 29, 1853, page 3. Drawing on his tour of Great Britain, [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured in Eastern cities in 1850, including six lectures in Philadelphia in April. After dining with Friend Lucretia on April 5th, Emerson described her as "a blessing & an ornament." See letter to Lidian Emerson, 6 April 1850, LETTERS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (NY: Columbia UP, 1939), 4:194-95; see also Martha Coffin Wright to Mott, February 6, 1852, Garrison Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. Henry Colman published many works on his European travels, including EUROPEAN LIFE AND MANNERS: IN FAMILIAR LETTERS TO FRIENDS (Boston: Little & Brown, 1849).

199. Possibly a reference to Father Theobald Mathew. The Irish temperance leader arrived in the USA in July 1849 and toured the Northeast throughout the fall. His refusal to condemn slavery provoked Garrison and other abolitionists. See Reverend Father Augustin, FOOTPRINTS OF FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW O. F. M. CAP. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1947), pages 494-500; Ruchames and Merrill, LETTERS, Volume 3:640-76.

200. Mott's grandson, Charles Davis, died March 3rd. The quote is from JOB 19:21.

201. The physician and analytical chemist Dr. Martin Gay (born 1803) died on January 12th.



*This may appear cold unbelief – but commending itself as it does, to my reason it lessens in no wise all veneration for "Him who doeth all things well." equally in the universal operation of his alwise laws as could be by any special act or Providence[.] Yes, you will probably see the old Quakeress again at the Annual Mg.²⁰² but if she shd. tell thee she felt "moved to speak at the Tabernacle – the very utterance of it, would withdraw the "motion" – Thanks for the invitatn. to repeat a visit so pleasant to me – If possible it will give me great pleasure – Elizh. must not let [ms. damaged] dear boy keep her at home that week – in fulness of love
yrs. L Mott*

*I took but a scrap of paper, not expecting to say so much – After filling that, it occurs to me, that I have never acknowledged thine kindly sent in reply to my inquiries relative to the Syracuse Convention & the notable English ladies – the Griffeths. Thy explanatn. was altogether satisfactory & in my heart I thanked thee for it. We have our fears for Fredk. [Douglass] through the influence of these women – but hope that his strong good sense will preserve him from estrangement. Thy suggestion relative to employg. S. May Jr. as gen. Agt. – inducg. him to settle in New York, &c – havg. Quarry. Mgs. – & all that reads well, if we could only bring it about.²⁰³ What Penna. would do toward it, we are not able to say; but judgg. from the past, we cannot hope the abolitionists hereaway wd. "shell out" any more liberally. I did not feel qualified to give an opinion, & that is one reason of my not answering thy letter sooner – We must talk the Cause well over when the Society comes together in New York – James Mott expects to be there next week or the week after. If he could see thee at that time, & talk over affairs of the Slave's interest, he could then report to our Ex. Com. before the Annual Mg. & at least strengthen the interest we all ought to feel, in the American Society's arrangements.
It was fully my intention to go to Syracuse – & Miller M'Kim wd. have gone if I had, but our family were so opposed to the winter-journey – that I had to give it up – But that Convonn. was such a Lib. Party affair, that we did not so much regret our absence from it.²⁰⁴ Moreover Miller wd. not then have gone to Boston, and he did & received good there –*

202. The annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was to be held May 7-9th at the Broadway Tabernacle in New-York. Mott did not attend this meeting, which was disrupted by rioters. New-York Tribune, May 10, 1850, page 2; Ruchames and Merrill, LETTERS, Volume 4, pages 6-15.

203. The Reverend Samuel May Jr. (1810-1999), a Unitarian minister and cousin of Samuel J. May, was then general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and a strong Garrisonian.

204. Abolitionists meeting in Syracuse on January 15th had discussed the primacy of the American Anti-Slavery Society and heard a speech by Gerrit Smith supporting the Constitution and the Liberty Party. See page 18 of the Liberator for February 1, 1850.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

again affecy L M



August 2: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Message from the President ... relative to the searching of American vessels by British ships of war.” –SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Cong. 1 sess. XIV. No. 66.

A secular town meeting had been held in the vacant synagogue building in [Newport](#) in 1781, and until 1784 [Rhode Island](#) had had its General Assembly there and the state’s Supreme Court had met there, and then the building had stood vacant and dilapidated under a [Quaker](#) caretaker who may possibly have used it as a waystation in the [Underground Railroad](#), which is to say, as affordable (free) temporary housing for persons in transit (nope, we’re not talking about folks hiding in the basement here, underneath that famous trap door where obviously the Jews had kept their firewood and their wood stove, we’re just talking about folks living there for awhile, in this dilapidated black district of the town where they were reasonably safe). On this day, after extensive refurbishment by use of the funds supplied by the Touro brothers of New-York (successful sons of the first rabbi of the synagogue), “[Touro Synagogue](#)” was reconsecrated for religious services.



JUDAISM

October: Classes began at a new Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania at 227 Arch Street in Philadelphia that had been organized by [Friend](#) William Mullen and a group of Philadelphia businessmen. This was the very 1st such institution, not only in America but in the world. The first class was of 8 women enrolled for the degree of Doctor of Medicine,²⁰⁵ 5 of them Quakers including [Friend Ann Preston](#), and another 32 who enrolled as "listeners." This first year the faculty was all male but in the following year Hannah Longshore, who had been tutored in medicine before her enrollment, would be listed as a faculty member, a demonstrator in anatomy.



October: According to a letter from S. Griffiths Morgan in San Francisco to his uncle, [Friend](#) Charles Waln Morgan, some of the black men who had come to the gold fields from [New Bedford](#), including Samuel P. Woodland and Polly Johnson's son-in-law Thomas P. Buchanan, proprietor of a New Bedford bathhouse, had come there in hopes that a gold strike would relieve them of debts to the Morgan family, but these hopes had been largely dashed. "Samy Woodline & wife are making money washing — they have so far only been able to pay their freight bill — your turn will come next and I will look after them on yr account," S. Griffiths Morgan wrote. "... Th P. Buchanan is back here from the mines, worse off than he started — I immediately applied to Macundsay [?] & Co for his old situation as steward of their mess — and he is now there at \$200 pr month so poor Thomas is prospering again — he has the pluck and determination of a bull terrier and vows the Bath house shall be paid for before he leaves here — Nathan [Nathan Johnson] is worse off a good deal than when he left home."

205. By the way, these women doctors would need to receive their diplomas while under police escort for their own safety.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 23: According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speaking retrospectively in 1870, “The movement in England, as in America, may be dated from the first National Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., October, 1850.”



FEMINISM

Although [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) was elected to be a member for this vital convention, it would turn out that she would be unable to attend.

Why was it that Stanton, and also Susan B. Anthony, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), and other pioneers regarded this 1850 Convention in Worcester as the beginning of the crusade for woman’s equality? Why had it not been the 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls for which Stanton had drafted the celebrated Declaration of Sentiments and in which Mott had played such a leading role?

- The gathering at Seneca Falls had been largely a local affair as would be several others that followed, whereas by way of radical contrast this Worcester convention had attracted delegates from most of the northern states.
- Seneca Falls had sparked discussion but it was not clear in its aftermath that there was a national constituency ready to take up the cause. The attendance in response to this Worcester meeting’s Call of those who wanted to see a woman’s rights movement, and the positive reaction to its published proceedings both here and in Europe, showed that a sufficient number of women, and some men, were indeed ready.
- This 1850 convention eventuated in a set of standing committees which marked the beginnings of organized work for woman’s rights.

The records of the convention may be studied at:

<http://www.wvhp.org/Resources/WomensRights/proceedings.html>

[Waldo Emerson](#) declined to address this convention, and continued to decline such invitations until the 1855 convention in [Boston](#), saying “I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs,” meaning of course “I do not think it yet appears that we wish to grant women this equal share in public affairs.”



Were I in a sarcastic mood, I would characterize this attitude by inventing a news clipping something like the following:

His Excellency, Hon. Ralph W. Emerson, Representative of the Human Race, treated with the woman, Mrs. James Mott, for purposes of pacification and common decency.

At the beginning of the meeting a Quaker male, [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington, New York, was appointed President *pro tem*. As the meeting was getting itself properly organized, however, [Paulina Wright Davis](#) was selected as President, with [Friend](#) Joseph sitting down instead as Secretary for the meeting. At least three New York Quakers were on the body’s Central Committee — Hathaway, [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton and [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock, and we immediately note that although this Central Committee was by and large female, two of the three Quakes in this committee were male.

During the course of this convention [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) had occasion to straighten out Wendell Phillips, and he later commented that “she put, as she well knows how, the silken snapper on her whiplash,” that it had been “beautifully done, so the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment.”



Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn't** make up.²⁰⁶



His Excellency, Gov. Ramsey and Hon. Richard W. Thompson, have been appointed Commissioners, to treat with the Sioux for the lands west of the Mississippi.

The list of the “members” of this Convention is of interest in that it includes Sophia Foord of Dedham MA, Sojourner Truth of [Northampton](#), Elizabeth Oakes Smith the lyceum lecturer, etc. The newspaper report described Truth’s appearance as dark and “uncomely.” [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), a leader at the convention, described Truth more charitably as “the poor woman who had grown up under the curse of Slavery.” Those on the list, those who officially registered as “members” of the Convention, some 267 in all, were only a fraction of the thousands who attended one or more of the sessions. As J.G. Forman reported in the New-York [Daily Tribune](#) for October 24, 1850, “it was voted that all present be invited to take part in the discussions of the Convention, but that only those who signed the roll of membership be allowed to vote.” The process of signing probably meant that people who arrived together or sat together would have adjacent numbers in the sequence that appears in the Proceedings. This would explain the clustering of people by region and by family name:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| • 1 | Hannah M. Darlington | Kennett Square, Pennsylvania |
| • 2 | T.B. Elliot | Boston |
| • 3 | Antoinette L. Brown | Henrietta NY |
| • 4 | Sarah Pillsbury | Concord NH |
| • 5 | Eliza J. Kenney | Salem MA |
| • 6 | M.S. Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 7 | Oliver Dennett | Portland ME |
| • 8 | Julia A. McIntyre | Charlton MA |
| • 9 | Emily Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 10 | H.M. Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 11 | C.D.M. Lane | Worcester |
| • 12 | Elizabeth Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 13 | S.C. Sargent | Boston |
| • 14 | C.A.K. Ball | Worcester |
| • 15 | M.A. Thompson | Worcester |
| • 16 | Lucinda Safford | Worcester |
| • 17 | S.E. Hall | Worcester |
| • 18 | S.D. Holmes | Kingston MA |
| • 19 | Z.W. Harlow | Plymouth MA |
| • 20 | N.B. Spooner | Plymouth MA |
| • 21 | Ignatius Sargent | Boston |
| • 22 | A.B. Humphrey | Hopedale |
| • 23 | M.R. Hadwen | Worcester |
| • 24 | J.H. Shaw | Nantucket Island |
| • 25 | Diana W. Ballou | Cumberland RI |
| • 26 | Olive Darling | Millville MA |
| • 27 | M.A. Walden | Hopedale |
| • 28 | C.M. Collins | Brooklyn CT |
| • 29 | A.H. Metcalf | Worcester |
| • 30 | P.B. Cogswell | Concord NH |
| • 31 | Sarah Tyndale | Philadelphia |
| • 32 | A.P.B. Rawson | Worcester |

206. From the [Dakota Tawaxitku Kin](#), or [The Dakota Friend](#), St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1850. This word “Sioux,” incidentally, is a hopelessly offensive and alienating term, for it is short for the Ojibwa term “*nadouessioux*” or “enemy.” A better term would be “Dakota,” which in the Dakota language means “union” or “ally.” It tells you a lot about the patronizing attitude of these missionaries, that they would be willing to use an offputting term like “Sioux” in this newspaper.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- 33 Nathaniel Barney
 - 34 Sarah H. Earle
 - 35 Parker Pillsbury
 - 36 Lewis Ford
 - 37 J.T. Everett
 - 38 Loring Moody
 - 39 Sojourner Truth
 - 40 [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton
 - 41 Rev. J.G. Forman
 - 42 Andrew Stone M.D.
 - 43 Samuel May, Jr.
 - 44 Sarah R. May
 - 45 Frederick Douglass
 - 46 Charles Bigham
 - 47 J.T. Partridge
 - 48 Eliza C. Clapp
 - 49 Daniel Steward
 - 50 E.B. Chase
 - 51 Sophia Foord
 - 52 E.A. Clark
 - 53 E.H. Taft
 - 54 Olive W. Hastings
 - 55 Rebecca Plumly
 - 56 S.L. Hastings
 - 57 Sophia Taft
 - 58 Anna E. Ruggles
 - 59 Mrs. A.E. Brown
 - 60 Janette Jackson
 - 61 Anna R. Cox
 - 62 Cynthia P. Bliss
 - 63 R.M.C. Capron
 - 64 M.H. Mowry
 - 65 Mary Eddy
 - 66 Mary Abbott
 - 67 Anna E. Fish
 - 68 C.G. Munyan
 - 69 Maria L. Southwick
 - 70 Anna Cornell
 - 71 S. Monroe
 - 72 Anna E. Price
 - 73 M.C. Monroe
 - 74 F.C. Johnson
 - 75 Thomas Hill
 - 76 Elizabeth Frail
 - 77 Eli Belknap
 - 78 M.M. Frail
 - 79 Valentine Belknap
 - 80 Phebe Goodwin
 - 81 Edgar Hicks
 - 82 Ira Foster
 - 83 Effingham L. Capron
 - 84 Frances H. Drake
 - 85 Calvin Fairbanks
 - 86 E.M. Dodge
- [Nantucket Island](#)
 - Worcester MA
 - Concord NH
 - Abington MA
 - Princeton MA
 - Harwich MA
 - [Northampton](#)
 - Palmyra NY
 - W. Bridgewater MA
 - Worcester
 - Leicester MA
 - Leicester MA
 - Rochester NY
 - Feltonville MA
 - Worcester
 - Leicester MA
 - East Line MA
 - Valley Falls MA
 - Dedham MA
 - Worcester
 - Dedham MA
 - Lancaster, Pennsylvania
 - Philadelphia
 - Lancaster, Pennsylvania
 - Worcester
 - Brattleboro VT
 - Philadelphia
 - Philadelphia
 - [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
 - [Providence](#)
 - [Providence](#)
 - [Providence](#)
 - Hopedale
 - Hopedale
 - Hopedale
 - Worcester
 - Plainfield CT
 - Plainfield CT
 - Plainfield CT
 - Plainfield CT
 - Sturbridge MA
 - Webster MA
 - Hopkinton MA
 - Hopkinton MA
 - Hopkinton MA
 - Hopkinton MA
 - West Chester, Pennsylvania
 - Brooklyn NY
 - Canterbury NH
 - Worcester
 - Leominster MA
 - Leominster MA
 - Worcester



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- 87 Eliza Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 88 Lydia Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 89 Alice Jackson Avondale, Pennsylvania
- 90 G.D. Williams Leicester MA
- 91 Marian Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 92 Elizabeth Earle Worcester
- 93 [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway Farmington NY
- 94 E. Jane Alden Lowell MA
- 95 Elizabeth Dayton Lowell MA
- 96 Lima H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman Saratoga Springs NY
- 98 Dorothy Whiting Clintonville MA
- 99 Emily Whiting Clintonville MA
- 100 Abigail Morgan Clinton MA
- 101 Julia Worcester Milton NH
- 102 Mary R. Metcalf Worcester
- 103 R.H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 104 D.A. Mundy [Hopedale](#)
- 105 Dr. S. Rogers Worcester
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick Worcester
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter New-York
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow Worcester
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Pickett Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason Worcester
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 Lucy Stone West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery Worcester
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce Worcester
- 128 C.M. Trenor Worcester
- 129 R.C. Capron Worcester
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison [Boston](#)
- 131 Emily Loveland Worcester
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester Worcester
- 133 Phebe Worcester Worcester
- 134 Adeline Worcester Worcester
- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price [Hopedale](#)
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent [Boston](#)
- 140 D.H. Knowlton



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- 141 E.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 142 G. Valentine MA
- 143 A. Prince Worcester
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth Worcester
- 145 J.G. Warren Worcester
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell Worcester
- 147 Martin Stowell Worcester
- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp Worcester
- 149 C. M. Barbour Worcester
- 150 Daniel Mitchell [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
- 151 Alice H. Easton
- 152 Anna Q.T. Parsons [Boston](#)
- 153 C.D. McLane Worcester
- 154 W.H. Channing [Boston](#)
- 155 Wendell Phillips [Boston](#)
- 156 Abby K. Foster Worcester
- 157 S. S. Foster Worcester
- 158 [Paulina Wright Davis](#) [Providence](#)
- 159 Wm. D. Cady Warren MA
- 160 Ernestine L. Rose New-York
- 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden Roxbury MA
- 162 C.M. Shaw [Boston](#)
- 163 Ophelia D. Hill Worcester
- 164 Mrs. P. Allen Millbury MA
- 165 Lucy C. Dike Thompson CT
- 166 E. Goddard Worcester
- 167 M.F. Gilbert West Brookfield MA
- 168 G. Davis [Providence](#)
- 169 A.H. Johnson Worcester
- 170 W.H. Harrington Worcester
- 171 E.B. Briggs Worcester
- 172 A.C. Lackey Upton MA
- 173 Ora Ober Worcester
- 174 A. Barnes Princeton RI
- 175 Thomas Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 176 Rebecca Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 177 A.W. Thayer Worcester
- 178 M.M. Munyan Millbury MA
- 179 W.H. Johnson Worcester
- 180 Dr. S. Mowry [Chepachet](#) RI
- 181 George W. Benson [Northampton](#)
- 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter Worcester
- 183 H.S. Brigham Bolton MA
- 184 E.A. Welsh Feltonville MA
- 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore Charlton MA
- 186 Margaret S. Merrit Charlton MA
- 187 Martha Willard Charlton MA
- 188 A.N. Lamb Charlton MA
- 189 Mrs. Chaplin Worcester
- 190 Caroline Farnum
- 191 N.B. Hill Blackstone MA
- 192 K. Parsons Worcester
- 193 Jillson Worcester
- 194 E.W.K. Thompson



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- 195 L. Wait [Boston](#)
- 196 Mrs. Mary G. Wright CA
- 197 F.H. Underwood Webster MA
- 198 Asa Cutler CT
- 199 J.B. Willard Westford MA
- 200 Perry Joslin Worcester
- 201 [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock Milton NY
- 202 Elizabeth Johnson Worcester
- 203 Seneth Smith Oxford MA
- 204 Marian Hill Webster MA
- 205 Wm. Coe Worcester
- 206 E.T. Smith Leominster MA
- 207 Mary R. Hubbard
- 208 S. Aldrich Hopkinton MA
- 209 M.A. Maynard Feltonville MA
- 210 S.P.R. Feltonville MA
- 211 Anna R. Blake Monmouth ME
- 212 Ellen M. Prescott Monmouth ME
- 213 J.M. Cummings Worcester
- 214 Nancy Fay Upton MA
- 215 M. Jane Davis Worcester
- 216 D.R. Crandell Worcester
- 217 E.M. Burleigh Oxford MA
- 218 Sarah Chafee Leominster MA
- 219 Adeline Perry Worcester
- 220 Lydia E. Chase Worcester
- 221 J.A. Fuller Worcester
- 222 Sarah Prentice Worcester
- 223 Emily Prentice Worcester
- 224 H.N. Fairbanks Worcester
- 225 Mrs. A. Crowl Worcester
- 226 Dwight Tracy Worcester
- 227 J.S. Perry Worcester
- 228 Isaac Norcross Worcester
- 229 M.A.W. Johnson Salem OH
- 230 Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols Brattleboro VT
- 231 Charles Calistus Burleigh Plainfield CT
- 232 E.A. Parrington Worcester
- 233 Mrs. Parrington Worcester
- 234 Harriet F. Hunt [Boston](#)
- 235 Chas F. Hovey [Boston](#)
- 236 [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) Philadelphia
- 237 Susan Fuller Worcester
- 238 Thomas Earle Worcester
- 239 Alice Earle Worcester
- 240 Martha B. Earle Worcester
- 241 Anne H. Southwick Worcester
- 242 Joseph A. Howland Worcester
- 243 Adeline H. Howland Worcester
- 244 O.T. Harris Worcester
- 245 Julia T. Harris Worcester
- 246 John M. Spear [Boston](#)
- 247 E.J. Alden
- 248 E.D. Draper [Hopedale](#)



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- 249 D.R.P. Hewitt Salem MA
- 250 L.G. Wilkins Salem MA
- 251 J.H. Binney Worcester
- 252 Mary Adams Worcester
- 253 Anna T. Draper
- 254 Josephine Reglar
- 255 Anna Goulding Worcester
- 256 Adeline S. Greene
- 257 Silence Bigelow
- 258 A. Wyman
- 259 L.H. Ober
- 260 Betsey F. Lawton [Chepachet RI](#)
- 261 Emma Parker Philadelphia
- 262 Olive W. Hastings Lancaster MA (error?)
- 263 Silas Smith IO
- 264 Asenath Fuller
- 265 Denney M.F. Walker
- 266 Eunice D.F. Pierce
- 267 Elijah Houghton

1851

The Roman [Catholic](#) Sisters of Mercy established St. Aloysius Home in their convent on Claverick Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) near the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. (By 1862 this orphanage –the oldest continuous social welfare agency in the diocese– would be occupying a better building, on Prairie Avenue.)

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill, a barn had burned down and was replaced with one built of stone. Board and tuition stood at \$72 per year per young scholar, plus a surcharge for the occasional non-[Quaker](#) pupil. The school staff and the scholars began a practice of walking down the hill to the Providence meetinghouse at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street, for worship both at a Sunday afternoon worship and at a Midweek worship (presumably, non-Quaker scholars would have been exempted from this).



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

When Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre died during this year, American photographers wore black armbands for a month. Events in the development of photography:

- Although Hugh Mackay had opened a Daguerreotype studio in [China](#) in 1846, the earliest surviving photographic exposure we have to this point been able to collect happens to be a salted paper print from a calotype negative of the Five-Story Pagoda in Canton, made in this year.
- In England, Frederick Scott Archer, a sculptor, was introducing a process to supercede this dry Daguerreotypy process. This was done by means of a wet glass plate which had been coated in the dark with “collodion,” a surface made from nitrocellulose (“gun cotton”) dissolved in alcohol and ether, and then doped with potassium iodide, which when exposed to a momentary bright light could produce an image which could be fixed by application of a solution of ferrous sulfate. This new process combined the ability to produce multiple positives from a single negative, the advantage of the calotype process pioneered in England by William Henry Fox Talbot, with extremely fine detail, the advantage of the Daguerreotype process pioneered in France by Joseph-Nicephor Niépce and Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, and added to this process a **stop-motion** speed which not only eased the inconvenience of producing photographs but also extended the range of possible photographs to include moving objects. Although, in this year, the first flash photograph was being produced by William Henry Fox Talbot by use of the spark discharge from a Leyden jar battery, there remained problems of brightness and of synchronization, so Archer’s new wet process of photography would be used indoors during the 1850s in conjunction with magnesium wire which, when burned in a “low-tech” manner, could produce a more intense and sustained and manageable light.
- Joseph-Nicephor Niépce was at this point able to produce unstable photographs in color. Although an American daguerreotypist, Levi Hill, was claiming at this point also to have taken natural-color daguerreotypes, and although such a discovery is certainly not impossible in the light of subsequent developments in photography, his reluctance to exhibit his work, coupled with suspicions that he was not above enhancing his murky effects through trickery, do cast some shadow of suspicion over our national claim to have originated color photography.
- Robert Vance exhibited a series of 300 whole-plate daguerreotypes of California, creating a sensation. He had taken panoramas of population centers such as San Francisco, of the Franciscan missions, of the native Americans in their way of life, of the gold miners in their way of life, etc. All these photographs are now entirely lost to us, except in chance contemporary verbal characterizations.

[Friend](#) Edward Hicks made a declaration in this year in regard to painting that may surprise you; he expressed what was a very typical attitude of the Quakers of that period in general toward the fine arts in general: “If the Christian world was in the real spirit of Christ, I do not believe there would be such a thing as a fine painter in Christendom. It appears clearly to me to be one of those trifling, insignificant arts, which has never been of any substantial advantage to mankind. But as the inseparable companion of voluptuousness and pride, it has presaged the downfall of empires and kingdoms; and in my view stands now enrolled among the premonitory symptoms of the rapid decline of the American Republic.”²⁰⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

207. MEMOIRS, as quoted in Carolyn Weekley’s THE KINGDOMS OF EDWARD HICKS (Williamsburg VA: Colonial Williamsburg/ Abrams, 1999), page 30

April 10: Friend Oliver Johnson, writing in the Pennsylvania Freeman, described the advocates of nonresistance to evil as “godlike men who will suffer any injury but inflict none.” Such a stand is “very rare,” nevertheless these people have appreciated the fact that “violent resistance to oppression does more harm than good.”²⁰⁸

Under the heading “Pacifist, Thoreau not a” on page 191 of CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM, a history written by the patriot Ruth R. Wheeler, the Simms incident is cited as one of the author’s two proof-texts, demonstrating that **Henry David Thoreau believed in resisting evil**, and was characterized as follows:



Henry Thoreau at this time (April, 1851) expressed himself at length and bitterly in his Journal. He was proud to read that the man who made the prayer on the wharf was Daniel Foster of CONCORD but when he thought what a short time Foster had lived in Concord, he was ashamed that the Buttricks and Davises and Hosmers, descendants of the men who had fought at the bridge for their liberty, should be celebrating that fight on April 19th while themselves unwilling to do anything to help three million slaves attain their freedom.

But I would have done with comparing ourselves with our ancestors, for I believe that even they, if somewhat braver and less corrupt than we, were not men of so much principle and generosity as to go to war in behalf of another race in their midst. I do not believe that the North will soon come to blows with the South on this question. It would be too bright a page to be written in the history of the race at present.

History in 1861 was to show how wrong Thoreau was in this estimate.

Clearly, Ruth R. Wheeler was neither a reader with any capacity to recognize sarcasm nor a writer with any capacity to reserve judgment. For if there was a man who was converted to a life of violence by the violence of the Thomas Simms (Sims) case, it was Daniel Foster, the Concord minister who had attracted notice by praying on the dock in 1851 as Simms was being extradited from Boston to Savannah GA in 1851 — not Henry Thoreau.

Friend Levi Coffin wrote to Friend William Still:

CINCINNATI, 4TH MO., 10TH, 1851.

FRIEND WM. STILL:—We have sorrowful news from our friend Concklin, through the papers and otherwise. I received a letter a few days ago from a friend near Princeton, Ind., stating that Concklin and the four slaves are in prison in Vincennes, and that their trial would come on in a few days. He states that they rowed seven days and nights in the skiff, and got safe to Harmony, Ind., on the Wabash river, thence to Princeton, and

208. One is led to wonder why the attitude, that doing harm rather than good does more harm than good, is considered by so many of us to be astonishing, controversial, and inane.



were conveyed to Vincennes by friends, where they were taken. The papers state, that they were all given up to the Marshal of Evansville, Indiana.

We have telegraphed to different points, to try to get some information concerning them, but failed. The last information is published in the Times of yesterday, though quite incorrect in the particulars of the case. Inclosed is the slip containing it. I fear all is over in regard to the freedom of the slaves. If the last account be true, we have some hope that Concklin will escape from those bloody tyrants. I cannot describe my feelings on hearing this sad intelligence. I feel ashamed to own my country. Oh! what shall I say. Surely a God of justice will avenge the wrongs of the oppressed.

Thine for the poor slave,

LEVI COFFIN.

N.B.—If thou hast any information, please write me forthwith.

- May: Burning over the burned-over region, Sojourner Truth had since February been speaking against slavery across upstate New York. The spirits indeed move in mysterious ways, for while visiting the area she was becoming entranced by table-rappings and communications with the departed.

Carleton Mabee's SOJOURNER TRUTH

Pages 99-100: In Truth's time, Spiritualists played a role similar to that of "New Age" religionists in the late 1900s. The general public often ridiculed Spiritualists, and conservative churches often attacked them; Seventh Day Adventists, who were strong in Battle Creek, were among those who attacked Spiritualists, claiming they talked not to spirits of the dead but to devils. Some abolitionist-feminists such as [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), Parker Pillsbury, and Frederick Douglass were skeptical of Spiritualists. Others tended to avoid identifying with them because they did not wish to antagonize the conventional church. But many abolitionist-feminists, including William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone, and [Paulina Wright Davis](#), despite being dubious of certain claims by particular Spiritualists, tended to believe that spiritualism not only reinforced the Christian belief in immortality, but also was a progressive development that went hand in hand with efforts to improve the status of blacks and of women. By the late 1850s most of the Progressive Friends—a movement especially of dissident Quakers in which Truth and many of her friends took part, in Battle Creek, Rochester, and elsewhere—had accepted spiritualism. By the 1860s the intermingling of Progressive Friends and Spiritualists was so pervasive that it was hard to tell them apart.

- May 11: [Friend Levi Coffin](#) wrote to Friend William Still:

CINCINNATI, 5TH MO., 11TH, 1851.

WM. STILL:—Dear Friend—Thy letter of 1st inst., came duly to hand, but not being able to give any further information concerning our friend, Concklin, I thought best to wait a little before I wrote, still hoping to learn something more definite concerning him.

We that became acquainted with Seth Concklin and his hazardous enterprises (here at Cincinnati), who were very few, have felt intense and inexpressible anxiety about them. And particularly about poor Seth, since we heard of his falling into the hands of the tyrants. I fear that he has fallen a victim to their



inhuman thirst for blood.

I seriously doubt the rumor, that he had made his escape. I fear that he was sacrificed.

Language would fail to express my feelings; the intense and deep anxiety I felt about them for weeks before I heard of their capture in Indiana, and then it seemed too much to bear. O! my heart almost bleeds when I think of it. The hopes of the dear family all blasted by the wretched blood-hounds in human shape. And poor Seth, after all his toil, and dangerous, shrewd and wise management, and almost unheard of adventures, the many narrow and almost miraculous escapes. Then to be given up to Indianians, to these fiendish tyrants, to be sacrificed. O! Shame, Shame!!

My heart aches, my eyes fill with tears, I cannot write more. I cannot dwell longer on this painful subject now. If you get any intelligence, please inform me. Friend N.R. Johnston, who took so much interest in them, and saw them just before they were taken, has just returned to the city. He is a minister of the Covenanter order. He is truly a lovely man, and his heart is full of the milk of humanity; one of our best Anti-Slavery spirits. I spent last evening with him. He related the whole story to me as he had it from friend Concklin and the mother and children, and then the story of their capture. We wept together. He found thy letter when he got here.

He said he would write the whole history to thee in a few days, as far as he could. He can tell it much better than I can.

Concklin left his carpet sack and clothes here with me, except a shirt or two he took with him. What shall I do with them? For if we do not hear from him soon, we must conclude that he is lost, and the report of his escape all a hoax.

Truly thy friend,

LEVI COFFIN.

December 6, Saturday: The group of about 100 armed white men under the leadership of Lieutenant Thomas Sweeny, who had been besieged in their Camp Independence since November 12th, at this point made their move out of the native American controlled territory and back to the white settlements.

In Concord, [Henry Thoreau](#) was surveying a six-acre woodlot near Annursnack Hill for Samuel Barrett and did not make an entry in his journal. This woodlot had belonged to the Lorings and was being sold to George Brooks. The bill for the survey was \$3.⁰⁰. Neighbors mentioned on the survey papers are Prescott, Barrett, Billings,²⁰⁹ and Easterbrook.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/5.htm

Meanwhile, in New-York, Walt Whitman was witnessing the landing of [Lajos Kossuth](#), with cannon salutes, a grand parade down Broadway, a banquet for 400 at the Irving House, and a torchlit procession. This great white advocate of liberty was here in our great whitman land of liberty at last! Whitman wished courage "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire."



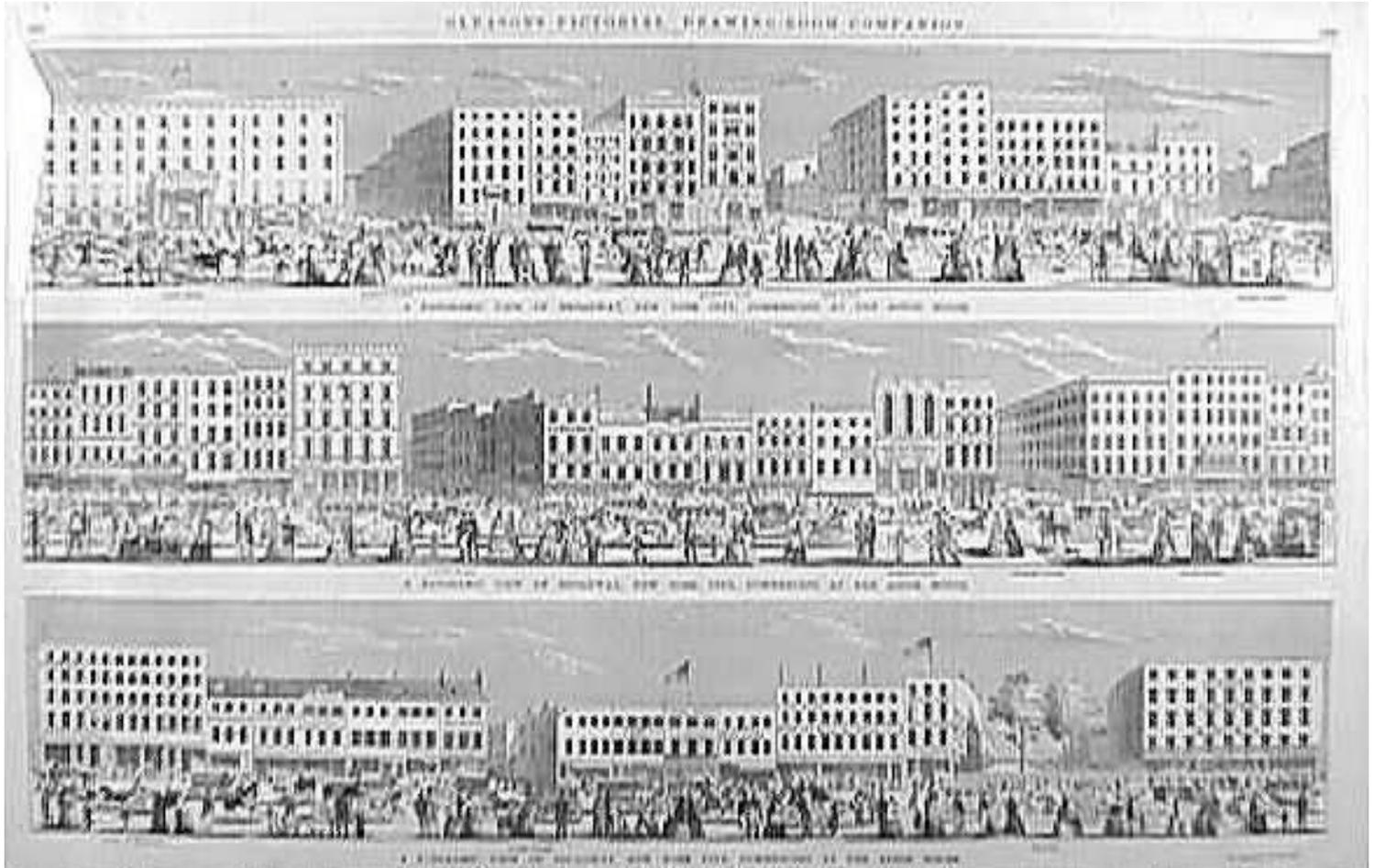
Incidentally, note the "Kossuth hat." Although it doesn't show in this particular illustration, such a hat sported an ostrich plume.

209. I imagine this is not Boston's illustrator and architect Hammatt Billings, but perhaps the home of Nathaniel and John Billings on Old Concord Road?

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

This is what Broadway Avenue would look like, nine years later:



Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, a ceremony of an entirely different order was being transacted. William Parker's three white neighbors, as well as all black men that armed posses could hunt "like partridges upon the mountain" (as one person described the event), that is, culprits who had been singled out merely by their availability and the color of their pelt regardless of whether they were anywhere near that home on that night in September, were being arraigned for treason against the United States of America, on the allegation that refusal to assist Gorsuch and his marshall, equally with resisting the marshall, amounted to making war. It seems that the no-nos the nation derived from this incident were not "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world" but "something has gone seriously awry when white men refuse to side with their own race," and not "resist not evil" but "we can't let niggers know how to use guns." [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and her associates were in the courtroom "knitting furiously." Each man wore a red, white, and blue knitted scarf around his neck.

This charge of conspiring to make war could of course not be sustained, but Judge John Kane made a remark about "itinerant female agitators" that indicated he would have found the defendants guilty if there had been



any way to do so. This case became central in the ongoing debate within the antislavery movement over resort to violence in the face of injustice. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) summed up her position with the thought that we all know, of course, that good is of God, and therefore we must be mistaken if we ever suppose it can come from our doing evil. I am bringing this incident to your attention because it bears on the issue of whether Thoreau was a nonviolenter. Mott holds unimpeached credentials as a nonviolenter, and Thoreau's credentials as a nonviolenter have been attacked by his biographer Richardson on the basis of his reaction to the Harper's Ferry raid of 1859, and yet it is clear that had the black activist William Parker been captured and put on trial for the murder of this white master, Mott would have reacted in exactly the same way Thoreau reacted to John Brown's conduct. In fact Mott's deportment and words in the case of this charge of treason in the "Christiana riot" in 1851 exactly parallel Thoreau's deportment and words in the case of John Brown.

We note especially the words that Thoreau would have read about John Brown as a moral hero in the presence of the widow Brown, over the grave at North Elba on July 4, 1860:

John Brown's career for the last six weeks of his life was meteor-like, flashing through the darkness in which we live. I know of nothing so miraculous in our history.

If any person, in a lecture or conversation at that time, cited any ancient example of heroism, such as Cato or Tell or Winkelried, passing over the recent deeds and words of Brown, it was felt by any intelligent audience of Northern men to be tame and inexcusably far-fetched.

For my own part, I commonly attend more to nature than to man, but any affecting human event may blind our eyes to natural objects. I was so absorbed in him as to be surprised whenever I detected the routine of the natural world surviving still, or met persons going about their affairs indifferent. It appeared strange to me that the "little dipper" should be still diving quietly in the river, as of yore; and it suggested that this bird might continue to dive here when Concord should be no more.

I felt that he, a prisoner in the midst of his enemies and under sentence of death, if consulted as to his next step or resource, could answer more wisely than all his countrymen beside. He best understood his position; he contemplated it most calmly. Comparatively, all other men, North and South, were beside themselves. Our thoughts could not revert to any greater or wiser or better man with whom to contrast him, for he, then and there, was above them all. The man this country was about to hang appeared the greatest and best in it.

Years were not required for a revolution of public opinion; days, nay hours, produced marked changes in this case. Fifty who were ready to say, on going into our meeting in honor of him in Concord, that he ought to be hung, would not say it when they came out. They heard his words read; they saw the earnest faces of the congregation; and perhaps they joined at last in singing the hymn in his praise.

The order of instructors was reversed. I heard that one preacher, who at first was shocked and stood aloof, felt obliged at last, after he was hung, to make him the subject of a sermon, in which, to some extent, he eulogized the man, but said that his act was a failure. An influential class-teacher thought it necessary, after the services, to tell his grown-up pupils that



at first he thought as the preacher did then, but now he thought that John Brown was right. But it was understood that his pupils were as much ahead of the teacher as he was ahead of the priest; and I know for a certainty that very little boys at home had already asked their parents, in a tone of surprise, why God did not interfere to save him. In each case, the constituted teachers were only half conscious that they were not leading, but being dragged, with some loss of time and power.

The more conscientious preachers, the Bible men, they who talk about principle, and doing to others as you would that they should do unto you – how could they fail to recognize him, by far the greatest preacher of them all, with the Bible in his life and in his acts, the embodiment of principle, who actually carried out the golden rule? All whose moral sense had been aroused, who had a calling from on high to preach, sided with him. What confessions he extracted from the cold and conservative! It is remarkable, but on the whole it is well, that it did not prove the occasion for a new sect of Brownites being formed in our midst.

They, whether within the Church or out of it, who adhere to the spirit and let go the letter, and are accordingly called infidel, were as usual foremost to recognize him. Men have been hung in the South before for attempting to rescue slaves, and the North was not much stirred by it. Whence, then, this wonderful difference? We were not so sure of their devotion to principle. We made a subtle distinction, forgot human laws, and did homage to an idea. The North, I mean the living North, was suddenly all transcendental. It went behind the human law, it went behind the apparent failure, and recognized eternal justice and glory. Commonly, men live according to a formula, and are satisfied if the order of law is observed, but in this instance they, to some extent, returned to original perceptions, and there was a slight revival of old religion. They saw that what was called order was confusion, what was called justice, injustice, and that the best was deemed the worst. This attitude suggested a more intelligent and generous spirit than that which actuated our forefathers, and the possibility, in the course of ages, of a revolution in behalf of another and an oppressed people.

Most Northern men, and a few Southern ones, were wonderfully stirred by Brown's behavior and words. They saw and felt that they were heroic and noble, and that there had been nothing quite equal to them in their kind in this country, or in the recent history of the world. But the minority were unmoved by them. They were only surprised and provoked by the attitude of their neighbors. They saw that Brown was brave, and that he believed that he had done right, but they did not detect any further peculiarity in him. Not being accustomed to make fine distinctions, or to appreciate magnanimity, they read his letters and speeches as if they read them not. They were not aware when they approached a heroic statement, – they did not know when they burned. They did not feel that he spoke with authority, and hence they only remembered that the law must be



executed. They remembered the old formula, but did not hear the new revelation. The man who does not recognize in Brown's words a wisdom and nobleness, and therefore an authority, superior to our laws, is a modern Democrat. This is the test by which to discover him. He is not willfully but constitutionally blind on this side, and he is consistent with himself. Such has been his past life; no doubt of it. In like manner he has read history and his Bible, and he accepts, or seems to accept, the last only as an established formula, and not because he has been convicted by it. You will not find kindred sentiments in his commonplace book, if he has one.

When a noble deed is done, who is likely to appreciate it? They who are noble themselves. I was not surprised that certain of my neighbors spoke of John Brown as an ordinary felon, for who are they? They have either much flesh, or much office, or much coarseness of some kind. They are not ethereal natures in any sense. The dark qualities predominate in them. Several of them are decidedly pachydermatous. I say it in sorrow, not in anger. How can a man behold the light who has no answering inward light? They are true to their right, but when they look this way they see nothing, they are blind. For the children of the light to contend with them is as if there should be a contest between eagles and owls. Show me a man who feels bitterly toward John Brown, and let me hear what noble verse he can repeat. He'll be as dumb as if his lips were stone.

It is not every man who can be a Christian, even in a very moderate sense, whatever education you give him. It is a matter of constitution and temperament, after all. He may have to be born again many times. I have known many a man who pretended to be a Christian, in whom it was ridiculous, for he had no genius for it. It is not every man who can be a freeman, even.

Editors persevered for a good while in saying that Brown was crazy; but at last they said only that it was "a crazy scheme," and the only evidence brought to prove it was that it cost him his life. I have no doubt that if he had gone with five thousand men, liberated a thousand slaves, killed a hundred or two slaveholders, and had as many more killed on his own side, but not lost his own life, these same editors would have called it by a more respectable name. Yet he has been far more successful than that. He has liberated many thousands of slaves, both North and-South. They seem to have known nothing about living or dying for a principle. They all called him crazy then; who calls him crazy now?

All through the excitement occasioned by his remarkable attempt and subsequent behavior the Massachusetts Legislature, not taking any steps for the defense of her citizens who were likely to be carried to Virginia as witnesses and exposed to the violence of a slaveholding mob, was wholly absorbed in a liquor-agency question, and indulging in poor jokes on the word "extension." Bad spirits occupied their thoughts. I am sure that no statesman up to the occasion could have attended to that question at all at that time – a very vulgar question to attend to at any time!



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

When I looked into a liturgy of the Church of England, printed near the end of the last century, in order to find a service applicable to the case of Brown, I found that the only martyr recognized and provided for by it was King Charles the First, an eminent scamp. Of all the inhabitants of England and of the world, he was the only one, according to this authority, whom that church had made a martyr and saint of; and for more than a century it had celebrated his martyrdom, so called, by an annual service. What a satire on the Church is that!

Look not to legislatures and churches for your guidance, nor to any soulless incorporated bodies, but to inspirited or inspired ones.

What avail all your scholarly accomplishments and learning, compared with wisdom and manhood? To omit his other behavior, see what a work this comparatively unread and unlettered man wrote within six weeks. Where is our professor of belles-lettres, or of logic and rhetoric, who can write so well? He wrote in prison, not a History of the World, like Raleigh, but an American book which I think will live longer than that. I do not know of such words, uttered under such circumstances, and so copiously withal, in Roman or English or any history. What a variety of themes he touched on in that short space! There are words in that letter to his wife, respecting the education of his daughters, which deserve to be framed and hung over every mantelpiece in the land. Compare this earnest wisdom with that of Poor Richard.

The death of [Washington] Irving, which at any other time would have attracted universal attention, having occurred while these things were transpiring, went almost unobserved. I shall have to read of it in the biography of authors.

Literary gentlemen, editors, and critics think that they know how to write, because they have studied grammar and rhetoric; but they are egregiously mistaken. The art of composition is as simple as the discharge of a bullet from a rifle, and its masterpieces imply an infinitely greater force behind them. This unlettered man's speaking and writing are standard English. Some words and phrases deemed vulgarisms and Americanisms before, he has made standard American; such as "It will pay." It suggests that the one great rule of composition -and if I were a professor of rhetoric I should insist on this- is, to speak the truth. This first, this second, this third; pebbles in your mouth or not. This demands earnestness and manhood chiefly.

We seem to have forgotten that the expression, a liberal education, originally meant among the Romans one worthy of free men; while the learning of trades and professions by which to get your livelihood merely was considered worthy of slaves only. But taking a hint from the word, I would go a step further, and say that it is not the man of wealth and leisure simply, though devoted to art, or science, or literature, who, in a true sense, is liberally educated, but only the earnest and free man. In a slaveholding country like this, there can be no such thing as a liberal education tolerated by the State; and those scholars of



Austria and France who, however learned they may be, are contented under their tyrannies have received only a servile education.

Nothing could his enemies do but it redounded to his infinite advantage – that is, to the advantage of his cause. They did not hang him at once, but reserved him to preach to them. And then there was another great blunder. They did not hang his four followers with him; that scene was still postponed; and so his victory was prolonged and completed. No theatrical manager could have arranged things so wisely to give effect to his behavior and words. And who, think you, was the manager? Who placed the slave-woman and her child, whom he stooped to kiss for a symbol, between his prison and the gallows?

We soon saw, as he saw, that he was not to be pardoned or rescued by men. That would have been to disarm him, to restore to him a material weapon, a Sharps' rifle, when he had taken up the sword of the spirit – the sword with which he has really won his greatest and most memorable victories. Now he has not laid aside the sword of the spirit, for he is pure spirit himself, and his sword is pure spirit also.

“He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.”

What a transit was that of his horizontal body alone, but just cut down from the gallows-tree! We read, that at such a time it passed through Philadelphia, and by Saturday night had reached New York. Thus like a meteor it shot through the Union from the Southern regions toward the North! No such freight had the cars borne since they carried him Southward alive.

On the day of his translation, I heard, to be sure, that he was hung, but I did not know what that meant; I felt no sorrow on that account; but not for a day or two did I even hear that he was dead, and not after any number of days shall I believe it. Of all the men who were said to be my contemporaries, it seemed to me that John Brown was the only one who had not died. I never hear of a man named Brown now –and I hear of them pretty often – I never hear of any particularly brave and earnest man, but my first thought is of John Brown, and what relation he may be to him. I meet him at every turn. He is more alive than ever he was. He has earned immortality. He is not confined to North Elba nor to Kansas. He is no longer working in secret. He works in public, and in the clearest light that shines on this land.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



And it is also worthy of note that on October 25-26, 1860 (published November 3) [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), the foremost spokesperson for nonviolence in the abolitionist movement in America, brought forward the position she had originally taken in regard to the “Christiana riot” near Philadelphia in 1851 by declaring

It is not John Brown the soldier we praise, it is John Brown the moral hero.



We might be tempted to declare that [Thoreau](#) was the most belligerent nonresistor of evil the world had yet seen, but in fact that description had already been awarded to someone. It was awarded by [Robert Purvis](#) to [Friend Lucretia](#), and (despite what was said in the heat of the Civil War by Horace Greeley’s newspaper in New-York, in mockery of her) there is no shadow of a doubt that [Friend Lucretia](#) was for the totality of her life a convinced disbeliever in all violence.



1852

The [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in Lynn MA was moved so that it faced Silsbee Street.



Among white Methodists, at least since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal denomination in 1784, tickets were given for the admission to the communion service, with those who had failed to comply with the very high standard of the church for conduct and attire being refused communion. No tickets were handed out to anyone who sported superfluous ornaments, even if this were nothing more egregious than a married woman wearing a wedding band. The rule regarding dress and ornaments had been part of the DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH. At this point, however, such rules were eased. In the second half of the 19th Century, even some Mennonite wives from eastern Pennsylvania to Iowa and Missouri would have wedding bands, although this was not the usual Mennonite practice. Between 1864 and 1949, there would be at least 39 Mennonite resolutions against the wearing of jewelry — and fully half of these resolutions would come after 1918.” The list of forbidden articles of jewelry was not limited to bracelets, broaches, pins, necklaces, pearls, and gold rings in general, but also specifically proscribed both betrothal rings and wedding bands.

According to A. Neave Brayshaw’s *THE QUAKERS, THEIR STORY & MESSAGE* (Sessions, York, 1921, last revision 1937), the [Quaker](#) practice of allowing no wedding band goes back to the revolt of the Puritans. In a footnote to page 184, this is linked to anti-Catholicism: “As to the use of the ring in marriage, this was, in the sixteenth century, one of the chief battlegrounds between the Puritans and their opponents, as the former objected to it as a Popish practice.” By 1847, however, the wedding band had come into use even among the Friends. Per pages 291-2: “A letter in the [British Friend](#) draws attention to ‘the increasing practice of wearing wedding rings,’ calling it ‘the badge of an hireling ministry.’” According to this book, other letter-writers of the time were complaining about the habit of Quaker children of addressing their parents by the use of non-scriptural “Papa” and “Mama,” as well as of having one’s portrait painted, of possessing such images or using them in biographies, of crocheting or fancy work, of the singing of hymns, etc. It would be safe to say that by mid-century some naughty Quaker women were sporting wedding bands — but we do not know whether 1.) they would have had these rings placed on their finger in the course of their wedding in the manner of Friends, or, the other possibility, whether 2.) that wedding band was a concession to the general culture that they would have added to their finger only after the Quaker ceremony.



[Dr. H.C. Preston](#) became President of the [Rhode Island](#) Homœopathic Society. He became an associate editor and a constant contributor to the [Philadelphia Journal of Homœopathy](#).

All property in [Rhode Island](#), whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, was in this year freed from taxation. (In 1870 the political winds would blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 became taxable. Anti-Catholic prejudice would in 1872 cause the tax exemption to be restricted again to only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, would become taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[Quaker](#) discipline eased up a bit, and the enrollment at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) picked up from its low point of 55 in 1845, and was averaging about 95.

In the future the school would not be utilizing superintendents, but instead would be utilizing principals:

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen and Hannah, Asst. Supts.
1835-1836.	Davis, Seth and Mary.
1837.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1838-1839.	Rathbun, Rowland and Alice.
1840-1844.	Wing, Allen and Olive.
1845-1846.	Thompson, Olney and Lydia.
1847.	Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia.
1847-1852.	Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.



The distinction between a superintendent and a principal is not a casual one. It is, rather, that “principal” is a legal term of art, reserved for the sort of situation in which a person has a direct personal financial stake in outcomes. A principal is a principal because he or she received part of the proceeds.

Friend John Kellam has been researching the records that are now stored on the second floor of the Rhode Island Historical Society repository on Hope Avenue in [Providence](#), and has by email provided me with the following synopsis of the situation:

In 1852 the school closed immediately after a fire for repairs and opportune improvements; and reopened for the winter term in early 1853. The printed minutes of the 1852 Yearly Meeting are missing from the bound book. Oak Grove Seminary (a school which was in competition) opened at Vassalboro, Maine in 1854, and would come under the care of the New England Yearly Meeting in 1884. School charges per term in 1850 were \$30 for child members, \$45 for children of members, and \$50 for members of other Yearly Meetings, and would be raised by small increments to 1855 when they were \$40 for members, \$60 for children of members, and \$100 for all others. The \$5 charged for instruction in Ancient Languages or French or Drawing didn't change during those years. But although those charges made annual income from scholars rise from \$6,912 in 1850 to \$12,362, the School (general) Fund indebtedness increased from \$1,956 in 1853 to \$8,277 in 1855 when a special Meeting for Sufferings (precursor to Permanent Board later on) on March 9th, 1855 received notice from the Boarding School Committee that the school was vacated, with Charles and Cynthia Earle appointed as Steward and Matron to reside in the School House and hold the custody of the premises and property. The Boarding School reopened at commencement of the winter term, with teaching provided under contract for \$1,500 (later, \$3,000 per year) by Joseph and Gertrude Cartland as the Principals. In 1856 the School Fund debt reduced from \$8,277 to \$5,922. \$1,233 worth of farm produce was taken by Joseph Cartland to be used within the Institution and accounted for. For several years an excess of income over expenses was applied to reduce the School Fund debt until the School Committee was hopeful that all debt could be soon eliminated. Meanwhile, the \$6,500 proceeds from the 1849 sale of one of the two 10-acre lots (the one north of Olney Street) was placed in the School Fund as a loan from the Farm Fund which for several years received interest of about \$700 per year until repayment was made of the principal.

In 1806,  a Philadelphia [Quaker](#) discipline had stipulated “that no monuments, either of wood or stone, be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds.” At this point a [Hicksite](#) group of Quakers modified this to read:

that no costly or showy monuments be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds; or any mark be permitted exceeding six inches in height above the level of the ground, or more than sixteen inches in width and four inches in thickness, with the name and age of the deceased.



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(A similar pattern can be found in other yearly meetings: the older rule would have been no gravestones at all, then a later rule would permit stones of a limited height with nothing on them other than the name, age, and date of death of the deceased. The Orthodox branch of Quakers would make a similar amendment in 1893. In the Quaker burying grounds of Newtown Square, Pennsylvania, which were founded in the 1690s, the earliest grave sites have no markers, but starting in the mid-18th Century simple stone markers appear. Rather large and ornate markers are common from 1850s-1890s, and then gradually the markers become simple and small again. A number of Quaker markers now sport iron “Grand Army of the Republic” emblems in addition to the grave and foot stones, indicating that this Quaker had served as a soldier during the civil war — and perhaps that he or his family was not embarrassed at that fact.)

In London, [Lajos Kossuth](#) became an intimate of [Giuseppe Mazzini](#), and joined his revolutionary committee.

ITALY

[Thomas Mayne Reid, Jr.](#)'s THE YOUNG VOYAGEURS; OR, THE BOY HUNTERS IN THE NORTH. The author engaged in a plan for [Kossuth](#) to travel incognito across Europe as his man-servant “James Hawkins” under a Foreign Office passport “for the free passage of Captain Mayne Reid, British subject, travelling on the Continent with a man-servant.”

In [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE there was talk of the reading of [THE DIAL](#):

Being much alone, during my recovery, I read interminably [page 677] in Mr. Emerson's Essays, the Dial, Carlyle's works, George Sand's romances, (lent me by Zenobia,) and other books which one or another of the brethren or sisterhood had brought with them. Agreeing in little else, most of these utterances were like the cry of some solitary sentinel, whose station was on the outposts of the advance-guard of human progression; or, sometimes, the voice came sadly from among the shattered ruins of the past, but yet had a hopeful echo in the future. They were well adapted (better, at least, than any other intellectual products, the volatile essence of which had heretofore tintured a printed page) to pilgrims like ourselves, whose present bivouac was considerably farther into the waste of chaos than any mortal army of crusaders had ever marched before. Fourier's works, also, in a series of horribly tedious volumes, attracted a good deal of my attention, from the analogy which I could not but recognize between his system and our own. There was far less resemblance, it is true, than the world chose to imagine; inasmuch as the two theories differed, as widely as the zenith from the nadir, in their main principles.

At some point during this year the proud author sat for his portrait in the studio of G.P.A. Healy at West Street and Washington Street in Boston. His new book was in part about “the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of [Blithedale](#),” an experiment in community which was “in spite of its Edenic pretensions, located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding ‘New England metropolis’.”



When "Wakefield" was published in 1836, most of Hawthorne's audience, like Hawthorne himself, would only have known of the conditions of urban life treated in the sketch by having read about them. Hawthorne takes advantage of the exoticism of a European metropolitan setting, just as Poe was to have done a few years later in "The Man of the Crowd" and "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." Yet by 1852, when *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* was published, the urbanization of America was no longer an abstract possibility; it was, thanks to economic growth, industrial development, and large-scale immigration, an increasingly insistent reality. The intellectual and social movements represented by the Blithedale community were, in large measure, a response to these historic changes. The process of urbanization is therefore never entirely out of sight in *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*. Expressing the ideas implicit in the agrarian experiment, Coverdale offers several standard Transcendentalist criticisms of urban life. Driving through the streets of Boston, he describes "how the buildings, on either side, seemed to press too closely upon us, insomuch that our mighty hearts found barely room enough to throb between them" (3:11). Observing how the snow falling upon the city is blackened by smoke, and molded by boots, Coverdale makes it into a metaphor for the way in which human nature is corrupted by the "falsehood, formality, and error" (3:11) of city life. In addition, Coverdale identifies cities as the sources of the "selfish competition," which powers the "weary treadmill of established society" (3:19). Yet, although Coverdale will occasionally express the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of Blithedale, he implicitly recognizes, late in the book, that it may be futile to attempt to arrest the advance of urban civilization. When he observes a crowd at a village lyceum, it seems to him to be "rather suburban than rural" (3:197). The decline of authentic rusticity has been implied earlier when we learn that Blithedale, in spite of its Edenic pretensions, is located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding "New England metropolis." From the very beginning of *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*, we know that the utopian experiment has failed and that Coverdale has returned to the urban existence he originally fled.

During this year [Kossuth](#) was fundraising practically everywhere in America, including in the First Church at [Northampton](#). He had a letter of introduction to the Motts of Philadelphia, and they invited him to dinner at their home. The Governor's advisers insisted that he call there only for an informal chat while refraining from breaking bread with any such notorious abolitionists — lest news of such an indiscretion get out and he be embarrassed. During his visit and chat, [Friend Lucretia](#) somehow formed the opinion that although this politician was afraid to say so, in his heart he would have to be opposed to human slavery in any form. (Madam Pulzysky, Kossuth's sister, also visited the Motts, and by way of contrast she was willing to argue the advantages of human slavery with them.)

What sort of man was this Kossuth? Utterly ruthless. Cold-blooded murder was not beyond him, when the result would prove useful. When he had needed to safeguard the royal gems of Hungary, for instance, including the crown of St. Stephen which was held to be necessary for the coronation of any true king of Hungary, he had had them buried at a spot on the banks of the Danube, and he had employed for this work "a detachment of prisoners who were shot after the concealment was complete." His plot was that this portable property was

HDT

WHAT?

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to be recovered later, packed in marmalade, and carried via Constantinople to “the well-known Philhellene” of Boston, [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#). However, when it came to be time, during this year, to dig up the jewels and pack them in marmalade for shipment to Boston, the man whom he would entrust to do this would betray his trust. –Eventually the jewels, including the crown of St. Stephen, would come into the control of the government of Austria.

Kossuth somehow suborned the cooperation of [William James Stillman](#) in his abortive scheme to recover the jewels, and this American artist sailed off to Hungary on this wild-goose chase.

According to page 153 and pages 161-6 of Larry J. Reynolds’s influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), virtually everything about [Henry Thoreau](#) during this period is to be accounted for in terms of the manifold influences upon him and upon the times, of European revolutionaries such as [Kossuth](#) here:



Faced with this threat of mental contamination, our guy allegedly has become literally obsessed with maintaining his self-concept and his self-satisfaction:

Thoreau, stirred by [Lajos Kossuth](#)’s visit and news of European affairs, returned to the manuscript of *WALDEN* and revised and expanded it throughout 1852. Although engaged by current events, Thoreau fought a spiritual battle to remain aloof, “to preserve the mind’s chastity” by reading “not the Times” but “the Eternities.” Imagining that he had won, he celebrated his victory in *WALDEN*.... Kossuth’s visit to the United States and [Concord](#) brought to a head a struggle Thoreau had been engaged in for some time. During the years following the European revolutions of 1848-1849, Thoreau struggled to develop his spiritual side and rid himself of what he considered a degrading interest in current events. He also tried to communicate to [Waldo Emerson](#) and the world his own capacity for heroism. After the disappointing reception of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) in the summer of 1849, Thoreau had become uncertain about how to proceed with his life. Setting the third draft of *WALDEN* aside as unpublishable, he studied Hinduism, visited Cape Cod several times, took a trip to Canada, and began his Indian book project. The next year, 1851, he started to focus his energies, and, as Lewis Leary has said, these twelve months were a watershed in his life, a time of consolidation, of self-discovery, of preparation for some important new effort. “I find myself uncommonly prepared for **some** literary work...,” he wrote in his journal on September 7, 1851. “I am prepared not so much



for contemplation, as for forceful expression." Subsequently, 1852 became Thoreau's *annus mirabilis*, the year his months of living deliberately yielded a value of its own, he lavished upon it the care and craft that turned it into his richest literary achievement; he also wrote at this time most of his essay "Life without Principle," which, as Walter Harding has observed, "contains virtually all the fundamental principles upon which he based his life"; and, more important, he radically revised and reshaped *WALDEN*, changing it from a factual account of his life in the woods into the embryo of a profound spiritual autobiography, illuminated by the idea of spiritual renewal, shaped and informed by the cycle of the seasons.

The catalyst for the metamorphosis of *WALDEN* was Thoreau's desire to resolve, in writing if not in fact, the conflict he felt between the spiritual and the animal in himself. On the one hand, his recent communion with nature had yielded, as it had in his youth, transcendence – not of the world of material fact, but rather of the world of trivial fact. At times he achieved a state of pure spirituality in the woods. On August 17, 1851, for example, he recorded in his journal, "My heart leaps into my mouth at the sound of the wind in the woods. I, whose life was but yesterday so desultory and shallow, suddenly recover my spirits, my spirituality, through my hearing.... I did not despair of worthier moods, and now I have occasion to be grateful for the flood of life that is flowing over me." At such times, he reexperienced the ecstasy of his youth, when, as he put it, "the morning and the evening were sweet to me, and I led a life aloof from society of men." Despite these experiences, which he valued greatly, another aspect of Thoreau's personality cared about society, cared passionately about justice, about the actions of governments, about the fate of actual men in the nineteenth century. This part of him, however, he associated with his impure animal nature, and he sought to purge it.

Thoreau had no way of knowing whether the body was Margaret Fuller's or not, but she was surely on his mind, and her endeavor to convince others of the legitimacy of her "title" may have been as well. His description, which obviously contrasts with his earlier one, reveals the power and significance the facts possessed in his eyes. Here as always he cared too much about the human to dismiss its annihilation with convincing disdain.

During the last months of 1850 and all of 1851, Thoreau dedicated himself to living deliberately, to fronting what he called the essential. During these months, he spent many hours walking through the fields and woods of *Concord*, recording his observations in his journal. At the same time, he read the newspapers and found himself engaged by what he found. The political news from Europe focused upon the failure of the republican movement, the reaction and reprisals, the futile attempts by exiles such as *Mazzini* and *Kossuth* to enlist aid in the struggle for a new round of upheavals. Austria, meanwhile, charged that the United States, especially its new Secretary of State *Daniel Webster*, was encouraging anti-Austrian sentiment and intruding in the affairs of Europe. On November 17, 1850, Thoreau revealed both his disdain for the news of the day and his concern about its power to capture his attention: "It is a strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms, and



republics come a-begging to our doors and utter their complaints at our elbows. I cannot take up a newspaper but I find that some wretched government or other, hard pushed and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it, – more importunate than an [Italian](#) beggar." At times the newspapers contributed to the problem he called "the village," which kept him from getting to the woods in spirit, although he walked miles into it bodily. One way he tried to overcome this problem was through the process of diminution, which can be seen in the following outburst of May 1, 1851: "Nations! What are nations? Tartars! and Huns! and Chinamen! Like insects they swarm. The historian strives in vain to make them memorable. It is for want of a man that there are so many men." Quoting from "The Spirit of Lodin," ... he claims to "look down from my height on nations, / And they become ashes before me." By adopting an Olympian point of view, Thoreau elevates himself and diminishes men both in size and importance. Like [Waldo Emerson](#) in the "Mind and Manners" lectures, he also reaffirms his belief that the regeneration of the self, the building up of the single solitary soul, is far more important than the activities of masses of men, be they parties, tribes, or nations.

Throughout 1851, as Thoreau continued to read the papers, he developed a loathing for them linked to that part of himself unable to ignore them. The news, he came to assert, could profane the "very *sanctum sanctorum*" of the mind:

I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant, that I hesitate to burden my mind with the most insignificant, which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is, for the most part, the news, – in newspapers and conversation. It is important to preserve the mind's chastity in this respect.... By all manners of boards and traps, threatening the extreme penalty of the divine law, ... it behooves us to preserve the purity and sanctity of the mind.... It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember. If I am to be a channel or thoroughfare, I prefer that it be of the mountain springs, and not the town sewers, – the Parnassian streams.

"I do not think much of the actual," he wrote himself. "It is something which we have long since done with. It is a sort of vomit in which the unclean love to wallow." During the writing of the 4th version of *WALDEN*, which coincided with Kossuth's tour of the country, [Thoreau](#) created a myth about himself as someone who had risen above the affairs of men, someone who felt the animal dying out in him and the spiritual being established.

In [WALDEN](#), the European revolutions of 1848-1849, the reaction and reprisals that followed, all the attention given in the newspapers to Kossuth's visit, to Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, to a possible war between France and Great Britain, all these go unmentioned, and the absence reveals how earnestly, perhaps even how desperately, Thoreau sought to diminish their importance to his life. In his journals we see his fascination with and antagonism toward the news of national and



international affairs. He devotes half of his essay "Life without Principle," moreover, to a castigation of the news, telling the reader about its dangers, its foulness, its profanity – even mentioning Kossuth by name and ridiculing the "stir" about him: "That excitement about Kossuth, consider how characteristic, but superficial, it was!... For all the fruit of that stir we have the Kossuth hat."²¹⁰ In WALDEN, however, he purifies his book and his *persona* by ignoring contemporary world affairs. Characterizing himself (untruthfully) as one "who rarely looks into the newspapers," he claims that "nothing new does ever happen in foreign parts, a French revolution not excepted."

Thoreau's struggle to achieve an oriental aloofness from the affairs of men seems to have first become a serious endeavor for him in the summer of 1850, when [Emerson](#) asked him to go to Fire Island to retrieve the body and possessions of Margaret Fuller. As Robert D. Richardson, Jr. has pointed out, "Death gave life a new imperative for Thoreau." Despite Fuller's rejections of his [DIAL](#) contributions in the early 1840s, Thoreau became her friend and admirer, and during her last summer in [Concord](#), he took her boat riding at dawn on the river. The task he faced at Fire Island thus could not have been pleasant, yet in his journal and in letters to others, he strove to project a philosophical serenity about what he found. In a letter to his admirer H.G.O. Blake, he wrote that he had in his pocket a button torn from the coat of Giovanni Angelo, *marchése d'Ossoli*: "Held up, it intercept the light, – and actual button, – and yet all the life it is connected with is less substantial to me, and interests me less, than my faintest dream. Our thoughts are the epochs in our lives: all else is but a journal of the winds that blew while we were here." Thoreau had not known Ossoli, so his aloof serenity here comes easily; he had known Fuller though, and his attempt to rise above the fact of her death shows strain.

When Thoreau arrived at the site of the wreck, Fuller's body had not been found, but he stayed in the area and a week later learned that something once human had washed ashore. As he approached it, he saw bones, and in the draft of this letter to Blake he asserted, "There was nothing at all remarkable about them. They were simply some bones lying on the beach. They would not detain the walker there more than so much seaweed. I should think that the fates would not take the trouble to show me any bones again, I so slightly appreciated the favor." He recalled the experience in his journal some three months later, however, and there revealed the difficulty he had in dismissing what he had seen: "I once went in search of the relics of a human body..." he wrote, "which had been cast up the day before on the beach, though the sharks had stripped off the flesh.... It was as conspicuous on that sandy plain as if a generation had labored to pile up a cairn there.... It reigned over the shore.

210. The Kossuth hat was a black, low-crowned felt hat with left brim fastened to crown, having a peacock feather. The story of its "invention" by John Nicholas Genin (1819-1878) and its rise to high fashion is told in Donald S. Spencer's *LOUIS KOSSUTH AND YOUNG AMERICA — A STUDY IN SECTIONALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1848-1852* (Columbia, London: U of Missouri P, 1977, pages 59-61). This proprietor of a hat shop on Broadway in New-York next to the American Museum, Genin, also designed a best-selling Jenny Lind Riding Hat.



That dead body possessed the shore as no living one could. It showed a title to the sands which no living ruler could."

In the winter of 1851-1852, Thoreau's struggle to assure his own purity became obsessive. Sherman Paul has traced his dissatisfaction with himself to surveying, which [Thoreau](#) found trivial and coarsening. Mary Elkins Moller has speculated that Thoreau was also having sexual fantasies about Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) and felt ashamed of them. Whatever the truth of these views (and I think the second takes Thoreau's references to chastity too literally), the fact remains that Thoreau at this time was also struggling to escape from his interest in current events. Surprisingly, this private denouncer of the press had become a subscriber to Horace Greeley's Weekly Tribune, a fact that heightened the tension he felt about preserving his mind's chastity. On January 20, 1852, he wrote,

I do not know but it is too much to read one newspaper in a week, for I now take the weekly Tribune, and for a few days past, it seems to me, I have not dwelt in Concord; the sun, the clouds, the snow, the trees say not so much to me. You cannot serve two masters.... To read the things distant and sounding betrays us into slighting these which are then apparently near and small. We learn to look abroad for our mind and spirit's daily nutriment, and what is this dull town to me? ...All summer and far into the fall I unconsciously went by the newspapers and the news, and now I find it was because the morning and the evening were full of news to me. My walks were full of incidents. I attended not to the affairs of Europe, but to my own affairs in Concord fields.

Thoreau's quest for purity and serenity had become particularly difficult because of the excitement surrounding [Lajos Kossuth's](#) visit and the new interest [Waldo Emerson](#) had taken in things Thoreau considered trivial, including Kossuth. The gradual estrangement of the two men may have begun while Emerson was in England in 1847-1848, writing letters home for Lidian and Thoreau which were little more than catalogues of the great people he had met. Although we know this was his way of providing himself a record of his activities, it probably disappointed. After his return from Europe, Emerson had lectured throughout the country, praising England and its people, but when he engaged Thoreau in a conversation on the topic, Henry, not surprisingly, said that the English were "mere soldiers" and their business was "winding up." In the summer of 1851, Emerson, unaware of the new scope and grandeur of Thoreau's journal, unaware of the growth in his spiritual development, wrote off his friend as one who "will not stick." "He is a boy," Emerson added, "& will be an old boy. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding Empires, but not, if at the end of years, it is only beans."

In a like manner, Thoreau at about this time began to see that his friend would continue to disappoint him. He bristles at Emerson's patronizing attitude; he disagreed with his treatment



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of Margaret Fuller in the MEMOIRS; and most of all he resented his new worldliness. In ENGLISH TRAITS (1856) Emerson, drawing on his lectures of 1848-1850, would celebrate the manners of the British aristocracy and assert that "whatever tends to form manners or to finish men, has a great value. Every one who has tasted the delight of friendship will respect every social guard which our manners can establish." For Thoreau, there was "something devilish in manners" that could come between friends, and writing of Emerson in the winter of 1851, he complained, "One of the best men I know often offends me by uttering made words – the very best words, of course, or dinner speeches, most smooth and gracious and fluent repartees.... O would you but be simple and downright! Would you but cease your palaver! It is the misfortune of being a gentleman and famous." As Joel Porte has observed, the failure of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and Emerson's "manifest success" had probably contributed to Thoreau's bitterness.

A pushy little ultra-conservative mofo, the Reverend Francis Bowen had what was termed at the time "a remarkable talent for giving offense." Precisely while [Kossuth](#) was riding the crest of the wave of American political correctness, Bowen publicly denounced that revolutionary.

(*Nota Bene*: This differs from [Thoreau](#)'s reaction not merely as public denunciation differs from private distaste but also as cheap motivation differs from abundant reason.)

But this is all very easy to figure out, at least as far as Larry J. Reynolds is concerned. What has happened is merely that [Kossuth](#) has come between [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Thoreau](#)!

Wow, now that we understand that, it all becomes perfectly clear. Continuing to quote, from pages 166-70 of this extraordinarily confident EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE influence study:

In the early months of 1852, Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#) widened the separation between [Thoreau](#) and [Emerson](#) into a permanent gulf. As Thoreau spent more and more time communing with nature, trying to cleanse himself of what he called the "news," Emerson saw fit to criticize him for these efforts. Frustrated, Thoreau declared in his journal, "I have got to that pass with my friend that our words do not pass with each other for what they are worth. We speak in vain; there is none to hear. He finds fault with me that I walk alone, when I pine for want of a companion; that I commit my thoughts to a diary even on my walks, instead of seeking to share them generously with a friend; curses my practice even." Emerson, who would soon lecture on the "Conduct of Life" in Canada and then deliver his "Address to Kossuth" in [Concord](#), could not see the heroism in Thoreau's aloofness. Thoreau, meanwhile, who sought to become a better man through his solitary walks, felt unappreciated and frustrated. On May 4, in an entry both defensive and immodest, he dismissed the great [Kossuth](#) and those like Emerson who honored him:

This excitement about Kossuth is not interesting to me, it is so superficial. It is only another kind of dancing or of politics. Men are making speeches to him all over the country, but each expresses only the thought, or the



want of thought, of the multitude. No man stands on truth.... You can pass your hand under the largest mob, a nation in revolution even, and, however solid a bulk they may make, like a hail-cloud in the atmosphere, you may not meet so much as a cobweb of support. They may not rest, even by a point, on eternal foundations. But an individual standing on truth you cannot pass your hand under, for his foundations reach to the centre of the universe. So superficial these men and their doings, it is life on a leaf or a chip which has nothing but air or water beneath.

The length and tone of this entry reveals the importance of the matter to him; obviously, he considers himself the "individual standing on truth," whose depth far exceeds that of any "nation in revolution" or military hero. And one week later, during the excitement surrounding Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#), during the afternoon of Emerson's speech and reception, Thoreau, in order to show how little he thought of these matters, entered only the following in his journal: "P.M. - **Kossuth here.**"

All of Thoreau's struggle with current events, with Kossuth's visit, with Emerson's worldliness and disesteem lay behind the important fourth version of [WALDEN](#). As he revised and expanded his manuscript throughout 1852, Thoreau endowed his persona with a serene aloofness, creating a hero interested in eternal truths, not pointless political ones. Having discovered that "a sane and growing man revolutionizes every day" and that no "institutions of man can survive a morning experience," he fashioned an answer to his best friend, who thought Kossuth a great man and Henry Thoreau an unsociable boy.

As he revised [WALDEN](#), [Thoreau](#) made major additions.... The thrust of almost all of these additions is to show how nature, which is holy and heroic, can bestow those virtues on one who practices chastity. His central statement on chastity was added, of course, to "Higher Laws" and asserts that "we are conscious of an animal in us, which awakens in proportion as our higher nature slumbers.... Chastity is the flowering of man; and what are called Genius, Heroism, Holiness, and the like, are but various fruits which succeed it. Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open.... He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established. Not surprisingly, Thoreau presents himself as having achieved this assuredness. He is among the blessed.

The chastity Thoreau has in mind is as much intellectual as physical, and to attain it one must abstain not merely from sexual intercourse but also from trivial thoughts and interests. In his addition to "Solitude" he explains the process it involves: "By a conscious effort of the mind we can stand aloof from actions and their consequences; and all things, good and bad, go by us like a torrent." The result is a feeling of doubleness, whereby a person "may be either a drift-wood in the stream, or Indra in the sky looking down on it." He admits that "this doubleness may easily make us poor neighbors and friends sometimes," but he makes it clear that it is worth the price.



In "The Ponds" he adds paragraphs stressing the "serenity and purity" of Walden and suggests a correspondence between it and himself. "Many men have been likened to it," he writes, "But few deserve that honor." That he has earned the honor through his way of life is a point made repeatedly. In his addition to "Baker Farm", Thoreau highlights the blessedness which communion with nature has accorded him. Like Walt Whitman's persona in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," or more recently Loren Eiseley's star thrower, Thoreau's hero becomes literally illuminated by nature. He stands one day at the base "of a rainbow's arch, which filled the lower stratum of the atmosphere, tinged the grass and leaves around, and dazzling [him] as if [he] looked through colored crystal." TO emphasize the religious implications of the experience, he adds, "As I walked on the railroad causeway, I used to wonder at the halo of light around my shadow, and would fain fancy myself one of the elect." In the additions to the "Conclusion," Thoreau makes explicit the successful effort to achieve spiritual renewal through aloofness. "I delight to come to my bearings, -" he declares, "not walk in procession with pomp and parade, in a conspicuous place, but to walk even with the Builder of the universe, if I may, - not to live in this restless, nervous, bustling, trivial Nineteenth Century, but stand or sit thoughtfully while it goes by."

The place he would sit, of course, is far above men and their doings, which diminishes them in his eyes. And this particular view is the one dramatized in his most famous addition, the classic battle of the ants in "Brute Neighbors." The episode comes from an entry made in his journal on January 22, 1852, while [Kossuth](#) was visiting Washington and while Horace Greeley in his [Tribune](#) and James Watson Webb in his [Courier and Enquirer](#) were debating the nature of the Hungarian War. Thoreau, like most of his contemporaries, found himself engaged (against his will, however) by what called "the great controversy now going on in the world between the despotic and the republican principle," and this is why he associates the two tribes of warring ants with the European revolutionary scene and calls them "the red republicans and the black despots or imperialists." His description of their war has become famous because of its frequent use in anthologies, and is surely right when he says that one reason for its selection is that it is "easily taken from its context."

Raymond Adams errs though in adding that "it is an episode that hardly has so much as a context." By virtue of both its hidden connection to revolutionary Europe and its subtle connection to the theme of spiritual serenity, the episode is part of larger contexts that shaped its features.

As [Thoreau](#) describes the battle of the ants, he reveals that side of his personality engaged by physical heroism in the actual world. The ferocity and resolve of the combatants, the mutilation and gore that attend their life-and-death struggle thoroughly engage him. "I felt for the rest of that day," he admits, "as if I had had my feelings excited and harrowed by witnessing the struggle, the ferocity and carnage, of a human



battle before my door." On the other hand, through the use of the mock-heroic, Thoreau generates an irony that allows him to stress once more the spiritual side of his persona, the side that dismisses politics, revolutions, and wars as trivial. The mother of a single red ant, we are told, has charged her son "to return with his shield or upon it," and the fighting ants, the narrator speculates, could, not to his surprise, have "had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and played their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants." With such irony Thoreau diminishes the importance, not of the ants, but of the men they resemble. Just as he claimed that [Kossuth](#) and his American admirers were involved in "life on a leaf or a chip," he here brings the metaphor to life and makes the same statement about warring nations. The purpose of this addition, and of his others, is to show that true heroism is associated with aloof serenity, not brutal warfare.

When Thoreau revised his journal entry for inclusion in [WALDEN](#), he claimed the ant battle occurred "in the Presidency of James Knox Polk, five years before the passage of [Daniel Webster's](#) Fugitive-Slave Bill," thus making it contemporaneous with his stay at the pond and registering his criticism, as he had in "Civil Disobedience," of the Mexican War. Ultimately, the issue of slavery disturbed him far more than revolution in Europe, and he found it difficult to resist the temptation to speak out against it. In later versions of [WALDEN](#), Thoreau expanded upon the ideas he introduced in 1852, extending his treatment of the triumph of the spiritual over the animal and filling out his account of the progress of the seasons, which, of course, complements the theme of renewal. Meanwhile, paradoxically, he remained a deeply passionate man, more engaged than others of his acquaintance by the "trivial Nineteenth Century." When the slave Anthony Burns was arrested in 1854, Thoreau, burning with rage, publicly denounced the Massachusetts authorities in his inflammatory "Slavery in Massachusetts": "I walk toward one of our ponds," he thundered, "but what signifies the beauty of nature when men are base? ...Who can be serene in a country where both the rulers and the ruled are without principle? The remembrance of my country spoils my walk. My thoughts are murder to the State, and involuntarily go plotting against her." Five years later, of course, he stepped forward to defend John Brown more ardently than anyone else in the country. Clearly then, in 1852, when Thoreau endowed the persona of [WALDEN](#) with remarkable purity and serenity, he was mythologizing himself; he was, in response to the "*tintinnabulum* from without," creating a new kind of hero for a revolutionary age.



Have we got this very clear now? According to Larry J. Reynolds, it has been demonstrated that Thoreau, a boy playing at life, was not merely fighting a spiritual battle to remain aloof but indeed was fantasizing that he had won this battle, and celebrating his final victory. But Thoreau has been detected as nevertheless full of bitterness, as resentful, as feeling unappreciated and frustrated. Fundamentally a “defensive and immodest” pretense rather than any sort of record of a spiritual journey, [WALDEN](#) merely celebrated cheaply in words what its author could not accomplish in fact: the big win in a struggle between the spiritual in its author and the warrior-wannabee. This is Thoreau as a mere self-deluding boy who, when confronted by a real life hero out of the real world of struggle, struggles to stand “aloof” in order to console himself by considering himself to be the true hero, to be indeed the “individual standing on truth” whose real worth far exceeds the appreciation offered to any such mere celebrity wrapped up in mere mundane push-and-shove concerns. It is hard to imagine that Reynolds is not terming Thoreau a self-deluded coward.

February 18, Wednesday: [Caleb G. Forshey](#) reported in the [Boston Medical Surgical Journal](#) that “When death results from a cause, which can readily be removed, after death re-animation may be effected, and the machinery of life set in motion, by artificially inflating of the lungs.”

Dr. Bradley P. Dean has noticed that on this day, a couple of months after Harvard Library had acquired a secondhand 1st edition copy of [Luke Howard](#)’s ESSAY ON THE MODIFICATIONS OF CLOUDS, Henry Thoreau wrote suggestively that “One discovery in Meteorology, one significant observation is a good deal. I am grateful to the man who introduces order among the clouds.” Would that be an indication that he had just been reading this meteorological essay?



February 18, Wednesday: When Eystein the Bad ravaged the land of Drontheim “He then offered the people either his slave Thorer Faxe, or his dog, whose name was Sauer, to be their king. They preferred the dog, as they thought they would sooner get rid of him. Now the dog was, by witchcraft, gifted with 3 men’s wisdom; and when he barked, he spoke one word and barked two. A collar and chain of gold and silver were made for him, and his courtiers carried him in their hands when the weather or ways were foul. A throne was erected for him, and he sat upon a high place, as kings are used to sit. — It is told that the occasion of his death was that the wolves one day broke into his fold, and his courtiers stirred him up to defend his cattle; but when he ran down from his mound, and attacked the wolves, they tore him to pieces.” Now I think if he had spoken two words & barked only one –he would have been wiser still –and never fallen into the clutches of the wolves.

By some traits in the saga concerning King Hakon the Good –I am reminded of the concessions which some politicians & religionists, who are all things to all men– make. Hakon was unpopular on account of his attempts to spread Christianity – and to conciliate his subjects he drank out of the horn which had been blessed in Odin’s name at a festival of sacrifice, but as he drank he made the sign of the cross over it. & one of his earls told the people that he was making the sign of Thor’s hammer over it. “On this” it is said “there was quietness for the evening. The next day, when the people sat down to table, the bonders pressed the king strongly to eat of horse-flesh; [this was an evidence of paganism] and as he would on no account do so, they wanted him to drink of the soup; and as he would not do this, they insisted he should at least taste the gravy; and on his refusal they were going to lay hands on him. Earl Sigurd came & made peace among them, by asking the king to hold his mouth over the handle of the kettle, upon which the fat smoke of the boiled horse-flesh had settled itself; and the king first laid a linen cloth over the handle, and then gaped over it, and returned to the throne; but neither party was satisfied with this” On another day the Earl “brought it so far that the king took some bits of horse-liver, and emptied all the goblets the bonders filled for him”; This Hakon had a daughter **Thora**.

Thorer Klakke was one “who had been long on viking expeditions”.

Thorer Hiort “was quicker on foot than any man.”

I have a common place book for facts and another for poetry – but I find it difficult always to preserve the vague distinction which I had in my mind – for the most interesting & beautiful facts are so much the more poetry and that is their success. They are **translated** from earth to heaven– I see that if my facts were sufficiently vital & significant – perhaps transmuted more into the substance of the human mind – I should need but one book of poetry to contain them all.

Pm to Fair Haven Hill: One discovery in Meteorology, one significant observation is a good deal. I am grateful



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to the man who introduces order among the clouds. Yet I look up into the heavens so fancy free, I am almost glad not to know any law for the winds.
I find the partridges [**Ruffed Grouse**  *Bonasa umbellus*] among the fallen pine tops on Fair Haven these afternoons an hour before sundown ready to commence budding in the neighboring orchard.
The mosses on the rocks look green when the snow has melted— This must be one of the spring signs — when spring comes
It is impossible for the same person to see things from the poet's point of view and that of the man of science. The poet's second love may be science —not his first.— when use has worn off the bloom. I realize that men may be born to a condition of mind at which others arrive in middle age by the decay of their poetic faculties.

I have my doubts about Brad's hypothesis. By this point all of Howard's cloud terminology was already totally available as encyclopedia information. If Thoreau had needed to have a source for this cloud terminology, he could at any time simply look up the article "Clouds" in Volume 8 of Abraham Rees's *THE CYCLOPÆDIA; OR, UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE*, a widely available source. At this point, for 45 years no one had needed to have recourse to any specially printed and catalogued scientific monograph.

March 6: Henry Thoreau recollected a conversation he had had with a young Englishman in the Citadel of [Québec](#), about the preparations for war that surrounded them, during which he had failed to suppress half a smile, and had verbally expressed some of his surprise. This ruddy young man, who possibly was a chaplain in the army, detected that his visitor was not all that much impressed by all this "primed and cocked" for war tomfoolery — and suggested in derogation that perhaps Thoreau was of the sort that embraced the [Peace Testimony](#) of the [Quakers](#).



March 6, Saturday: Hontan hunting moose (*original*) in Canada in 1686 says — facing a cruel north wind in winter — "one of my soldiers told me that it was necessary to have blood of *eau-de-vie*, body of brass—& eyes of glass, to resist a cold so sharp (*âpre*)"

LAHONTAN

3 Pm to Harringtons.

Old Mr Joe. Hosmer chopping wood at his door. He is full of meat had a crack with him. I told him I was studying lichens pointing to his wood. He thought I meant the wood itself. Well he supposed he'd had more to do with wood than I had. Now said he there are two kind's of white oak. Most people would'nt notice it. When I've been chopping, say along in march after the sap begins to start, Ill sometimes come to an oak that will color my axe steel blue like a sword blade— Well that oak is fine grained & heavier than the common —and I call it blue white-oak— for no other blues my axe so. Then there are two kinds of black oak — or yellow-bark — one is the mean black oak or bastard. Then there's a kind of red-oak smells like urine 3 or 4 days old.— It was really respectable in him that he avoided using the vulgar name of this oak— In an old man like him — it was a true delicacy. Of this red oak he told me a story. There was old Mr Joe Derby— He came after houses were built— He settled near the present Derby place— Well his mantel tree was very large of red oak —hewn square— they used wood in those days. And in course of time it had become charred with heat & you could break coals off it. He could remember the house — it was more than a hundred years old. Well when they pulled it down old Mr Derby told him that he split it up and put {*One-half page missing*} ... been the track of an otter near the clam-shell hill —for it looks too large for a mink— nearly an inch & a half in diameter & nearly round. Occasionally it looked as if a rail had been drawn along through the thin snow over the ice with faint foot prints at long intervals. I saw where he came out of a hole in the ice & track him 40 rods to where he went into another. Saw where he appeared to have been sliding.

Found 3 or 4 *Parmelias* (*caperata*) in fruit on a white oak on the high river bank between Tarbels & Harrington's {*One-half page missing*} ... I remember a few words that I had with a young Englishman in the citadel who politely undertook to do the honors of Quebec to me — whose clear glowing English complexion I can still see — perhaps he was a chaplain in the army— In answer to his information I looked round with a half suppressed smile at those preparations for war— Quebec all primed & cocked for it — and at length expressed some of my surprise. Perhaps you hold the opinions of the Quakers he replied. I thought, if there was any difference between us, it might be that I was born in modern times.

April 28, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) commented in his journal about his reading either in [Évariste Régis Huc](#)'s 1850 work in French, *SOUVENIRS D'UN VOYAGE DANS LA TARTARIE, LE THIBET ET LA CHINE PENDANT LES ANNÉES 1844, 1845, ET 1846*, or in William Hazlett's translation HUC AND GABET: TRAVELS IN TARTARY, THIBET AND CHINA, DURING THE YEARS 1844-5-6 which had appeared in 1851: "I scarcely know why I am excited when in M. Huc's Book I read of the country of the Mongol Tartars as the "Land of Grass," but I am as much as if I were a cow."

[CHINA](#)



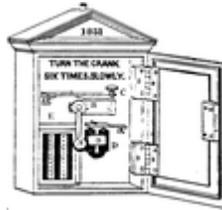
In [Ellery Channing](#)'s journal we find that on this date Thoreau caught a hyla, that is, a tree frog, but it was able to effect an escape.

At 12 o'clock noon a telegraphic fire alarm system, constructed on the basis of plans prepared by Dr. [William Francis Channing](#) and a self-effacing telegraphic engineer, Moses Gerrish Farmer, went into operation in [Boston](#), with the fire alarm office being situated in the City Building at Court Square and Williams Court. Staff included a superintendent, fire alarm operators, and repairmen. The system consisted of a closed electrically supervised assembly of circuits, street fire alarm boxes with code wheels and key breaks determining the number of current interruptions which produced coded signals on local instruments at a central office, where an operator transmitted signals received over separate fire alarm circuits to the appropriate fire house. The system featured telegraphic communication by key and sounder between individual street boxes and the

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central office. The system consisted of 40 street boxes connected into 3 box circuits, 3 bell circuits, 16 additional alarm bells for a total of 19, and a crude central office apparatus. The street fire alarm boxes were painted black and had an outside door that was kept locked. Each such box contained a manual crank (the sort of alarm device on which one merely pulled an arm downward would not be introduced, experimentally, until 1864).



Soon after his older brother Peyton's death, [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) appeared at the big brick [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in Sandy Spring, [Maryland](#). He was due to resume his duties as a Methodist circuit-rider but was troubled whether he was "living in full faith up to the Inward Voice." One of the Quakers, [Friend Roger Brooke](#),²¹¹ took him home to dinner and conversation after silent worship:



My uncle Dr. John Henry Daniel said to me, when I was leaving home, "So you are going to be a journeyman soul-saver." I did not begin life with that burden on me, and, when it came, was too young to question whether it was part of me – my hunch – or a pack of outside things like that strapped on Bunyan's pilgrim. My pack was symbolized in my saddle-bags, where the Bible, Emerson's "Essays," Watson's "Theology," Carlyle's "Latter Day Pamphlets," Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," the Methodist Discipline, and Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" got on harmoniously, – for a time. Dr. Daniel's label, "a journeyman soul-saver," told true in a sense: it was really my own enmeshed

211. A relative of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the Honorable Roger Brooke Taney, as our Southern correspondent does not hesitate to make clear.



soul I had to save. I was struggling at the centre of an invisible web of outer influences and hereditary forces. I was without wisdom. How many blunders I made in my sermons, with which I took so much pains, I know not, but I remember a friendly hint from the wife of the Hon. Bowie Davis that a sermon was too "agrarian." In another case the recoil was more serious; it came through my presiding elder, who said, "From what I hear, a sermon of yours on the new birth was too profound." This troubled me deeply. I had supposed that Jesus meant to be profound, and put much study into the sermon, the only favourable response to which was from an aged negro woman who, long after I had left Methodism, laid her hand on my head, and said, "I never knew what the Lord meant by our being born again until I heard you preach about it, and bless the Lord, it's been plain ever since!" My early training in law courts determined my method of preaching. In preparing a sermon I fixed on some main point which I considered of vital importance, and dealt with it as if I were pleading before judge and jury. This method was not Methodism. I was in continual danger of being "too profound," and though congregations were interested in my sermons, they brought me more reputation for eccentricity than for eloquence. This, however, was not a matter of concern to me. Ambition for fame and popularity was not among my faults. My real mission was personal, - to individuals. In each neighbourhood on my circuit there were some whom I came to know with a certain intimacy, aspiring souls whose confidences were given me. However far away I might be, they rose before me when I was preparing for that appointment; they inspired passages in the sermon. No general applause could give me the happiness felt when these guests of my heart met me with smiles of recognition, or clasped my hand with gratitude.

It was an agricultural region, in which crime and even vices were rare. Slavery existed only in its mildest form, and there was no pauper population to excite my reformatory zeal. Nor was there even any sectarian prejudice to combat; the county was divided up between denominations friendly to each other and hospitable to me. My personal influence was thus necessarily humanized. I could not carry on any *propaganda* of Methodism in the homes of non-Methodist gentlemen and ladies who entertained me, - even had I felt so inclined, ? without showing my church inferior to theirs.

My belief is that I gradually preached myself out of the creeds by trying to prove them by my lawyer-like method. Moreover, I had the habit of cross-examining the sermons of leading preachers, finding statements that in a law court would have told against their case. At a camp-meeting in 1851 I learned that our presiding elder was about to preach on the resurrection of the body. I slipped into his hand the following query: ?

A soldier fallen in the field remains unburied; his body mingles with the sod, springs up in the grass; cattle graze there and atoms of the soldier's body become beef; the beef is eaten by a man who suddenly dies while in him are particles of the soldier's body conveyed to him by the grass-fed beef. Thus two men die with the same material substance in them. How can there be an



exact resurrection of both of those bodies as they were at the moment of death?

The preacher read out the query, and said, "All things are possible with God." Nothing more. It made a profound impression on me that a divine should take refuge in a phrase. The doctrine in question involved the verbal inspiration of Scripture and the "Apostles' Creed."

I made a note of another thing at this camp-meeting. The Rev. Lyttleton Morgan, an accomplished preacher, declared that in his Passion and Crucifixion Christ suffered all that the whole human race must have suffered in hell to all eternity but for that sacrifice. At dinner some ministers demurred at this doctrine; I maintained that it appeared to be a logical deduction from our theory of the Atonement. But I soon recognized that it was a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Rockville Circuit being near Washington, I was able at times to pass a few days in the capital, where I had relatives and acquaintances. I attended the debates in Congress, and in the Supreme Court, — where I heard Daniel Webster's speech in the famous Gaines case. It was a powerful speech, impressively delivered, but I had sufficient experience in courts to recognize several passages meant for the fashionable audience with which the room was crowded. He was against the appellant, Mrs. Gaines, who was pleading for her legitimacy as well as property, and described his client persistently besieged by litigation as a rock beaten by ocean waves. He drew all eyes on pleasant Myra Gaines, and I remember thinking the metaphor infelicitous. My sympathies were with the lady, and the "rock" might symbolize the stony heart of the man holding on to her property. But I was so interested in Webster's look and manner that, in my ignorance of the evidence, my attention to what he said was fitful, and the speech was obliterated by the thrilling romance rehearsed by the judges in their decisions. For it was in favor of the man holding on to her property. But I was so interested in Webster's look and manner that, in my ignorance of the evidence, my attention to what he said was fitful, and the speech was obliterated by the thrilling romance rehearsed by the judges in their decisions, for it was in two volumes, the minority opinion of Justice Wayne and Justice Daniel (my grand-uncle) in favour of Mrs. Gaines being especially thrilling. No American novelist would venture on such a tale of intrigue, adultery, bigamy, disguises, betrayal, as those justices searched through unshrinkingly, ignoring the company present.

On one of my visits to Washington I heard a sermon from the famous Asbury Roszel which lifted the vast audience to exultation and joy. His subject was the kingdom of God and triumphs of the Cross, and he began by declaring that it was universally agreed that ideal government was the rule of one supreme and competent individual head. This Carlylean sentiment uttered in the capital of the so-called Republic gave me some food for thought at the time; and I remembered it when I awakened to the anomaly of disowning as a republican the paraphernalia of royalty, while as a preacher I was using texts and hymns about thrones and Crowns and sceptres, and worshipping a king.



My interest in party politics had declined; I began to study large human issues. One matter that I entered into in 1851 was International Copyright. On this subject I wrote an article which appeared in the "National Intelligencer." I took the manuscript to the office, and there saw the venerable Joseph Gales, who founded the paper, and W.W. Seaton, the editor. Mr. Seaton remarked that I was "a very young man to be in holy orders," and after glancing at the article said he was entirely in sympathy with it. In that article I appealed to Senator Sumner to take up the matter, and thenceforth he sent me his speeches. I little imagined how much personal interest I was to have some years later in Gales and Seaton, who were among the founders of the Unitarian church in Washington. I used sometimes to saunter into the bookshop of Frank Taylor, or that of his brother Hudson Taylor, afterwards intimate Unitarian friends, before I knew that there was a Unitarian church in Washington. From one of them I bought a book that deeply moved me: "The Soul: her Sorrows and her Aspirations. By Francis William Newman." I took this book to heart before I was conscious of my unorthodoxy, nothing in it then suggesting to me that the author was an unbeliever in supernaturalism.

The setting given by Newman's book to Charles Wesley's hymn – "Come, O thou Traveller unknown" – made that hymn my inspiration, and it has been my song in many a night wherein I have wrestled with phantoms.

But my phantoms were not phantasms, and brought no horrors into those beautiful woods and roads of Montgomery County. These were my study. I was wont to start off to my appointments early, in order that I might have no need to ride fast, and when clear of a village, take from my saddlebags my Emerson, my Coleridge, or Newman, and throwing the reins on my horse's neck, read and read, or pause to think on some point.

I remember that in reading Emerson repeatedly I seemed never to read the same essay as before: whether it was the new morning, or that I had mentally travelled to a new point of view, there was always something I had not previously entered into. His thoughts were mother-thoughts, to use Balzac's word. Over the ideas were shining ideals that made the world beautiful to me; the woods and flowers and birds amid which I passed made a continuous chorus for all this poetry and wit and wisdom. And science also; from Emerson I derived facts about nature that filled me with wonder. On one of my visits to Professor Baird, at the Smithsonian Institution, I talked of these statements; he was startled that I should be reading Emerson, with whose writings he was acquainted. At the end of our talk Baird said, "Whatever may be thought of Emerson's particular views of nature, there can be no question about the nature in him and in his writings: that is true and beautiful."

A college-mate, Newman Hank, was the preacher on Stafford Circuit, Virginia, and it was arranged that for one round of appointments he and I should exchange circuits. I thus preached for a month among those who had known me from childhood. Though few of them were Methodists, they all came to hear me, and I suppose many were disappointed. I had formerly spoken in their



debating societies with the facility of inexperience, but was no longer so fluent.

At Fredericksburg, June 19, I preached to a very large congregation, and was invited to the houses of my old friends (none of them Methodists); but the culminating event was my sermon in our own town, Falmouth, three days later. How often had I sat in that building listening to sermons – Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian – occasionally falling under the spell of some orator who made me think its pulpit the summit of the world! How large that church in my childhood, and how grand its assemblage of all the beauty and wealth of the neighbourhood! When I stood in the pulpit and realized how small the room was, and could recognize every face, and observe every changing expression, – and when I saw before me my parents, my sister and brothers, with almost painful anxiety in their loving eyes, – strange emotions came to me; the first of my phantoms drew near and whispered, "Are you sure, perfectly sure, that the seeds you are about to sow in these hearts that cherish you are the simple truth of your own heart and thought?" My text was, "Thou wilt show me the path of life;" my theme, that every human being is on earth for a purpose. The ideal life was that whose first words were, "I must be about my Father's business," and the last, "It is finished."

When we reached home my uncle Dr. John Henry Daniel said, "There was a vein of Calvinism running all through that sermon." "I hate Calvinism," cried I. "No matter: the idea of individual predestination was in your sermon. And it may be true." My father was, I believe, gratified by the sermon, but he said, with a laugh, "One thing is certain, Monc: should the devil ever aim at a Methodist preacher, you'll be safe!"

In this sermon, which ignored hell and heaven, and dealt with religion as the guide and consecration of life on earth, I had unconsciously taken the first steps in my "Earthward Pilgrimage." When I returned to my own circuit, a burden was on me that could not roll off before the cross.

Our most cultured congregation was at Brookville, a village named after the race of which Roger Brooke was at this time the chief. Our pretty Methodist church there was attended by some Episcopalian families – Halls, Magruders, Donalds, Coulters – who adopted me personally. The finest mansion was that of John Hall, who insisted on my staying at his house when I was in the neighbourhood. He was an admirable gentleman and so friendly with the Methodists that they were pleased at the hospitality shown their minister. Mrs. Hall, a grand woman intellectually and physically, was a daughter of Roger Brooke. She had been "disowned" by the Quakers for marrying "out of meeting," but it was a mere formality; they all loved her just as much. Her liberalism had leavened the families around her. She was not interested in theology, and never went to any church, but encouraged her lovely little daughters (of ten and twelve years) to enjoy Sunday like any other day. After some months she discovered that some of my views resembled those of her father, and desired me to visit him.

There was a flourishing settlement of Hicksite Quakers at Sandy



Spring, near Brookville, but I never met one of them, nor knew anything about them. "Hicksite" was a meaningless word to me. "Uncle Roger," their preacher, was spoken of throughout Montgomery County as the best and wisest of men, and I desired to meet him. When I afterwards learned that "Hicksite" was equivalent to "unorthodox," it was easy to understand why none of them should seek the acquaintance of a Methodist minister. The Quakers assembled twice a week, and happening one Wednesday to pass their meeting-house, I entered, – impelled by curiosity. Most of those present were in Quaker dress, which I did not find unbecoming for the ladies, perhaps because the wearers were refined and some of them pretty. After a half-hour's silence a venerable man of very striking appearance, over six feet in height and his long head full of force, arose, laid aside his hat, and in a low voice, in strange contrast with his great figure, uttered these words: "Walk in the light while ye are children of the light, lest darkness come upon you." Not a word more. He resumed his seat and hat, and after a few minutes' silence shook hands with the person next him; then all shook hands and the meeting ended.

I rode briskly to my appointment, and went on with my usual duties. But this my first Quaker experience had to be digested. The old gentleman, with his Solomonic face (it was Roger Brooke), who had broken the silence with but one text, had given that text, by its very insulation and modification, a mystical suggestiveness.

After I had attended the Quaker meeting several times, it was heard of by my Methodist friends. One of these, a worthy mechanic, told me that Samuel Janney had preached in the Quaker meeting, and once said that "the blood of Jesus could no more save man than the blood of a bullock." This brother's eyes were searching though kindly. Roger Brooke belonged to the same family as that of Roger Brooke Taney, then chief justice of the United States. His advice, opinion, arbitration, were sought for in all that region. Despite antislavery and rationalistic convictions, he leavened all Montgomery County with tolerance.²¹²

One morning as I was riding off from the Quaker meeting, a youth overtook me and said uncle Roger wished to speak to me. I turned and approached the old gentleman's carriole. He said, "I have seen thee at one or two of our meetings. If thee can find it convenient to go home with us to dinner, we shall be glad to have thee." The faces of his wife and daughter-in-law beamed their welcome, and I accepted the invitation. The old mansion, "Brooke Grove," contained antique furniture, and the neatness bespoke good housekeeping. So also did the dinner, for these Maryland Quakers knew the importance of good living to high thinking.

There was nothing sanctimonious about this home of the leading Quaker. Uncle Roger had a delicate humour, and the ladies beauty and wit. The bonnet and shawl laid aside, there appeared the perfectly fitting "mouse-colour" gown, of rich material, with

212. Helen Clark, daughter of the Right Hon. John Bright, showed me a diary written by Mr. Bright's grandmother, Rachel Wilson, while travelling in America in 1768-69. She was a much esteemed Quaker preacher, and gives a pleasant account of her visit to the Friends at Sandy Spring, where she was received in the home of Roger Brooke. This was the grandfather of "uncle Roger."



unfigured lace folded over the neck: at a fancy ball it might be thought somewhat coquettish.

They were fairly acquainted with current literature, and though not yet introduced to Emerson, were already readers of Carlyle. I gained more information about the country, about the interesting characters, about people in my own congregations, than I had picked up in my circuit-riding. After dinner uncle Roger and I were sitting alone on the veranda, taking our smoke, – he with his old-fashioned pipe, – and he mentioned that one of his granddaughters had rallied him on having altered a Scripture text in the meeting. "In the simplicity of my heart I said what came to me, and answered her that if it was not what is written in the Bible I hope it is none the less true." I afterwards learned that he had added in his reply, "Perhaps it was the New Testament writer who did not get the words quite right." I asked him what was the difference between "Hicksite" and "Orthodox Quakers; but he turned it off with an anecdote of one of his neighbours who, when asked the same question, had replied, "Well, you see, the orthodox Quakers will insist that the Devil has horns, while we say the Devil is an ass." I spoke of the Methodist ministers being like the Quakers "called by the Spirit" to preach, and he said, with a smile, "But when you go to an appointment what if the Spirit does n't move you to say anything?"

Uncle Roger had something else on his mind to talk to me about. He inquired my impression of the Quaker neighbourhood generally. I said he was the first Quaker I had met, but the assembly I had seen in their meeting had made an impression on me of intelligence and refinement. For the rest their houses were pretty and their farms bore witness to better culture than those in other parts of the county. "That I believe is generally conceded to us," he answered; "and how does thee explain this superiority of our farms?" I suggested that it was probably due to their means, and to the length of time their farms had been under culture. The venerable man was silent for a minute, then fixed on me his shrewd eyes and said, "Has it ever occurred to thee that it may be because of our paying wages to all who work for us?"

For the first time I found myself face to face with an avowed abolitionist! My interest in politics had lessened, but I remained a Southerner, and this economic arraignment of slavery came with some shock. He saw this and turned from the subject to talk of their educational work, advising me to visit Fairhill, the Friends' school for young ladies.

The principal of the school was [William Henry Farquhar](#), and on my first visit there I heard from him an admirable lecture in his course on History. He had adopted the novel method of beginning his course with the present day and travelling backward. He had begun with the World's Fair and got as far as Napoleon I, – subject of the lecture I heard. It was masterly. And the whole school – the lovely girls in their tidy Quaker dresses, their sweet voices aDd manners, the elegance and order everywhere – filled me with wonder. By this garden of beauty and culture I had been passing for six months, never imagining the



scene within.

The lecture closed the morning exercises, and I had an opportunity for addressing the pupils. I was not an intruder, but taken there by Mrs. Charles Farquhar, daughter of Roger Brooke and sister-in-law of the principal, so I did not have the excuse that it would not be "in season" to try and save some of these sweet sinners from the flames of hell. It was the obvious duty of the Methodist preacher on Rockville Circuit to cry, – "O ye fair maids of Fair Hill, this whited sepulchre of unbelief, – not one of you aware of your depravity, nor regenerate through the blessed bloodshed – your brilliant teacher is luring you to hell!" Those soft eyes of yours will be lifted in torment, those rosebud mouths call for a drop of water to cool your parched tongues; all your affection, gentleness, and virtues are but filthy rags, unless you believe in the Trinity, the blood atonement, and in the innate corruption of every heart in this room!"

But when the junior preacher is made, the susceptible youth is not unmade. According to Lucian, Cupid was reproached by his mother Venus for permitting the Muses to remain single, and invisibly went to their abode with his arrows; but when he discovered the beautiful arts with which the Muses were occupied, he had not the heart to disturb them, and softly crept away. This "pagan" parable of a little god's momentary godlessness may partly suggest why no gospel arrows were shot that day in Fairhill school; but had I to rewrite Lucian's tale I should add that Cupid went off himself stuck all over with arrows from the Muses' eyes.

However, Cupid had nothing to do with the softly feathered and imperceptible arrows that were going into my Methodism from the Quakers, in their homes even more than in this school. I found myself introduced to a circle of refined and cultivated ladies whose homes were cheerful, whose charities were constant, whose manners were attractive, whose virtues were recognized by their most orthodox neighbours; yet *what I was preaching as the essentials of Christianity were unknown among them*. These beautiful homes were formed without terror of hell, without any cries of what shall we do to be saved? How had these lovely maidens and young men been trained to every virtue, to domestic affections and happiness? I never discussed theology with them; but their lives, their beautiful spirit, their homes, did away with my moral fears, and as the dogmas paled, creedless freedom began to flush with warm life. These good and sweet women, who said no word against my dogmas, unconsciously to themselves or me charmed me away from the dogmatic habitat.

When I left the Baltimore Conference, the Quakers were given by many Methodists the discredit of having undermined my faith, but their only contribution to my new faith was in enabling me to judge the unorthodox tree by its fruits of culture and character. If theology were ever discussed by them, it was I who introduced the subject. They had no proselyting spirit. I thought of joining the Quaker Society, but Roger Brooke advised me not to do so. "Thee will find among us," he said, "a good many prejudices, for instance, against music, of which thou art



fond, and while thou art mentally growing would it be well to commit thyself to any organized society?"²¹³

How often have I had to ponder those words of Jesus, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Men do not forsake their God, he forsakes them. It is the God of the creeds that first forsakes us. More and more the dogmas come into collision with plain truth: every child's clear eyes contradict the guilty phantasy of inherited depravity, every compassionate sentiment abhors the notions of hell and salvation by human sacrifice. Yet our tender associations, our affections, are intertwined with these falsities, and we cling to them till they forsake us. For more than a year I was like one flung from a foundered ship holding on to a raft till it went to pieces, then to a floating log till buffeted off, — to every stick, every straw. One after another the gods forsake us, — forsake our common sense, our reason, our justice, our humanity.

In the autumn of my first ministerial year I had to take stock of what was left me that could honestly be preached in Methodist pulpits. About the Trinity I was not much concerned; the morally repulsive dogmas, and atrocities ascribed to the deity in the Bible became impossible. What, then, was "salvation"? I heard from Roger Brooke this sermon, "He shall save the people from their sins, — not *in* them." It is the briefest sermon I ever heard, but it gave me a Christianity for one year, for it was sustained by my affections. They were keen, and the thought of turning my old home in Falmouth into a house of mourning, and grieving the hearts of my friends in Carlisle, and congregations that so trusted me, appeared worse than death. My affections were at times rack and thumbscrew.

I had no friend who could help me on the intellectual, moral, and philosophical points involved. Roger Brooke and William Henry Farquhar were rationalists by birthright; they had never had any dogmas to unlearn, nor had they to suffer the pain of being sundered from relatives and friends. In my loneliness I stretched appealing hands to Emerson. After his death my friend Edward Emerson sent me my letters to his father, and the first is dated at Rockville, November 4, 1851. Without any conventional opening (how could I call my prophet "Dear Sir"!) my poor trembling letter begins with a request to know where the "[Dial](#)" can be purchased, and proceeds: —

I will here take the liberty of saying what nothing but a concern as deep as Eternity should make me say. I am a minister of the Christian Religion, — the only way for the world to reënter Paradise, in my earnest belief. I have just commenced that office at the call of the Holy Ghost, now in my twentieth year. About a year ago I commenced reading your writings. I have read them all and studied them sentence by sentence. I have shed many burning tears over them; because you gain my assent to Laws which, when I see how they would act on the affairs of life, I have not courage to practise. By the Law sin

213. When Benjamin Hallowell, the eminent teacher in Alexandria, Va., came to reside at Sandy Spring, I had many interesting talks with him, but found that even his philosophical mind could not free itself from the prejudice against musical culture. The musical faculty, he admitted, had some uses — e.g., that mothers might sing lullabies.



revives and I die. I sometimes feel as if you made for me a second Fall from which there is no redemption by any atonement.

To this there came a gracious response: -

Concord, Mass., 13th November, 1851.

Dear Sir, - I fear you will not be able, except at some chance auction, to obtain any set of the "[Dial](#)." In fact, smaller editions were printed of the later and latest numbers, which increases the difficulty.

I am interested by your kind interest in my writings, but you have not let me sufficiently into your own habit of thought, to enable me to speak to it with much precision. But I believe what interests both you and me most of all things, and whether we know it or not, is the morals of intellect; in other words, that no man is worth his room in the world who is not commanded by a legitimate object of thought. The earth is full of frivolous people, who are bending their whole force and the force of nations on trifles, and these are baptized with every grand and holy name, remaining, of course, totally inadequate to occupy any mind; and so sceptics are made. A true soul will disdain to be moved except by what natively commands it, though it should go sad and solitary in search of its master a thousand years. The few superior persons in each community are so by their steadiness to reality and their neglect of appearances. This is the euphrasy and rue that purge the intellect and ensure insight. Its full rewards are slow but sure; and yet I think it has its reward in the instant, inasmuch as simplicity and grandeur are always better than dapperness. But I will not spin out these saws farther, but hasten to thank you for your frank and friendly letter, and to wish you the best deliverance in that contest to which every soul must go alone.

Yours, in all good hope,

R.W. EMERSON.

This letter I acknowledged with a longer one (December 12, 1851), in which I say: "I have very many correspondents, but I might almost say yours is the only Letter that was ever written to me."

Early in 1852 Kossuth visited Washington, and enthusiasm for him and his cause carried me there. The Washington pulpits had not yet said anything about slaves at our own doors, but it was easy to be enthusiastic for liberty as far away as Hungary, and so the preachers all paid homage to Kossuth. I stopped at the house of Rev. Lyttleton Morgan, whose wife was an authoress, and her sister, Carrie Dallam, the most attractive friend I had in Washington. With her I went to the New Year "levee" at the White House, and also to call on the widow of President John Quincy Adams, a handsome and entertaining old lady. I also think it was then and by her that I was taken to see the widow of Alexander Hamilton. Mayor Seaton entered, and in courtly style took her hand in both of his and kissed it, bending low. She was still



(her ninety-fifth year) a cheerful and handsome lady, gracious and dignified. Her narratives of society in that city, as she remembered it, sounded like ancient legends. I remember particularly her account of a president's drawing-room in the time of President Jackson. Mrs. Hamilton was, I believe, the first to introduce ices into the country. At any rate, she told me that President Jackson, having tasted ices at her house, resolved to have some at his next reception, – for in those days so simple and small were the receptions that refreshments were provided. Mrs. Hamilton related that at the next reception the guests were seen melting each spoonful of ice-cream with their breath preparatory to swallowing it! The reception itself was, she said, more like a large tea-party than anything else. Kossuth was a rather small man with a pale face, a soft eye, a poetic and pathetic expression, and a winning voice. He spoke English well, and his accent added to his eloquence by reminding us of his country, for which he was pleading. I followed him about Washington, to the Capitol, the White House, the State Department, etc., listening with rapt heart to his speeches, and weeping for Hungary. I find this note (undated): "Kossuth received to-day a large number of gentlemen and ladies, to whom he discoursed eloquently of the wrongs of Hungary. Many were moved to tears, and some ladies presented their rings and other trinkets for the cause of the oppressed. A large slave-auction took place at Alexandria just across the river on the same day."²¹⁴ But, alas, I presently had a tragedy of my own to weep for, the death of my elder brother, Peyton. He had long suffered from the *sequelæ* of scarlatina, but, nevertheless, had studied law and begun practice. During the summer of 1851 he visited me on my circuit (Rockville) and accompanied me to St. James Camp-meeting. He was deeply affected on hearing me preach, and approached the "mourner's bench." No "conversion" occurred, and he returned home (Falmouth) in a sad mood. Then there arose in him the abhorrence of dogmas and the ideal of a church of pure reason, absolutely creedless and unecclesiastical, uniting all mankind. Alas, little did he know that his brother, even myself, was at that moment in mortal inward struggle with a creed! But this I learned only after his death. For at that critical moment he died of typhoid fever, – March 18, 1852, fourteen days after his twenty-second birthday. There was bequeathed to my later years the miserable reflection that possibly he might have survived the attack but for the lowering of his strength by agitation under my preaching at the camp-meeting.

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April 28, Wednesday: I scarcely know why I am excited when in M. [Huc](#)'s Book I read of the country of the Mongol Tartars on the "Land of Grass", but I am as much as if I were a cow.

2 1/2 Pm to Cliffs & Heywood's Brook.

214. When this entry was written no word had reached me of the vain efforts of abolitionists to get from Kossuth an expression of sympathy with their cause. The "independence" pleaded for by Kossuth had no more to do with personal freedom than this had to do with the "independence" fought for in 1776 by American slaveholders, who forced Jefferson to strike out of the Declaration its antislavery section.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Are not the flowers which appear earliest in the spring the most primitive & simplest? They have been in this town thus far, as I have observed them this spring, putting them down in the order in which I think they should be named.

Using Grays names—

Symplocarpus Foetidus	
Alnus Incana	Ap. 11
“ Serrulata	8th
Acer Rubrum	9th one by Red Bridge
Willow earliest	12
Ulmus Americana	15 one – Cheney’s (others 10 days or 14 later)
Populus Tremuloides	15
Corylus Americana	16 perhaps before the last
Carex Pennsylvanica	22
Caltha Palustris	25 many
Stellaria Media	26 Cheney’s garden
Capsella Bursa Pastoris	26 “
Taraxacum Dens-leonis	25 one in water (seen by another the 20th)
Equisetum Arvense	25 in water
Gnaphalium Purpureum	27
Saxifraga Virginiensis	27
Antennaria Plantaginifolia	27
Ranunculus Fascicularis	28 only 2

All but the 3d 8th 11th 12th observed in the **very best** season. & these within a day (?) of their flowering. I observe that the first six are decidedly water or water-loving plants & the 10, 13th, & 14th were found in the water – & are equally if not more confined to that element. ---The 7th & 8th belong to the cooler zones of the earth – the 7th ac. to Emerson as far N as 64° –& comes up (is it this?) on burnt lands first & will grow in dry cool dreary places. --- The 9th on a dry warm rocky hill-side the earliest(?) grass to blossom also the 18th – the 11th & 12 in cold damp gardens – like the earth first made dry land. -- the 15th & 17 on dry (scantly clad with grass) fields & hills – hardy – -- the 16th sunny bare rocks – in seams on moss where also in a day or two the columbine will bloom. The 18th is also indebted to the warmth of the rocks – This may perhaps be nearly the order of the world’s creation – Thus we have in the spring of the year the spring of the world represented – Such were the first localities afforded for plants – Water-bottoms – bare rocks – & scantily clad lands – & land recently bared of water.

The spotted tortoise is spotted on shell head – tail – & legs. Fresh leaves of a Neottia pale & not distinctly veined. Red solomon seal berries on their short stems prostrate on the dead leaves, some of them plump still. One man has turned his cows out to pasture. Have not seen the Slate col. snowbird [Dark-eyed Junco  Junco hyemalis] for a few days. I am getting my greatcoat off, but it is a cold & wintry day – with snow clouds appearing to draw water, but cold water surely or out of the north side of the well. a few flakes in the air – drawing snow as well as water. From fair Haven the landscape all in shadow apparently to the base of the mts – but the Peterboro hills are in sun shine and unexpectedly are white with snow (no snow here unless in some hollows in the woods) reflecting the sun – more obvious for the sun shine – I never saw them appear so near. It is startling thus to look into winter.

How suddenly the flowers bloom – 2 or 3 days ago I could not or did not find the leaves of the crowfoot. To-day not knowing it well I looked in vain. – till at length in the very warmest nook in the grass above the rocks of the Cliff – I found 2 bright yellow blossoms which betrayed the inconspicuous leaves & all. The spring flowers wait not to perfect their leaves before they expand their blossoms. The blossom in so many cases precedes the leaf so with poetry? – they flash out. In the most favorable locality you will find flowers earlier than the May goers will believe. This year at least one flower (of several) hardly precedes another – but as soon as the storms were over & pleasant weather came – all bloomed at once. having been retarded so long. – This **appears** to be particularly true of the herbaceous flowers. How much does this happen every year?

There is no important change in the color of the **woods** yet – There are fewer dry leaves – buds color the maples – and perhaps the bark on some last year’s shoots as the willows are brighter & some **willows** covered with catkins – & even alders maples elms & poplars show at a distance. The earth has now a greenish tinge –



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

& the ice of course has universally given place to water for a long time past. These are general aspects—The *Veratrum Viride* at Well meadow is 15 or 16 inches high – the most of a growth this year. The *angelica*? at the Corner Spring is pretty near it.

I suppose the geese [**Canada Goose** *Branta canadensis*] are all gone. And the ducks? Did the Snow birds [**Dark-eyed Junco** *Junco hyemalis*] go off with the pleasant weather. Standing above the 1st little pond E of Fair Haven— This bright reflecting water surface is seen plainly at a higher level than the distant pond—It has a singular but pleasant effect on the beholder to see considerable sheets of water standing at different levels.—Pleasant to see lakes like platters full of water. Found a large cockle (?) shell by the shore of this little pond— It reminds me that all the earth is sea-shore—. The sight of these little shells inland It is a beach I stand on. Is the male willow on the E End of this pondlet – catkins about 3/4 inch long & just bursting commonly on the side & all before any leaves, the Brittle Gray W. S. grisea.

That small flat downy gnaphalium in sandy paths – is it the fragrant life-everlasting.

The *Andromeda* requires the sun— It is now merely a dull reddish brown – with light (greyish?) from the upper surface of the leaves.

Frogspawn a mass of transparant jelly bigger than the two fists composed of contiguous globules or eyes with each a little squirming pollywog? in the centre 1/3 inch long Walden is yellowish (apparently) next the shore where you see the sand – then green in still shallow water – then or generally deep blue. This as well under the R.R. and now that the trees have not leaved out – as under pines.

That last long storm brought down a coarse elephantine sand foliage in the Cut. Slumbrous ornaments for a cave or subterranean temple, such as at *Elephantium*? I see no willow leaves yet— A maple by Heywood’s meadow has opened its sterile blossoms – why is this (and maples generally) so much later than the Red Bridge one?

A week or more ago I made this list of **early** willows in Mass according to Gray putting Emerson in brackets—*Salix tristis*. Sage Willow

- S. humilis (Low Bush Willow) S. Muhlenbergiensis. S Conifera.
- S. discolor (Glaucus Willow) [2 Colored Willow.—Bog Willow] S. Sensitiva.
- S. eriocephala (Silky Headed Willow) S. Prinoides?
S crassa. “closely resembles the last” i.e. S. discolor [Wolly Headed Swamp]
- S. sericea (Silky-leaved Willow) S. Grisea. [Brittle-Gray]

October: The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) attended, in [Baltimore](#), simultaneously, a Quaker convention and a [Unitarian](#) convention. The upshot was, he determined to attend [Harvard Divinity School](#) and become a Unitarian minister. He would record much later that a respected Quaker adviser had counseled him against becoming a Quaker.²¹⁵ What is much more likely is that this Friend informed him that in the Quaker realm the ministers were totally unsalaried, working at trades to earn their living and paying all their own expenses, and that Conway in the manner quite typical of him later legitimated his decision not to become a Quaker under such ridiculous circumstances by translating this information, ex post facto, into counsel that he should not become a Quaker. (All his life Conway would be adept at putting –mincing no words here!– an appropriately righteous “spin” on such matters.)

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215. It seems possible that the spiritual counselor might have been [Friend Roger Brooke](#) from the Sandy Spring monthly meeting, or might have been [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) from that same meeting.

October 1, Friday: In Syracuse NY, the 1st annual “Jerry Celebration” honoring the freeing of Jerry McHenry from the federal marshals seeking to “return” him to his “owner” on October 1, 1851.  Although the assembly was denied the use of all public facilities, some 5,000 people were able to hear orations by Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), Gerrit Smith, and Lucy Stone in the engine rotunda of the Syracuse Railroad, 150 feet from side to side, made available by [John Wilkinson](#).²¹⁶



The Reverend Samuel Joseph May’s annual “Jerry Celebrations” would continue undaunted until, finally, civil war would break out in America.

The old, slow cargo vessel that had rescued Alfred Russel Wallace from off the face of the waters had finally docked in England –after a passage of some eighty days and after several times nearly foundering in a series of storms– and so he made his way back to London without his specimens. From this point until March 1854, he would work primarily out of the metropolis.

216. Not the same John Wilkinson who was buried in a cast-iron coffin of his own design.



December 8: The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) was back at the Friends monthly meeting in [Sandy Spring](#), getting his *coeur* enheartened again by the [Quakers](#).

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(Nice of them to do that for a Methodist on his way to becoming a [Unitarian](#), don't you think?) Meanwhile [Henry Thoreau](#) was at the pond also getting his *coeur* enheartened:

WALDEN: But, as I was looking over the surface, I saw here and there at a distance a faint glimmer, as if some skater insects which had escaped the frosts might be collected there, or, perchance, the surface, being so smooth, betrayed where a spring welled up from the bottom. Paddling gently to one of these places, I was surprised to find myself surrounded by myriads of small perch, about five inches long, of a rich bronze color in the green water, sporting there and constantly rising to the surface and dimpling it, sometimes leaving bubbles on it. In such transparent and seemingly bottomless water, reflecting the clouds, I seemed to be floating through the air as in a balloon, and their swimming impressed me as a kind of flight or hovering, as if they were a compact flock of birds passing just beneath my level on the right or left, their fins, like sails, set all around them. There were many such schools in the pond, apparently improving the short season before winter would draw an icy shutter over their broad sky-light, sometimes giving to the surface an appearance as if a slight breeze struck it, or a few rain-drops fell there. When I approached carelessly and alarmed them, they made a sudden plash and rippling with their tails, as if one had struck the water with a brushy bough, and instantly took refuge in the depths. At length the wind rose, the mist increased, and the waves began to run, and the perch leaped much higher than before, half out of water, a hundred black points, three inches long, at once above the surface. Even as late as the fifth of December, one year, I saw some dimples on the surface, and thinking it was going to rain hard immediately, the air being full of mist, I made haste to take my place at the oars and row homeward; already the rain seemed rapidly increasing, though I felt none on my cheek, and I anticipated a thorough soaking. But suddenly the dimples ceased, for they were produced by the perch, which the noise of my oars had scared into the depths, and I saw their schools dimly disappearing; so I spent a dry afternoon after all.

1853

Mary Elgar Farquhar, mother of [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#), died.

[Lydia Maria Child](#). [ISAAC T. HOPPER](#): A TRUE LIFE (Boston: Jewett)



[A TRUE LIFE](#)

Susanna Corder's LIFE OF [ELIZABETH FRY](#) COMPILED FROM HER JOURNALS AS EDITED BY HER DAUGHTERS, AND FROM VARIOUS OTHER SOURCES (London: W. & F.G. Cash, 5 Bishopgate Street Without):

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the vacation between semesters was increased from two weeks to one month. Installation of gas lighting brought a great improvement over the whale-oil lamps that had previously been needed for study. Average annual attendance had increased to 144 young scholars, mostly [Quaker](#).

Sarah Harris, who as a 19-year-old in 1832 had generated considerable hostility among white citizens by attempting to attend [Prudence Crandall](#)'s boarding school "for young ladies and little misses" in Canterbury, Connecticut –when in fact she only "looked white" but actually "was black"– had since married with the blacksmith George Fayerweather, and the couple had begun a family, and they had christened their 1st infant with the name Prudence Crandall Fayerweather. In this year this family moved into a cottage in [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) that had been built by George's father — a structure now in the Historic Register.



[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke in Cleveland, Ohio, at the National Woman's Rights Convention:

I look to that Source whence all the inspirations of the Bible comes.



At this convention something happened to William Lloyd Garrison, that was not exactly a high point in his life: a minister of the gospel became so exasperated that he reached out and — yanked Garrison's nose.



Mrs. J.R. Greer, a former [Friend](#), issued her 2d “narrative” in opposition to the [Religious Society of Friends](#)

PERUSE THE 1ST VOLUME

**The Society of Friends:
A Domestic Narrative,
Illustrating
the Peculiar Doctrines
held by the
Disciples of George Fox**

Publisher: M.W. Dodd, New York

Length: 340 pages, including main text of 266 pages, preface, and appendix of illustrative quotations from Quaker writers.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, by Mrs. J.R. Greer, presents the story of a young Quaker woman’s increasing disillusionment with, and eventual departure from, the Quaker faith and way of life. It is presented as a fictionalized account of real events; the author herself left the Society of Friends after many years.

Despite the author’s claim of truth-to-life, the plot is pat and predictable. The characters are also quite shallowly portrayed, and for the most part represent various “types” to be found in Friends’ society. But the plot and characters are really a secondary concern; the purpose of the book is overtly propagandistic, to argue that Quakerism is misguided, and harmful to those who profess it.

Much of the book is taken up with point-by-point examination of Quaker doctrine, pointing out apparent conflicts between this doctrine and the Bible. In addition, the story line is clearly constructed to illustrate the oppressive nature of Quaker society.

This is apparently Greer’s second book of this type; the title page describes her as the author of QUAKERISM; OR, THE STORY OF MY LIFE. In the preface, she describes this earlier book as illustrating the “peculiar practices” of the Quakers, but as abstaining from a consideration of doctrinal matters; the current one directs attention to their “peculiar doctrines.”

Although Greer describes her purpose as to direct attention to Friends’ practices and doctrines, it is hard to escape the impression that she is writing foremost to an audience of Quakers, and not outsiders. The thrust of the book is not to incite others to hostility against Quakerism, but to convince the Quakers themselves that their religion is mistaken, and that their general way of life is harmful to their own community.



Here are Mrs. J.R. Greer's Practical Arguments Against Quakerism:

- Quakers for the most part adhere to Quakerism out of inertia, tradition, or to gain personal prestige, and not out of authentic religious sentiment.
- Quakerism is governed by a dictatorial hierarchy: the opinions of ordinary Quakers count for little against the opinions of elders, affirmed ministers, and other “weighty” Quakers.
- Advancement in this hierarchy is more a matter of wealth and social prestige than of religious merit. Power passes from faction to faction largely for political reasons, without regard to spiritual concerns.
- Because of the doctrine against special training for ministers, influential Quakers are often shockingly ignorant.
- The doctrine of continuing revelation allows weighty Quakers to claim divine sanction for their actions, and pursue their own greedy and vindictive goals under the pretense of spiritual calling.
- Quakerism requires adherence to a large number of strict rules dealing with minor details of life, most of which have nothing to do with real spirituality. Foremost among these is the rule requiring plain dress; Quakers often seem to treat plain dress alone as sufficient for salvation.
- The unprogrammed, unplanned nature of Quaker meetings for worship results in disorganized and cryptic sermons. Quakers therefore receive very little by way of systematic religious training, which stunts their spiritual growth.
- The practice of emptying one’s mind while sitting silently in meeting is pointless; this time would be better spent thinking explicitly on spiritual matters.
- Friends’ cautions against mixing with non-Friends prevent them from doing charitable and missionary work.
- Quaker pacifism contradicts scriptural passages which seem to allow Christian participation in the military.

Here are Mrs. J.R. Greer's Theological Arguments Against Quakerism:

- Quakers do not worship Christ, but something inside themselves, which they merely call Christ.
- Because Friends claim that justification is through the growth of the Christ within, they suppress or deny the role of the historical crucifixion in salvation.
- The Friends’ doctrine of moral perfectibility, combined with their belief in an inner manifestation of God, makes them arrogant and leads them to deny their own sinful nature.
- By claiming continuing revelation, Friends allow their own doctrines to take precedence over scripture.
This problem is made even more severe since the leadings of the spirit are not to be tested against either scripture or human reason.
- Friends deny practices for which there is a clear scriptural requirement, such as water baptism and the Lord’s supper; they also engage in practices which the scriptures condemn, such as ministry by women.
- The Quaker doctrine of a universal inward light has no scriptural basis. The inward light cannot be identified with the Holy Spirit, since people must pray to receive the Holy Spirit, but are supposed to have the light universally and inherently.
- The Quaker doctrine against ministry which is not led by spontaneous movements of the spirit sometimes keeps people from preaching the Gospel, even though much good would come of the preaching.



Here are Mrs. J.R. Greer's Historical Arguments Against Quakerism:

- The early Quakers were fanatics who engaged in all sorts of shocking behavior, which would probably get them disowned in a modern (19th century) meeting.
- George Fox and other early Quaker leaders were arrogant, suffered delusions of divine inspiration, placed themselves on a level with God, and blasphemously accepted the worship of their followers.
- Early Quaker writers made numerous blasphemous statements, failing to identify Christ with the historical person of Jesus, and denying the efficacy of the crucifixion in redemption from sin.
- Fox was ignorant, and a terrible speller. (Greer demonstrates Fox's bad spelling by including in her appendix a copy of his last will and testament. It is undeniable that the spelling there is awful. However, I discovered soon after reading this book that Fox was actually co-author of a children's textbook on correct spelling! At first I suspected that Greer might have misrepresented Fox's spelling abilities; but William Sewell, who was far more sympathetic to Fox than Greer, also states that he was a bad speller. An examination of Fox's spelling textbook showed that a large portion of it is taken up with religious instruction, and not just spelling lessons as the title would indicate. It seems fair to speculate that the portions devoted to spelling were written by Fox's coauthor, Ellis Hookes.)
- Quakers were not originally pacifists; they had no qualms about participation in the English Civil War, and even urged Oliver Cromwell to take the war to the continent. It was only after restoration of the monarchy that Quakers conveniently and hypocritically renounced the use of arms.

[Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#)'s collected verse appeared, as HOURS OF LIFE.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Florence Nightingale was appointed resident lady superintendent of a hospital for invalid women in Harley Street, London.



In Philadelphia, [Friend Ann Preston](#) was appointed as professor of hygiene and physiology of the Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania.



(Emeline Horton, who eventually would succeed Friend Ann as dean of Female Medical College in 1872 –and would be buried beside her– was in this year completing her undergraduate education at Oberlin College.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

On the occasion of the World's Fair in New-York, suffragists held a meeting in the Broadway Tabernacle. This would go down in history as "The Mob Convention," marred by "hissing, yelling, stamping, and all manner of unseemly interruptions."

The World's Temperance Convention was held, also in New-York. Women delegates, including the Reverend Antoinette Brown and [Friend](#) Susan B. Anthony, were not allowed to speak.

Antoinette Brown (later Blackwell) was the first US woman to be ordained as a minister in a Protestant denomination, serving two First Congregational Churches in New York.

March: The death blow to [Graham's Magazine](#) may have been a hostile review of the immensely popular UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, which George R. Graham denounced as a "BAD BOOK." He would write later that "it gives an unfair and untrue picture of southern life. It is badly constructed, badly timed, and made up for a bad purpose.... We feel nothing but contempt for the whole class of liberty people (falsely so named) whose ideas of liberty consist in allowing nobody to live who expresses sentiments adverse to their notions." In April he would sell his magazine a 2nd time. This time it would be run by an undedicated editor and, after the December 1858 issue, would be incorporated into another periodical and would fall off our radar scope. Here is the image "The [Quaker](#) Settlement" used in the edition of the book dating to this year:

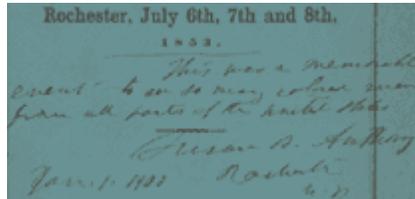


Here is its illustration of a slave cabin:



July 6: The Wisconsin state legislature incorporated the [Fox and Wisconsin River Improvement Company](#).

The 10th national National Convention of Colored Men began in Rochester, New York. [William Cooper Nell](#) was in attendance as a representative from Massachusetts, and was appointed Vice President pro-tem and member of the Business Committee. Frederick Douglass would publish the proceedings.²¹⁷ Below is Douglass's neighbor Susan B. Anthony's copy:²¹⁸



September 6-7: A gang from an athletic club in the pay of the Democratic organization in New-York (Tammany Hall²¹⁹), dressed in uniform white panama hats, pantaloons, polished boots and heavy gold chains, twice totally disrupted a woman's rights convention at the Tabernacle building, that was being presided over by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#). Sojourner Truth spoke:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over mud puddles or gives me the best place, and ain't I a woman? ... I know it feels kind of hissin' and ticklin' like to see a colored woman get up and tell you about things, and woman's rights. We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up again, but we have been down long enough now; we will come up again, and here I am.

Legend has it that Friend Lucretia simply took the arm of the ringleader of the gang and asked him to escort them safely from the building and that—unable to cope with this unexpected reaction to the situation—he did so.

[Now here is something I believe that you and I should pay careful attention to, since you probably first learned of this period of our nation's history in about the same manner in which I first learned about it, and in all probability the scars this has left on your consciousness of race and gender issues are similar to the scars this has left on my own. What I am suggesting that you and I should pay careful attention to, is succinctly

217. PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD IN ROCHESTER JULY 6TH, 7TH, AND 8TH, 1853. Rochester: Frederick Douglass, 1853.

218. At some point during this year Susan B. Anthony requested transfer from the Easton, New York Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Hicksite) to the Rochester Monthly Meeting (Hicksite). Despite this [Quaker](#) affiliation, she would be during her adult life a long-term attender at the Unitarian Church in Rochester.

219. It had two names at the same time. It was named Columbia Hall in honor of that mass-murdering founding father Christopher Columbus, but also, wouldn't you know, named after the late 17th Century Delaware chief Tamanend, the idea being that American tribalists are stereotypically generous in their care for needy members of their same tribe, and that such kindness translates, in civilized public life, into benevolent public associations of graft and mutual backscratching. This was well before "Boss Tweed" became the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1868, but the benevolent fraternity had already clearly degenerated into something of a *cosa nostra*. Nevertheless, the Tammany Society had lost all patience with real American tribalists when most of us sided with Great Britain during the [War of 1812](#). The society finally sold all the collections of Native American artifacts it had been keeping in its central "Wigwam" building, to P.T. Barnum for use in his "Greatest Show on Earth."—In the latest episode of such racial and ethnic stereotyping, just the other day when Mafia *don* John Gotti was convicted on 13 counts of murder and racketeering, his daughter commented proudly "My father is the last of the Mohicans."



She was evidently a full-blooded African, and though now aged and worn with many hardships, still gave the impression of a physical development which in early youth must have been as fine a specimen of the torrid zone as Cumberworth's celebrated statuette of the Negro Woman at the Fountain.

-Harriet Beecher Stowe



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

encapsulated in the fact that the historian Alan Nevins, writing for us in 1947, described the above incident only briefly. The sum total of what Nevins had to offer us was:

At the Tabernacle a colored woman stirred up a tempest by making a speech.

“At the Tabernacle a colored woman stirred up a tempest by making a speech.” We may usefully contrast this history-writing by Nevins, on which you and I cut our teeth, with other forms of description such as “In a red brick building, Sojourner Truth stirred up a tempest by making a speech” in which **the place** is allowed to remain categorical rather than **the person**, and such as “At the Tabernacle, a vivid oration stirred the delegates” in which the event is described as Nevins might easily have described that stirring speech, had it issued from the mouth of **some white male running for political office** rather than originating with some generic citizen who, because **not white and not male**, is obviously nothing but a troublemaker who has “stirred up a tempest” in a teapot.]

October 14, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) had a mystery visitor, a [Quaker](#) schoolmaster. Since there does not seem to be any written record of the reasons for this, from either side, or of what was discussed, we are left to speculate. (Since the two men did have a friend in common, [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), and since Moncure was nearby at the time, attending the [Harvard Divinity School](#) to acquire new credentials as a [Unitarian](#), residing in [Concord](#), reshaping himself, obtaining spiritual counsel from Thoreau and from Emerson, and since this mystery visitor, the Hicksite [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#), had also previously attempted to offer in his school in [Maryland](#) spiritual advice to Moncure — in the absence of all evidence we may be forgiven if we hypothecate that the subject of the conversations between Henry and Friend William, since obviously they were something too sensitive to have been alluded to in any way in the journal, may well have been the guidance that was being offered collectively to this failed Methodist circuit preacher in his spiritual crisis.)



Oct. 14. Friday. 1853. A Mr. Farquhar of Maryland came to see me; spent the day and the night.

Why would such guidance have been of such importance? In order to comprehend this, you will need carefully to consider the times, and in particular the needs of the ongoing nonviolent national antislavery crusade. There wasn't anything more important going down, than this conversion of this genuine Southern aristocrat scion of plantation slavemasters to the cause.

How, in those years prior to our Civil War, might one have gone about creating an effective nonviolent abolitionist movement? The Bible itself implicitly accepted slavery as a normal human condition. Jesus had not so much as blinked at the human slavery that had been all around him in his life context. The churches of America, virtually all of them not only in the South but also in the North, were vehemently proslavery. Virtually every government entity outside of New England was at the very best neutral on this issue. Some of the prominent white men, such as Abraham Lincoln, were hoping to figure out a way that we could afford to dump our black people back onto the coast of Africa and be rid of them once and for all, at “Liberia” or wherever, and a vanishingly small percentage of Americans had any sympathy to waste on abolitionists. The antislavery sort of person was being considered a sort of freak — somebody who was willing to run the risk of a bloody race war, servile insurrection, black men running through the night with hatchets. John Brown did not have any key to unlock this door, for his key only fit in the door Make-All-This-Unbearably-Worse. Seizing weapons and starting something deadly was obviously the way only a crazed ideolog would want to



go (either then at the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, or more recently in the Hollywood home of Sharon Tate where Charles Manson attempted to stage what he described as a “Helter Skelter” that would set us off into a national race war). No. The key to this in 1853 would be to suborn this young Southern white aristocrat, a goldplated hairball of impeccable credentials and background, and make him willing to step forward and state plainly, for all to hear loud and clear north and south “My own family owns slaves down South, hundreds of them, whom I would inherit, but slavery being wrong in the eyes of God, I am renouncing my inheritance and cannot be part of this exploitation.” The three families of Virginia who had real pioneer credentials, the Moncures, the Daniels, and the Conways, were all present in this young gentleman who had eponymously been named “Moncure Daniel Conway.” What authenticity! Not only that, but Moncure was a reverend, a man of the cloth. What credibility! –That’s why this Quaker elder, Friend William of the Sandy Spring monthly meeting in Maryland, had come to Concord, and would spend all of October 14, 1853 and that night at the Thoreau boardinghouse scheming with Henry Thoreau. This man was the behind-the-scenes stage manager of this most important abolitionist event. It was his responsibility to make certain that nothing fell out of bed. This self-important, confused, shallow new convert needed constant handholding and it was his agenda to make certain that he received this in full measure. There was hot propaganda stuff brewing — and our Henry was in the very thick of it in his guise as a mere walking companion and casual confidant.

November: Back in the English midlands for the winter season, from Scotland, the Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward took an opportunity to visit the geographical origins of Quakerism — since this was a religious group for which he had always had a particular affection. The Reverend being ill, financial arrangements were made at that time for a retirement of him and his family to the island of Jamaica, and so that his son and widow might not be destitute subsequent to his demise:

[T]here were two old buildings, near to Ulverstone, in Lancashire, which I visited with very peculiar interest, in company with the Rev. James Browne. They are historical buildings, and, to me, of great importance, because of their relation to an honoured branch of the Christian Church to which my people are very much indebted; those buildings are, the former residence and the chapel of George Fox.²²⁰

I saw the house which he frequently visited when a bachelor, and in which he lived after his marriage: also, the window from which he first preached his principles to the people of the neighbourhood. The chapel is a low place, of small size, but neat and substantial; it stands in a pretty, well kept enclosure, still used as a burying-place. The meetings of the Friends, in that locality, are holden in that venerable chapel. Here arose the “Society called Friends, or Quakers.” From this humble meeting-house began that sect whose members are in all parts of England, some of them among the most wealthy of living men. In America, how many of their meeting-houses are very much larger than this, the birthplace of Quakerism! indeed, I know of none there so small as this. Here arose a sect despised, ridiculed, persecuted. They spread, however, all over Christendom; they preached the gospel of peace to almost all the families and tribes of living man; they purged their own sect of slaveholding; they have impressed their principles upon the generations among whom they have lived; they have been, in all times, the friends and helpers of the poor and the needy. No sect better than they deserves the distinct appellation of

220. Bunyan’s Chapel, at Bedford — Baxter’s, Oxendon Street, London — Doddridge’s, Northampton — in each of which I have preached, were to me most interesting.



Friends.

They may not now be increasing in numbers; the very reverse of this is true, in some, many, places. In America there have been some sad divisions, and more lamentable heresies, among them; some, indeed, have quite forsaken and forsworn the anti-slavery principles of the sect. But the Society of Friends has accomplished a very important mission; and it may be that, principles and distinctive ideas are so well understood, and so many of the most useful and most catholic of these principles are impressed upon and promulgated by other sects, this pure and honoured denomination can afford the diminution of its members. The defections and heresies of which I have spoken seemed, to me, to be gently rebuked by the old Bible of George Fox, which was chained to a desk in the old meeting-house. It is a quaint old volume, of the date of 1541, and reads after the style of that day. It was the corner-stone of George Fox's faith, the armoury whence he drew his weapons, the directory of his spotless life. Nothing of the antique, nothing of a past age, gave me deeper interest, than the residence, the chapel, and the Bible, of George Fox. If not so antique as other places and things, it was the most ancient of Quaker things, the earliest of the interesting relics of that sect, which has done more for mankind than, perhaps, any other of like numbers, since the days of the apostles and the martyrs.

In connection with this part of the present chapter I beg to observe, that in the winter of 1853-54 I had the pleasure of holding a meeting in the Friends' meeting-house in Kendall. The chairman was the venerable Mr. Braithwaite. He had kindly invited several of the most distinguished personages, including his Worship the Mayor, to meet me. The next morning I met several members of the Braithwaite family, many of whom are married, at the old family mansion, at breakfast. Among the guests was a daughter of the Missionary Moffatt, from Africa. The Scriptures were read, according to the good old custom of the Friends; and then Mrs. Braithwaite, who has been a minister for many years, preached a short sermon. I never heard any discourse more pointed, more benevolent, more touching. She began upon the fact that there were in the room persons from different and distant countries, representatives of different races and climes, professing love towards and faith in a common Saviour, and worshipping the same Heavenly Father. She dwelt with delight upon that scene, as one somewhat similar to the gathering of the redeemed around a common board in heaven, at a future day. I do not pretend to give her words, but shall never forget the Christian kindness which was breathed in every one of them. Upon leaving, Mrs. Braithwaite warmly shook my hand, and bade me "farewell," giving me advice as to my health, and commending me to the gracious protection of God. We never shall meet again on earth; but to have met such a disciple of Jesus once, was a privilege worthy of more than ordinary appreciation.

John Morland, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends, did me the honour, upon hearing me at Croydon, in February last, of coming to me after the meeting, to make arrangements for a lecture in the Friends' School, in Croydon, that the pupils



might have an opportunity of hearing me plead in the slave's behalf. The meeting was arranged and held. Mr. Morland kindly made me his guest, and took me in his carriage to introduce me to the venerable Peter Bedford, Esq., the coadjutor of Clarkson. After the meeting, the boys of the school presented me with a generous donation, and a most kind and affectionate written address, which I shall preserve as a memento of those most interesting young gentlemen. "May the angel who redeemed Jacob from all evil, bless the lads!"

To another member of the Society of Friends – John Candler, Esq., of Chelmsford – I am under peculiar obligations, and must state them, though without his permission. I had read of that benevolent gentleman, before coming to Europe – had known of his travels in Brazil, the West Indies, and America, in prosecution of his zealous anti-slavery labours. I knew that, like Forster – the venerable and self-sacrificing Forster – he was ready, if God pleased, to lay down his life in a foreign country, rather than be disobedient to the dictates of duty, as impressed upon him by the Spirit of God. But it was not my pleasure and privilege to meet Mr. Candler until last November: indeed, when I was first at Chelmsford, Mrs. Candler, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, informed me that he had not returned from America, whither, at an advanced age, he had accompanied Mr. Forster on his last errand of mercy to the slave.

In December last, by an arrangement which Messrs. Wells and Perry had kindly made for me, I spoke in Chelmsford. The Rev. Mr. Wilkinson kindly occupied the chair. A vote of thanks was to be proposed, according to arrangement, and Mr. Candler generously consented to perform this part. In speaking, as his abundant experience and extensive travels fully qualified him to do, he entirely confirmed my statements; and publicly said that, if in going to Jamaica I should visit the parish of St. George, where he owned a parcel of land, I should be most welcome to fifty acres of it. Since that time Mr. Candler has confirmed his gift, and given instructions accordingly to his solicitor, W.W. Anderson, Esq., of Jamaica. And, that I may do full justice to my benefactor, whose munificence commenced with me in a public meeting, on public grounds and for public purposes, I may venture to add, that Mr. Candler has sold me his entire interest in the tract referred to, at a price so nominal as to make it equivalent to a gift. He has also advised Mr. Anderson, who owns the remaining moiety, to treat me with like kindness. I have already arranged with Mr. Anderson for that moiety. Thus, if my family shall be relieved from a position of dependence, after my death – it will, under God, be owing more to Mr. John Candler, of Chelmsford, than to any other man. That I propose changing the name of the estate from Albany to Candler Park,²²¹ will not appear strange.

The duty of spending a portion of every year in Jamaica, until my son shall be old enough to attend to that property, is thus made clear to me. It may be, that our Heavenly Father will permit me to be of some service to my people in that island.

221. There is another estate called Albany, in the county of Cornwall. This is in the county of Surrey, on the Great Spanish River.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1854

[Friend John Wilbur](#) visited England for the 2d time.

[Elihu Burritt](#)'s THOUGHTS AND THINGS AT HOME AND ABROAD. WITH A MEMOIR BY MARY HOWITT (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co.; New York: J.C. Derby). He merged his abolitionist newspaper with a [Quaker](#) periodical promoting a boycott of slavery-produced goods, the [Nonslaveholder](#). This boycott would never sustain itself and by 1856 the enterprise would need to be abandoned.

Jesse Hoover moved from Ohio with his father Eli. They traveled by river boat and covered wagon to a farm outside West Branch, Iowa, a small town founded by [Quakers](#).

HERBERT HOOVER

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the “old” gymnasium was erected — a wooden structure that was for use only by the boy scholars. The charge for board and tuition was increased to \$80 per scholar per year, plus a surcharge of \$120 if the scholar happened not to be from a [Quaker](#) family. There would be an additional surcharge of \$10 for instruction in ancient languages, French, and drawing.

One attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts:

Thou shalt rob me no more of sweet silence and rest,
 For I've proved thee a trap, a seducer at best.
 —Friend Amelia Opie's “Farewell to Music”



(Amelia, who had been a popular fiction writer before giving this up in 1825 in order to become a [Quaker](#), had died in 1853 leaving her book manuscript THE PAINTER AND HIS WIFE unfinished.)

And another, completely different, attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts, in the same year: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s LITERARY RECREATIONS AND MISCELLANIES. Among the poems from this period is “Maud Muller,” with its best-known couplet:

Of all sad words of tongue and pen
 The saddest are these, “It might have been.”



January 21: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s “The Hashish”²²² appeared in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#) (14.305:137), a New-York publication listing S.H. Gay and Oliver Johnson as editors on its masthead:

The Judge partakes, and sits ere long,
 Upon his bench a railing blackguard,
 Decides, off-hand, that right is wrong,
 And reads the ten commandments backward. (ll. 45-48)

222. From this topical and dated poem, the fave rave [Quaker](#) hymn “Dear Lord and Father of Mankind” has been derived.



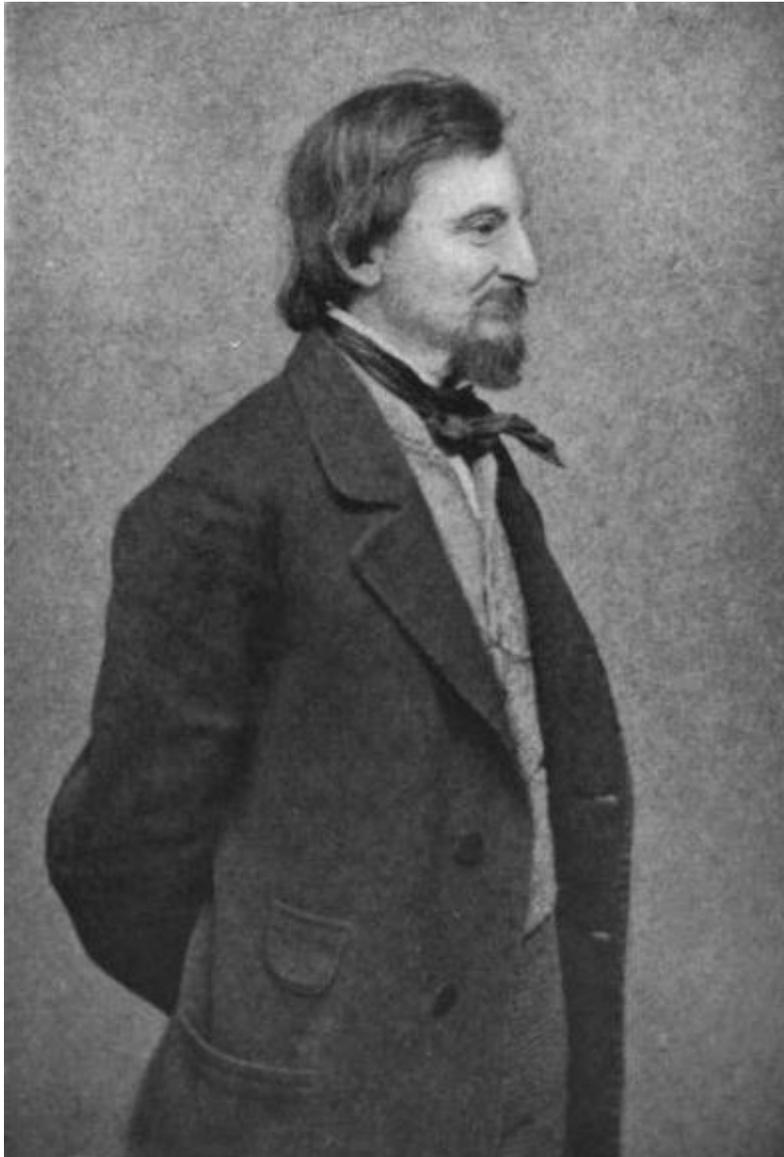
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

A footnote in the publication verifies that this hash which is interfering with the judgment of the “Hashish” (marijuana-user) judge is indeed a preparation of *cannabis indica*. Whittier’s poem is not, however, an anti-drug poem as such, but an anti-human-enslavement poem. Drug use is recognized as a problem, but not a problematic problem. The problem is that [slavery](#) is not yet recognized to be an intoxicant, capable of deforming the judgment and the moral sense. After numerous stanzas describing the transformations wrought by hashish, Whittier offers his moral, which is that cotton intoxicates Americans more than hashish intoxicates easterners:

The hempen Hashish of the East
Is powerless to our Western Cotton! (51-52)

December 26, Tuesday: It was a fine, mild day, and [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) and Henry Thoreau walked through the



woods to Tarkiln Hill and then through Acushnet to the Friends Meeting House. In the afternoon they rode around White's factory. In the evening Thoreau delivered "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" at the [New Bedford](#) lyceum but [Friend Daniel](#) didn't feel well enough to attend.

THOREAU'S SERMON

[Various versions of "LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE", variously titled, would be delivered:

- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in [Providence RI](#)
- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on December 26, 1854 in the [New Bedford MA](#) Lyceum



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on [Nantucket Island](#)
- On January 4, 1855 in the [Worcester](#) Lyceum, as “The Connection between Man’s Employment and His Higher Life”
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on February 14, 1855 in the [Concord](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on November 16, 1856 for the Eagleswood community
- “Getting a Living” on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)’s 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell MA.]



A fine mild spring-like day. Walked through the woods to Tarkiln Hill and through Acushnet to Friends’ Meeting House with Henry D. Thoreau, author of Walden. Rode this P.M. with H.D.T. round White’s factory. Louisa [Mrs. Louisa Sampson Ricketson] and the children, except Walton [son], attended Lyceum this evening. Lecture by Mr. Thoreau. Subject, “Getting a Living.” I remained at home, not feeling well enough to attend.



December 26, 1854: At Ricketson’s (New Bedford).

I do not remember to have ever seen such a day as this in Concord. There is no snow here (though there has been excellent sleighing at Concord since the 5th ult.), but it is very muddy, the frost coming out of the ground as in spring with us. I went to walk in the woods with R.; it was wonderfully warm and pleasant, and the cockerels crowed just as in a spring day at home. I felt the winter breaking up in me, and if I had been at home I should have tried to write poetry. They told me that this was not a rare day there. That they had little or no winter such as we have, and it was owing to the influence of the Gulf Stream, which was only sixty miles from Nantucket at the nearest or 120 miles from them. In mid-winter when the wind was S.E. or even S.W. they frequently had days as warm and debilitating as in summer. There is a difference of a degree in latitude, between Concord and New Bedford, but far more in climate. The American holly is quite common there, with its red berries still holding on, and is now their [Christmas](#) evergreen. I heard the lark sing, strong and sweet, and saw robins. R. lives in that part of New Bedford, three miles out of the town, called the Head of the River, i.e. the Acushnet River. There is a [Quaker](#) meeting-house there. Such an ugly shed without a tree or bush about it, which they call their meeting-house (without steeple of course), is altogether repulsive to me, like a powder-house or grave. And even the quietness and perhaps unworldliness of an aged Quaker has something ghostly and saddening about it — as it were a mere preparation for the grave.

R. said that pheasants from England (where they are not indigenous) had been imported to Naushon, and were killed there.

NAUSHON ISLAND
NEW BEDFORD MA



December 26, 1854: “Read not the Times. Read the Eternities.” (REFORM PAPERS, 173)

THE  TIMES



GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992

17

Read not the Times. Read the Eternities.
“Life Without Principle”

The battle was joined. The news was out.
DEVELOPER EYES

ISBN 0-670-84260-5 — PS3562.A515G58

Viking Penguin

Penguin Books USA Inc.

1855

Attending a lecture by Edward Davis, a son-in-law of [Friends James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), and meeting Friend Lucretia herself at Davis’s home in Philadelphia, Robert Collyer soon became persuaded of the antislavery cause.

In this year in Philadelphia, publication of the initial volume of John W. Watson’s WATSON’S ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA A COLLECTION OF MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, AND INCIDENTS OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS OF THE INLAND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM THE DAYS OF THE FOUNDERS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF OLDEN TIME, AND TO EXHIBIT SOCIETY IN ITS CHANGES OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND THE CITY AND COUNTRY IN THEIR LOCAL CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS.

JOHN F. WATSON, I, 1855

JOHN F. WATSON, II, 1857



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

According to pages 126-7 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), although Walt Whitman would in his old age imply that during his youth he had been an abolitionist, "this was simply not the case":

In his editorials for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle during the late 1840s, he attacked the abolitionists and blamed them for retarding the end of slavery by their fanaticism. He did disapprove of slavery, of course, but mainly because of its inconsistency with American ideals. He held a low opinion of Negroes, as his Civil War correspondence with his mother reveals, and his sympathy for them was limited. It was the revolutionaries in Europe, not abolitionism, that inspired him to become a poet of liberty, one whose attitude, as he described it in the 1855 preface, was "to cheer up slaves and horrify despots."... As a young boy, Whitman learned to place a high value on political revolt. From his grandmother he heard stories about the Revolutionary War, told from a patriot's point of view, and these formed a valued part of his education. Washington, naturally, became one of his heroes, and from his father, as is well known, he acquired a love of radical democrats. Whitman's father knew personally and admired Thomas Paine and Frances Wright (an ardent Scottish-born democrat and freethinker), and these two gained young Walt's reverence. Whitman became familiar with the writings of both, and *LEAVES OF GRASS*, as Justin Kaplan has pointed out, "borrowed the insurgent and questioning spirit of these mentors along with literal quotations from their writings."

REVOLUTION

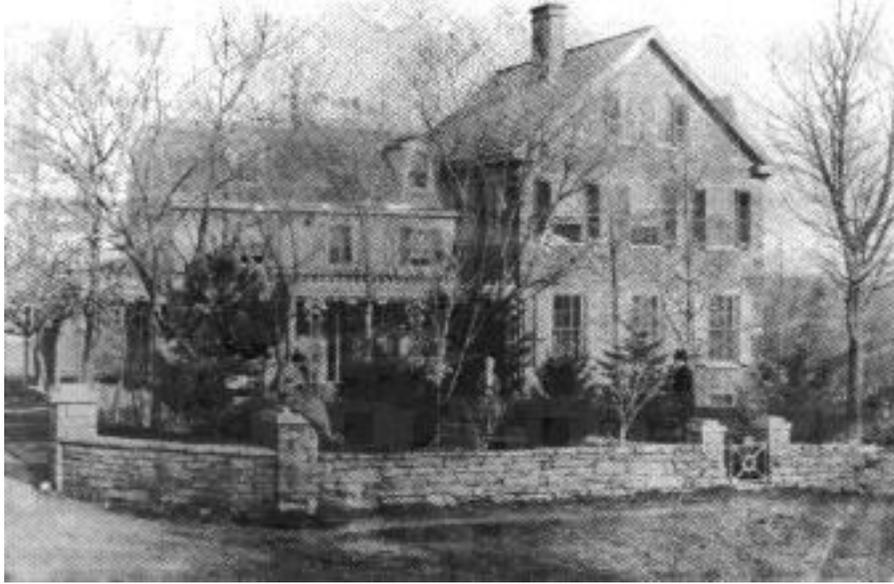
FANNY WRIGHT

During this year Whitman would be self-publishing the 1st edition of his *LEAVES OF GRASS*, containing "Song of Myself," proclaiming the ever-crowdpleasing American Exceptionalist attitude that these United States of America was the venue for the redemption of the human race and destined to give birth to a new world order:

This is what you shall do: Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons and with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul, and your very flesh shall be a great poem and have the richest fluency not only in its words but in the silent lines of its lips and face and between the lashes of your eyes and in every motion and joint of your body....

So far as we know (according to Anne Lyon Haight's and Chandler B. Grannis's *BANNED BOOKS 387 B.C. TO 1978 A.D.*, R.R. Bowker Co, 1978) the Library Company of Philadelphia would be the only American library to procure a copy of the 1st edition of *LEAVES OF GRASS*.²²³ In Philadelphia in this year, this volume was being read aloud in the home of [Friends James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), and a relative became so enthusiastic that he went out and purchased a copy specially for his 17-year-old daughter.

223. Henry Thoreau's copy of *LEAVES OF GRASS* would be knocked down on auction at Sotheby's in 2002 or 2003, evidently to a Whitman collector, for US\$119,500.



“Specimen Days”

THROUGH EIGHT YEARS

In 1848, '49, I was occupied as editor of the "daily Eagle" newspaper, in Brooklyn. The latter year went off on a leisurely journey and working expedition (my brother Jeff with me) through all the middle States, and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Lived awhile in New Orleans, and work'd there on the editorial staff of "daily Crescent" newspaper. After a time plodded back northward, up the Mississippi, and around to, and by way of the great lakes, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, to Niagara falls and lower Canada, finally returning through central New York and down the Hudson; traveling altogether probably 8000 miles this trip, to and fro. '51, '53, occupied in house-building in Brooklyn. (For a little of the first part of that time in printing a daily and weekly paper, "the Freeman.") '55, lost my dear father this year by death. Commenced putting LEAVES OF GRASS to press for good, at the job printing office of my friends, the brothers Rome, in Brooklyn, after many MS. doings and undosings - (I had great trouble in leaving out the stock "poetical" touches, but succeeded at last.) I am now (1856-'7) passing through my 37th year.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

As the poet would report in the Camden Post for April 16, 1891:

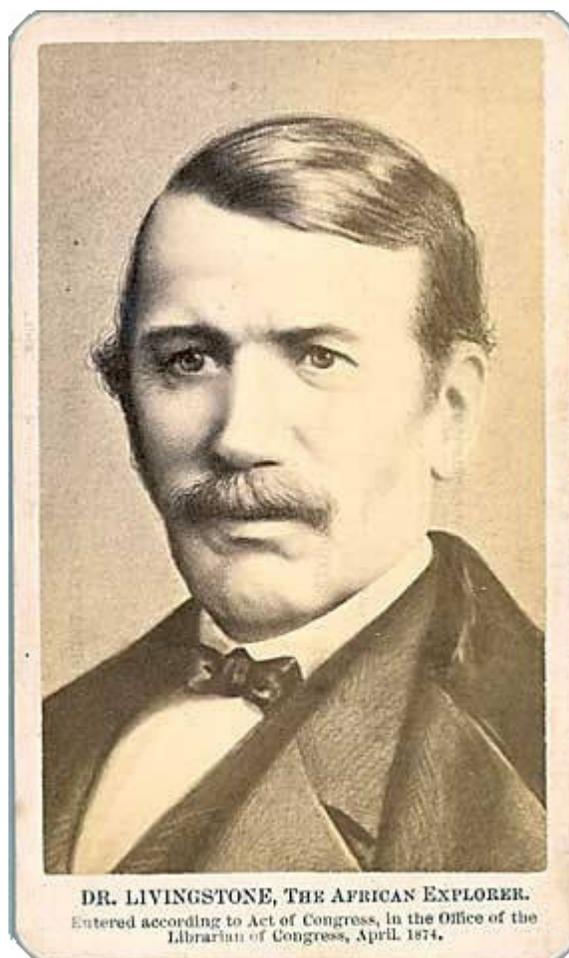
“Memoranda”

Lost my dear father this year by death.... Commenced putting LEAVES OF GRASS to press, for good – after many MSS. doings and undoings – (I had great trouble in leaving out the stock “poetical” touches – but succeeded at last.) The book has since had some eight hitches or stages of growth, with one annex, (and another to come out in 1891, which will complete it.)

November 16: News came that the shipment of Oriental books from Thomas Cholmondeley intended for Henry Thoreau of Concord, Massachusetts had arrived in Canada.

In the Palais de l'Industrie, [Hector Berlioz](#)'s cantata L'imperiale was performed, completely this time, as was the entire intended concert of the previous day. An audience in the thousands (which this time did not include the Emperor [Napoléon III](#)) was most appreciative.

The Reverend Dr. David Livingstone became the first European to see Victoria Falls and named it after his queen I presume.



[Stephen Grellet](#) died in Burlington, New Jersey (the body is buried behind the [Quaker](#) Meeting House at 340 High Street).²²⁴

224. The Grellet home was located at the corner of High and Library Streets in Burlington, New Jersey. His daughter would donate two of his Chippendale chairs to the Library Company of Burlington. The house would later serve as a boarding house, its most notable resident being Kitty Balester, a student at nearby Van Rensselaer Seminary who eventually would marry Rudyard Kipling. In the mid-20th Century, the house would be moved a short distance down High Street. Only one wall of the original house, however, now remains, and it serves as the north wall of the City's municipal building. In more recent years, Louis Colaguori constructed a reproduction of the original house, at High and Federal Streets, which structure has come to shelter the local offices of Public Service Electric and Gas.



HOW A FRENCH NOBLE BECAME A FRIEND²²⁵

Sentences from 'No Cross, No Crown,' by WILLIAM PENN.

'Come, Reader, hearken to me awhile; I seek thy salvation; that is my plot; thou wilt forgive me.'

'Thou, like the inn of old, hast been full of guests; thy affections have entertained other lovers; there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy soul ... but his love is after thee still, & his holy invitation continues to save thee.'

'Receive his leaven, & it will change thee; his medicine and it will cure thee; he is as infallible as free; without money and with certainty.... Yield up the body, soul & spirit to Him that maketh all things new: new heavens & new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life & conversation....'

'The inward, steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man.... True worship is an inward work; the soul must be touched and raised in its heavenly desires by the heavenly Spirit.... So that souls of true worshippers see God: and this they wait, they pant, they thirst for.'

'Worship is the supreme act of man's life.'

Now we come to a Saint who had a life so full of adventures that a book twice as big as this one would be needed to contain the stories that might be told about him alone.

Unlike any of the other 'Quaker Saints' in this book, he was by birth a Frenchman and came of noble family. His name was Etienne de Grellet. He was born nearly a century after the death of George Fox; but he probably did not know that such a person had ever existed, never even heard Fox's name, until long after he was grown up. If Etienne de Grellet, the gay young nobleman of the French court, had been told that his story would ever be written in a book of 'Quaker Saints' he would, most likely, have raised his dark eyebrows and have looked extremely surprised.

'Quakère? Qu'est-ce que c'est alors, Quakère? Quel drôle de mot! Je ne suis pas Quakère, moi!' he might have answered, with a disdainful shrug of his high, narrow, aristocratic French shoulders. Yet here he is after all!

Etienne de Grellet was born at Limoges in France, in the year 1773. His childhood was passed in the stormy years when the cloud was gathering that was to burst a little later in the full fury of the French Revolution. His father, Gabriel de Grellet, a wealthy merchant of Limoges, was a great friend and counsellor of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. As a reward for having introduced into the country the manufacture of finer porcelain than had ever before been made in France he was ennobled by the

225. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917.

Variously reprinted.



king, whom he often used to attend in his private chapel. Limoges china is still celebrated all over the world; and at that time the most celebrated of its china-makers was M. de Grellet, the king's friend.

Naturally the sons of this successful merchant and nobleman were brought up in great luxury. Etienne and his brothers were not sent to a school, but had expensive tutors to teach them at home. Their parents wanted their children to be well educated, honourable, straightforward, generous, and kind; to possess not only accomplishments but good qualities. Yet Etienne felt, when he looked back in later days, that something had been left out in their education that was, perhaps, the most important thing of all.

When he was quite a little boy he was taken to visit one of his aunts who was a nun in a convent near Limoges. The rules of this convent were so strict that the nuns might not even see their relations who came to visit them. They might only speak to them from the other side of two iron gratings, between the bars of which a thick curtain was hung. The little boy thought it very strange to be taken from his beautiful home, full of costly furniture, pictures, and hangings, and to be brought into the bare convent cell. Then he looked up and saw an iron grating, and heard a voice coming through the folds of a thick curtain that hung behind it. He could hear the voice, but he might never see the face of the aunt who spoke to him. At night at home, as he lay in his comfortable bed, he used to think of his aunt and the other nuns 'rising three times in the night for prayer in the church, from the hard boards which formed their couch, even the luxury of a straw pallet being denied them.' 'Which is the real life,' he used to ask himself, 'the easy comfortable life that goes on round me every day, or that other, difficult life hidden behind the folds of the thick curtain?'

Child though he was, Etienne felt that his aunt loved him, although he had never seen her. This helped him to feel that, although unseen, God was loving him too. As he grew older he wondered: 'Perhaps everything we see here is like the bars of a grating, or a thick curtain. Perhaps there is some one on the other side who is speaking to us too.'

Etienne was only about five or six years old when he made the great discovery that GOD IS THERE, hidden behind the screen of visible things all round us. After this, he longed to be able to speak to God and to listen to God's voice, as he was able to listen to his unseen aunt's voice speaking to him from behind the curtain in the convent.

No one ever taught him to pray; but presently he discovered that too for himself. One day, when he was only six years old, his tutor gave him a Latin lesson to learn that was much too difficult for him. Etienne took the book up to his bedroom, and there, all alone, he read it over and over and did his very best to learn it. But the unfamiliar Latin words would not stay in his memory. At last he closed the book in despair and went to his bedroom window and looked out. He gazed over the high roofs of the city, away over the wide plain in which Limoges lay, to the distant mountain, blue against the sky. Everything looked



fair and peaceful. As he gazed, the thought came to him, 'God made the plain and the river and the mountains. God made this whole beautiful world in which I live. If God can create all these things, surely He can give me memory also.' He knelt down at the foot of his bed and prayed, for the first time in his life, that his Unseen Friend would help him to master the difficult lesson. Taking up the book again, he read the hard Latin words once more, very attentively. This time the words stayed in his memory and did not fade away. Often afterwards, he found that if he prayed all his lessons became easier. He could not, of course, learn them without effort, but after he had really prayed earnestly, he found he could remember things better. Then one day he learned the Lord's prayer. Long years after, when he was an old man, he could still recall the exact spot in his beautiful home where, as a little boy, he had first learned to say, 'Our Father.' Etienne and his family belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. On Sundays they went to the great cathedral of Limoges; but the service there always seemed strange and far away to Etienne.²²⁶ The music, the chanting, the Latin words that were said and sung by bishops and priests in their gorgeous robes, did not seem to him to have anything to do with the quiet Voice that spoke to the boy in the silence of his own heart.

When Etienne and his brothers were old enough they were sent to several different colleges and schools. Their last place of instruction was the celebrated College of the Oratorians at Lyons. Among other things, the students of this College were taught to move so quietly that fifty or a hundred boys went up or down the stone steps of the College all together, without their feet making the least noise.

Etienne tells us in his diary: 'as we were educated by Roman Catholics and in their principles we were required to confess once a month,' that is, to tell a priest whatever they had done that was wrong, and receive the assurance of God's forgiveness from him.

The priest to whom Etienne regularly made his confession was 'a pious, conscientious man,' who treated him with fatherly care. When the boy told him of his puzzles, and asked how it could be necessary to confess to any man, since God alone could forgive sins, he received a kind, helpful answer. 'Yet,' he says, 'my reasoning faculties brought me to the root of the matter; from created objects to the Creator—from time to eternity.' After he was confirmed at College he hoped that his heart would be changed and made different; but he found that he was still much the same as before. Before leaving the College he and the other students who were also departing received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Mass. This was to Etienne a very solemn time. But, he says, as soon as he was out in the world again, the remembrance of it faded away. He settled that he had no use for religion in his life, and determined to live for pleasure and happiness alone. 'I sought after happiness,' his diary says, 'in the world's delights. I went in pursuit of it from one party of pleasure to another; but I did not find it, and I wondered that

226. 'From my earliest days,' he writes, 'there was that in me that would not allow me implicitly to believe the various doctrines I was taught.'



the name of pleasure could be given to anything of that kind.' In his dissipated life after leaving College, he gave up saying his prayers, and gradually he lost his belief that GOD WAS THERE. He read unbelieving books, which said that God did not exist, and that the Unseen world was only a delusion and a dream. For a time Etienne gave himself up to doubt and denial as well as to dissipation. He was in this restless state when the French Revolution broke out and caught him, like a butterfly in a thunderstorm. New questions surged over him. 'If there is a God after all, why should He allow these horrors to happen?' But no answer came. Or perhaps he had forgotten how to listen.

'Towards the close of 1791,' he writes, 'I left my dear Father's house, and bade him, as it proved, a lasting farewell, having never seen him since.' At this time, Etienne accompanied his brothers and many other nobles into Germany, to join the French Princes who were endeavouring to bring about a counter-revolution and restore the king, Louis XVI.

On this dangerous journey the young men met with many narrow escapes. Courage came naturally to Etienne. 'I was not the least moved,' he writes in his diary, 'when surrounded by people and soldiers, who lavished their abuses upon us, and threatened to hang me to the lamp-post. I coolly stood by, my hands in my pockets, being provided with three pairs of pistols, two of which were double-barrelled. I concluded to wait to see what they would do, and resolved, after destroying as many of them as I could, to take my own life with the last.'

Happily the necessity for extreme courses did not arise. He was, he says, 'mercifully preserved,' and no violent hands were laid upon him, though he and his companions suffered a short detention, after which they succeeded in safely joining the French Princes and their adherents at the city of Coblenz on the Rhine. Here Etienne spent the following winter and spring surrounded, he tells us, by many temptations.

'I was fond of solitude,' continues the diary, 'and had many retired walks through the woods and over the hills. I delighted to visit the deserted hermitages, which formerly abounded on the Rhine. I envied the situation of such hermits, retired from the world, and sheltered from its many temptations; for I thought it impossible for me to live a life of purity while continuing among my associates. I looked forward wishfully to the time when I could thus retire; but I saw also that, unless I could leave behind me my earthly-mindedness, my pride, vanity, and every carnal propensity, an outward solitude could afford me no shelter.

'Our army entered into France the forepart of the summer of 1792, accompanied by the Austrians and Prussians. I was in the King's Horse Guards, which consisted mostly of the nobility. We endured great hardships, for many weeks sleeping on the bare ground, in the open air, and were sometimes in want of provisions. But that word honour so inflamed us, that I marvel how contentedly we bore our privations.'

Towards the approach of winter, owing to various political changes, the Princes' army was obliged to retire from France, and soon after was disbanded. 'Etienne had been present at



several engagements; he had seen many falling about him, stricken by the shafts of death; he had stood in battle array, facing the enemy ready for the conflict; but, being in a reserve corps, he was preserved from actually shedding blood, having never fought with the sword, or fired a gun.'

In after years, he was thankful to remember that although he had been perfectly willing to take life, he had never actually done so in his soldier days. After the retreat of the French army, he and his brothers set out for Amsterdam. On the way, however, they were made prisoners of war, and condemned to be shot. 'The execution of the sentence was each moment expected, when some sudden commotion in the hostile army gave them an opportunity to make their escape.' Their lives thus having been spared a second time they reached Holland in safety.

The young men were puzzled what to do next. They could not bear to leave their beloved parents at distant Limoges, and yet it was impossible to reach them or to help them in any way. France was a dangerous place for people with a 'de' in their names in those days, and for young men of military age most dangerous of all. Finally, Etienne and his brother Joseph settled to go to South America. 'Through the kind assistance of a republican General, a friend of the family, they obtained a passage on board a ship bound for Demerara, where they arrived in the First month of 1793, after a voyage of about forty days.'

Unfortunately this long voyage had not taken them away from scenes of violence. The Revolution in France was terrible, but the horrors of slavery in South America were, if possible, even worse. The New World seemed no less full of tragedy than the Old. Etienne saw there husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters torn apart, most cruelly beaten, often sold like cattle to tyrannical masters, never to see each other's faces again.

Amid such scenes Etienne grew more than ever full of despairing thoughts, more than ever inclined to believe that there could not be a God ruling a world where these evils were allowed to go unpunished.

'Such was the impression made upon Etienne by the scenes of cruelty and anguish he witnessed, that, many years after, the sound of a whip in the street would chill his blood, in the remembrance of the agony of the poor slaves; and he felt convinced that there was no excess of wickedness and malice which a slave-holder, or driver, might not be guilty of.'

Etienne and Joseph stayed in Demerara for more than two years. In the spring of 1795 they left South America and settled in Long Island near New York. There, they made friends with a certain Colonel Corsa, a man who had served in the British army, and who had a daughter who spoke French. As the two brothers at this time knew no English it was a great cheer to them in their loneliness to be able to visit at this hospitable house. One day Colonel Corsa happened to speak of William Penn. Etienne had already heard of the Quaker statesman, George Fox's friend, and when the young girl said she possessed Penn's writings Etienne asked to borrow them. He took back to his lodgings with him a large folio book, intending, with the help of a dictionary, to



translate it in order to improve his English. Great was his disappointment when he found that the book contained nothing about politics or statesmanship. It was about religion; and at this time Etienne thought that religion was all a humbug and delusion. Therefore he shut up the book and put it away, though he did not return it to its owner. One evening, about this time, as he was walking in the fields alone, suddenly the Voice he had heard in his childhood spoke to him once more, close by and terribly clear: 'ETERNITY, ETERNITY, ETERNITY.' These three words, he says, 'reached my very soul,—my whole man shook,—it brought me, like Saul, to the ground.' The sinfulness and carelessness of his last few years passed before him. He cried out, 'If there is no God, doubtless there is a hell.'

His soul was almost in hell already, for hell is despair, and Etienne was very nearly despairing at that moment. Only one way out remained, the way of prayer, the little mossy pathway that he used to tread when he was a child, but that he had not trodden, now, for many years. Tangled, mossy, and overgrown that path was now, but it still led out from the dark wood of life where Etienne had almost lost his way and his hope.

Etienne took that way. With his whole heart he prayed for mercy and for deliverance from the sin and horror that oppressed him. When no answer came at once he did not stop praying, but continued day and night, praying, praying for mercy. Perhaps he scarcely knew to whom his prayer was addressed; but it was none the less a real prayer.

He expected that the answer to it would come in some startling form that he could recognise the first minute and say: 'There! Now God is answering my prayer!'

Instead, the answer came far more simply than he had expected. God often seems to choose to answer prayers in such a gentle, natural fashion, that His children need to watch very carefully lest they take His most radiant messengers, His most wonderful messages, almost as a matter of course. Only if they recognise God's Love in all that comes, planning how things shall happen, they can see His hand arranging even the tiniest details of their lives, fitting them all in, and making things work out right. Then they understand how truly wonderful His answers are.

The answer to Etienne's prayer came through nothing more extraordinary than that same old folio book which he had borrowed from his friend Miss Corsa, and had put away, thinking it too dull to translate. He took it out again, and opened upon a part called 'No Cross, No Crown.' 'I proceeded,' he says, 'to read it with the help of my dictionary, having to look for the meaning of nearly every word.'

When he had finished, he read it straight through again. 'I had never met with anything of the kind before,' and all the time he was reading the Voice inside his heart kept on saying, 'Yes, Yes, Yes, that is true!'

'I now withdrew from company, and spent most of my time in retirement, and in silent waiting upon God. I began to read the Bible, with the aid of my dictionary, for I had none then in French. I was much of a stranger to the inspired records. I had not even seen them before that I remember; what I had heard of



any part of their contents, was only detached portions in Prayer Books.

'Whilst the fallow ground of my heart was thus preparing, my brother and myself, being one day at Colonel Corsa's, heard that a Meeting was appointed to be held next day in the Friends' Meeting-house, by two Englishwomen, to which we were invited. The Friends were Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young. The sight of them brought solemn feelings over me; but I soon forgot all things around me; for, in an inward silent frame of mind, seeking for the Divine presence, I was favoured to find in me, what I had so long, and with so many tears, sought for without me. My brother, who sat beside me, and to whom the silence, in which the forepart of the meeting was held, was irksome, repeatedly whispered to me, "Let us go away." But I felt the Lord's power in such a manner, that a secret joy filled me, in that I had found Him after whom my soul had longed. I was as one nailed to my seat. Shortly after, one or two men Friends in the ministry spoke, but I could understand very little of what they said. After them Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young spoke also; but I was so gathered in the temple of my heart before God, that I was wholly absorbed with what was passing there. Thus had the Lord opened my heart to seek Him where He is to be found.

'My brother and myself were invited to dine in the company of these Friends, at Colonel Corsa's. There was a religious opportunity after dinner, in which several communications were made. I could hardly understand a word of what was said, but, as Deborah Darby began to address my brother and myself, it seemed as if the Lord opened my outward ear, and my heart. She seemed like one reading the pages of my heart, with clearness describing how it had been, and how it was with me. O what sweetness did I then feel! It was indeed a memorable day. I was like one introduced into a new world; the creation, and all things around me, bore a different aspect, my heart glowed with love to all.... O how can the extent of the Lord's love, mercy, pity, and tender compassion be fathomed!'

After the visit of the two Friends had made this change in his life Etienne decided to give up his French name and title, and to be no longer Etienne de Grellet, the French nobleman, but plain Stephen Grellet, the teacher of languages. Later on, he was to become Stephen Grellet the Quaker preacher; but the time for that had not yet come. After Deborah Darby's visit he went regularly to the Friends' Meetings in Long Island, but they were held for the most part in complete silence, and sad to say not one of the Friends ever spoke to him afterwards. He missed their friendliness all the more because the people he was lodging with could not bear his attending Quaker Meetings, and tried to make him give up going to such unfashionable assemblies. His brother, Joseph, also could not understand what had come to him, and both Joseph and the lodging-house people teased poor Stephen about his Quaker leanings, till he, who had been brave enough when his life was in danger, was a coward before their mockery. He did not want to give up going to his dear Meeting, but he hated to be ridiculed. At first he tried to give up Meeting, but this disobedience gave him, he says, 'a feeling of misery.' When the



next Sunday came he tried another plan. He went to the Meeting-house by roundabout ways 'through fields and over fences, ashamed to be seen by any one on the road.' When he reached the Meeting-house by these by-lanes, the door was closed. No Meeting was to be held there that day. The Friends happened to have gone to another place. Stephen, therefore, sat down, 'in a retired place and in a very tried state,' to think the whole question over again, with much humility. He decided that henceforth, come what might, he would not be a coward; and he kept his resolution. The next Sunday he went to Meeting 'though it rained hard and I had about three miles to walk.' Henceforward he attended Meeting regularly, and at last his brother ceased reproaching him for his Quakerism, and one Sunday he actually came to Meeting too. This time Joseph also enjoyed the silence and followed the worship. 'From that time he attended meetings diligently, and was a great comfort to me. But, during all that period,' Stephen continues, 'we had no intercourse with any of the members of the religious Society of Friends.' These Friends still took no notice of the two strangers. They seem to have been Friends only in name.

About this time bad news came from France. 'My dear mother wrote to me that the granaries we had at our country seat had been secured by the revolutionary party, as well as every article of food in our town house. My mother and my younger brother were only allowed the scanty pittance of a peck of mouldy horse-beans per week. My dear father was shut up in prison, with an equally scanty allowance. But it was before I was acquainted with the sufferings of my beloved parents, that the consideration of the general scarcity prevailing in the country led me to think how wrong it was for me to wear powder on my head, the ground of which I knew to be pride.' He gave up powder from this time. It would not be much of a sacrifice nowadays, but it was a very real one then, when powder was supposed to be the distinguishing mark of a gentleman. The two brothers were now obliged to learn to support themselves. All their estates in France had been seized. 'Our means began to be low, and yet our feelings for the sufferings in which our beloved parents might be involved, caused us to forget ourselves, strangers in a strange country, and to forward them a few hundred dollars we had yet left.'

It was no easy matter to find employment. The brothers went on to New York, and there at last the Friends were kind: Friends in deed and not in name only. They found a situation for Joseph in New York itself, and arranged for Stephen to go to Philadelphia, where he was more likely to find work.

And at Philadelphia the Friends were, if possible, even kinder to him than the Friends at New York. They were spiritual fathers and mothers to him, he says, and seemed to know exactly what he was feeling. 'They had but little to say in words, but I often felt that my spirit was refreshed and strengthened in their company.' At Philadelphia, he had many offers of tempting employment, but he decided to continue as a teacher of languages in a school. He gave his whole mind to his school work while he was at it, and out of school hours wandered about entirely care free. But although he was a teacher of languages and although



the English of his Journals is scrupulously careful, it has often a slight foreign stiffness and formality. He was often afraid in his early years of making mistakes and not speaking quite correctly. There is a story that long afterwards, when he was in England and was taking his leave of some schoolgirls, he wished to say to them that he hoped they might be preserved safely. But in the agitation of his departure he chose the wrong words. His parting injunction, therefore, never faded from the girls' memory: 'My dear young Friends, may the Lord pickle you, His dear little muttuns.'

If, even as an old man, Stephen was liable to fall into such pitfalls as this, it is easy to understand that in his earlier years the fear of making mistakes must have been a real terror to him, especially when he thought of speaking in Meeting. Very soon after he became a Friend he felt, with great dread, that the beautiful, comforting messages that refreshed his own soul were meant to be shared with others. Months, if not years, of struggle followed, before he could rise in his place in Meeting and obey this inward prompting. But directly he did so, his fears of making a mistake, or being laughed at, vanished utterly away. After agony, came joy. 'The Lord shewed me how He is mouth, wisdom and utterance to His true and faithful ministers; that it is from Him alone that they are to communicate to the people, and also the when and the how.' At that first Meeting, after Stephen had given his message and sat down again, several Friends, whose blessing he specially valued, also spoke and said how thankful they were for his words. Among those present that day was that same William Savery, who, in the last story, had a bundle of valuable hides stolen from his tanyard, and punished the thief, when he came to return the hides, by loading him with kindness and giving him a good situation.

Certainly William Savery would not tell the story of 'the man who was not John Smith' to Stephen Grellet on that particular day; for Stephen was so filled with the thankful wonder that follows obedience, that he had no thought for outside things. 'For some days after this act of dedication,' he says, 'my peace flowed as a river.' In the autumn of this year (1796), Stephen Grellet, the French nobleman, became a Friend. About two years later, he was acknowledged as a Minister by the Society.

'In those days,' he writes, 'my mind dwelt much on the nature of the hope of redemption through Jesus Christ.... I felt that the best testimony I could bear was to evince by my life what He had actually done for me.'

Henceforth Stephen's life was spent in trying to make known to others the joy that had overflowed his own soul. He did indeed 'put the things that he had learned in practice,' as he journeyed over both Europe and America, time after time, visiting high and low. His life is one long record of adventures, of perils surmounted, of hairbreadth escapes, of constant toil and of much plodding, humdrum service too. His message brought him into the strangest situations, as he gave it fearlessly. He sought an interview with the Pope at Rome in order to remonstrate with him about the state of the prisons in the Papal States. Stephen gave his message with perfect candour, and afterwards entered into



conversation with the Pope. Finally, he says, 'As I felt the love of Christ flowing in my heart towards him, I particularly addressed him.... The Pope ... kept his head inclined and appeared tender, while I thus addressed him; then rising from his seat, in a kind and respectful manner, he expressed his desire that "the Lord would bless and protect me wherever I went," on which I left him.'

Not satisfied with that, though it seems wonderful enough, Stephen another time induced the Czar of all the Russias, Alexander I., to attend Westminster Meeting. Both these stories are well worth telling. But there is one story about Stephen, better worth telling still, and that is how the Voice that guided him all over the world sent him one day 'preaching to nobody' in a lonely forest clearing in the far backwoods of America.

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

[According to the author, this story "HOW A FRENCH NOBLE BECAME A FRIEND" is "Entirely historical. All the facts are taken from the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF STEPHEN GRELLET."]



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1856

During this year and the following one, [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) would serve as a director of the [Sandy Spring](#) Savings Institution.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

[Abby Kelley Foster](#) had all her teeth pulled in Massachusetts, under [nitrous oxide](#), and replaced with full dentures, although in her case the sequence of operations took months. She then visited [Friends James](#) and



[Lucretia Mott](#) at their new home “Roadside” outside Philadelphia, and Friend Lucretia wrote



Her throat far from well & she is quite hoarse. All her teeth have been extracted & a temp set in – she is fine lookg yet. [sic]

Then, on her way back from Philadelphia to New-York, Abby Kelley Foster stopped by Eagleswood in New

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Jersey.



Charles Plummer Tidd, in search of excitement, emigrated to Kansas with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester.



(After joining John Brown's party at Tabor in 1857 he would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he would "ruin" a [Quaker](#) girl and the other members of the team would need to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group would obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Tidd and John E. Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown's son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming him to have been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. Charles Plummer Tidd's grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne NC.)

Mid-January: In "Bleeding Kansas," a Quaker who was active on behalf of antislavery candidates for public office was set upon by proslavery advocates, and beaten so severely he would almost die. When another Quaker, Friend William Coffin, heard that a proslavery group known as the "Kickapoo Rangers" would pass near the home of his family, he loaded his shotgun with buckshot. At about midnight he experienced a change of heart, unloaded his shotgun, fell to his knees, and asked the Lord for forgiveness for his weakness of spirit and lack of faith in Divine providence. (These Kickapoo Rangers, it would turn out, would not pass that night in the vicinity of that family's home.)

May 18-21: The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) attended the Yearly Meeting of the Pennsylvania Progressive [Friends](#) in Chester County, Pennsylvania. What the gray people thought of the Reverend's recent sermon in Washington DC in which he had precisely inverted the Sermon on the Mount's injunction that we are to "Resist not evil," I know not.

This Unitarian reverend then traveled onward, to dine with [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) and then reside overnight with [Waldo Emerson](#). What the Sage of Concord thought of this Reverend's recent inversion of the Sermon on the Mount's "Resist not evil" injunction, I know not.

Wouldn't this be nice to know? — the thought of it swarms like gnats about my gourd.



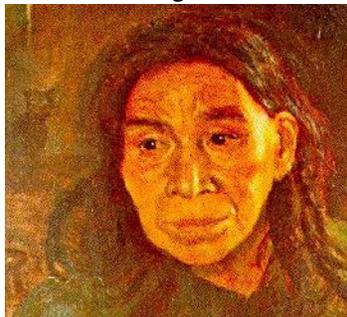
May 18: The swamp is all alive with warblers about the hoary expanding buds of oaks, maples, etc.; and amid the pine and spruce. They swarm like gnats now. They fill the air with their little *tshree tshree* sprayey notes.

June 26, Thursday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) to his journal, in [New Bedford MA](#) with Henry Thoreau:



Cloudy morning and light rain. Cleared off by noon very fine and warm. Made an excursion to the end of Sconticut Neck with my friend Thoreau, in search of marine plants, &c. On our return called to see an old Indian woman by the name of Martha Simonds living alone in a little dwelling of but one room. It was very interesting to see her, as she is not only a pure blooded Indian, but the last of her tribe, probably the Nemaskets. Her complexion was tawny, and her straight black hair was mixed with gray; we undoubtedly saw a genuine Indian woman. Arrived home from our excursion to Sconticut about 5.

Martha Simonds or Simon or Simons was the last of the native Americans in Fairhaven. Despite the title of Albert Bierstadt's painting "The Last of the Narragansetts" which he would present to the railroad magnate



Henry Huttleston Rogers in hope of currying favor in regard to an invention for railway cars, she was not a [Narragansett](#) but a Wampanoag. As might be expected, except for Thoreau's and Ricketson's visit and notes, not a whole lot is known about her.

In the process of meeting this native woman, Thoreau encountered a [Quaker](#) minister, her neighbor, who exuded a version of racist condescension:

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LOUDON

June 26. Thursday. In Loudon's "Encyclopædia of Agriculture" *far* (of the Romans) is translated Indian corn or *zea*!

According to Audubon's and Wilson's plates, the *Fringilla passerina* has a for the most part clear yellowish-white breast (*vide* May 28th), but the Savannah sparrow no conspicuous yellow on shoulder, a yellow brow, and white crown line. Rode to Sconticut Neck or Point in Fair Haven, five or six miles, and saw, apparently, the *F. savanna* near their nests (my seringo note), restlessly flitting about me from rock to rock within a rod. Distinctly yellow-browed and spotted breast, not like plate of *passerina*. Audubon says that the eggs of the Savannah sparrow "are of a pale bluish color, softly mottled with purplish brown," and those of the yellow-winged sparrow are "of a dingy white, sprinkled with brown spots." The former is apparently my seringo's egg of May 28th. Is not Nuttall mistaken when he describes the notes of the Savannah sparrow in March in Georgia as "very long, piping, and elevated" and says that they sometimes have a note like a cricket? Audubon refers to the last note only.

Saw a farmer on the Neck with one of Palmer's patent wooden legs. He went but little lame and said that he did his own mowing and most of his ordinary farm work, though plowing in the present state of his limb, which had not yet healed, wrenched him some. He had lost a leg just below the knee, and was supported mainly on his thigh above the stump.

The older houses about New Bedford, as on this neck (and one a hundred years old is an old one), have commonly stone chimneys, which are agreeable to my eye and built with more taste than brick ordinarily, i.e. more elaborately. Yet they are now pulled down and brick substituted, or else concealed with a coat of mortar! This neck, like the New Bedford country generally, is very flat to my eye, even as far inland as Middleborough. When R. decided to take another road home from the latter place, because it was less hilly, I said I had not observed a hill in all our ride. I found on the rocky and rather desolate extremity of this point the common *Oxalis stricta* on the seashore, abundant, going to seed; apparently carrots (?) naturalized; atriplex not yet out; beach pea, still out and going to seed. An abundance of the small iris in the field near by. It was thick weather, after a drizzling forenoon, and we could just see across Buzzard's Bay from the point to Falmouth. Mattapoisett was the point next above on this side. I had been expecting to find the aletris about New Bedford, and when taking our luncheon on this neck what should I see rising above the luncheon-box, between me and R., but what I knew must be the *Aletris farinosa*; not yet out, but one near by would open apparently in two or three days.

I was struck by the number of quails thereabouts, and elsewhere in this vicinity. They keep up an incessant whistling these days, as also about R.'s house, within a stone's throw of it; and I several times saw them in the middle of the road in front of his house, in coveys, and on the road fence there. Also saw cowbirds in flocks on the road there. Around R.'s shanty was heard an incessant whistling of quails, and, morning and evening, the strain of the bay-wing, and some rather feeble purple finches, young males without the purple, dark-colored.

Talked with a farmer by name of Slocum, hoeing on the Neck, a rather dull and countrified fellow for our neighborhood, I should have said. Asked him, by chance, about getting to Cuttyhunk, if it was safe to cross the bay in a whale-boat. Yes, or "Ye-e-s," his boat was only some twelve feet long and went over two or three times a year. His relations lived there. Perhaps he understood navigating here. Well, he'd been round the world considerably. "Have you been master of a whaler?" Yes, he'd been to most all parts of the world.

Heard of and sought out, the hut of Martha Simons, the only pure-blooded Indian left about New Bedford. She lives alone on the narrowest point of the Neck, near the shore in sight of New Bedford. Her hut stands some twenty-five rods from the road on a small tract of Indian land, now wholly hers. It was formerly exchanged by a white man for some better land, then occupied by Indians, at Westport, which he wanted. So said a Quaker minister, her neighbor. The squaw was not at home when we first called. It was a little hut not so big as mine. *Vide* sketch by R., with the bay not far behind it. No garden; only some lettuce amid the thin grass in front, and a great white pile of clam and quahog shells on one side. She ere long came in from the seaside, and we called again. We knocked and walked in, and she asked us to sit down. She had half an acre of the real tawny Indian face, broad with high cheek-bones, black eyes, and straight hair, originally black but now a little gray, parted in the middle. Her hands were several shades darker than her face. She had a peculiarly vacant expression, perhaps characteristic of the Indian, and answered our questions listlessly, without being interested or implicated, mostly in monosyllables, as if hardly present there. To judge from her physiognomy, she might have been King Philip's own daughter. Yet she could not speak a word of Indian, and knew nothing of her race. Said she had lived with the whites, gone out to service when seven years old. Had lived part of her life at Squaw Betty's Neck, Assawampsett Pond. Did she know Sampson's? She'd ought to; she'd done work enough there. She said she was sixty years old, but was probably nearer seventy. She sat with her elbows on her knees and her face in her hands and that peculiar vacant stare, perhaps looking out the window between us, not repelling us in the least, but perfectly indifferent to our presence.

She was born on that spot. Her grandfather also lived on the same spot, though not in the same house. He was the last of her race who could speak Indian. She had heard him pray in Indian, but could only understand "Jesus Christ." Her only companion was a miserable tortoise-shell kitten which took no notice of us [notice the cat behind Martha Simons in Albert Bierstadt's painting above, very dim at the center of the left margin].



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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She had a stone chimney, a small cooking-stove with fore legs, set up on bricks within it, and a bed covered with dirty bed-clothes. Said she hired out her field as pasture; better for her than to cultivate. There were two young heifers in it. The question she answered with most interest was, "What do you call that plant?" and I reached her the aletris from my hat. She took it, looked at it a moment, and said, "That's husk-root. It's good to put into bitters for a weak stomach." The last year's light-colored and withered leaves surround the present green star like a husk. This must be the origin of the name. Its root is described as intensely bitter. I ought to have had my hat full of plants. A conceited old Quaker minister, her neighbor, told me with a sanctified air, "I think that the Indians were human beings; dost thee not think so?" he only convinced me of his doubt and narrowness.

August 31: From the [Rhode Island](#) diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Heard [Lucretia Mott](#) the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges' church in the evening."²²⁷

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth died.

Early September: [Bronson Alcott](#) set Henry Thoreau up for a large surveying job with Friend Marcus Spring of a colony for [Hicksite Quakers](#) expelled by their meetings, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey across the water from Staten Island.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/116.htm

227. Since in this year the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the [Unitarian](#) minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known [Hicksite](#) Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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This was the colony in which [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and his wife [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and her sister

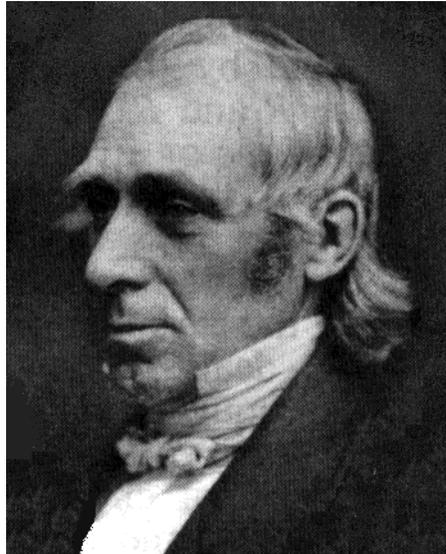


[Sarah Moore Grimké](#) had started their Eagleswood School, financed in part by the Mott family, and this was the school in which Ellen Wright, a niece of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) who later married a son of William Lloyd Garrison, was educated, as well as other Wright children.



ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

Henry Thoreau took the train to Fitchburg and from there walked to Westminster; took the train to Brattleboro VT; explored the Connecticut River and Mount Wantastiquet and investigated plants and animals in Vermont; took the train to Bellows Falls; climbed Fall Mountain; took a wagon to Walpole, New Hampshire to visit [the Alcott family](#).



Here is a recollection by Mary Brown Dunton as reported in Elizabeth B. Davenport's "Thoreau in Vermont in 1856," [Vermont Botanical Club Bulletin III](#) (April 1908), page 37:

He struck me as being very odd, very wise and exceedingly observing. He roamed about the country at his own sweet will, and I was fortunate enough to be his companion on a walk up Wantastiquet Mt. I was well acquainted with the flora and could meet him understandingly there, but was somewhat abashed by the numerous questions he asked about all sorts of things, to which I could only reply "I do not know." It appealed to my sense of humor that a person with such a fund of knowledge should seek information from a young girl like myself, but I could not see that he had any fun in him. The only question I can now recall is this. As we stood on the summit of Wantastiquet, he fixed his earnest gaze on a distant point in the landscape, which he designated, asking "How far is it in a bee line to that spot?"

Before dawn on his 1st morning in Brattleboro VT, on his way to visit the Alcotts in New Hampshire, Thoreau reviewed a [botanical](#) catalog of Vermont plants. Then, as daylight appeared, he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and back along the banks of the Connecticut River, inspecting plants along the way. He climbed down the embankment to "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook along neighboring Canal Street and Flat Street. Swamp maples along the Whetstone were beginning to turn color. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. He spent the afternoon inspecting plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife. He made a note that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain." He stopped to munch on raspberries and made a note of their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning he tasted some grapes that were "pleasantly acidic."

On his 2nd morning in the town, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut River, noting the level of the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere. "Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?"



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On his 3rd day in the town, Thoreau again went “a-botanizing” up Whetstone Brook. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. That night he created a two-page list of each plant. He described the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine: “How often in the woods and fields we want a string or a rope and cannot find one.... This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose.” He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and wondered if it should be cultivated for that purpose.

While in Brattleboro a man who had recently killed a catamount showed Thoreau its skin and skull. By 1856, the mountain lion had become quite rare in southern Vermont. The skin measured nine feet, including its long tail, and the animal had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau noted that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for his kill.

On the morning of his last day in the Vermont town, Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the hill that rises out of the Connecticut River, towering above the downtown buildings. From the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, but he was more attentive to the horses and people he could see below him. “Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning.” His considered opinion was that “this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare.”



THOREAU IN VERMONT:

WALKING WITH HENRY DAVID

BY ALAN BOYE

The glorious late-summer sunlight shone golden on the hills above downtown Brattleboro. Ignored by the people passing by, a man stood at the edge of Main Street and tightened the laces of his boots. He checked to see that his pencil and paper were in his backpack, and then climbed down the embankment to the babbling waters of Whetstone Brook.

The swamp maples that grew like weeds along the Whetstone were already showing the first hint of autumnal glory on their leaves. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. In the last of summer's brilliant air, insects flickered and then vanished like sparks of memory.

The man paused a moment and then set out on "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook. He spent the beautiful afternoon inspecting its plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife that scurried along its banks. All the while, the busy residents of the town hurried by on neighboring Canal and Flat streets, unaware of the strange creature below them.

The man was America's greatest naturalist, Henry David Thoreau. It was early September 1856. Thoreau was on his way to visit a friend in New Hampshire and stopped to spend four days walking around Brattleboro. It would be the only time in his life that he would explore Vermont on foot. He wrote in his journal that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain."

A truck blasts past me and, in a low whine of gears, begins to climb Canal St. from downtown Brattleboro. Behind me, the Whetstone squeezes between a canyon of brick buildings. The water tumbles over massive rocks and then, just as suddenly, surrenders to the placid calm of the wide Connecticut. Cars clanging over the long bridge into New Hampshire nearly drown the sound of the rapids.

I head straight for the Whetstone past the somber, concrete-gray walls behind a bagel shop. A motion distracts me from the ordinary. Something mysterious watches me from the shadowed banks of the brook.

In the weedy edge of the stream stands a creature; the sharply angled body looks more like Egyptian hieroglyph than bird. A green heron walks away cautiously. The spear point of its stout head stabs at the sky with each of its jerking, upstream steps. I move to the bank and follow him, each of my unsure steps an attempt to catch a glimpse of the ghost of Thoreau.



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In 1856, Thoreau was at the peak of his literary talents. *Walden* had been published only two years earlier. He was gaining a reputation as a profound lecturer. On podiums across New England, he read aloud the essays that would make him famous for centuries to come.

In any era, Thoreau would not have fit well into polite society. First of all, an eagle-sized beak of a nose hung down over a bow-tie mouth; ever a practical man, he had grown a weird, neck-only beard in order to see if it might keep him from getting colds. His hair was almost always unkempt, and his active life gave him the broad, hard look of an athlete.

Thoreau had begun to turn away from the broad, philosophical contemplations that made *Walden* a masterpiece and towards writing focused on the natural world. Ever a keen observer of the world around him, he had turned more and more of his attention to a close study of the plants and animals. He believed that by paying strict attention to the details of the natural world, humankind would finally come to understand and appreciate the essence of life. "In wilderness," he wrote at about this time, "is the preservation of the world."

Before dawn on his first morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau was studying a catalog of Vermont plants. At daylight he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and then back along the banks of the Connecticut, inspecting every plant along his way. His journal describes with the exactness of a trained botanist each plant he encountered. He stopped to munch on raspberries; he scribbled a note about their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning, he found some grapes that tasted "pleasantly acidic." On his second morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut, noting the level of the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere.

"Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?" he wrote.

Just twenty yards past the bagel shop, I seem to be in the deepest Vermont wilderness. I have been fighting my way through thick underbrush and stepping from one side of the brook to the other, trying to work my way along the steep banks that tower above me. I stop to inspect an unfamiliar leaf. I spend a good ten minutes with a tree-identification book, only to find the golden treasure I hold is simply the leaf of an ordinary yellow birch.

On the third day in Brattleboro, Thoreau was elated because he could "go a-botanizing" up the Whetstone. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. Late that night in his sometimes-erratic handwriting, he meticulously scrawled a list of every plant he had found along the Whetstone. The journal entry fills nearly two pages, but he saves the most extensive entry for the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine. "How often in the woods and fields we want a string or a rope and cannot find one," he wrote. "This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose."

He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and - ever practical - decided it would be a good



idea if they were to cultivate it for just that purpose. The stream is littered with good-sized, practical rocks. I lift a smaller one from the mud of the bank. It is cool in my hand. A thin sheen of moss hugs the rough surface of the stone. It's easy to see why early settlers used these for grinding and sharpening tools. Where could a fella get a good sharpener? Why over to the Whetstone Brook, of course.

I set the stone back in its place in the mud. We don't have much need of whetstones anymore or, for that matter, of Indian rope plant. Neither do we have any pressing need for Thoreau's detailed record of Vermont's plants. The days of hook-nosed Transcendental philosophers carefully noting every one of nature's wonders have passed. Perhaps my search for some remnant of Thoreau is as quaint and as useless as sharpening a horse-drawn ploughshare on a pale white whetstone drawn from a mossy brook. Two cold and electronic chirps from my watch mark the passing of another hour. I turn around and start back down the stream.

While in Brattleboro Thoreau saw something that he would spend pages of his journal trying to describe. The man who had recently killed it showed Thoreau the skin and the skull of a catamount. Even in 1856, the mountain lion was a rare creature in southern Vermont. It would be the only catamount, living or dead, that Thoreau would ever see in his lifetime. The beast measured nine feet, including its long tail, and had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau tried to capture every detail of the beast that he could in his journal. He noted without comment that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for the kill.

I spy a ragged and worn house cat, long since having known the comforts of a human home, slinking through the thin underbrush across the brook from where I walk. A series of rusted steel bars poke up through the thin water of the brook.

On the morning of his last day in Brattleboro Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the high hill that jumps straight out of the Connecticut River and towers above downtown Brattleboro. Although from the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, he was most fascinated by watching horses and people far below. He marveled at how close nature came to the bustling village. "Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning." He cautioned that "this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare."

I am nearly back to the bagel shop. Through the trees I see the dark massive shape of Wantastiquet Mountain. Near the top, still covered in thick forest, is the spot where nearly 150 years ago a great man stood and contemplated how the ways of humankind are made small by the glory and grandeur of the remarkable ways of nature.

I look away from the mountain, distracted by a sound. Something stirs near the base of a yellow birch tree. The green heron steps into a clearing and stands at the edge of the water. It stares at me through a black, wild eye. In the brook a few small fish weave threads of pure light through quick, silvery curtains of shadow and water.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 24, Friday: Henry Thoreau traveled with Bronson Alcott by train via Worcester, and then by boat, to New-York, and on to New Jersey to survey Eagleswood. Thoreau would deliver “Walking,” “Moose Story,” and “Life Without Principle” at Eagleswood while surveying in November. Alcott had set this job up for Thoreau with Marcus Spring, the leader at Eagleswood. Thoreau would make a detailed map of the area showing houses and school buildings.

View Henry Thoreau’s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/137.htm

October 26, Sunday: On his first Sunday evening at the Eagleswood school on the New Jersey shore, Henry Thoreau read his “moose-story” to the [Quaker](#) children.



TIMELINE OF THE MAINE WOODS

On this same day, at the church at 4th and Race streets in Cincinnati, overlooking the Ohio River, the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), new minister “on trial,” was delivering his initial sermon. –Would or would not these Unitarians be adequately impressed?



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II

November: [Friend Bernard Barton](#)’s daughter [Lucy Barton](#) got married with Edward J. Fitzgerald (it was a bad idea and they would soon separate).



November 9, Sunday: Henry Thoreau and Bronson Alcott were traveling to Brooklyn Heights on Paumanok “Long Island” in order for them to hear the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher preach in his Plymouth Church. In Cincinnati, Ohio on this Sunday morn, the Reverend Moncure Daniel Conway, on trial, was preaching an anti-slavery sermon in the Unitarian church at 4th and Race streets overlooking the Ohio River and, on the opposite shore, the laboring slaves of Kentucky. The sermon accorded better with the political climate in Cincinnati than it did with the political climate either of that opposite bank or of Washington DC. 228

AUTOBIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

The sermon by the Reverend Conway might have been more congenial to Thoreau than the one he actually heard from the Reverend Beecher, a message which distressed him considerably: although the Reverend Beecher was a favorite of Walt Whitman’s, Thoreau found he most definitely was not impressed with this proffered mixture of pantheistic life-worship and self-worship disguised as God-worship. After the sermon, Thoreau and Alcott visited the Whitman home on Portland Avenue twice, finally meeting Whitman. 229

Remember that it had been at the Hester Street meetinghouse, in 1826, that the English evangelical preacher Thomas Shillitoe had declared the cause of Friend Elias Hicks to be “unchristian,” and that it had been at this meetinghouse, in 1828, that Samuel Mott had had to be raised up and handed over the heads of the crowd to reach the Clerk’s table, after being duly elected Clerk, whereupon the clerk’s table was torn apart and the evangelical Quakers walked and the great division occurred. (We can be sure that people there informed Thoreau of these utterly infamous events.) Remember that in 1830 the corpse of Friend Elias had been dug up at night to make a bust which Whitman purchased: this bust, set up in Whitman’s home, must have been of great interest to Thoreau, who had heard Friend Lucretia Mott preach in the meetinghouse in which Samuel Mott had been handed along over the heads of the resisters. After meeting Whitman, Thoreau went on to the Eagleswood community on the New Jersey shore. On First Day evening with these Hicksite Quakers, Thoreau read “Walking.” 230

November 16, Sunday Evening: On First Day evening, Henry Thoreau delivered his “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” sermon for the benefit of the little community of Quaker exiles on the New Jersey at the intentional Eagleswood community.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

BRAD DEAN’S COMMENTARY

THOREAU’S SERMON

[Various versions of “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE”, variously titled, would be delivered:

228. Moncure Daniel Conway. VIRTUE VS. DEFEAT: A DISCOURSE, PREACHED ON NOVEMBER 9, 1856 (THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION), IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, CINCINNATI, OHIO, BY MONCURE D. CONWAY, MINISTER OF THE CHURCH. Pamphlet. Printed by the Cincinnati Gazette Company, 1856, Cincinnati.

READ THE FULL TEXT

229. He at that time was putting out his expanded 2d edition of his LEAVES OF GRASS, the edition that Thoreau would own. 230. Walter Harding, “A Check List of Thoreau’s Lectures,” Bulletin of the New York Public Library 52 (February 1948): 85.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in [Providence RI](#)
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 26, 1854 in the [New Bedford MA](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on [Nantucket Island](#)
- On January 4, 1855 in the [Worcester](#) Lyceum, as “The Connection between Man’s Employment and His Higher Life”
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on February 14, 1855 in the [Concord](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on November 16, 1856 for the Eagleswood community
- “Getting a Living” on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)’s 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell MA.]



November 19, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau wrote to Harrison Gray Otis Blake from the Eagleswood community in Perth Amboy, New Jersey [NEW JERSEY](#): “what I was saying was silently taken in by their ears.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

EAGLESWOOD, November 19, 1856.

MR. B——:—

I have been here much longer than I expected, but have deferred answering you, because I could not foresee when I should return. I do not know yet within three or four days. This uncertainty makes it impossible for me to appoint a day to meet you, until it shall be too late to hear from you again. I think, therefore, that I must go straight home. I feel some objection to reading that “What shall it profit” lecture again in Worcester; but if you are quite sure that it will be worth the while (it is grave consideration), I will even make an independent journey from Concord for that purpose. I have read three of my old lectures (that included) to the Eagleswood people, and, unexpectedly, with rare success, — i.e. I was aware that what I was saying was silently taken in by their ears.

You must excuse me if I write mainly a business letter now, for I am sold for the time, —am merely Thoreau the surveyor here,— and solitude is scarcely obtainable in these parts.

Alcott has been here three times, and, Sunday before last, I went with him and Greeley, by invitation of the last, to G.’s farm, thirty-six miles north of New York. The next day, A. and I heard Beecher preach; and what was more, we visited W—— the next morning, (A. had already



seen him,) and were much interested and provoked. He is apparently the greatest democrat the world has seen. Kings and Aristocracy go by the board at once, as they have long deserved to. A remarkably strong though coarse nature, of a sweet disposition, and much prized by his friends. Though peculiar and rough in his exterior, his skin (all over (?)) red, he is essentially a gentleman. I am still somewhat in a quandary about him,—feel that he is essentially strange to me, at any rate; but I am surprised by the sight of him. He is very broad, but, as I have said, not fine. He said that I misapprehended him. I am not quite sure that I do. He told us that he loved to ride up and down Broadway all day on an omnibus, sitting beside the driver, listening to the roar of the carts, and sometimes gesticulating and declaiming Homer at the top of his voice. He has long been an editor and writer for the newspapers, — was editor of the New Orleans Crescent once; but now has no employment but to read and write in the forenoon, and walk in the afternoon, like all the rest of the scribbling gentry. I shall probably be in Concord next week; so you can direct to me there. In haste,
H. D. THOREAU.

November 23, Sunday: On his last worship day at the Eagleswood community on the New Jersey shore, Henry Thoreau rose during [Quaker](#) First Day morning silent worship and spoke, and someone wrote down his words,²³¹ and I would like to suggest here the reason why his words were written down. I submit that they were written down so they could be carried and presented to the Miss Sophia Foord who was known to love him from a distance.

Sunday forenoon, I attended a sort of Quaker meeting at the same place— (The Quaker aspect & spirit prevails here— Mrs Spring says “—does thee not?”) where it was expected that the spirit would move me (I having been previously spoken to about it) & it, or something else, did, an inch or so. I said just enough to set them by the

ears & make it lively.



Quality, fineness, durability, is the test of unity. Thus it is like attracts like; thus it is, friends, in my ever-seeking, everyyearning for truth, I have chanced to intrude upon your quiet retreat, and the path is so clear, so crystal in its attraction, I slipped into recognition. It is a pleasure to me as exquisite as when I chanced to meet some friendly moss or lichen, that answered to the vacant spot in my soul on earth...



O friends, to such, with pure, noble, truthful spirits, the world is a vast field of action; too large to admit languor or repining, too glorious to be an aimless labor. I love your blessed spirit, and quietly I will withdraw, lest I become overpowered by the delicious calmness and unity, and forget to leave my guest. But I shall come again, and hope you will greet me kindly.



I had excused myself by saying that I could not adapt myself to a particular audience, for all the speaking & lecturing here has reference to the children, who are far the greatest part of the audience, & they are not so bright as N.E. children Imagine them sitting close to the wall all around a hall with old Quaker looking men & women here & there.... Some of them I suspect are very worthy people.... On Sunday evening, I read the moose-story to the children to their satisfaction.²³²

231. It is not **entirely** without precedent, that what someone says during the Quaker silent worship should be recorded, as witness the following singular publication from the turn of the 19th Century: However, it must again be emphasized how utterly exceptional this was (unless, as has been in the case once upon a time in [Adolf Hitler](#)'s 3d Reich and at the present time in George W. Bush's America, a Quaker meeting was infiltrated by a paid informer).

Savery, William (1750-1804). SEVEN SERMONS AND A PRAYER PREACHED AT THE MEETINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND. Philadelphia: Benjamin C. Buzby, 1808.

The [Quaker](#) speakings recorded in this volume were offered by traveling ministers and were taken down in shorthand at various monthly meetings at or just prior to the turn of the century during "silent" meeting for worship.

Wells, John I. ESSAY ON WAR. 52 pages, 1808.

This [Quaker](#) was against it — except where, as in the OLD TESTAMENT, it had been ordered by God Almighty himself.

It seems to me to be utterly phenomenal, and exceptional, that someone wrote down what Henry Thoreau said. We are aware of very few other occasions on which such a thing has happened in a [Quaker](#) silent worship, unless, as has been in the case once upon a time in Adolf Hitler's 3d Reich and at the present time in George W. Bush's America, a Quaker meeting was infiltrated by a paid informer. Quakers not only don't write down what someone else has said during silent worship, they also don't write down what they themselves have said during silent worship. When God spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, of course Moses sat right down and wrote it down: "I am that I am." And, of course, the ten commandments, and again, ten commandments. So one would suppose that in a group which believes that the Holy Spirit speaks through them during the silence, would you not expect there to be official recorders, pen poised, and official records? Would the voice of the Holy Spirit not be the substance, or at least a major portion, of what is recorded in the meeting's minutes book? But no. What you typically find, in the journal entry of a Friend, on First Day evening, one who has that day spoken during silent worship, one who may have preached for even an hour during silent worship, is — "Truth prevailed," or perhaps "We had a favored meeting" or even "We had a precious meeting." Something about the manner in which these things occur makes them peculiar to the discrete group and the particular circumstance, and creates no desire to extend them beyond the discrete and the particular. Thoreau was adhering to Quaker tradition when we find, in his journal, and in his letter to his sister, no record of what he had said. Who-ever wrote down what he said, however, was not adhering to Quaker tradition, and such a deviation is utterly phenomenal and utterly unexplained.

232. Here is a contemporary photograph in which two men are mourning the recent death of a moose (one of the two was willing to pay \$3,450 to the other of the two, in a jet boat at Chilko Lake BC, to lead him to this moose so he could off it):





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Unless, of course, there is, as I suggested above, a personal explanation. Could some woman present have written this down because they were intimate friends with Sophia Foord, –and knew how she had been loving Henry from a distance though her love was rejected, –and wanted to convey this slip of paper to her, unknown to him, as a personal memento of him? Oh, rankest speculation. About all that could be said that such a hypothesis has going for it is that it does not contradict any of the known facts of the situation.

But is that sort of supposition not preferable to inaccuracy? On the following page, by way of contrast, is the utterly inappropriate manner in which Henry Thoreau can be presented in a book that is allegedly “Quaker history,”²³³ by relying primarily upon the Canby biography for the background of his life.

233. This is from pages 100-1 of George A. Sellick’s QUAKERS IN BOSTON 1656-1964: THREE CENTURIES OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, published in Cambridge MA by the Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge MA 02138; printed Boston MA by the Thomas Todd Company, in 1979. My underlining is for emphasis on the inaccuracies.



My Interpretation is not the Only One Possible

Edward Dahlberg came up with an interesting comment in 1941, which may indicate that many people who encounter Henry Thoreau's letter to the absent [Waldo Emerson](#) about Ms. Sophia Foord's proposal do so through a self-imposed lens of what may perhaps be legitimately characterized as sexism. I will first paraphrase Dahlberg's attitude toward the Thoreau/Foord affair, and then quote at length from his book in substantiation of my paraphrase: My paraphrase of Dahlberg's rant would be that although we can safely acknowledge that Thoreau was making a stab at being an ethical metaphysician, or at least a moral teacher, his stab was a total failure because his egregious distaste for humans tainted all his efforts to set an example and tainted all his efforts to give good advice. Thoreau, so earnest and truthful, was just another one of those rationalists deficient in blood pigmentation. Which is to say, the man wasn't a real man: his emotionality was deficient. Thus although Thoreau was an adept in the humanity cult, he was blocked in arriving at his love for humankind directly through his emotionality, and was forced to arrive at it through the multiplication-tables, that is, by way of bloodless categories created in the mind. Celibate Thoreau, in order to be PURE, cast out demons, but in so doing – like Adam after the Fall– he hid in quagmire, mud and fen, and so in effect it was he himself who entered the swine, or, to change the idiom: he turned his snorting hot-blooded steed Pegasus into a sneaking cold-souled cat. Thoreau's very life was his disgrace, a devil's nuptial of man and pond. When the man fell in love, it was but with a scrub oak. We should consider, as an example of this, Thoreau's refusal of the proposal by Ms. Foord, a repudiation which must be described as having been not only "orgiastic" but also "savage." This episode of his life amounted to the carnal error of a man with a spirit-glutted soul, or amounted to the blood-revenge of a man with an *apriori* bosom. It is not by chance that no women appear in the [WALDEN](#) book, or in the life at the pond. Thoreau, the "bachelor of nature" erecting in [WALDEN](#) the Western Fable of Ennui, altogether excluded women from his life and his surroundings and his writing, replacing this human contact with but the emeritic patience of ruminative sitting and waiting.

Oh wow!

Now what appears on the following pages are the direct quotations from Dahlberg's writings which support the above paraphrase of what he offered. Warning: they make painful reading²³⁴

234. Dahlberg, Edward. CAN THESE BONES LIVE. Norfolk CT: New Directions, revised edition 1960, pages 61-2, 64, 91-4, 127, 129 passim.

HOW MANY QUAKERS HAVE STUDIED SEWEL'S HISTORY AND READ FOX'S JOURNALS AS THOREAU AND EMERSON DID?

RICKETSON WAS A WELL-TO-DO QUAKER WHO BECAME QUITE SPIRITUAL IN 1861 WHILE THOREAU WAS IN MINNESOTA

NO, HE WAS HELPING THE COLONY DURING ITS STAGE OF DISINTEGRATION

Henry Thoreau ... had read little about the early Quakers, and knew Friends mainly through a few modern representatives. Although he admired some of those he met, his impressions of Quakerism in general were not favorable. In 1843, he was much impressed by hearing an address in the Hester Street meeting house in New York by the great Quaker reformer, Lucretia Mott. It was in his account of this meeting that he commented on the Quaker women as "looking all like sisters or so many chickadees." Lucretia Mott's point of view appealed to him; he described it as "transcendentalism in its mildest form." When Thoreau gave his nature lectures in New Bedford he usually stayed with Friend Daniel Ricketson, a well-to-do Quaker who had read WALDEN and was one of Thoreau's admirers. Although Ricketson was a Friend, he was "plain and unspiritual," and apparently had little Quaker influence upon Thoreau. He loved nature and was occasionally chosen by Thoreau as a companion in his rambles over the countryside. On one of their trips near Fairhaven in the summer of 1856 they came upon an elderly Quaker minister who made a very unfavorable impression upon Thoreau. Thoreau thought the old man spoke "with a sanctified air" and was conceited and narrow-minded. He had earlier commented that "even the quietness and perhaps unworldliness of an aged Quaker has something ghostly and saddening about it, as it were a preparation for the grave." Thoreau had one more encounter with Quakers, which again left him unimpressed. In the autumn of 1856 he was employed as a surveyor to help lay out an educational colony called Eagleswood, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Not all the members of the colony were Quakers but Quaker influence was strong. There he attended the Friends meeting for worship, which he described in a letter to a friend as follows: "Sunday forenoon I attended a sort of Quaker meeting ... where it was expected that the Spirit would move me ... and it or something else, did - an inch or so. I said just enough to set them a little by the ears and make it lively." But Quakerism, as he saw it, seemed too mild and too encrusted with tradition to suit his taste. Emerson, on the other hand, openly acknowledged his interest in Quakers and even his debt to them. From his earliest years Emerson seems to have been influenced by Quaker ideas.

MY SISTER, MY FRIEND!

* This is from pages 100-1 of George A. Sellick's QUAKERS IN BOSTON 1656-1964: THREE CENTURIES OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, published in Cambridge MA by the Friends Meeting at Cambridge, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge MA 02138; printed Boston MA by the Thomas Todd Company in 1979. My underlining is for emphasis on the inaccuracies.



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See what all the spirit-glutted souls, the rationalists and the ethical metaphysicians, who took to their apriori bosoms the remote abstract Mass Man – see what the spectral humanity-guzzlers have done.

All, from [Plato](#), [Immanuel Kant](#), [G.W.F. Hegel](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), Henry Thoreau, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and Kropotkin, to the socialists and communists, have been adepts in the humanity cult. The brotherhood of man has always attracted men without adequate blood-pigmentation, like Kant and Thoreau, who arrive at the love of man through the multiplication-tables and the categories. Both of these moral teachers had an egregious distaste for man. Kant kept himself closeted all his life in Königsberg because he would encounter fewer specimens of the genus, man. Henry Thoreau, so earnest and truthful, ate a muskrat to overcome his flesh-revulsion. Immanuel Kant devoured the categorical imperatives instead, and neither the muskrat nor the categories helped.

But the end of rationalism is not its own abstractions, but carnal error, or blood-revenge, as Henry Thoreau's orgiastic and savage refusal of the woman who had proposed to him, or Immanuel Kant's vile definition of marriage as "a treaty of reciprocal possession by the two parties which is made effective by the reciprocal use of their sex properties." Immanuel Kant embraced godhead, the universe, the abstract Man, and, as he himself confessed, [masturbated!](#) While [Aristotle](#), Master of Schoolmen, as the story goes, crawled on all fours, his rider, not the Golden Mean, but his mistress flourishing a whip! ... "How men lust after a piece of spirit," cried Friedrich Nietzsche, "when a piece of flesh has been denied them."

...

How the Christian moan of ennui hovers over the Puritan; Emily Dickinson "plaited the residue of woe with monotony," and Henry Thoreau bequeathed a bog at the Temple and the Table.

Is this the serpent, or the fish?



Jesus the bridegroom has perished; but the dogma, the ambiguous statutes, have endured: the nails, the cross, the hyssop, the dirty paraphernalia of sorrow, horror, and belief have remained. The cup that was too galled for Christ -"Father, if Thou be willing, remove this cup from me"- has been drained by sectaries, visionaries, artists. A whole generation of poets, Emily Dickinson, Herman Melville, Henry Thoreau, Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman, went to Bethesda and to skulled Golgotha.

Yet we trumpet Emily Dickinson straitened craft. Infolded Puritan lips become the beauteous, skeletal, Lacedaemonian line! And Emily Dickinson's apocalyptic poetry accents Christ's admonitory "Yea, yea; Nay, nay"; it is as life and vision, as we have observed it in the lowly and surly habits of Rappites, Shakers and Quakers, a jeopardy and chastisement.

And Henry Thoreau's bog is what? the marsh, rocks, cindered veins of ravines, the charred and livid shells of trees lit by Charon's eyes. Nothing blooms here: all is doomed: "Dead Water Mountain," "dead water of Second Lake," of "Large Lake"; "Among the rivers which empty into the Merrimac [*sic*], the Concord is known ... as a dead stream."

All of Nature's Table is not for man, who sometimes has for repast Banquo's ghost.

There are many Natures - marsh, fen, mountain, mouse, bird, dove and men, whose touch, sight and smell yield a sweet Elysium or a reechy, blasted Erebus.

In LEVITICUS man is enjoined to keep the blood, the flesh and the brain, the altar of memory, undefiled. There are abominations in nature, fitch, kite, raven, rat or toad, that paint their loathsome image upon the tender mind: the body or raiment touched and fouled by these must be bathed; the earthen vessel upon which an Unclean Animal has fallen must be broken so that the veins may not unravel in revulsion. Had not Henry Thoreau said that the Imagination is wounded long before the conscience, and then turned his own Pegasus into a reptile.



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His star was blighted by the First Shame; he wrote, "our very life is our disgrace." Henry Thoreau, like Adam after the Fall, hid in quagmire, mud and fen. How can fallen "man ascend pure and fragrant"? asked he who went INTO NATURE to be clean. His life was a sorcerer's mixing of separate natures. It was a devil's nuptial of man and pond, bird, pine, muskrat and ravine; "I fell in love with a scrub oak," "I felt a positive yearning toward one bush."

Henry Thoreau's life is a half parable: to be PURE he cast out the devils, but entered the swine. His Nature is Bethesda's Sink in whose mired waters he sought ablution from the Fall.

Human literature and lore are a warm, loose bounty of the tongue – how tall Ulysses was when he sat, or how high Agamemnon was when standing. What noble gossip are Sancho's gristled proverbs. Here are the flour, grain, wine and barley, all the goodly, brewing curd and milk of talk. This is the BREAD for which we ask our Poets only to get a Stone – Henry Thoreau's swamp, Emily Dickinson burial sod, and Herman Melville's watery grave.

The nineteenth century socialist settlements, Economy, New Harmony, New Lebanon, Fruitlands, Oneida, and the visions of the poets, Henry Thoreau's [WALDEN](#), Emily Dickinson poems, Poe's "Eureka" and Herman Melville's BILLY BUDD, are NEW TESTAMENT allegories.

Celibate Henry Thoreau, spinster Emily Dickinson, and the ascetic Shakers partake of the bread of original sin.

...

Henry Thoreau, "bachelor of nature," indeed! wrote of war, economy, ruminative sitting, waiting and eremitic patience, altogether excluding women, and erected in [WALDEN](#) the Western Fable of Ennui.

...

Had Jesus married the illuminated prostitute, Magdalene, he would have forsaken the Acts, the overthrowing of the tables of the pigeon and money-venders, and the Bleeding Cross and given man as inheritance an imperishable generation of gentle little children or Galilean verse. But there is no Magdalene, not even a Mary or Martha, in the Puritan Testament; woman does not exist in these literary masterpieces, in MOBY-DICK, or in WALDEN.

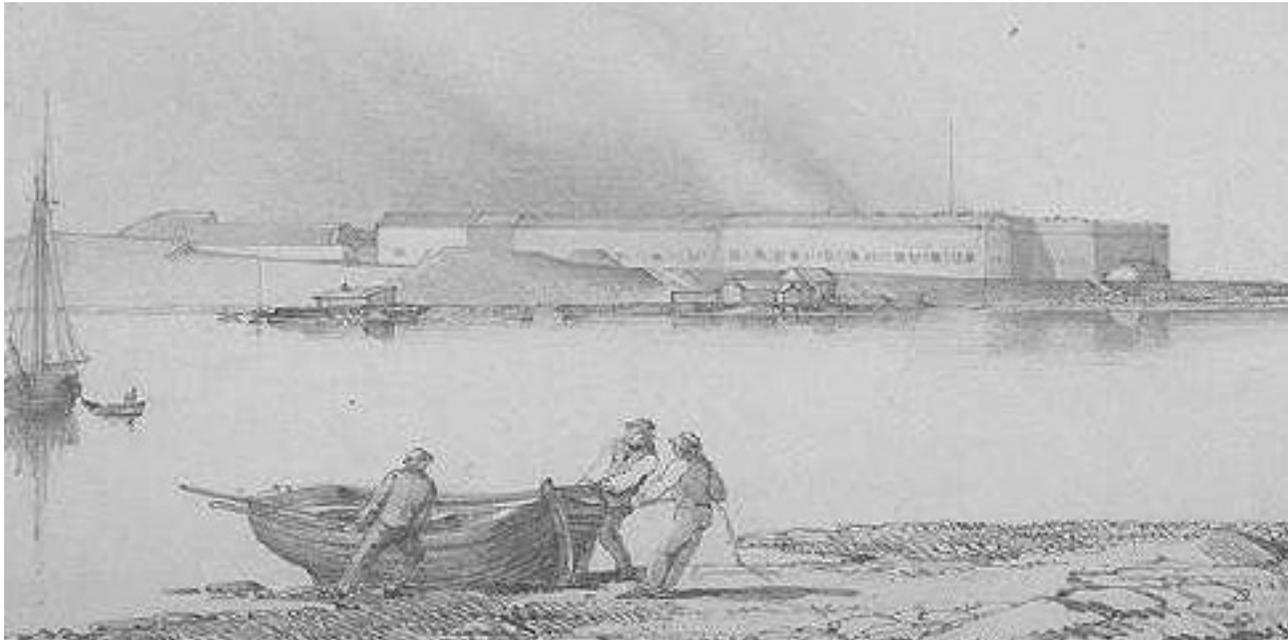
1857

[Friend Margaret Briggs Farquhar](#) helped establish a Women's Mutual Improvement Association in [Sandy Spring](#).

FEMINISM



Completion of construction of Fort Adams guarding [Newport](#) Harbor, at 60 acres with 468 cannon the second largest along our nation's coastline. Of course, cheap desperate Irish labor had been utilized to cut and move and position the stone that had been required. This sketch of the fort, and of three [Rhode Islanders](#), had been done about seven years earlier:



The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was again enlarged.

The old stone jail of [Kingston, Rhode Island](#) was again added to, with iron bars embedded within the new walls. Originally the sheriff's family had occupied the ground floor and the cells had been upstairs. In the new arrangement, the sheriff's family occupied the front of the building and, in the two-story annex, the bottom portion was used for criminals who needed to be seriously locked up, while the upper portion was used for the housing of debtors. In one of the cells upstairs, for instance, there was some decorative painting around the edges of the ceiling.

A magnificent gift came to Philadelphia from England: “One of the members of Parliament in looking over the rubbish of a City curiosity shop” had discovered an oil on canvas painted by Peter Cooper *circa* 1720 that was entitled “The Southeast Prospect of the City of Philadelphia.” He had presented this “antique daub” to George Mifflin Dallas, the American minister at the Court of St. James, deprecating its value except as a curiosity, and Dallas of course was remanding it to its place of origin. Cooper’s effort now appears to be the oldest surviving canvas of any city in North America:



Here are the various descriptions of what [Friend George Keith](#)’s Quaker schism had amounted to in the previous century, as presented by John W. Watson in 1857 in *WATSON’S ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA A COLLECTION OF MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, AND INCIDENTS OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS OF THE INLAND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM THE DAYS OF THE FOUNDERS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF OLDEN TIME, AND TO EXHIBIT SOCIETY IN ITS CHANGES OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND THE CITY AND COUNTRY IN THEIR LOCAL CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS:*

In 1684, Thomas Lloyd in writing a letter to the Friends’ Meeting at Dolaran, in North Wales, dated the 2d of 6 mo., says, that there were then 800 people at Friends’ Meeting in the city. At that time, says another writer, all denominations assembled with the Friends in much harmony and good fellowship, until discord and confusion was introduced by George Keith’s schism. In 1691 a scene of rare confusion was exhibited in Friends Meeting. The facts in the case have been told by Thomas Wilson, a public Friend, who was present. George Keith, who had just separated, sent T. Wilson and his companion, James Dickinson, a challenge to dispute. They readily agreed to meet, and many Friends of both parties assembled. George Keith railed much. He and his abettors requested another meeting, which was also granted. At another time George Keith went into Friends’ Meeting while James Dickinson was there, and preached fawningly, as though he and James Dickinson were in unity; but James stood up and confuted him. Then Keith withdrew in much wrath, and the people of other denominations present, being numerous, cried aloud – “Give way and let the devil come out, for the little man from England (J.D.) has got the day!” The Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, in their account of the services of George Keith as their Missionary, telling of course their opinion, in their own way say; that this Mr. Keith “first joined about the year 1691, with a party of [Quakers](#) in opposing some of their errors – especially in their notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation, without any thing else,” and the other party joined with Mr. Thomas Lloyd the deputy governor, and a great preacher among them; thus severally creating separate meetings in the province. It must have been a singular spectacle to have seen one who had been a plain public



Friend, attired in drab and broad brim, cast off his garb, and go abroad among them in his black gown as a church minister. A convincement certainly of strange occurrence. It is but justice to suggest, that at that time, the Friends could not have gone over wholly to the doctrine of plenary illumination, because, that William Penn's writings against Perot, Luff, and others, declare that such took the doctrine of the Holy Spirit speaking in men in a larger sense than was just, so that they ran out into extravagances thereby.

In 1702 – 8th of 9 mo. Isaac Norris' letter says, "George Keith hath been twice here, but has not yet disturbed our Meeting as hath been his custom to the eastward. He is now the talk and news of the town; but has little to boast of in all his progress hitherto. His own party is like to fall with him. All his sermons are railings against the Friends." During the time of this schism there came out a printed pamphlet of 24 pages against orthodox Friends, which might be deemed a curiosity for its rare and gross scurrility. It is without imprint, but shows from its context that it was done at Philadelphia about the year 1701. Ample evidence of the whole have been preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, on pages 190 to 193. There indeed they deserve to be buried, were it not that their style of abuse is so unique as to show a characteristic of some minds of that day, which we could not conceive of in modern times; besides they contain some local references which may possibly serve on some needful occasion to illustrate some local incidents. The whole has the appearance of being set forth as the venom of Keith's adherents. It assails the characters, by name, of every leading man in Friends' Society, making them severally immoral men (though sly) of the grossest kind. It is called "the Cage of unclean Birds" – because George Fox had so called false professors. I have purposely suppressed all the names, and refer to the whole now rather as a matter of amusement than of scandal. The Friends, then vilified, must have been endowed with much moderation, to have endured such a publication, or else the doctrine of libels was ill understood and without practice among them. Some of the facts are ludicrous enough. One, a minister too, is accused by name of packing his flour barrels with only good flour at the ends! and also of blowing in money scales to make his light money pass off as weight! It reproaches them of vain-glory in building "a great Cathedral Meeting Place at Philadelphia" – corner of Second and High streets. The Friends, who generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, found themselves more and more embarrassed as mixed population increased. They had difficulties in serving in judicial offices where oaths were required, and also in providing public defence against enemies. The feuds and animosities raised against Friends in the Assembly were very high, and went on increasing from 1701 to 1710. War with France occurred in the interval. A French privateer plundered Lewestown, – and several of them plundered and burnt vessels in the bay. In 1709, the city of Philadelphia was got into high commotion for a defence. "The hot church party" were all in favour of it. The people petitioned the Queen for defence, and



objected at the same time to the passive principles of the Friends, as unfit for civil rule, &c. When I have seen so much correspondence as I have, in that day, on that subject, and have witnessed how perplexed the Friends were with their unruly charge – made up of many nations and many minds – I have thought them (to use a homely domestic figure) not unlike the perplexed hen with her duck-chickens, which perpetually countered her nature by taking to the water, and leaving her in embarrassment and distress! If they governed for a while, retaining therein their religious views, it was still a daily work of shifts and expedients to keep the approbation of other sects. It was, as Doctor Johnson says “like a dog who walks upon his hinder legs – he does not walk well, but we are surprised he walks at all!” James Logan, in speaking of these facts, in 1709 says, “The clamours and abuses from such men to the Friends in government tires them and makes them weary of the load. When the queen asks for our quota for Canada, Friends know not how to act or how to refuse, seeing that all the other colonies contribute more than is required.” Isaac Norris, in 1709-10, speaking of these facts, says, “Those of the church grew very uneasy and unneighbourly in their expressions, because of the defenceless situation of the place. They are for a coercive law, that all may be obliged to bear arms, or else they will do nothing. They manage this craftily, in order to lay Friends aside in government, – the holding of a place in which is extremely difficult to Friends, and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect – whether to hold it under such difficulties as daily fall in the way, or to resign it to some men who are of no honourable principles. Embarrassed and discordant as we are, I often think of the frogs’ petition to Jupiter, and fear it must be a governor immediately from the crown that must set us to rights. We are a mixed people, who all claim a right to use their own way. Some Friends still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties and sometimes full stops – so that a very great hardship falls upon the Assembly. To me it seems impracticable to do any thing that will please and hold!” In another place, to James Logan, he says, “We say our principles are not destructive or repugnant to civil government, and will admit of free liberty of conscience to all, yet to me it appears, (although I get into a labyrinth when I turn my thoughts that way) to be concerned in government and hold them, we must either be independent and entirely by ourselves, or, if mixed, partial to our own opinion, and not allow to others what we desire from them!” To illustrate some of the difficulties, supposed to exist in civil matters because of the religious objections of Friends to oaths, I give the following facts – to wit: In 1703, William Penn writes, that “the lords of trade spake to me of the insufficiency of the government of Pennsylvania – saying, the first of the council was not able to register ships, administer an oath, or perform some other requisites; but I told them this could not hinder government, while three or four of the council were churchmen, and of age and experience – and no matter who of the council transacted them, so that they were qualified to do it; – and yet, by our constitution, our Friends were so: –



besides, I told them it was not to be thought that a colony and constitution, made by and for [Quakers](#), would leave themselves and their lives and fortunes, out of so essential a part of government as juries – nay, more, that we would not have gone thither to be so precarious in our security as to be deemed incapable of being jurymen – if so, that the coming of others shall overrule us who are the originals and made it a country." On one occasion, stated by James Logan, the grand jury being summoned of such as could swear, it was found the number present were insufficient. "On the sheriff's calling for more out of the tales, one and another, being offered the oath, declined it, some for one reason, and some for another. The design evidently was by those factious persons who contend for nothing more than our confusion. They would herein prevent all things that might take away occasion of complaint against us, and they hoped the delay of justice might prove a great one!" On another occasion it happened that only three of the five judges being present, and those only who could swear, "they administered an affirmation according to law, which gave cause of many discourses among the discontented. But through these men's restless endeavours, it is found extremely difficult fully to discharge the duties of government incumbent on us – they taking all advantages of throwing in our way whatever may perplex us, by reasons of oaths, and such other things as are inconsistent with the principles of most of us – besides, that many things occur in the administration according to the law of England, as well as immunities by our own law, which cannot well be executed by men of our profession. Such objections against us, being what they daily court, when, by their endeavours, they by any means bring them to bear, they greedily lay hold of them." William Penn in reply to these and similar statements, makes a remark in 1704, saying "I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law in the province, by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to the queen is known almost to partiality; but I shall never obey her letters against laws, into which she may be drawn by interested persons." James Logan was never averse to measures for protection – i.e. for defensive war; and there is reason to infer that Penn himself and some other Friends were of the same opinion. The idea gained ground as the colony increased, and therefore members were often found in the assemblies of the Friends' Society, who in the opinion of "the most straitest" of the sect, were too lax in their discipline of "testimony" &c. We find, therefore, that such a public Friend as John Churchman deems himself called to express his disapprobation of their public callings generally, as too exposing in its general tendency, for tender minds – and about the same time, the year 1758 we see a warning voice from "The Watchman," by a Friend in the Pennsylvania Journal, wherein he says "From the moment we Friends began to lose sight of our original institution, we erred greatly; for when we saw so much corruption interwoven in the affairs of this world, we were unfit to be concerned in them, and should have rested satisfied on a dependence on the son of the Lord, and what protection the

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laws of our country would have given us. But we must needs have that power in our own hands; and having so exceeded their native moderation and self-command, they knew no bounds – they grasped at more, by which means the life of our old and respected friend and governor, [William Penn](#), was made a life of trouble. Let us return to our original plan, and leave the concerns of this world entirely to the men of this world!"

...

In 1689, the Friends originated the Friends' public school in Philadelphia –the same which now stands in Fourth below Chestnut street. It was to be a grammar school, and to teach the learned languages. George Keith, a Scotch Friend and public preacher, (afterwards an Episcopal clergyman and a bitter foe to Friends!) became the first teacher, assisted by Thomas Makin, who in the next year became the principal.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

There is another mention of Friend [George Keith](#) and his splinter group of antislavery [Quakers](#) later on in this Watson volume:

In 1693, the separate meeting of Friends under George Keith, assembling at the house of Philip James in Philadelphia, gave forth a paper declaring their sense of the duty of emancipation – "after some reasonable time of service" – Vide Gabriel Thomas. The large original proprietors of property in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania called "the Free Society of Traders" of 1682, although as a corporation they might be said, like others, "to be without souls" conceded an article very favourable to emancipation, saying "If the society should receive blacks for servants, they shall make them free at fourteen years' end, upon condition that they will give unto the society's ware-house two-



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thirds of what they are capable of producing on such a parcel of land as shall be allowed to them by the society, with a stock of necessary tools." Then comes a proviso of rather singular character, saying "And if they will not accept of these terms they shall be servants till they will accept of it!" I have seen, among the earliest pamphlets extant of Philadelphia publication, one from the Friends' meeting of Philadelphia, of the 13th of 8mo. 1683, giving "exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying and keeping negroes." The sum of the counsel was, that none should attempt "to buy except to set free." This little address contained many of the arguments now usually set forth against slavery. In 1696, the [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends having concerted some measures to discourage the bringing in of more slaves, and to preserve the morals of those they had, the subject was renewed in the year 1700 on the arrival of [William Penn](#), in consideration of his pressing upon the Philadelphia meeting his wishes concerning the same. Their sense of the subject was expressed as follows, to wit: "Our dear friend and governor, having laid before this meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time concerning the negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for negroes to be kept once a month, &c." At the same time, he introduced a bill into the assembly "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages" – also another "for their trials and punishments." The former was defeated by the jealousies then in the house.

JOHN F. WATSON, I, 1855

JOHN F. WATSON, II, 1857

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

The mulatto Lewis Sheridan Leary went to Oberlin, Ohio to live.



(He would marry there and make the acquaintance of John Brown in Cleveland. To go to Harpers Ferry, he would leave behind his wife with a 6-month-old child at Oberlin, she being in ignorance of the purpose of his trip. He was given funds to go from Oberlin to Chambersburg in the company of his nephew John Anderson Copeland, Jr., a student at Oberlin College. He would get isolated along with his nephew and John Henry Kagi



in the armory called Hall's Rifle Works. When the three men would make a run for it, heading down to the Shenandoah River, they would get themselves caught in a crossfire, and after Kagi had been killed and Leary shot several times, he would be taken, his wounds so severe that he would die the following morning. He would be able to dictate messages to his family and is reported as saying "I am ready to die." The Leary child would subsequently be educated by James Redpath and Wendell Phillips.)

Charles Plummer Tidd joined John Brown's party at Tabor, Kansas.



(He would become one of the followers of “Shubel Morgan” who would return to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he would “ruin” a [Quaker](#) girl and the other members of the team would need to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group would obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Tidd and John E. Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington’s home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown’s son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name “Charles Plummer” and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. Charles Plummer Tidd’s grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, [North Carolina](#).)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

March 6: [Edwin Coppoc](#) was [disowned](#) by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the West Branch/Springdale area, on account of his having gone dancing.

[Lewis Cass](#) was appointed by President James Buchanan as Secretary of State. He would be sympathetic with American "[filibusterers](#)" and would be instrumental in having Commodore Hiram Paulding removed from his command after he landed US Marines in Nicaragua to compel the removal of the filibustering William Walker.



US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

April: The [disowned Edwin Coppoc](#)'s brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was disciplined by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for using profane language and for striking a man in anger. He accepted the discipline and was forgiven.

April 10: Thoreau noticed among the decorations in [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#)'s shanty a wall-motto from [Horace](#)'s ODES. We note that although he jotted down several such conceits, this stands out as the only one for which it was unnecessary to also register the name of an author.



April 10, Friday: D.R.'s Shanty is about half a dozen rods S.W. of his house (which may be one hundred rods from the road), nearly between his house and barn, is 12 x 14 feet, with 7 feet posts, with common pent roof. In building it he directed the carpenter to use western boards and timbers, though some eastern studs (spruce?) were inserted. He had already occupied a smaller shanty at "Woodlee," about a mile S. The roof is shingled, and the sides made of matched boards, and painted a light clay color, with chocolate (?) colored blinds. Within, it is not plastered, and is open to the roof, showing the timbers and rafters, and rough boards and cross-timbers overhead, as if ready for plastering. The door is at the east end, with a small window on each side of it, a similar window on each side of the building, and one at the west end, the latter looking down the garden walk. In front of the last window is a small box stove with a funnel rising to a level with the plate, and there inserted in a small brick chimney which rests on planks. On the south side of the room, against the stove, is a rude settle with a coarse cushion and pillow; on the opposite side a large low desk with some bookshelves above it, on the same side by the window, a small table covered with books; and in the N.E. corner, behind the door, an old-fashioned secretary, its pigeonholes stuffed with papers. On the opposite side as you enter is a place for fuel, which the boy leaves each morning, a place to hang greatcoats. there were two small pieces of carpet on the floor, and R. or one of his guests swept out the Shanty each morning. There was a small kitchen clock hanging in the S.W. corner, and a map of Bristol County behind the settle. The west and N.W. side is well-nigh covered with slips of paper on which are written some sentences or paragraphs from R.'s favorite books. I noticed among the most characteristic Didbin's "Tom Tackle," a translation of Anacreon's *Cicada*, lines celebrating tobacco, Milton's "How charming is divine philosophy," &c., "*Inveni requiem; Spes et Fortuna valet: Nil mihi vobiscum est: laudite nunc alios.*" (Is it Petrarch?) this is also over the door, "*Mors pallida aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres.*" Some lines of his own in memory of A.J. Downing, "Not to be in a hurry," over the desk, and many other quotations, celebrating retirement, country life, simplicity, humanity, sincerity, &c., &c., from Cowper and other English poets, and similar extracts from newspapers. There were also two or three advertisements of cattle-show exhibitions, and the warning not to kill birds contrary to laws, he being one of the subscribers notified to enforce the act, an advertisement of a steamboat on Lake Winnepiseogee, &c., cards of his business friends. The size of different brains, from "Hall's Journal of Health,"

ANACREON

HORACE

COWPER

A.J. DOWNING

and “Take the world Easy.” A sheet of blotting paper tacked up, and of Chinese characters from a tea-chest. Also a few small pictures and pencil sketches, the latter commonly caricatures of his visitors or friends, as “The Trojan” (Channing) and Van Beest; I take the most notice of these particulars because his peculiarities are so commonly unaffected. He has long been accustomed to put these scraps on his walls, and has a basket full somewhere saved from the old Shanty, though there were some quotations which had no right there. I found all his peculiarities faithfully expressed, his humanity, his fear of death, love of retirement, simplicity, &c. The more characteristic books were Bradley’s Husbandry, Drake’s Indians, Barber’s Hist. Coll., Zimmermann on Solitude, Bigelow’s Plants of Boston, &c., Farmer’s Register of the first Settlers of New England, Marshall’s Gardening, Vick’s Gardener, John Woolman, The Modern Horse Doctor, Downing’s Fruits, &c., The Farmer’s Library, Walden, Dymond’s Essays, Jobb Scott’s Journal, Morton’s Memorial, Bailey’s Dictionary, Downing’s Landscape Gardening, etc., The Task, Nuttall’s Ornithology, Morse’s Gazetteer, The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy, John Bunclie, Dwight’s Travels, Virgil, Young’s Night Thoughts, History of Plymouth, and other Shanty books.

There was an old gun, hardly safe to fire, said to be loaded with an inextractable charge, and also an old sword over the door; also a tin sign, “D. Ricketson’s office” (he having set up for a lawyer once), and a small crumpled horn; there I counted more than 20 rustic canes scattered about, a dozen or 15 pipes of various patterns (mostly the common), two spy-glasses, an open paper of tobacco, an Indian’s jaw (dug up), a stuffed Bluejay, and Pine Grosbeak, and a rude Indian stone hatchet, &c., &c. There was a box with fifteen or twenty knives, mostly very large old-fashioned jack-knives, kept for curiosity, occasionally giving one to a boy or friend. A large book full of pencil sketches, “to be inspected by whomsomever,” containing mostly sketches of his friends, &c., acquaintances, and himself, of wayfaring men whom he had met, Quakers, &c., &c., and now and then a verse under fence rail, or an old-fashioned house sketched on a peculiar pea-green paper. A pail of water stands behind the door, with a peculiar tin cup for drinking, made in France.

BARBER
BIGELOW

A.J. DOWNING

DWIGHT

PIPE

QUAKERS

JONATHAN DYMOND
FRIEND DANIEL RICKETSON

April 13, Monday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) to his journal, in [New Bedford MA](#) with Henry Thoreau, Bronson Alcott, and [Ellery Channing](#):

Rode to Quittacus Pond with Thoreau, also visited Long Pond, and took our dinner at the old Brady house. Channing came up to tea. Attended the third Conversation of Mr. Alcott at C.W. Morgan’s this evening, the subject, “Diet and Health.” Owing to some supposed disrespect to Christianity and the customs of Quakers, some of the members of the society left, although I think from what I know of Mr. Alcott if they had remained through his course they would have been better satisfied.



QUAKERS

There was evidently some discussion of what to do with the books sent to Henry Thoreau by Thomas Cholmondeley that were in Sanskrit, because Thoreau of course did not read Sanskrit. [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote James Elliot Cabot and mentioned Thoreau’s copy of the *Upanishads* as a book that might possibly be made available for the Boston Athenæum. “’Tis an inestimable little book, –good enough to make me hesitate to put it into the library.”



April 13, Monday: To Middleboro Ponds. There was no boat on Little Quittacus, so we could not explore it. Set out to walk around it, but the water being high (higher than anciently, even, on account of dams), we had to go round a swamp at the south end about Joe’s rocks, and R. gave it up. I went to Long Pond and waited for him. Saw a strange turtle, much like a small snapping turtle or very large *Sternotherus odoratus* (?), crawling slowly along the bottom next the shore; poked it ashore with a stick; it had a peculiarly square snout, and hinges to the sternum, and both parts moveable; was very sluggish, would not snap or bite, looked old, being mossy close on the edges, and the scales greenish and eaten beneath, the flesh slate colored. I saw it was new, and wished to bring it away, but had no paper to wrap it in; so I peeled a white birch, getting a piece of bark



about ten inches long. Noticed that the birch sap was flowing. This bark at once curled back so as to present its yellow side outward. I rolled it about the turtle and folded the ends back, and tied it round with a strip of birch bark, making a very nice and airy box for the occasion, which would not be injured by moisture, far better than any paper, and so brought it home to Concord at last. As my coat hung in R.'s shanty, over a barrel of papers, the morning that I came away the turtle made a little noise, scratching the birch bark in my pocket. R. observed, "There is a mouse in that barrel; what would you do about it?" "Oh, let him alone," said I, "he'll get out directly." "They often get among my papers," he added. "I guess I'd better set the barrel outdoors." I did not explain, and perhaps he experimented in the barrel after my departure.²³⁵

August: [Friend Bernard Barton](#)'s daughter [Lucy Barton](#) and her husband of nine months, Edward J. Fitzgerald, separated.

November: There was an Underground Railroad line, the "stations" of which were Salem in Southeastern Iowa, Tabor, Lewis, Des Moines, Grinnel, Iowa City, West Liberty, Springdale, the [Quaker](#) community outside Iowa City, Tipton, Dewitt, and Clinton. During the early winter John Brown hiked crosscountry from Tabor to Springdale with his group (Brown's son Owen Brown, John Edwin Cook, John Henry Kagi, William H. Leeman, Charles Moffett, Luke F. Parsons, Richard Realf, Richard Richardson, [Aaron D. Stevens](#), and Charles Plummer Tidd, plus some runaway slaves). The trip had required 25 days. A [Quaker](#) elder is reported to have said to Brown, "Thou art welcome to tarry among us but we have no use for thy guns." Friend John Painter, later the founder of Pasadena, California, was the only local [Quaker](#) we now know to have had knowledge of the violence of Brown's plan. He said, "Friend, I can't give thee money to buy powder and lead but here's \$20 toward thy expenses."

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

William and Delilah Maxson of North Liberty, a community about three miles to the northeast of Springdale, who were not Quakers, agreed to provide board for the group in their substantial home at the rate of \$1.50 per week per person, not including laundry or extra candles, and to take payment not in cash but in the wagons and teams the group had been using to transport rifles and pikes. William Maxson was aware of the violence of Brown's plan, but not being a Quaker, he had no objection. The Maxsons and the escaped slaves slept in the large cellar, and John Brown had a room on the main floor for the short intervals during which he was in town that winter, and the white men with him slept in the garret. Maria Todd, who would become the wife of Elza Maxson, also slept in that cellar during that winter. The Maxsons and [Aaron D. Stevens](#) were spiritualists. A mock legislature was staged on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the big west room of the Maxson home until so many neighbors attended that they needed to convene at the community's brick schoolhouse. Parliamentary rules were enforced and the topics engaged with included war, partisan politics, human enslavement, political and civil rights for American blacks, college education and civil rights for women, banking laws, prohibitory liquor laws, mechanics, theology, natural philosophy, and, of course, spiritualism. During the winter the forenoons were spent in military studies and [Stevens](#), known as Colonel Whipple, led drills in which the men carried wooden swords and pikes and maneuvered on the front lawn. The evenings were given over to reading in books such as PLUTARCH'S LIVES, writing letters, and debating. John Henry Kagi offered instruction in shorthand. That winter, [Stevens](#) was a frequent visitor at the home of Moses Varney. His daughter, Anna Varney Phelps, would tell of sitting on Stephens' knee while, with tears rolling down his cheeks, he would sing in his beautiful tenor, "Will they miss me at home, Mother? Will they miss me?"

235. In an attempt to grasp why it was that their father's friend Thoreau did not explain this scratching noise, Ricketson's children Anna and Walton, later in life, when Thoreau's journal was published and they read this comment about their father, have speculated that perhaps "it was out of consideration for Father's sensitiveness regarding all dumb animals." They would not favor the idea that it might have been merely their dad's adored friend's practical joke on their dad.

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

November: During the winter encampment of Captain Brown's forces in the Iowa Territory, Charles Plummer Tidd "ruined" a [Quaker](#) girl (something about which the local Quakers do not like to speak) and the other members of the team needed to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group was able



to obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of Friend [George Fox](#) from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers [Barclay Coppoc](#) and [Edwin Coppoc](#).



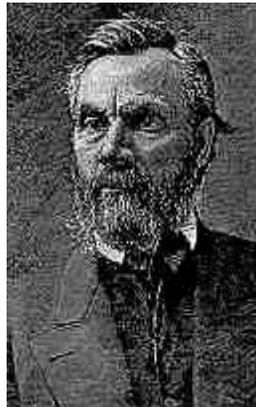
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

(Charles Plummer Tidd would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who would return to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. He and John Edwin Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless would take part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escape, and make his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of [Aaron D. Stevens](#) and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. You may view Charles Plummer Tidd's grave as #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne, [North Carolina](#).)

December 18, Friday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) in Concord, to his journal:



Took tea with Thoreau and spent the evening with him and his father's family. Parker Pillsbury, the anti-slavery lecturer, there. Took Channing's room for lodging, hard bed, poor sleep. Cleared this P.M.





Carleton Mabee's BLACK FREEDOM

Americans at large often held the abolitionists responsible for the war. They argued that the abolitionists' long agitation, strident as it often was, had antagonized the South into secession, thus beginning the war, and that the abolitionists' insistence that the war should not end until all slavery had been abolished kept the war going. In 1863 the widely read New York Herald made the charge devastatingly personal. It specified that by being responsible for the war, each abolitionist had in effect already killed one man and permanently disabled four others. ... While William Lloyd Garrison preferred voluntary emancipation, during the war he came to look with tolerance on the abolition of slavery by military necessity, saying that from seeming evil good may come. Similarly, the Garrisonian-Quaker editor, Oliver Johnson, while also preferring voluntary emancipation, pointed out that no reform ever triumphed except through mixed motives. But the Garrisonian lecturer Pillsbury was contemptuous of such attitudes. Freeing the slaves by military necessity would be of no benefit to the slave, he said in 1862, and the next year when the Emancipation Proclamation was already being put into effect, he said that freeing the slaves by military necessity could not create permanent peace. Parker Pillsbury won considerable support for his view from abolitionist meetings and from abolitionist leaders as well. Veteran Liberator writer Edwin Percy Whipple insisted that "true welfare" could come to the American people "only through a **willing** promotion of justice and freedom." [Henry C. Wright](#) repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. The recent Garrisonian convert, the young orator Ezra Heywood, pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it. The Virginia aristocrat-turned-abolitionist, [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), had misgivings that if emancipation did not come before it became a fierce necessity, it would not reflect true benevolence and hence could not produce true peace. The Philadelphia wool merchant, [Quaker Alfred H. Love](#), asked, "Can so sublime a virtue as ... freedom ... be the offspring of so corrupt a parentage as war?" The long-time abolitionist [Abby Kelley](#)—the speak-inner and Underground Railroader—predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, "the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation." Amid the searing impact of the war—the burning fields, the mangled bodies, the blood-splattered hills and fields—a few abolitionists had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must be consistent with the nature of the reform. ... What abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the war most blacks would still be living in the South, among the same Confederates whom they were now trying to kill.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1858

Friend [William Henry Farquhar](#) stood unsuccessfully as a candidate for the [Maryland](#) State Senate.

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s mother, to whom he was much committed and with whom he had been living, died.

My dear mother, to whom I own much every way, died in 1858.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Here is a somewhat strange message, that the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) is said to have delivered at some point during this year, at the Progressive Friends meeting of Chester County, Pennsylvania:

I have swum in clear, sweet waters all my days; and if sometimes they were a little cold, and the stream ran adverse and something rough, it was never too strong to be breasted and swam though. From the days of earliest boyhood, when I went stumbling through the grass, "as merry as a May bee," up to the grey bearded manhood of this time, there is none but has let me honey in the hive of memory that I now freed on for present delight. When I recall the years of boyhood, youth, early manhood, I am filled with a sense of sweetness and wonder that such little things can make a mortal so exceedingly rich! But I must confess that the chiefest of all my delights is still the religious. This the lowest down, the inwardest of all – it is likewise highest up. What delight have I in my consciousness of God, the certainty of his protection, of his infinite love? God loves man as my natural mother never did, nor could, nor can, even now with the added beatitudes of well-nigh 2 score years in heaven. How the religious disposition inclines the little boy or girl to veneration and gratitude, virtues which in the child are what good breeding is in the full grown gentleman, giving a certain air of noble birth and well bred superiority! There is a Jacob's ladder for our young pilgrim, whereon he goes up from his earthly mother, who manages the little room he sleeps in, to the dear heavenly mother, who never slumbers nor sleeps, who is never careful nor troubled about anything, but yet cares continually for the great housekeeping of all the world, giving likewise to her beloved even in their sleep. In the child it is only a faint twilight, the beginning of religion which you take notice of, like the voice of the blue bird and the Phoebe come early in March, but only as a prelude to that whole summer of joyous song, which when the air is delicate, will 'ere long gladden and beautify the procreant nest.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Go figure!

Florence Nightingale's NOTES ON MATTERS AFFECTING THE HEALTH, EFFICIENCY AND HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE BRITISH ARMY was published.

The medical society in Philadelphia banned women from the public teaching clinics. In her valedictory address to the graduating class of the Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania, [Friend Ann Preston](#) roundly condemned this prejudice:

No lordly Turk, smoking on his ottoman, could better depict the depravation which public manners would suffer, if Turkish women should openly walk, side by side with fathers, husbands, and brothers to the solemn Mosque, than some among us have portrayed the perversion our society must undergo if woman shares with man the office of Physician.

She organized, for Female Medical College, a board of “Lady Managers,” and began to plan for the establishment of a Woman’s Hospital. There was an appropriate site in the north section of Philadelphia, on North College Avenue facing the open fields of Girard College, for such an institution.



March: Mrs. Anna Barker Ward, wife of the banker Samuel Gray Ward, a lady who had started out as a [Quaker](#) before turning [Unitarian](#), was converted to [Roman Catholicism](#) in Rome by Father Thomas ([Isaac Hecker](#)) of the just-approved-by-the-Pope “Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle,” and [Waldo Emerson](#) had an indignant reaction. Why on earth would she choose the Pope in Rome over himself? Emerson thought poorly of such antics: “This running into the Catholic Church is disgusting, just when one is looking amiably around at the culture and performance of the young people, and fancying that the new generation is an advance on the last.” He had been considering this lady as an archetype of all that was proper in American womanhood: “Her simple faith seemed to be, that by dealing nobly with all, all would show themselves noble.... She can afford to be sincere. The wind is not purer than she is.” –And now she had chosen “repose” over “truth,” so, was he going to need to begin to consider her as just another dupe? “I grieve that she has flung herself into the Church of Rome, suddenly. She was born for social grace, & that faith makes such carnage of social relations!” In a letter, he reminded Mrs. Ward that even though it would be in Rome itself that she would encounter a Catholic priest, that man was probably in actuality merely a transplanted Irishman (how embarrassing).

Spring: [Edwin Coppoc](#) migrated to the Kansas Territory as a settler, but, since he had been raised as an adopted child in a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, would take no part in the fighting there.



(It would be during a visit to Springdale, Iowa in Fall 1858 that he would meet John Brown. He would surrender with Captain Brown in the engine house at Harpers Ferry, and would be tried by a jury of his white male peers immediately after the conclusion of the trial of Captain Brown while his brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was eluding capture. He would be sentenced to death on November 2, 1859. From prison before his hanging, he would write to his adoptive mother that he was

“sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun.”

He would be hung with John E. Cook on December 16, 1859. The body would be buried in Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later the body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio.)

Fall: [Edwin Coppoc](#), who had migrated to Kansas as a settler, paid a visit to Springdale, Iowa and there met John Brown.



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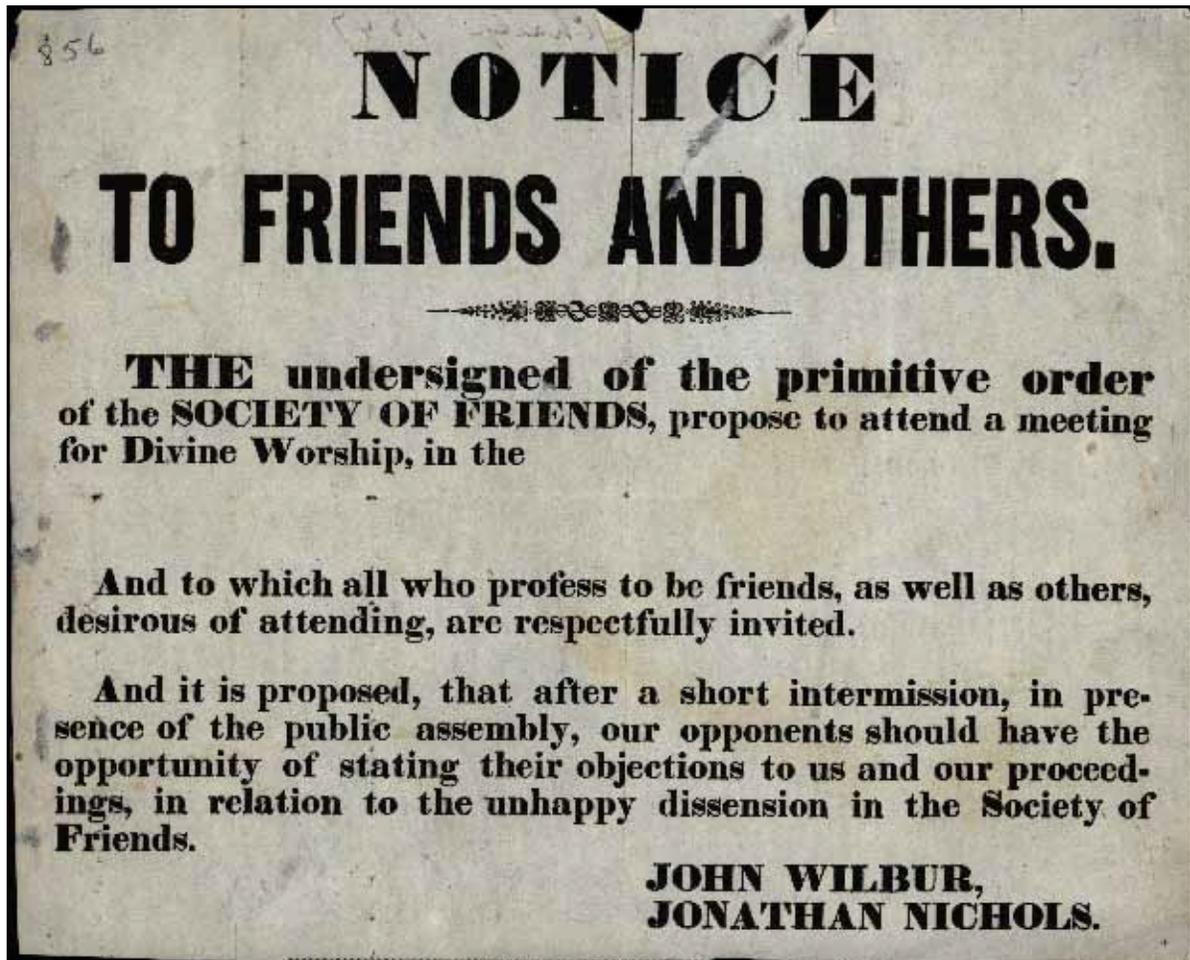
1859

During this year and the following one, [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) would serve as a school commissioner for Montgomery County.

Wilson Armistead’s ANTHONY BENEZET. FROM THE ORIGINAL MEMOIR [by Roberts Vaux]: REVISED, WITH ADDITIONS was published in London by A.W. Bennett.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
ANTHONY BENEZET

Several of [Friend John Wilbur](#)'s polemical pamphlets had appeared during his lifetime (1774-1856), but at this point this [Quaker](#) preacher's primary work, JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE, became available in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

In this year nine young scholars were graduated from the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Publication of the MEMOIR OF JOHN GRISCOM, which contains the letters and autobiographical writing of Friend John H. Griscom, MD describing his experiences at the school.

Publication, by John Miller in Providence, of THE FRIENDS' NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING BOARDING SCHOOL. ITS RISE AND HISTORY, WITH NOTICE OF SOME OF ITS FOUNDERS AND INSTRUCTORS.

There emerged at this point a reasoned critique of the too-typical Quaker negative attitude toward the arts (a too-typically negative Quaker attitude with which, very plainly, [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) did not agree):

“The attitude assumed by the Friends towards the fine arts, furnishes another evidence (as it appears to the writer) of their imperfect apprehension of the dignity of all the feelings and emotions, originally implanted by the Creator in the constitution of man.... Whilst the primitive Quakers did not purpose absolutely to banish these pursuits from the homes of themselves and their successors, they so far restrained the development of the aesthetic element, that acting in conjunction with the general subjective character of the system, Quakerism became (what the French denominate) a spécialité, without the elastic, adaptive qualities, which fit Christianity for every tribe of men.... Here, we imagine, lies the secret why Quakerism has made no progress amongst the aboriginal tribes it has befriended –amongst the Negroes whose liberties it has struggled for– or (with trivial exceptions) anywhere beyond the limits of the Anglo-Saxon family; and also why it has not proved a congenial home to that large class of persons whose characters are rather emotional, than intellectual or reflective.”²³⁶

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

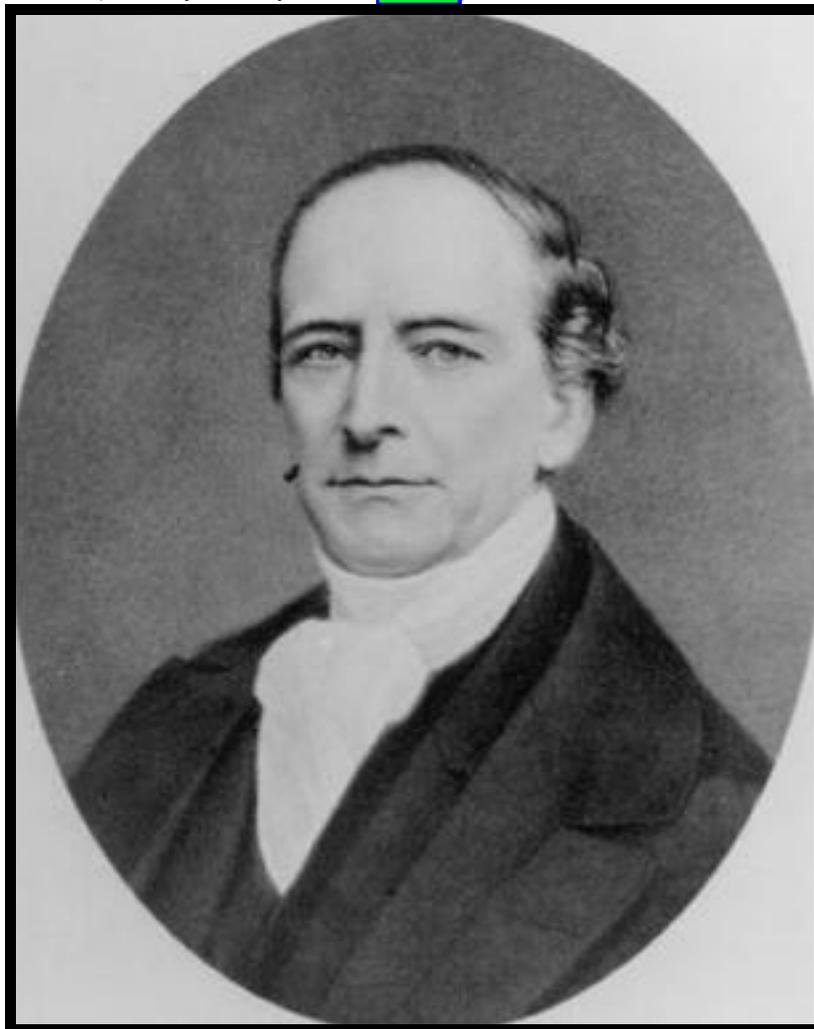
PAINTING

Friend John Greenleaf Whittier and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher went together to view Frederic Edwin Church's "The Heart of the Andes."



236. John Stephenson Rowntree. QUAKERISM, PAST AND PRESENT; AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF ITS DECLINE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), pages 55f

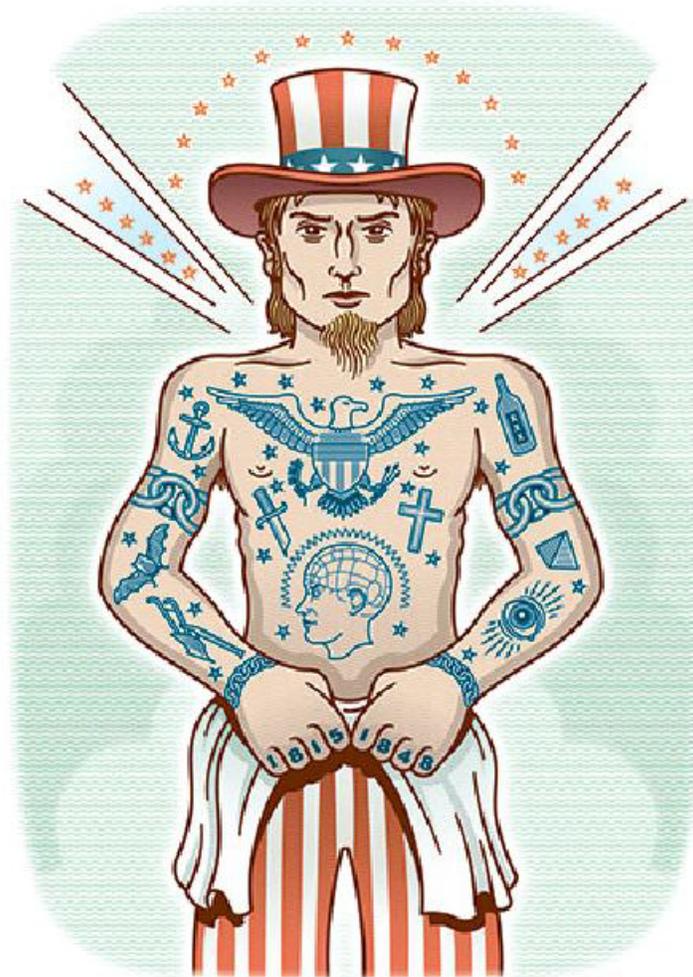
January: The honorable John K. Kane of Philadelphia finally died. He had been the judge who had presided at the treason trial of the people rounded up after the Christiana “riot” of 1851 and who clearly would have found them guilty of treason if there had been any way to do so. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) had neither forgotten nor forgiven his deportment during the treason trial, nor his savaging of the free black man William Still and the Quaker abolitionist Passmore Williamson when they helped a black woman in 1855 to escape the white man who still held her after she had obtained her freedom according to the law of Pennsylvania. And so she sponsored a resolution “expressing satisfaction that flying bondsmen had no longer cause to fear the power of this office.” “Speak no ill of the dead” was a principle that had no more weight for [Friend Lucretia](#) than it did for [Waldo Emerson](#) (see entry for May 9, 1862 ).



October: As Stephen Douglas took up the banner of [Young America](#) and transformed it into a Slave South and Expansionist West movement in opposition to the Republican candidacy of Abraham Lincoln, the last issue of [John L. O'Sullivan's](#) Confederacy-supporting [The United States Magazine and Democratic Review](#) was being published in New-York by J.& H.G. Langley.

The New York Times

October 26, 2008



Peter and Maria Hoey

The Reverend Samuel Joseph May, arriving in London, began to lecture on the American antislavery crusade in various Unitarian churches. What he found out should not have so surprised him:



- Many Brits thought of black slavery as a good solution to a bad problem.
- Most Brits considered American slavery not to be a matter for their concern.
- Some Brits had heard stories from America inducing them to hold Frederick Douglass in disfavor.

There was a report in [Littell's Living Age](#) of the tomb of a Celtic chieftain just outside Paris (in about 1861 Henry Thoreau would take note of this in his Indian Notebook #12):

A VERY interesting discovery has been recently made at the very gates of Paris, viz., the tomb of a Celtic chieftain, interred more than twenty-five centuries ago, with the remains of his wife, his horse, and his armor, in the peninsula of St. Maur-les-Fosses. The spot is now called La Varenne Saint-Hilaire, and other discoveries lately made there seem to reveal the existence of a Celtic city of some importance in former times. This tomb, placed at a depth of barely thirty centimetres below the surface of the vegetable soil, which extends to a depth of more than a metre in this place, consists of two very distinct portions, the cromlech or consecrated enclosure, and the tumulus or tomb, placed in the interior, and enclosing the two human bodies and that of the horse. Near this part the tumulus enclosed two skeletons, in a very tolerable state of preservation, lying on their faces, the heads being slightly turned towards the southeast. That on the left side, the body of the warrior, was placed in a very regular position, the head resting between the two hands: the jaws were furnished with nearly all the teeth, twenty-five, of a beautiful whiteness with the enamel preserved. Near to him was found an arrow-head of bone, also a lance formed of deer's horn; part of a handle in oak, or fragment of a shaft, which by age had lost all weight, and had the appearance of cork. At the left of the interior of the cromlech, on several stones, placed no doubt for the purpose, were found the other arms of the chieftain, comprising a hatchet, or tomahawk, of polished flint, with a circular, sharp edge, and a hole through it for a handle; an arrow or javelin head; a broken knife; which, all of white flint, had lost their transparency owing to the effects of violent heat. Some fragments of pottery were also discovered, half-burnt, and presenting all the characteristics of the earthenware of the same period which has been found in many other places. At the right of the warrior, and in contact, lay the skeleton of his wife, in very much the same position, but still with some slight difference as to posture. Younger than the former, she must have been consigned to the tomb after a violent death. This curious monument has been presented by M. Legay, the architect who discovered it and made the excavations, to the Minister of State, to be placed in the Museum des Thermes in the Hôtel Cluny.

October 19, Wednesday-October 28, Friday: Henry Thoreau prepared to celebrate John Brown’s famous dance on air, by writing “A Plea for Captain John Brown.”

The speaking notes Thoreau used during his impassioned plea for Captain Brown, he drafted in haste in his dire days and nights after October 18, from which to save precious time he would allow the publishers to set type directly. A transcript follows,



A Plea for Henry D. Thoreau. by Austin Meredith. I trust that you will pardon me for being here. I do not wish to force my thoughts upon you, but I feel forced myself. Little as I know of Henry Thoreau, I would fain do my part to correct the tone and the statements of the newspapers, and of my countrymen generally, respecting his character and actions. It costs us nothing to be just. We can at least express our sympathy with, and admiration for, him and his companions, and that is what I now propose to do.



but immediately you will note that, for my own reasons which you will perhaps appreciate or not appreciate, I have made name substitutions. Quakers will note that Thoreau, in this famous speech in Concord on the evening of October 30th, then in Boston on November 1st, then in Worcester on November 3d, uses a characteristic Quaker idiom: rather than suggesting that his audience should submit to his discourse for their edification, he asks them to be with him while he follows a leading, that compels him, a need he has, to speak out.

Elza Maxson had come east from Springdale, Iowa when summoned by John Brown. Due to some uncertainty of dates, however, he had still been on his way when news that the attack had already occurred reached him.



October 19, Wednesday: When a government puts forth its strength on the side of injustice, as ours (especially to-day) to maintain slavery and kill the liberators of the slave, what a merely brute, or worse than brute, force it is seen to be! A demoniacal force! It is more manifest than ever that tyranny rules. I see this government to be effectually allied with France and Austria in oppressing mankind. One comment I heard of by the postmaster of this village on the news of Brown’s death: [IT HAD BEEN REPORTED THAT BROWN WAS KILLED AT THE TIME OF HIS CAPTURE.] “He died as the fool dieth.” I should have answered this man, “He did not live as the fool liveth, and he died as he lived.” Treason! where does treason take its rise? I cannot help thinking of you as you deserve, ye governments. Can you dry up the fountains of thought? High treason which is resistance to tyranny here below has its origin in, and is first committed by, the power that makes and forever re-creates man. When you have caught and hung all of these human rebels, you have accomplished nothing but your own guilt, for you have not struck at the fountainhead. You presume to contend with a foe against whom West Point cadets and rifled cannon point not. Can all the arts of the cannon-founder tempt matter to turn against its Maker? Is the form in which he casts it more essential than the constitution of it and of himself?



I see that the same journal that contains this pregnant news from Harper's Ferry is chiefly filled, in parallel columns, with the reports of the political conventions that are now being held. But the descent is too steep to them; they should have been spared this contrast. To turn from the voices and deeds of earnest men to the cackling of political conventions! Office-seekers and speechmakers, who do not so much as lay an egg, but wear their breasts bare upon an egg of chalk. Their great game is the game of straws, or rather that universal and aboriginal game of the platter, at which the Indians cried, Hub-bub. Some of them generals forsooth.

It galls me to listen to the remarks of craven-hearted neighbors who speak disparagingly of Brown because he resorted to violence, resisted the government, threw his life away! –what way have they thrown their lives, pray? –neighbors who would praise a man for attacking singly an ordinary band of thieves or murderers. Such minds are not equal to the occasion. They preserve the so-called peace of their community by deeds of petty violence every day. Look at the policeman's billy and handcuffs! Look at the jail! Look at the gallows! Look at the chaplain of the regiment! We are hoping only to live safely on the outskirts of this provisional army. So they defend themselves and our hen-roosts, and maintain slavery.

There sits a tyrant holding fettered four millions of slaves. Here comes their heroic liberator; if he falls, will he not still live?

C. says that he saw a loon at Walden the 15th.

P. M. – To Lee's Cliff.

The tupelo berries have all fallen; how long? Alternate cornel about bare. Hardhack half bare. Many witch-hazel nuts are not yet open. The bushes just bare. The slippery elm is nearly bare, like the common near it. Cedar berries, how long? 14th at least; probably by the time they lost their leaves. There is one sizable tree west by north of Lee's Cliff, near the wall. *Lycopodium dendroideum* (not variety) is just shedding pollen near this cedar. I see asparagus in the woods there near the cedar, four or five feet high!

Find the seedling *archangelica* grown about two feet high and still quite green and growing, though the full-grown plants are long since dead, root and stalk. This suggests that no doubt much of the radical spring greenness is of this character, – seedlings of biennials, and perhaps more of them a persistent or late growth from a perennial root, as crowfoot, whiteweed, five-finger, etc. The scent of the *archangelica* root is not agreeable to me. The scent of my fingers after having handled it reminds me strongly of the musquash and woodchuck, though the root itself does not; so its odor must be allied to theirs.

I find at Lee's Cliff, on the shelves and sides of the rocks, a new fern, apparently *Cystopteris fragilis*, more than half decayed or withered, though some fresher and shorter fronds at the base of the others are still quite green. It curls up so in my hat that I have difficulty in examining it. It is abundant thereabouts.

Paddling up the river the other day, those (probably canoe) birches on Mt. Misery on the edge of the hill a mile in, front looked like little dark clouds, for [I] could not distinguish their white trunks against the sky.

Though the dark-blue, or ripe, creeping juniper berries are chiefly on the lower part of the branches, I see fresh green ones on old wood as big as a pipe-stem and often directly opposite to purple ones (!). They are strangely mixed up. I am not sure but some of this year's berries are already ripe. See a black and rusty hedgehog (?) caterpillar in the path.

The remarks of my neighbors upon Brown's death and supposed fate, with very few exceptions, are, "He is undoubtedly insane," "Died as the fool dieth," "Served him right;" and so they proceed to live their sane, and wise, and altogether admirable lives, reading their Plutarch a little, but chiefly pausing at that feat of Putnam, who was let down into a wolf's den (that is quite the strongest pap that Young America is fed on); and so they nourish themselves for brave and patriotic deeds.

What is the character of that calm which follows when the law and the slaveholder prevail?

A government that pretends to be Christian and crucifies a million Christs every day!

Our foes are in our midst and all about us. Hardly a house but is divided against itself. For our foe is the all but universal woodenness (both of head and heart), the want of vitality, of man, –the effect of vice, –whence are begotten fear and superstition and bigotry and persecution and slavery of all kinds. Mere figure-heads upon a hulk, with livers in the place of hearts. A church that can never have done with excommunicating Christ while it exists. Our plains were overrun the other day with a flock of adjutant-generals, as if a brood of cockerels had been let loose there, waiting to use their spurs in what sort of glorious cause, I ask. What more probable in the future, what more certain heretofore, than in grinding in the dust four hundred thousands of feeble and timid men, women, and children? The United States exclaims: "Here are four millions of human creatures which we have stolen. We have abolished among them the relations of father, mother, children, wife, and we mean to keep them in this condition. Will you, O Massachusetts, help us to do so?" And Massachusetts promptly answers, "Aye!"

The cause is the worship of idols, which at length changes the worshipper into a stone image himself.

Every man worships his ideal of power and goodness, or God, and the New-Englander is just as much an idolater as the Hindoo.

The momentary charge at Balaclava, in obedience to a blundering command, –proving what a perfect machine the soldier is– has been celebrated by a poet laureate; but the steady and for the most part successful charge



against the legions of Slavery kept up for some years in Kansas by John Brown in obedience to an infinitely higher command is unsung, –as much more memorable than that as an intelligent and conscientious man is superior to a machine.

The brutish, thick-skinned herd, who do not know a man by sympathy, make haste home from their ballot-boxes and churches to their Castles of Indolence, perchance to cherish their valor there with some nursery talk of knights and dragons. A whole nation will for ages cling to the memory of its Arthur, or other imaginary hero, who perhaps never assailed its peculiar institution or sin, and, being imaginary, never failed, when they are themselves the very freebooters and craven knights whom he routed, while they forget their real heroes.

The publishers and the various boards of wooden-heads can afford to reprint that story of Putnam's. You might open the district schools with the reading of it, because there is nothing about slavery or the church in it; unless it occurs to the reader that the pastors are wolves in sheep's clothing.

I have seen no hearty approbation for this man in any Abolition journal; as if it were not consistent with their policy to express it, or maybe they did not feel it. And as for the herd of newspapers, I do not chance to know one in the country that will deliberately print anything that will ultimately and permanently reduce the number of its subscribers. They do not believe it would be expedient. If we do not say pleasant things, they argue, nobody will attend to us. And so they are like some auctioneers, who sing an obscene song in order to draw a crowd around them.

Another neighbor asks, Yankee-like, "What will he gain by it?" as if he expected to fill his pockets by this enterprise. They have no idea of gain but in this worldly sense. If it does not lead to a surprise party, if he does not get a new pair of boots and a vote of thanks, it must be a failure. Such do not know that like the seed is the fruit, and that, in the moral world, when good seed is planted, good fruit is inevitable and does not depend on our watering and cultivating; that when you plant, or bury, a hero in this field, a crop of heroes is sure to spring up. This is a seed of such force and vitality that it does not ask our leave to germinate.

Some eighteen hundred years ago Christ was crucified; this morning, perhaps, John Brown was hung. These are the two ends of a chain which I rejoice to know is not without its links.

The Republican editors, obliged to get their sentences ready for the morning edition, –and their dinner ready before afternoon, –speak of these men, not in a tone of admiration for their disinterestedness and heroism, not of sorrow even for their fate, but calling them "deluded fanatics," "mistaken men," "insane," or "crazed." Did it ever occur to you what a sane set of editors we are blessed with? –not "mistaken men;" who know very well on which side their bread is buttered!

The noble Republican Party is in haste to exculpate itself from all sympathy with these "misguided men." Even the very men who would rejoice if he had succeeded, though in spite of all odds, are estranged from and deny him because he failed. A "dangerous man"! All the worthies and martyrs were such dangerous men. We wish that these editors and ministers were a little more dangerous.

It is mentioned against him and as an evidence of his insanity, "a conscientious man, very modest in his demeanor, that he was apparently inoffensive, until the subject of slavery was introduced, when he would exhibit a feeling of indignation unparalleled." (Boston Journal, October 21, 1859. [Boston Daily Journal, reprinting from the New-York Herald])

If Christ should appear on earth he would on all hands be denounced as a mistaken, misguided man, insane and crazed.

The Liberator calls it "a misguided, wild, and apparently insane ... effort."

"The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," which have just met in Philadelphia, did not dare as a body to protest even against the foreign slave-trade, which even many domestic slave-traders are ready to do. And I hear of Northern men, women, and children by families buying a life-membership in this society. A life-membership in the grave! You can get buried cheaper than that.

He was a superior man. He did not value his bodily life in comparison with ideal things; he did not recognize unjust human laws, but resisted them, as he was bid; and now he is called insane by all who cannot appreciate such magnanimity. He needed no babbling lawyer, making false issues, to defend him. He was more than a match for all judges that American voters, or office-holders of whatever grade, can create. He could not have been tried by a jury of his peers, because his peers did not exist.

When a man stands up serenely against the condemnation and vengeance of mankind, rising above them literally by a whole body, –though he were a slave, though he were a freeman, though he were of late the vilest murderer, who has settled that matter with himself, –the spectacle is a sublime one! –didn't ye know it, ye Garrisons, ye Buchanans, ye politicians, attorney-generals? –and we become criminal in comparison. Do yourselves the honor to recognize him. He needs none of your respect. What though he did not belong to your clique!

I do not believe in erecting statues to those who still live in our minds and hearts, whose bones have not yet crumbled in the earth around us, but I would rather see the statue of John Brown in the Massachusetts State-House yard than that of any other man whom I know.

What a contrast, when we turn to that political party which is so anxiously shaking its skirts clean of him and

his friends and looking round for some available slaveholder to be its candidate!
The evil is not merely a stagnation of blood, but a stagnation of spirit. Of course, the mass of men, even the well-disposed but sluggish souls who are ready to abet when their conscience or sympathies are reached, cannot conceive of a man who is actuated by higher motives than they are. Accordingly they pronounce him insane, for they know that they would never act as he does as long as they are themselves.
This most hypocritical and diabolical government looks up from its seat upon four millions of gasping slaves and inquires with an assumption of innocence, "What do you assault me for? Am I not an honest man?" "Ah, sir, but your seat –your footstool –my father and mother –get off! –get off!" But there sits the incubus with all his weight, and stretching ever more and more, and for all reply answers, "Why won't you cease agitation upon this subject?"
The only government that I recognize is that power that establishes justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice. Suppose that there is a private company in Massachusetts that out of its own purse and magnanimity saves all the fugitive slaves that run to us, and protects our colored fellow-citizens, and leaves the other work to the government, so called. Is not that government fast losing its occupation and becoming contemptible to mankind? If private men are obliged to perform the offices of government, to protect the weak and dispense justice, then the government becomes only a hired man, or clerk, to perform menial or indifferent services. Of course, that is but the shadow of a government, whose existence necessitates a Vigilance Committee. But such is the character of our Northern States generally; each has its Vigilance Committee. And, to a certain extent, these crazy governments recognize and accept this relation. They say, virtually, "We'll be glad to work for you on these terms, only don't make a noise about it." Such a government is losing its power and respectability as surely as water runs out of a leaky vessel and is held by one that can contain it.



"If **Christ** should appear on earth he would on all hands be denounced as a mistaken, misguided man, insane and crazed."



-Thoreau, October 19, 1859

JOURNAL :

Here comes Jesus again

mistaken, misguided

insane and crazed

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

October 30, Sunday: The trial of John Brown concluded, with a finding of guilt. The separate trials of the others indicted, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., [Edwin Coppoc](#), Shields Green, and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), would begin, and would come to their conclusions, shortly.



Green

Copeland

Haslitt

Henry Thoreau notified [Concord](#) town officials that he would speak that evening on “The character of John Brown, now in the clutches of the slaveholder.”



That evening, Henry Thoreau delivered “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” in the vestry of the First Parish Meetinghouse in Concord. Emerson was present, and would report to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston that “He read it with great force & effect, & though the audience was of widely different parties, it was heard without a murmur of dissent.” In regard to Thoreau’s impassioned oration, this is what I have to offer. Take it for granite, Thoreau always knows what he is saying. Speaking not only of John Brown’s sharp tongue

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but also of his carbine bought and paid for, one of the things Henry said on the evening of October 30, 1859 was



The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.



This is now on page 133 of REFORM PAPERS. **But what I need to get you to understand is that it means exactly what it means, not what you maybe thought it would mean were it you who had said it.** The thing I need you to notice is that Thoreau's remark is an implicit reference to [Miguel de Cervantes's](#)

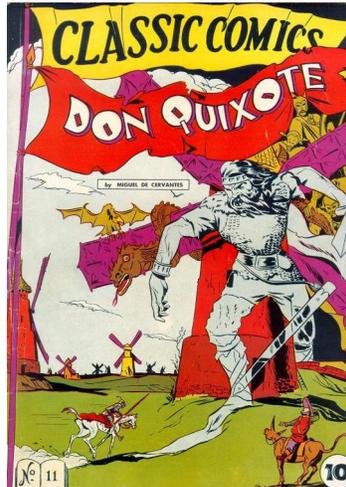


*En manos eftâ el pandero que le fabra bien tañer,
respondio Sancho Pança.*



This is an aphorism from Part II, Chapter 22 of *EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA*. In current Spanish: *En manos está el pandero que le sabrán bien tañer*, or “In hands is the drum that it they know well to beat” or, rather, “The drum is in the hands of one who well knows how to thump it.” Thus Thoreau's remark about the *rat-a-tat-tat* of Brown's sharp tongue and Christian carbine is also an

implicit reference to the most-quoted passage in WALDEN by far, the passage in which an obscure metaphor is drawn apparently on the basis of the drummer-boy *rat-a-tat-tatting* away on [Concord](#) common during the annual militia training!



What is happening in that passage of Cervantes’s book is that Sancho Panza was lowering Don Quijote into the Montecinos cave by a rope. And he was using this old Spanish proverb to say don’t worry, I know how to handle this rope, I won’t let you fall. He was practicality incarnate, all means and no end, while Don Quijote was impracticality ensouled, on his way to make his central attempt to define the relationship between reality and illusion, all end and no means.

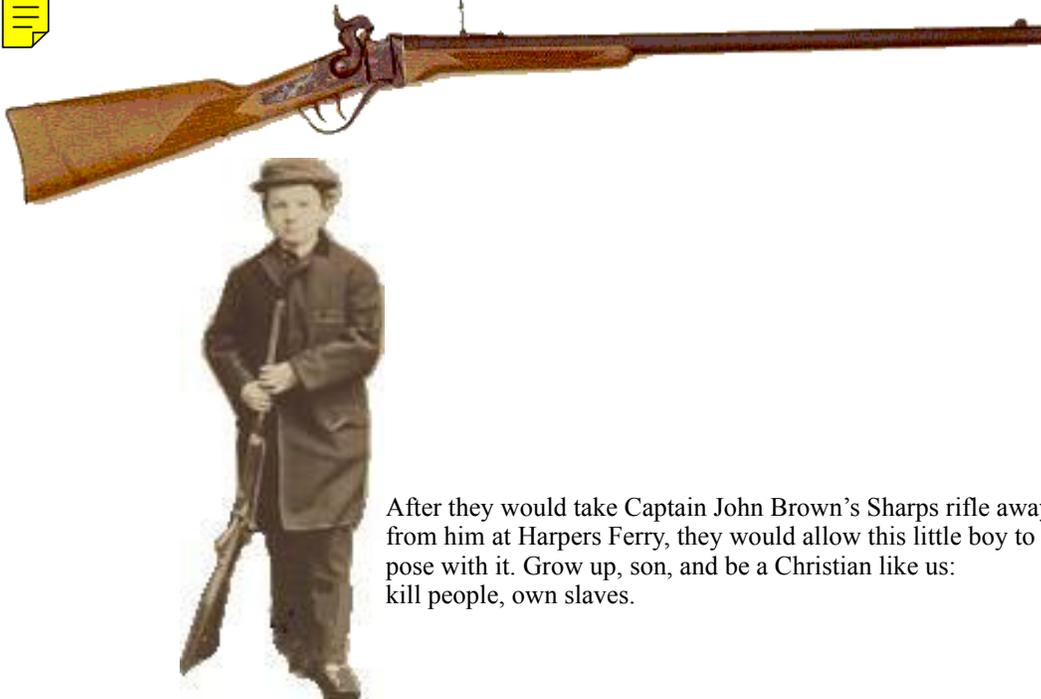
We may well ask ourselves in what way a reference to Don Quijote might be seen as appropriate in this context of Thoreau’s defense of Brown. I can think of several right off.

1st, many scholars would insist to us that a study of the work of Cervantes is central to any consideration of the manner in which our representations of the world can, and cannot, modify the contexts in which our lives are embedded. That Sharps rifle was supposed to be the lever by which Brown was rearranging reality, but in actuality in that world of men at arms such a stick was of influence primarily as a symbol, while Brown’s primary lever for rearranging the reality of American race relations was –as Thoreau was emphasizing– his sharp tongue. Holding that Sharps rifle in his hand only served to draw attention to that tongue of his, attention that his sharp tongue deserved. We can say Thoreau’s problem essentially was, in the case of Brown, that he had decided he could not be satisfied with reality. Refusing to repeat the gestures that custom, tradition, and

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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instinct make so easy, Thoreau was insisting on the coming into being of our myth of equality and fraternity.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

2d, Don Quijote was *un hombre exageradamente grave y serio o puntilloso*, and this is a fine and accurate description not only of Concord's own knight of the woebegone countenance, Bronson Alcott, but also of John Brown. If Alcott could be said to have been a Quijote whose favorite reading was the New Testament, Brown was a Quijote whose favorite reading was the Old. Don Quijote said

These saints and knights were of the same profession as myself, which is the calling of arms. Only there is this difference between them and me, that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones.

3d, there is the problem of the ridiculous mismatch of means and objectives about which Brown commented in his note on the morning of his [hanging](#). Brown wanted a world of justice and peace and dignity so he set about enthusiastically to kill us until we got his idea, which is a fine way to get someone's attention but is inherently self-defeating.

4th, in associating Brown with Don Quijote, Henry Thoreau was making an implicit reference to the freeing of slaves as a knightly suspension of the ethical — for Don Quijote's pity, compassion, and love came to outweigh the rigor of justice in that knight's liberating of the galley slaves, and in the declaration he made to the guards of the slaves, and in his comments to Sancho and the priest. He said

It is not right that honorable men should be executioners of others.



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Finally, this “tool” aphorism extracted from the episode in which Don Quijote descended on a rope into the cave of Montecinos is central to the story’s process of *sanchificación* of the knight’s spirituality and *quijotización* of the squire’s carnality. By virtue of their shared adventures, the righteously indignant northern white American and the desperately indignant southern white American needed to figure out a way to rid themselves of a society based on shackles: they needed to sanchify and quijotize each other. That’d be preferred to our northern Quijotes and southern Panzas using their efficient tools to kill each other standing in rows, which was otherwise the obvious prospect. When Don Quijote emerged from the cave of Montecinos he said to Sancho Panza

Everything that offers some difficulty seems impossible to you.

But he added

Time will pass.

In this writing I will not only attempt to salvage Thoreau’s talk about Christian carbines and sharp tongues by linking it (via its implicit referent in Cervantes’s *rub-a-dub-dub* text about the foolishness of desperate acts of chivalry) to its implicit referent in Thoreau’s *rat-a-tat-tat* text about the foolishness of a life of quiet desperation.

I will also demonstrate that this sound metaphor of Thoreau’s –the distant different drummer– is, itself, an implicit reference to a [Quaker](#) non-violent metaphor of the inner light in common usage among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), particularly those of the liberal faction including Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his student Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), and that such a metaphor cannot be bent –as it is commonly now bent by the unspirited– to sponsor the path of violence. Thoreau left himself an escape hatch and, in his appeal for sympathy for Captain Brown after that man’s desperate attempt to set free the despairing slaves of America, neither explicitly nor implicitly sanctioned any of John Brown’s violent means. I would maintain that Thoreau’s deportment and his words subsequent to the ill-advised Harpers Ferry raid in 1859 were precisely

parallel to Friend Lucretia's deportment and her words after the ill-advised "Christiana Riot" in 1851.



Thoreau said in public, in regard to American slavery, that he did not wish to kill nor to be killed, but could foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by him unavoidable (REFORM PAPERS 133). Playing to his audience, our author elided the vast difference between killing and dying precisely as Richardson elided Charles Baudelaire. It was only in Thoreau's private notes during his lifetime—to his Journal that is, and although as he says there was no lock on the door of his cabin there was in fact a lock on the desk in which he kept his Journal—that he was able to say plainly that **when he said “both these things” he meant precisely “both these things,”** not one and, if he turned out to be a lucky and competent killer, not the other, that if it came to the sacrificing of others to his own principles, this would necessarily involve his own simultaneous self-sacrifice for his principles, that he meant he might decide to not be alive rather than continue to be alive in a world that also included slavery.²³⁷ Now, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard pointed out in a writing

237. There is a phrase “noble army of Martyrs” in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER that came into use in 1549 that may explain Henry Thoreau's remark about becoming willing to kill, or to die, to end enslavement. The phrase may have come into the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER from the *TE DEUM*, quite a bit older.

that, although it dates to the same year of 1859, was unavailable to Henry Thoreau,²³⁸ that



Assuming then that a person is the victim of an illusion, and that in order to communicate the truth to him the first task, rightly understood, is to remove the illusion – if I do not begin by deceiving him, I must begin with direct communication. But direct communication presupposes that the receiver’s ability to receive is undisturbed. But here such is not the case; an illusion stands in the way. That is to say, one must first of all use the caustic fluid. But this caustic means is negativity, and negativity understood in relation to the communication of the truth is precisely the same as deception. What then does it mean “to deceive”? It means that one does not begin **directly** with the matter one wants to communicate, but begins by accepting the other man’s illusion as good money.



I am not saying Thoreau was wrong to elide in this way in that place at that time, for he was doing his level best to communicate with a bunch of people who were getting ready to line up and shoot each other down in windrows, and also I was not there and also I have great respect for his judgment, but I am saying that if there was a time for this sort of elision, it is now past. If not then, at least now, we should face the issue squarely. But unfortunately, as I said, the issue is not being faced squarely. For instance, on the night of July 10th in the Center Galleria of Worcester, an actor employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, David Barto, sponsored in part by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, re-enacted Thoreau’s lecture “A Plea for Capt. John Brown.” Worcester’s Mechanics Hall where the lecture was originally delivered was under restoration, but every effort was made for verisimilitude and Barto was able to lean on the wooden lectern that Thoreau had used on November 3, 1859 at Mechanics Hall. My impression is that Barto makes a Thoreau who is entirely too belligerent, for instance humorously threatening to beat children with his walking stick should they ask questions at the wrong times, humorously inviting one fellow to join him outside for a fight after the talk should he fail to follow Thoreau’s rules, etc. Therefore, in the question and answer period,

238. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. THE POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR. NY: Harper & Row, 1962, pages 25-6.

I raised my hand and posed the following question to Barto in his rôle as Henry Thoreau:

I have heard you, and am troubled, troubled by what would seem to be a studied ambiguity on an issue of the greatest relevance. Tell me, in the dark of the night when you could not sleep, and you scratched these lines frantically across scraps of paper with your pencil - can you recollect that frame of mind?- what was your intention? If it came to kill or be killed, for those are two very different things, if it came to the taking of the life of another for liberty, or giving your own for liberty -for these are two very different things- if it came to continuing your life but as a murderer- if it came to the point of doing evil so that good will come- what, sir, was your secret intention as you scratched out your draft of this speech? Is it your intention to teach us, by your life, how and when to **die** or how and when to **kill**?

In response Barto feigned anger and told me I had no right to inquire as to his private musings. He was unable or unwilling to address the question as posed. Need I mention that this might have got him in trouble with his employer, an agency which also employs a number of armed men in blue and a number of armed men in green, and instructs these armed employees in the fine art of when and how to kill in the name of their employer?

“A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN”

This topic of elision is an interesting topic for those of us who find this sort of topic interesting. While Henry Thoreau was delivering his “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” at the Concord Town Hall, the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher was delivering a sermon in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Later on he would revise this sermon for publication, so we can credit it with some seriousness of preparation, and yet in the sermon he was portraying the raid on Harpers Ferry as having been perpetrated by 17 white men who had gone South without any black sponsorship or involvement and, in their whiteness, had created a race panic: “Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress.”

A black newspaper would need to comment upon this elision, as of course it had been the noticing of men of mixed race among the members of that invading party which had set off the pronounced race panic: “Mr. Beecher must have read the papers, must have read that there were twenty-two invaders, seventeen white and five black. Why does he omit all mention of the latter? Were they not men?”²³⁹

November 1, Tuesday: John Brown wrote from his cell to a [Quaker](#):

*“You know that Christ once armed Peter,
so also in my case I think he put a sword in my hand.”*



← It had been George Washington's sword that he had had in his hand.

239. It is very clear from several other things that the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher had written, that had he been forced to respond to this “Were they not men?” rhetorical question, he would easily have responded that indeed they were men — inasmuch as they were all of mixed race rather than being in that “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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Henry Thoreau wrote to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston to make arrangements: “I will come to Boston as desired. My subject will be ‘Capt. John Brown’....” He delivered “A Plea for Captain John Brown” that evening to a crowd of 2,500 at the Boston Music Hall, and the lecture would be widely reported in the newspapers.

The following is a description of the site of the lecture from a guide book published in 1856, starting on page



47:

This spacious edifice stands opposite the Tremont House, Tremont Street. Of a rich and warm brown tint, produced by a coating of mastic, it presents a peculiarly substantial and elegant frontage. It is seventy-five feet in height, and, with the exception of ten feet by sixty-eight which is left open on the north side for light, the building covers an area of thirteen thousand feet.

Passing through the great central doorway, we find ourselves in the spacious entrance hall. On the first floor we observe on our right and left hand two ticket offices, and a broad flight of stairs also on either hand, each of which at their summit terminates in a landing, from whence to right and left diverge two flights of similar staircases, one landing you in the centre of the main hall, and the other to the rear part and the gallery.

The MAIN HALL is a magnificent apartment. The utter absence of gilding and coloring on its walls renders it far more imposing and grand in appearance than if it had been elaborately ornamented with auriferous and chromatic splendors. It is one hundred and twenty-four feet long, seventy-two feet wide, and fifty feet high. Around the sides of it runs a gallery supported on trusses, so that no pillars intervene between the spectators and the platform, to obstruct the view. The front of this gallery is balustraded, and by this means a very neat and uniform effect is secured. The side galleries project over the seats below about seven feet. They are fitted with rows of nicely-cushioned and comfortable seats, and are not so high as to render the ascent to them wearisome in the least degree. The front gallery, though it projects into the hall only ten feet, extends back far enough to give it more than three times that depth.

Directly opposite this gallery is the platform, with its gracefully-panelled, semicircular front. This platform, covered with a neat oil cloth, communicates with the side galleries by a few steps, for-the convenience of large choirs. There are also several avenues of communication from the platform to the apartments, dressing rooms, &c., behind, which are exceedingly convenient, and are far superior to the places of exit and entrance from and to any other place of the kind that we have ever seen.

From the front of the platform the floor of the hall gradually rises so as to afford every person in the hall a full and unobstructed view of the speakers or vocalists, as the case may be. The seats in the galleries rise in like manner. The seats on the hall floor are admirably arranged in a semicircular form from the front of the platform, so that every face is directed towards the speaker or singer. They are each one numbered, have iron ends, are capped with mahogany, and are completely



cushioned with a drab-colored material. Each slip is capable of containing ten or twelve persons, with an aisle at each extremity, and open from end to end.

The side walls of the hall are very beautifully ornamented in panels, arched and decorated with circular ornaments, which would be difficult properly to describe without the aid of accompanying drawings; but as views of the interior of the Temple will soon be common enough, the omission here will be of little consequence. As was intimated, there is no fancy coloring; it is a decorated and relieved surface of dead white, and the effect, lighted as it is from above by large panes of rough plate glass, is beautifully chaste. The only color observable in the hall is the purple screen behind the diamond open work at the back of the platform, and which forms a screen in front of the organ.

The ceiling is very finely designed in squares, at all intersections of which are twenty-eight gas burners, with strong reflectors, and a chandelier over the orchestra, shedding a mellow but ample light over the hall. By this arrangement the air heated by innumerable jets of gas is got rid of, and the lights themselves act as most, efficient ventilators. The eyes are likewise protected from glare; and should an escape of gas take place, from its levity it passes up through shafts to the outside, and does not contaminate the atmosphere below. Under the galleries are common burners. There are for day illumination twelve immense plates of glass, ten feet long, four feet wide, placed in the ceiling, in the spring of the arch, and open directly to the outer light, and by sixteen smaller ones under the galleries.

The whole of the flooring of the hall, in the galleries, the body of it, and of the platform, consists of two layers of boards, with the interstices between them filled by a thick bed of mortar. The advantages of this in an acoustical point of view must be obvious to all. Another advantage is, that the applause made by the audience in this great hall does not disturb the people who may at the same time be holding a meeting in the other hall below -- a very important consideration.

There are eight flights of stairs leading from the floors of the main hall, and four from the galleries, the aggregate width of which is over fifty feet.

The Boston Young Men's Christian Association occupy several beautiful rooms up one flight of stairs, which are admirably adapted for their present uses and occupants, and are rented by the Association for twelve hundred dollars per annum, though it is estimated that they are worth at least fifteen hundred dollars; but the Temple is owned by a church who were very desirous that a religious association should occupy them.

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The great organ, built by the Messrs. Hook, is one of the finest instruments ever constructed in this country. Its bellows is worked by steam.

The Tremont Temple, besides the great hall, contains a lesser one, called THE MEIONAON, the main entrance to which is through the northerly passage way, opposite the doors of the Tremont House; this avenue is about seven feet wide. The southerly passage way serves as an outlet from this lesser temple.

Perhaps the reader, who may not have been initiated into the mysteries of Greek literature, may thank us a definition of this strange-looking word, "Meionaon." It is so called from two Greek words — meion, signifying *less, smaller*, and naon, *temple* — Lesser Temple. It is pronounced Mi-o-na-on. This lesser temple is situated back from the street, and directly under the great hall. It is seventy-two feet long by fifty-two feet wide, and about twenty-five and a half feet high. Not so elaborately adorned as its neighbor overhead, this hall is remarkably chastely and beautifully fitted up, and within its walls the religious society of Tremont Street Baptist Church worship. Its walls are relieved by pilasters supporting arches. The seats are similarly arranged to those in the hall above and are equally comfortable and commodious in all respects. At one end is a platform, on which, on Sabbath days, stands a beautiful little pulpit, of dark walnut, and cushioned with crimson velvet. At the other extremity of the hall is a gallery for a choir; back of it stands a neat little organ. The place is beautifully adapted for sound, and competent judges say from their own experience that it is a remarkably easy place to speak in. From the hall to the outer door the way is through a broad passage way covered with Manilla matting let into the floor, so that little dirt can be brought in from the street; and as the doors swing on noiseless hinges, no interruption from scuffling of feet or slammings can ever occur.

THE CUPOLA.—In making our way thither we travel over the ceiling of the great hall, dropping our heads as we pass beneath roof and rafter, to save our hat and skull, and beholding beneath our feet a great network of gas-piping connected with the burners of the hall under us. In long rows are square ventilators, which discharge their streams of vitiated air on the outside.

The cupola forms a spacious observatory, glazed all round, and from every window is obtained a charming view, the whole forming one of the most superb panoramas that we ever witnessed. From this elevated spot may be seen the adjacent villages and towns, the harbor and its islands, the city institutions, churches, houses, and shipping. In short, the whole

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While the speeches were going on, after losing two of her sons –their mutilated bodies unceremoniously dumped into an unmarked pit at midnight by the US Army– Mary Ann Day Brown was still waiting at “Roadside” in Cheltenham Hills outside Philadelphia, the home of Friends [Lucretia](#) and [James Mott](#), to lose her



husband as well.



The Staunton [Spectator](#) contained a report from Chambersburg PA, detailing the capture of John E. Cook and providing a biographical sketch. Their West Augusta Guard would be called up to keep the peace during the



trials at Charles Town.



We find a note in Bronson Alcott’s journal about Thoreau reading this lecture on John Brown at the Boston Music Hall on this evening — and again in Worcester on Monday, November 3rd. In addition, the Boston Journal included a notice that, the scheduled speaker, Frederick Douglass, being unable to attend, it would be Thoreau who would deliver the fifth lecture, on John Brown, in the Fraternity Lectures series.

[THERE ARE NO ENTRIES IN THOREAU’S JOURNAL FOR 1-4 NOVEMBER]

December 7: The Quakers of Springdale IA, aware at this point of what John Brown and his men had done after they had drilled and prepared and planned in their midst, and horrified, made haste to restate their testimony for peace. Their Monthly Meeting appointed “a large and representative committee” including Friends Joel Bean, Henry Rowntree, Israel Negus, Laurie Tatum, James Schooley, and Samuel Macy to respond to “an impression abroad that the Friends in this neighborhood have improperly encouraged a war spirit”:

We have endeavored to consider the subject confided to us in all its bearings and are united in the conclusion, that any publication (in the way of defense) on the part of the [Monthly Meeting] is unnecessary.... We believe our principals [*sic*] of peace were never dearer to most of our members than now.



The United Sons of Freedom, to Governor Henry A. Wise:

St. Louis Dec. 7th 1859

To His Excelency

Gov[ernor]. H.A. Wise

Dear Sir

At a meeting of the United Sons of Freedom of St. Louis, helled at their meeting room, on the 7th Dec. it was unanimously resolved that we present you with a leather medal for the energetic manner in which you have discharged your duty, as Gov[ernor]. of the State of Virginia in the late Harper's Ferry difficulty; and rest assured that we appreciate you very much for your bravery in haveing two thousand brave sons of Virginia present at the execution of the Hero of the North, and the lover of our motto, Give us liberty or give us death

We feel proud to think that the lover of our motto died so noble and we shall always treasure his memory as long one of our greatest men, who loved his country better than life

Oh! you are a noble representative of the State of Virginia. Just think you would not permit a lady to accompany Mrs. Brown to her last interview with her husband, but we trust that his spirit has arrived at that haven from whose bounds no traveler returns, when the wicked cease from trouble and the wary are at rest

We subscribe your humble servants

William Lewis, President

J.P. Cutler, Sec[retary]

Here is how Peter Wallenstein has parsed the continuing tense situation on the floor of the House of Representatives in his article "Incendiaries All".²⁴⁰

[Representative Albert Iverson continued] to link John Brown, Hinton Rowan Helper, and [Congressman] John Sherman [of Ohio]. "When you say that you do not sympathize with Brown and his acts, when you say that you do not intend to interfere with slavery in the southern States, when you say that you intend to observe the constitutional rights of the southern people, you, at the same time, go to the polls banding together in political organizations, and elevate to political power the very men who inculcate these treasonable sentiments. Then, what are all your disclaimers worth?" Warming to his theme, the senator from Georgia raised the stakes. "And yet the Republican Party proposes to elevate to a high office a man who has ... attempted to circulate a pamphlet containing the most treasonable and the most insurrectionary sentiments, ... exciting insurrection and advising our slaves to fire our dwellings and put their knives to our throats." For such a crime, Iverson noted, Brown had already been hanged, and anyone who endorsed Hinton Helper's book should be hanged as well.



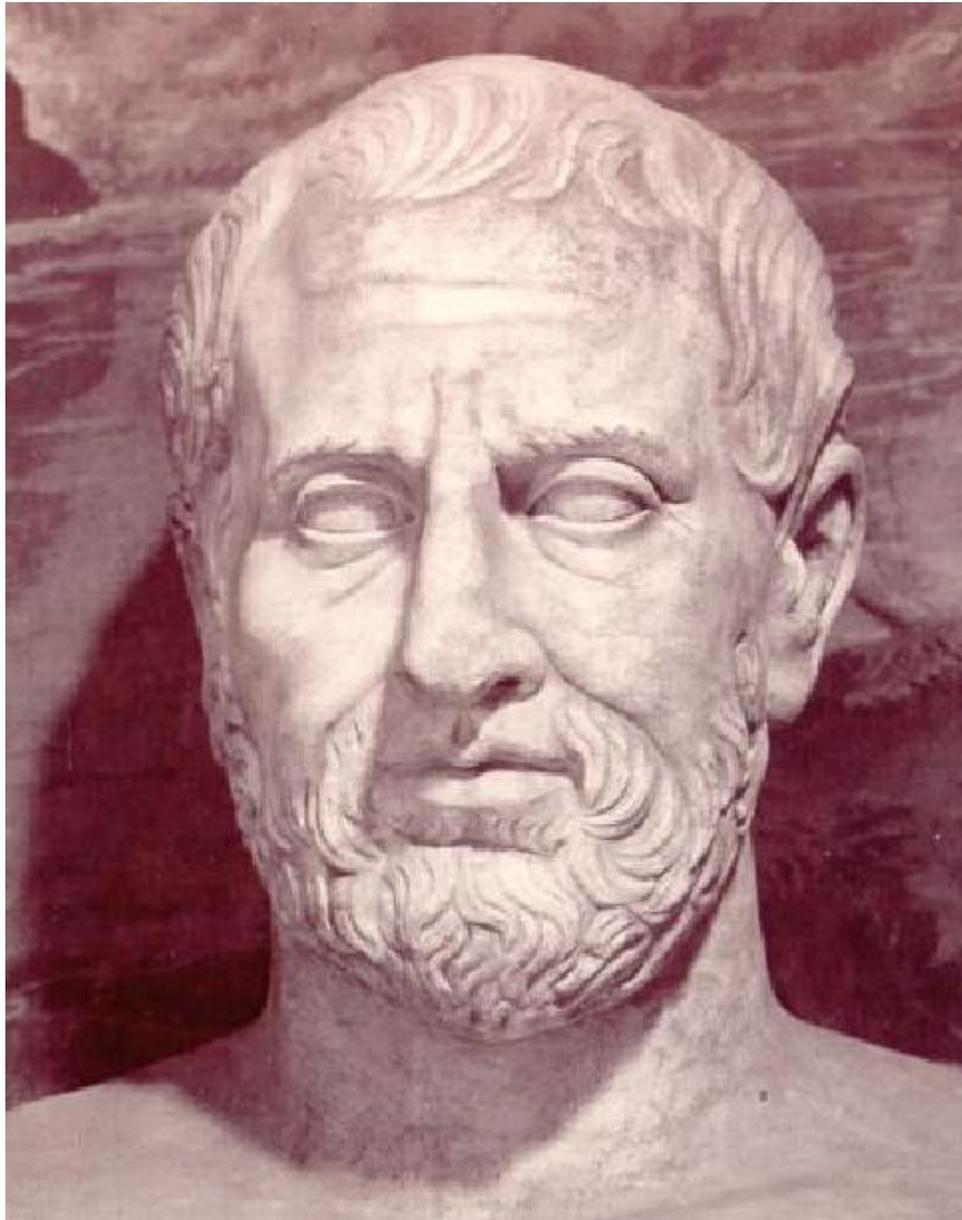
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR 7 DECEMBER]

240. This interesting book *THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH: HOW TO MEET IT* has been republished in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1968. For more on this guy and his not-all-that-novel conceit that the black victims by their very presence were victimizing the nice white folks who were victimizing them (identical in every respect to the later [Nazi](#) attitude of outrage in regard to the German Jews they were so systematically persecuting), see Bailey, Hugh C. *HINTON ROWAN HELPER: ABOLITIONIST-RACIST* (University of Alabama: 1965).

December 16, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 2d volume of a 5-volume set prepared 1818-1821 (*THEOPHRASTI ERESII QUAE SUPERSUNT OPERA: ET EXCERPTA LIBRORUM* by [Theophrastus of Eresus](#) (circa 372-circa 287BCE), JOHANN GOTTLLOB SCHNEIDER, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH LINK. Lipsiae: Sumtibus Frid. Christ. Guil. Vogelii) of ΤΗΟΠΗΡΑΣΤΥΣ ΕΡΕΣΙΟΝ ΤΑ ΣΟΟΛΟΜΕΝΑ.



THEOPHRASTUS

He also checked out the two volumes of [Aristotle](#)'s *HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX D'ARISTOTE* in Greek and in the

French translation by M. Camus (Paris: Chez la veuve Desaint, 1783).



HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX I
HISTOIRE DES ANIMAUX II

While at the [Harvard Library](#), [Thoreau](#) read from but did not check out [John Gerard's](#) 1597 [botanical](#) resource, THE HERBALL OR GENERAL HISTORIE OF PLANTES:

GREAT HERBALL OF 1597



INTERNET COMMENTARY



December 16, 1859: A.M.—To Cambridge, where I read in [Gerard's](#) Herbal. [Vide extracts from preface made in October 1859.] His admirable though quaint descriptions are, to my mind, greatly superior to the modern more scientific ones. He describes not according to rule but to his natural delight in the plants. He brings them vividly before you, as one who has seen and delighted in them. It is almost as good as to see the plants themselves. It suggests that we cannot too often get rid of the barren assumption that is in our science. His leaves are leaves; his flowers, flowers; his fruit, fruit. They are green and colored and fragrant. It is a man's knowledge added to a child's delight. Modern botanical descriptions approach ever nearer to the dryness of an algebraic formula, as if $c + y$ were = to a love-letter. It is the keen joy and discrimination of the child who has just seen a flower for the first time and comes running in with it to its friends. How much better to describe your object in fresh English words rather than in these conventional Latinisms! He has really seen, and smelt, and tasted, and reports his sensations.

Bought a book at Little & Brown's, paying a nine-pence more on a volume than it was offered me for elsewhere. The customer thus pays for the more elegant style of the store.

BOTANY

The Select Committee on the Invasion of Harpers Ferry created by Democratic Senator James Mason of Virginia held its first meeting in regard to the John Brown affair and its Secret "Six" conspiracy. The committee would be in existence for six months before delivering its final report and would summon, in all, 32 witnesses.

[Edwin Coppoc](#) and John E. Cook were [hanged](#) in Charlestown, Virginia.²⁴¹ Edwin's body would be buried in Winona after a funeral attended by the entire town. Later his body would be reburied in Salem, Ohio.



(Edwin had written from the prison to his adoptive mother, of a nonresistant-abolitionist [Quaker](#) farm family, that he was

"sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun."

241. I have been advised that according to THE QUAKERS OF IOWA by Louis Thomas Jones, a scholarly work published under the auspices of the State Historical Iowa at Iowa City, Iowa in 1914 (I haven't myself actually seen this book), prior to their deaths the Coppoc brothers were disowned by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of Friends in the West Branch/Springdale area.

Edwin's brother [Barclay Coppoc](#) was still eluding capture.)

John E. Cook had made a full confession of his activities with the raiders and at the last moment had sought to save his neck by representing that he had been deceived through false promises, but this had not saved him, nor had the fact that his brother-in-law A.P. Willard was Governor of Indiana.

When it came the turn of John Anderson Copeland, Jr. to be [hanged](#), too short a drop was used. He strangled slowly.



Just before being taken from his cell to the execution field that morning, he had completed a last letter to his family:

*Charlestown Jail, Va.,
Dec. 16, '59
Dear Father, Mother, Brothers Henry, William and Freddy, and
Sisters Sarah and Mary:
The last Sabbath with me on earth has passed away. The last
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday that I shall ever see
on this earth have now passed by God's glorious sun, which he
has placed in the heavens to illuminate this earth- whose
refulgent beams are watched for by this poor invalid, to enter
& make as it were in heaven of the room in which he is confined-
I have seen declining behind the western mountains for the last
time. Last night for the last time, I beheld the soft bright
moon as it rose, casting its mellow light into my felons cell,
dissipating the darkness and filling it with that soft pleasant
light which causes such thrills of joy to all those in like
circumstance with myself. This morning for the last time, I
beheld the glorious sun of yesterday rising in the far-off East,
away off in the country where our Lord Jesus Christ first
proclaimed salvation to man, and now as he rises higher and his
bright light takes the place of the pale, soft moonlight, I will
take my pen, for the last time, to write you who are bound to
me by those strong ties (yea, the strongest that God ever*



*instituted,) the ties of blood and relationship. I am well, both in body and in mind. And now, dear ones, if it were not that I know your hearts will be filled with sorrow at my fate, I could pass from this earth without a regret. Why should you sorrow? Why should your hearts be racked with grief? Have I not everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change? I fully believe that not only myself but also all three of my poor comrades who are to ascend the same scaffold- (a scaffold already made sacred to the cause of freedom, by the death of that great champion of human freedom, Capt. JOHN BROWN) are prepared to meet our God. I am only leaving a world filled with sorrow and woe to enter one in which there is but one lasting day of happiness and bliss. I feel that God in his mercy has spoken peace to my soul, and that all my numerous sins are now forgiven me. Dear parents, brothers and sisters, it is true that I am now in a few hours to start on a journey from which no traveler returns. Yes, long before this reaches you, I shall as I sincerely hope, have met our brother and sister who have for years been worshiping God around his throne - singing praises to him, and thanking him that he gave his Son to die that they might have eternal life. I pray daily and hourly that I may be fitted to have my home with them, and that you, one and all, may prepare your souls to meet your God, that so, in the end, though we meet no more on earth, we shall meet in Heaven, where we shall not be parted by the demands of the cruel and unjust monster Slavery. But think not that I am complaining, for I feel reconciled to meet my fate. I pray God that his will be done; not mine. Let me tell you that it is not the mere act of having to meet death, which I should regret, (if I should express regret I mean,) but that such an unjust institution should exist as the one which demands my life; and not my life only, but the lives of those to whom my life bears but the relative value of zero to the infinite. I beg of you one and all that you will not grieve about me, but that you will thank God that he spared me time to make my peace with Him. And now, dear ones, attach no blame to anyone for my coming here for not any person but myself is to blame. I have no antipathy against anyone, I have freed my mind of all hard feelings against every living being, and I ask all who have any thing against me to do the same. And now dear parents, Brothers and sisters, I must bid you to serve your God and meet me in heaven. I must with a few words, close my correspondence with those who are the most near and dear to me: but I hope, in the end, we may again commune, never to cease. Dear ones, he who writes this will, in a few hours, be in this world no longer. Yes, these fingers which hold the pen with which this is written will, before to-day's sun has reached his meridian have laid it aside forever, and this poor soul have taken its flight to meet its God. And now dear ones I must bid you that last, long, sad farewell. Good-day, Father, Mother, Henry, William, and Freddy, Sarah and Mary, serve your God and meet me in heaven.
Your Son and Brother to eternity,
John A. Copeland.*

Is it that [Aaron D. Stevens](#), and ten of Captain Brown’s black supporters, having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were [hanged](#) on this date?



Or is it that the other surrendered survivors of the raid on Harpers Ferry, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., Shields Green, and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), having been duly found guilty of treason and murder by a jury of their white male peers, were [hanged](#) on this date?²⁴²

A monument would be erected by the citizens of Oberlin, Ohio in honor of their three free citizens of color who had died in the raid or been [hanged](#), Shields Green, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., and Lewis Sheridan Leary (the 8-foot marble monument would be moved to Vine Street Park in 1971).

242. In *THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN: A TALE OF MARTYRDOM*, BY ELIJAH AVEY, EYE WITNESS, WITH THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS, dated 1906, we have on page 45 an assertion that the white men John E. Cook and [Edwin Coppoc](#), and then the black men John Anderson Copeland, Jr. and Shields Green, were [hanged](#) on December 16th, 1859. The reference says that, the gallows being not large enough, the two black men Copeland and Green were forced to stand and watch the two white men Cook and Coppoc being hanged before themselves ascending the scaffold. But I have from another reference this assertion that it was one surrendered surviving white man, [Aaron D. Stevens](#), who was hanged on the 16th along with ten black supporters of Captain John Brown, and that Cook actually would be among the last hanged. Which account would be correct — and why is there such a glaring discrepancy between the various accounts?

The book *SECRET SIX* treats each retreating admission of each of the co-conspirators in treason as if it were holy writ. No attempt is made to discern, behind this haze of post-facto explanations and justifications, what the brags of these participants might have been had their plot been successful in initiating the race war they contemplated and had this race war been completed, as it would certainly have been completed, by a historic genocide against black Americans. (Joel Silbey has contended, in “The Civil War Synthesis in American History,” that postbellum American historians have been misconstruing antebellum American politics by viewing them in conjunction with our knowledge of the bloodbath that followed. It is only after the fact that we can “know” that the US Civil War amounted to a sectional dispute, North versus South. We avoid learning that before the fact, it was undecided whether this conflict was going to shape up as a race conflict, a class conflict, or a sectional conflict. We avoid knowing that the raid on Harpers Ferry might have resulted in a race war, in which peoples of color would be exterminated in order to create an all-white America, or might have resulted in a class war, in which the laboring classes might have first destroyed the plantation owners’ equity by killing his slaves, and then gone on to purge the nation of the white plantation owners themselves, with their privileged-class endowments.) Also, according to the endmatter, the *SECRET SIX* study had obtained its material on Frederick Douglass basically from McFeely’s *FREDERICK DOUGLASS* of 1991, and its material on Henry Thoreau from Sanborn’s *HENRY DAVID THOREAU* of 1917, neither of which were the last word on the subject when the book was prepared. In addition, this work provides no reference whatever for the Emerson life: evidently he was simply presumed not to be of even marginal pertinence. There is no consideration to be found anywhere in this volume of the comparison event, the other American struggle for freedom, the one which had taken place in Haiti under General Toussaint Louverture. For these reasons, the study is, fundamentally, incompetent. It is as if O.J. Simpson and his dream team had been allowed to control what would appear in our social history texts. Or, as if the White House staff had been allowed to define once and for all the extent of President Richard Milhouse Nixon’s involvement in the Watergate break-in, with, after their initial defensive testimony, after their establishment of the official consensus “truth,” all explanations accepted at their putative face value — and no further questioning tolerated.



December 17: Oberlin College Professor James Monroe set off from Oberlin, Ohio to retrieve the corpse of John Anderson Copeland, Jr. from Virginia authorities.

Precious opportunity! [Lydia Maria Child](#) responded to the indignant letter she had received from the slaveholding wife of Senator James Mason:

Wayland, Mass., Dec. 17th, 1859.

Prolonged absence from home has prevented my answering your letter so soon as I intended. I have no disposition to retort upon you the "two-fold damnation" to which you consign me. On the Contrary, I sincerely wish you well, both in this world and the next. If the anathema proved a safety valve to your own boiling spirit, it did some good to you, while it fell harmless upon me. Fortunately for all of us, the Heavenly Father rules His universe by laws, which the passions or the prejudices of mortals have no power to change.

As for John Brown, his reputation may be safely trusted to the impartial pen of History; and his motives will be righteously judged by Him who knoweth the secrets of all hearts. Men, however great they may be, are of small consequence in comparison with principles; and the principle for which John Brown died is the question issue between us.

You refer me to the Bible, from which you quote the favorite text of slaveholders:—

"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward." — 1 PETER, 2:18.

Abolitionists also have favorite texts, to some of which I would call your attention:—

"Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them." — HEBREWS 13:3.

"Hide the outcasts. Betray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee. Be thou a convert to them from the face of the spoiler." — ISAIAH 16: 3, 4.

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not oppress him." — DEUTERONOMY 23: 15, 16.

"Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy." — PROVERBS 29: 8,9.

"Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins." — ISAIAH 58: 1.

I would especially commend to slaveholders the following portions of that volume, wherein you say God has revealed the duty of masters:—

"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." — COLOSSIANS 4:1.

"Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." — MATTHEW 23: 8, 10.

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." — MATTHEW 7: 12.

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" — ISAIAH 58: 6.

"They have given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink." — JOEL 3: 3.



“He that oppresseth the poor, reproacheth his Maker.” — PROVERBS 14: 31.

“Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted. For the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those who spoiled them.” — PROVERBS 22: 22, 23.

“Woe unto him that useth his neighbor’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.” — JEREMIAH 22: 13.

“Let him that stole, steal no more, but rather let him labor, working with his hands.” — EPHESIANS 4: 28.

“Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless.” — ISAIAH 10: 1, 2.

“If I did despise the cause of my man-servant or my maid-servant, when they contend with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer Him?” — JOB 31: 13, 14.

“Thou hast sent widows away empty, and the arms of the fatherless have been broken. Therefore snares are round about thee, and sudden fear troubleth thee; and darkness, that thou canst not see.” — JOB 22: 9, 10, 11.

“Behold, the hire of your laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourishes your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just.” — JAMES 5: 4.

If the appropriateness of these texts is not apparent, I will try to make it so, by evidence drawn entirely from Southern sources. The Abolitionists are not such an ignorant set of fanatics as you suppose. They know whereof they affirm. They are familiar with the laws of the Slave States, which are alone sufficient to inspire abhorrence in any humane heart or reflecting mind not perverted by the prejudices of education and custom. I might fill many letters with significant extracts from your statue-books; but I have space only to glance at a few, which indicate the leading features of the system you cherish so tenaciously.

The universal rule of the slave State is, that “the child follows the condition of its mother.” This is an index to many things. Marriages between white and colored people are forbidden by law; yet a very large number of the slaves are brown or yellow. When Lafayette visited this country in his old age, he said he was very much struck by the great change in the colored population of Virginia; that in the time of the Revolution, nearly all the household slaves were black, but when he returned to America, he found very few of them black. The advertisements in Southern newspapers often describe runaway slaves that “pass themselves for white men.” Sometimes they are described as having straight, light hair blue eyes, and clear complexion.” This could not be, unless their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers had been white men. But as their mothers were slaves, the law pronounces them slaves, subject to be sold on the auction-block whenever the necessities or convenience of their masters or mistresses required it. The sale of one’s own children, brother, or sisters, has an ugly aspect to those who are unaccustomed to it; and, obviously, it cannot have a good moral influence, that law and custom should render licentiousness a profitable vice. Throughout the Slave States, the testimony of no colored person,



bond or free, can be received against a white man. You have some laws, which, on the face of them, would seem to restrain inhuman men from murdering or mutilating slaves; but they are rendered nearly null by the law I have cited. Any drunken master, overseer, or patrol, may go into the negro cabins, and commit what outrages he pleases, with perfect impunity, if no white person is present who chooses to witness against him. North Carolina and Georgia leave a large loophole for escape, even if white persons present, when murder is committed. A law to punish persons for "maliciously killing a slave" has this remarkable qualification: "Always provided that this act shall not extend to any dying of moderate correction." We at the North find it difficult to understand how moderate punishment can cause death. I have read several of your law books attentively, and I find no cases of punishment for the murder of a slave, except by fines paid to the owner, to indemnify him for the loss of his property: the same as if his horse or cow had been killed.

In South Carolina Reports is a case where the State had indicated Guy Raines for the murder of slave Isaac. It was proved that William Gray, the owner of Isaac, had given him a thousand lashes. The poor creature made his escape, but was caught, and delivered to the custody of Raines, to be carried to the county jail. Because he refused to go, Raines gave him five hundred lashes, and he died soon after. The counsel for Raines proposed that he should be allowed to acquit himself by his own oath. The Court decided against it, because white witnesses had testified; but the Court of afterward decided he ought to have been exculpated by his own oath, and he was acquitted. Small indeed is the chance for justice to a slave, when his own color are not allowed to testify, if they see him maimed or his children murdered; when he has slaveholders for Judges and Jurors; when the murderer can exculpate himself by his own oath; and when the law provides that it is no murder to kill a slave by "moderate correction"!

Your laws uniformly declare that "slave shall be deemed a chattel personal in the hands of his master, to all intents, constrictions, and purposes whatsoever." This, of course, involves the right to sell his children, as if they were pigs; also, to take his wife from him "for any intent or purpose whatsoever." Your laws also make it death for him to resist a white man, however brutally he may be treated, or however much his family may be outraged before his eyes. If he attempts to run away, your laws allow any man to shoot him.

By your laws, all a slave's earnings belong to his master. He can neither receive donations or transmit property. If his master allows him some hours to work for himself, and by great energy and perseverance he earns enough to buy his own bones and sinews, his master may make him pay two or three times over, and he has no redress. Three such cases have come within my knowledge. Even a written promise from his master has no legal value, because slave can make no contracts.

Your laws also systematically aim at keeping the minds of the colored people in the most abject state of ignorance. If white people attempt to teach them to read or write, they are punished



by imprisonment or fines; if they attempt to teach each other, they are punished with from twenty to thirty-nine lashes each. It cannot be said that the anti-slavery agitation produced such laws, for they date much further back; many of them when we were Provinces. They are the necessities of the system, which, being itself an outrage upon human nature, can be sustained only by perpetual outrages.

The next reliable source of information is the advertisements in the Southern papers. In the North Carolina (Raleigh) Standard, Mr. Mieajah Ricks advertises, "Runaway, a negro woman and her two children. A few days before went off, I burned her with a hot iron on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M." in the Natchez Courier, Mr. J.P. Ashford advertises a runaway negro girl, with "a good many teeth missing, and the letter A branded on her cheek and forehead." In the Lexington (Ky.) Observer, Mr. William Overstreet advertises a runaway negro with "his left eye out, scars from a dirk on his left arm, and much scarred with the whip." I might quote from hundreds of such advertisements, offering rewards for runaways, "dead or alive," and describing them with "ears cut off," "jaws broken," scarred by rifle-balls," &c.

Another source of information is afforded by your "Fugitives from Injustice," with many of whom I have conversed freely. I have seen scars of the whip and marks of the branding-iron, and I have listened to their heart-breaking sobs, while they told of "piccaninnies" torn from their arms and sold.

Another source of information is furnished by emancipated slaveholders [Sarah Moore Grimké](#), daughter of the late Judge Grimké, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, testifies as follows: "As I left my native State on account of Slavery, and deserted the home of my fathers to escape the sound of the lash and the shrieks of tortured victims, I would gladly bury in oblivion the recollection of those scenes with which I have been familiar. But this cannot be.

They come over my memory like gory sceptres, and implore me, with resistless power, in the name of a God of mercy, in the name of a crucified Saviour, in the name of humanity, for the sake of the slaveholder, as well as the slave, to bear witness to the horrors of the Southern prison-house." She proceeds to describe dreadful tragedies, the actors in which she says were "men and women of the families in South Carolina;" and that their cruelties did not, in the slightest degree, affect their standing in society. Her sister, [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#), declared: "While I live, and Slavery lives, I must testify against it. Not merely for the sake of my poor brothers and sisters in bonds; for even were Slavery no curse to its victims, the exercise of arbitrary power works such fearful ruin upon the hearts of slaveholders, that I should feel impelled to labor and pray for its overthrow with my latest breath." Among the horrible barbarities she enumerates is the case of a girl thirteen years old, who was flogged to death by her master. She says: "I asked a prominent lawyer, who belonged to one of the first families in the State, whether the murderer of this helpless child could not be indicted, and he coolly replied that



the slave was Mr. ----'s property, and if he chose to suffer the loss, no one else had any thing to do with it." She proceeds to say: "I felt there could be for me no rest in the midst of such outrages and pollutions. Yet I saw nothing of Slavery in its most vulgar and repulsive forms. I saw it in the city, among the fashionable and the honorable, where it was garnished by refinement and decked out for show. It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction, but this is a cause worth dying for. I say so from what I have seen, and heard, and known, in a land of Slavery, whereon rest the darkness of Egypt and the sin of Sodom." I once asked Miss Angelina if she thought Abolitionists exaggerated the horrors of Slavery. She replied, with earnest emphasis: "They cannot be exaggerated. It is impossible for imagination to go beyond the fact." To a lady who observed that the time had not yet come for agitating the subject, she answered: "I apprehend if thou wert a slave, toiling in the fields of Carolina, thou wouldst think the time had fully come." Mr. Thome, of Kentucky, in the course of his eloquent lectures on this subject, said: "I breathed my first breath in an atmosphere of Slavery. But though I am heir to a slave inheritance, I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage, a complication of crimes, and wrongs, and cruelties, that make angels weep."

Mr. Allen of Alabama, in a discussion with the students at Lane Theological Seminary in 1834, had told of a slave who was tied up and beaten all day, with a paddle full of holes. "At night, his flesh was literally pounded to a jelly. The punishment was inflicted within hearing of the Academy and the Public Green. But no one took any notice of it. No one thought any wrong was done. At our house, it is so common to hear screams from a neighboring plantation, that we think nothing of it. Lest any one should think that the slaves are generally well treated, and that the cases I have mentioned are exceptions, let me be distinctly understood that cruelty is the rule, and kindness is the exception."

In the same discussion, a student from Virginia, after relating cases of great cruelty, had related: "Such things are common all over Virginia; at least, so far as I am acquainted. But the planters generally avoid punishing their slaves before strangers."

Miss Mattie Griffith, of Kentucky, whose entire property consisted in slaves, emancipated them all. The noble-hearted girl wrote to me: "I shall go forth into the world penniless; but I shall work with a heart, and, best of all, I shall live with an easy conscience." Previous to this generous resolution, she had never read any Abolition document, and entertained the common Southern prejudice against them. But her own observation so deeply impressed her with the enormities of Slavery, that she was impelled to publish a book, called "The Autobiography of a Female Slave." I read it with thrilling interest; but some of the scenes made my nerves quiver so painfully, that told her I hoped they were too highly colored. She shook her head sadly, and replied: "I am sorry to say that every incident in the book has come within my own knowledge."



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

St. George Tucker, Judge and Professor of Law in Virginia, speaking of the legalized murder of runaways, said: "Such are the cruelties to which a state of Slavery gives birth – such the horrors to which the human mind is capable of being reconciled by its adoption." Alluding to our struggle in '76, he said: "While we proclaimed our resolution to live free or die, we imposed on our fellow-men, of different complexion, a Slavery ten thousand times worse than the utmost extremity of the oppressions of which we complained."

Governor Giles, in a Message to the Legislature of Virginia, referring to the custom of selling free colored people into Slavery, as a punishment for offences not capital, said: "Slavery must be admitted to be a punishment of the highest order; and, according to the just rule for the apportionment of punishment to crimes, it ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order. The most distressing reflection in the application of this punishment to female offenders, is that it extends to their offspring; and the innocent are thus punished with the guilty." Yet one hundred and twenty thousand innocent babies in this country are annually subjected to a punishment which your Governor declared "ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order."

Jefferson said: "One day of American Slavery is worse than a thousand years of that which we rose in arms to oppose." Alluding to insurrections, he said: "The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest."

John Randolph declared: "Every planter is a sentinel at his own door. Every Southern mother, when she hears an alarm of fire in the night, instinctively presses her infant closer to her bosom."

Looking at the system of slavery in the light of all this evidence, do you candidly think we deserve "two-fold damnation" for detesting it? Can you not believe that we may hate the system, and yet be truly your friends? I make allowance for the excited state of your mind, and for the prejudices induced by education. I so not care to change your opinion of me; but I so wish you could be persuaded to examine this subject dispassionately, for the sake of the prosperity of Virginia, and the welfare of unborn generations, both white and colored. For thirty years, Abolitionists have been trying to reason with slaveholders, through the press, and in the halls of Congress. Their efforts, though directed to the masters only, have been met with violence and abuse almost equal to that poured on head of John Brown. Yet surely we, as a portion of the Union, involved in the expense, the degeneracy, the danger, and the disgrace, of the iniquitous and fatal system, have a right to speak about it, and a right to be heard also. At the North, we willingly publish pro-slavery arguments, and ask only a fair field and no favor for the other side. But you will not even allow your own citizens a chance to examine this important subject. Your letter to me is published in Northern papers, as well as Southern; my reply will not be allowed to appear in any Southern paper. The despotic measures you take to silence investigation, and shut out the light from your own white population, prove how little



reliance you have on the strength of your cause. In this enlightened age, all despotisms ought to come to an end by the agency of moral and rational means. But if they resist such agencies, it is in the order of Providence that they must come to an end by violence. History is full of such lessons.

Would that the evil of prejudice could be removed from your eyes. If you would candidly examine the statements of Governor Hincks of the British West Indies, and of the Rev. Mr. Bleby, long time a Missionary in those Islands, both before and after emancipation, you could not fail to be convinced that Cash is a more powerful incentive to labor than the Lash, and far safer also. One fact in relation to those Islands is very significant. While the working people were slaves, it was always necessary to order out the military during the Christmas holidays; but since emancipation, not a soldier is to be seen. A hundred John Browns might land there, without exciting the slightest alarm. To the personal questions you ask me, I will reply in the name of all the women of New England. It would be extremely difficult to find any woman in our villages who does not sew for the poor, and watch with the sick, whenever occasion requires. We pay our domestic generous wages, with which they can purchase as many Christmas gowns as they please; a process far better for their characters, as well as our own, than to receive their clothing as a charity, after being deprived of just payment for their labor. I have never known an instance where the "pangs of maternity" did not meet with requisite assistance; and here at the North, after we have helped the mothers, we do not sell the babies.

I readily believe what you state concerning the kindness of many Virginia matrons. It is creditable to their hearts: but after all, the best that can be done in that way is a poor equivalent for the perpetual wrong done to the slaves, and the terrible liabilities to which they are always subject. Kind masters and mistresses among you are merely lucky accidents.

If any one chooses to be a brutal despot, your laws and customs give him complete power to do so. And the lot of those slaves who have the kindest masters is exceedingly precarious. In case of death, or pecuniary difficulties, or marriages in the family, they may at any time be suddenly transferred from protection and indulgence to personal degradation, or extreme severity; and if they should try to escape from such sufferings, any body is authorized to shoot them down like dogs.

With regard to your declaration that "no Southerner ought henceforth to read a line of my composition," I reply that I have great satisfaction in the consciousness of having nothing to loose in that quarter. Twenty-seven years ago, I published a book called "An Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans." It influenced the minds of several young men, afterward conspicuous in public life, through whose agency the cause was better served than it could have been by me. From that time to this, I have labored too earnestly for the slave to be agreeable to slaveholders. Literary popularity was never a paramount object with me, even in my youth; and, now that I am old, I am utterly indifferent to it. But, if I cared for the



exclusion you threaten I should at least have the consolation of being exiled with honorable company. Dr. Channing's writings, mild and candid as they are, breathe what you would call arrant treason. William C. Bryant, in his capacity of editor, is openly on our side. The inspired muse of Whittier has incessantly sounded the trumpet for moral warfare with your iniquitous institution; and his stirring tones have been answered, more or less loudly, by Pierpont, Lowell, and Longfellow. Emerson, the Plato of America, leaves the scholastic seclusion he love so well, and disliking noise with all his poetic soul, bravely takes his stand among the trumpeters. George W. Curtis, the brilliant wealth of his talent on the altar of Freedom, and makes common cause with rough-shod reformers.

The genius of Mrs. Stowe carried the outworks of your institution at one dash, and left the citadel open to besiegers, who are pouring in amain. In the church, on the ultra-liberal side, it is assailed by the powerful battering-ram of Theodore Parker's eloquence. On the extreme orthodox side is set a huge fire, kindled by the burning words of Dr. [George Barrell?] Cheever. Between them is Henry Ward Beecher, sending a shower of keen arrows into your entrenchments; and with him ride a troop of sharp-shooters from all sects. If you turn to the literature of England or France, you will find your institution treated with as little favor. The fact is, the whole civilized world proclaims Slavery an outlaw, and the best intellect of the age is active in hunting it down.

L. MARIA CHILD.

THE TOUCHSTONE.

BY WILLIAM ALLENGHAME.

A man there came, whence none could tell,
Bearing a touchstone in his hand,
And tested all things in the land
By its unerring spell.
A thousand transformations rose,
From fair to foul, from foul to fair;
The golden crown he did not share,
Nor scorn the beggar's clothes.
Of heirloom jewels, prized so much,
Were many changed to chips and clods,
And even statues of the gods
Crumbled beneath its touch.
Then angrily the people cried,
"The loss outweighs the profit far,
Our goods suffice us as they are,
We will not have them tried."
But since they could not so avail
To check his unrelenting quest,
They seized him, saying, "Let him test
How real is our jail."
But though they slew him with their swords,
And in the fire the touchstone burned,
Its doings could not be o'erturned,
Its undoings restored.
And when, to stop all future harm,
They strewed his ashes to the breeze,
They little guessed each grain of these
Conveyed the perfect charm.



After escaping from the raid on Harpers Ferry [Barclay Coppoc](#) appeared on this day at the family home in Cedar County, Iowa. A most unusual situation developed there: despite its [Quaker](#) status, during his presence the Coppoc house would be surrounded at night by men waiting in the dark with firearms, to protect him in his rest if the occasion arose, from capture by federal agents!

On March 6, 1857 [Edwin Coppoc](#) had been [disowned](#) by the Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the West Branch/Springdale area. During April 1857 [Barclay Coppoc](#) had been disciplined by the Quakers for using profane language and for striking a man in anger. Several months after his return from Harpers Ferry, [Barclay Coppoc](#) would be [disowned](#) for absenting himself from meetings for worship and for bearing arms. The following is from chapters entitled “The Iowa Quakers and the Negroes” and “The Springdale Quakers and Old John Brown” in Louis Thomas Jones’s THE QUAKERS OF IOWA (Iowa City: Iowa State Historical Society, 1914, pages 195-7):

Haggard and worn with his long flight, with a price upon his head, and hunted by an official with a requisition from Governor Wise of Virginia upon Governor Kirkwood of Iowa for his immediate rendition to justice, [Barclay Coppoc](#) reached his home in Iowa on December 17th [1859]. On the day before, his brother Edwin, loaded with chains and shackles, had yielded up his life upon a Virginia scaffold. Thus the mother’s parting prophecy had been fulfilled. [According to this source, when the two departed the mother had said to them: “When you get the halters around your necks, will you think of me?”]

For the sake of accurate history, it now seems necessary to make plain the real relation which the much-eulogized Coppoc boys bore to the Society of Friends at the time of the events in question. Early in life both of the boys developed wayward tendencies, discomfiting to their mother and to the church. Edwin took to dancing, and though repeatedly dealt with in the “spirit of restoring love” by the Monthly Meeting, he spurned all advice, refused to “condemn his course,” and was in consequence duly [disowned](#) from membership in the Society on March 6, 1857. Barclay, also, about the same time gave the Springdale Friends grave concern. Fresh from the stirring scenes in Kansas, he had engaged in a fight soon after reaching home, and a month after his brother’s [disownment](#) the complaint was entered on the records of the Monthly Meeting that “Barclay Coppoc has used profane language, and struck a man in anger.”

“Coppoc gave the proper satisfaction for this first offense. and the meeting “passed it by.” But immediately upon his return from Harpers Ferry his conduct called for new attention. With the officers close upon his heels Coppoc sought his home in Cedar County; and upon his arrival there a large number of the young men in the vicinity united as a military guard to prevent his capture, while he himself went heavily armed. His presence of course attracted wide attention, and the Overseers of the Preparative Meeting called upon him. Action was made to the [Red Cedar] Monthly Meeting that “Barclay Coppoc has neglected attendance at our religious meetings & is in the practice of bearing arms.” The usual care was extended to him, but with no avail. Two months later Barclay, like his brother, was formally [disowned](#); and thus came to a close this interesting episode in

the history of the Iowa Friends.

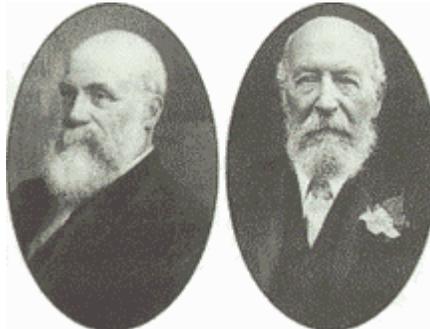
1860

December 18: By this time [Philip Henry Gosse](#) was financially secure due to earnings from his books, and dividends from investments. He met [Friend Eliza Brightwen](#) (1813-1900), who shared his interest in natural history and was affectionate toward his son Edmund Gosse, and on this day they married at the Zion Chapel of Frome.²⁴³

Until 1868, [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) would serve as the president of the board of school commissioners.

The [Cadbury](#) Brothers dissolved their partnership. After the death of his wife and a long illness, [Friend John](#) stepped down and [Friends](#) Richard and George would take over in 1861.

CHOCOLATE



243. DISAMBIGUATION: This is not the Mrs. Eliza Elder Brightwen who would be the subject of Edmond Gosse's THE LIFE AND THOUGHTS OF A NATURALIST. This Eliza was his adoptive mother, while Mrs. Eliza Elder Brightwen was his adoptive aunt.

[William Chapman Hewitson](#) became a member of the Linnean Society.



Late in the year, having suddenly come to be without a blood heir for his oil wealth upon the deaths of his wife and only child, [Friend James Arnold](#) was revising his will and contemplating the commission of a philanthropy.



"The whaler was a kind of pirate-miner – an excavator of oceanic oil, stoking the furnace of the Industrial Revolution as much as any man digging coal out of the earth."



– Philip Hoare, THE WHALE: IN SEARCH OF THE GIANTS OF THE SEA (NY: HarperCollins, March 2010)

MOBY-DICK, THE OIL SPILL

In this matter Friend James turned to three men of repute, his in-law [George Barrell Emerson](#) who was engaged in the growing of trees on the promontory that stretched into Boston Bay on the northeastern side of Chelsea harbor, the family friend John James Dixwell, president of the Massachusetts Bank, who was active in the [Boston Society of Natural History](#) and was engaged in the growing of trees on his Jamaica Plain estate on Moss Hill, and the Boston trust attorney Francis E. Parker.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) continued in his intense political activities, while his HOME BALLADS, POEMS AND LYRICS appeared in the bookstalls. Mary Whittier died.

In 1860 I was chosen a member of the Electoral College of Massachusetts, and also in 1864.



[Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#)'s EDGAR POE AND HIS CRITICS.



The lady was not one of his critics.

In this year eleven young scholars were graduated from the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).²⁴⁴ The “Smiley Administration” began at that school. According to Friend Eric Kristensen’s “An Outline of Moses Brown School’s History,” prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations, this is what the “Smiley Administration” amounted to:

244. Of the first 23 graduates, 19 were female.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1860-1879: Smiley administration. Albert K. (from Oak Grove in Vassalboro) was principal, his twin brother Alfred H. was Associate Principal for much of this time. A sister, Rebecca H. was head of the girls' department from 1863-1879. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed; attendance increased, the debt decreased, and a number of new buildings were built. After the Civil War, attendance often reached 200; in 1875 a record 222 students enrolled. The averages for the period were 103 boys and 69 girls for a total of 172. The contract system remained from the Cartland days, whereby the Principal received a salary; after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. This allowed the Principal to realize a considerable amount in some years, and the School Committee was assured of sound business practices which eliminated accumulated debt, reduced the deficit and provided a balance for improving the school plant. The School was commonly called the "Quaker Jail" by students of this period. After Moses Brown, the brothers opened the famous Mohonk Mountain House outside of New Palz NY. (page 6)²⁴⁵

245. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

²⁴ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

— MATTHEW

6:24 [MATTHEW 6:24](#)

After due consideration, the Orthodox [Friends](#) of Philadelphia issued their advice to black Christians, as to how they should conduct themselves while subjected to slavery. **They should act exactly as white Quakers would act should they be unjustly subjected to such a condition of slavery.** Which is to say, they should

endeavor to serve with patience and fidelity while in bondage, to fulfill their Christian duties with propriety, and to commit their cause into the hands of a merciful and omnipotent Father in Heaven.



One of the people who disagreed with these Orthodox Quakers of Philadelphia, Frederick Douglass, informed of the death of his daughter Annie, age 10, returned to the United States from England, risking possible arrest and execution for treasonous complicity in the raid on Harpers Ferry for having neglected to betray a white friend to the federal authorities.

New Year's Day: Charles Brace, a New York social worker, came to Concord carrying a copy of [Charles Darwin](#)'s just-published ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES, which he had obtained from [Professor Asa Gray](#) of [Harvard College](#),



ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES

his botanist brother-in-law, a correspondent of Darwin's. He, Bronson Alcott, and Franklin Benjamin Sanborn had dinner with Henry David Thoreau and discussed the new theory. Thoreau had long been interested in the geographical distribution of plants and animals around Concord. Well read in the general subject, he had become skeptical of Professor [Louis Agassiz](#)'s certitudes about special creation and immutable species. Three days after the dinner, Thoreau would acknowledge the impact of Darwin's new theory on him by making an observation about an actual working mechanism of influence:

A man receives only what he is ready to receive, whether physically or intellectually or morally ... We hear and apprehend only what we already half know ... Every man thus tracks himself through life, in all his hearing and reading and observation and travelling. His observations make a chain. The phenomenon or fact that cannot in any wise be linked with the rest which he has observed, he does not observe.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

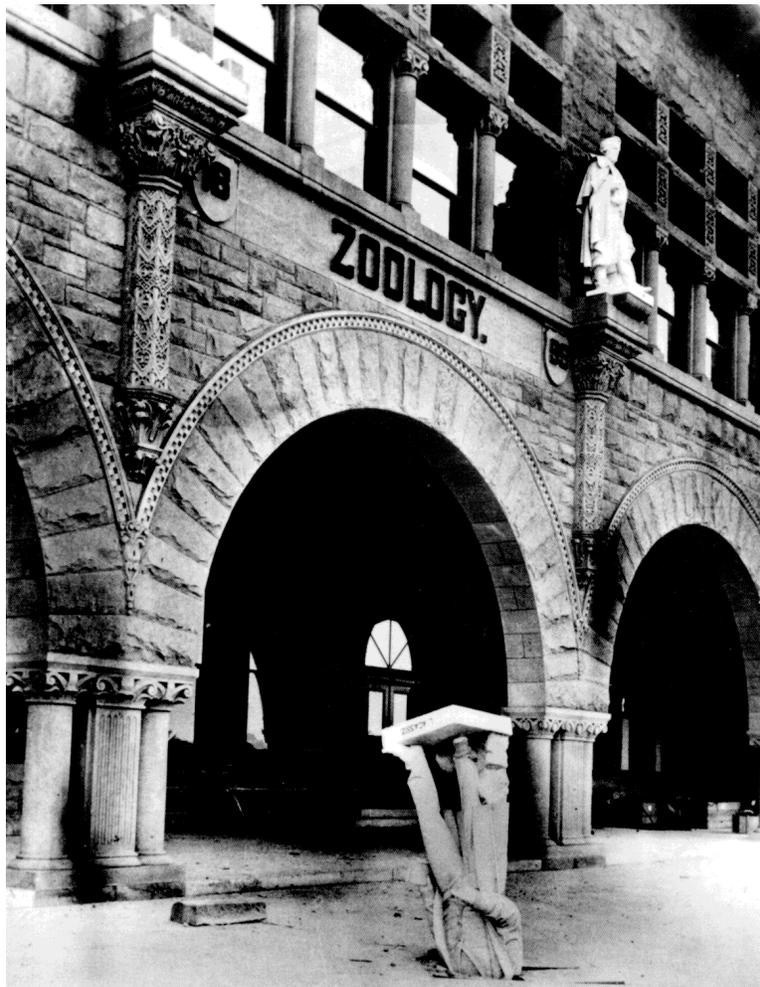
Thoreau's "The Dispersion of Seeds" may profitably be read not only as a contribution to science, but also as a fable of dissemination. Behind the details of the presentation, we note Thoreau's insistent focus on natural fecundity. Starting, as Darwin started, from Thomas Robert Malthus's astonished observation that "the germs of existence contained in this earth, if they could freely develop themselves, would fill millions of worlds in the course of a few thousand years," Thoreau mentions Darwin's experiments. "I took in February, three table-spoonsful of mud," Darwin says, "from three different points, beneath water, on the edge of a little pond; this mud when dried, weighed only 63 ounces. I kept it covered up in my study for six months, pulling up and counting each plant as it grew; the plants were of many kinds and were altogether 537 in number; and yet the viscid mud was all contained in a breakfast cup!"

The seed had been a favorite metaphor of [Friend George Fox](#). Thoreau had inherited a copy of [Friend William Sewell](#)'s account of the founding of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) from his Quaker grandmother on his mother's side, [Friend Sarah Orrok Burns](#). Emerson had made a note about this: "George Fox's chosen expression for the God manifest in the mind is the Seed. He means the seed of which the Beauty of the world is the flower and Goodness the fruit." Thoreau's project was neither the same as Darwin's, nor as Malthus's — it was neither about speciation nor about population control, but about seed as apparent death, and as actual rebirth. In "The Dispersion of Seeds" Thoreau expands this. A plant is born again in every seed that sprouts. Every day is a day of creation because it is a day of rebirth. "The very earth itself is a granary and a seminary," offered Thoreau, "so that to some minds, its surface is regarded as the cuticle of one living creature."

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

Thoreau studied *ORIGIN OF SPECIES* as soon as it arrived in America. [Charles Darwin](#) commented near the end of the book “Nothing at first can appear more difficult to believe than that the more complex organs and instincts have been perfected, not by means superior to, though analogous with, human reason, but by the accumulation of innumerable slight variations, each good for the individual possessor.” This was an entirely new, non-Idealist reading of the Book of Nature, amounting in effect to the decision that nature was not a text at all. That finding has served ever since as a litmus-test to detect “essentialists,” that is, thinkers who regard the different species as immutable, distinct Ideas in the Mind of God. In the early days of 1860 [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Louis Agassiz](#) also would read this book, but both would flunk Darwin’s litmus-test for in the field of theoretical population ecology: neither were scientists at all, they were a metaphysician and a theologian.



**Louis Agassiz standing on his head and stacking BBs
(Don't try this at home)**

In particular [Louis Agassiz](#) needed to dispute [Charles Darwin](#) in order to retain his belief in the immutable inferiority of the Negro.

EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS



"Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal – why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?"



– Stephen Jay Gould
BULLY FOR BRONTOSAURUS
NY: Norton, 1991, page 429

There is no question but that Professor Agassiz of Harvard was one of the leading lights among American biologists. As such he was quite familiar with all the factual evidences concerning environmental change, variability, and hereditary modification upon which Darwin had been building his insights, but he held in addition that the organic world represented repeated interventions by a Supreme Being. These ordinary physical events upon which Darwin was relying, such as climatic and geologic change, and even glaciers, might indeed bring about extinctions, but nothing of this order could create a new species. Agassiz was ready to grant that the sequence in the fossil record from simple animals and plants in the ancient, deeper strata to the more complex, recent forms found near the surface represented a progressive development, but these different animals and plants did not arise as Darwin was supposing out of interactions between populations and external environmental changes. Agassiz maintained that organisms arose by a series of independent and special creations, there with no hereditary continuity whatever between the different types of organisms. Each species of plant and animal was a separate "thought of God" and what we saw as homologies or anatomical similarities were nothing more than "associations of ideas in the Divine Mind." Henry David Thoreau, on the other hand, easily passed Darwin's test; what was said in ORIGIN was not only convincing but obvious. Rationality did not produce, but was the product of, nature. The subject did not originate the text. Here is a general analysis of the situation, from Adam Kuper's THE INVENTION OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETY: TRANSFORMATIONS OF AN ILLUSION (NY: Routledge, 1988), pages 44-6 (shown on a following page):

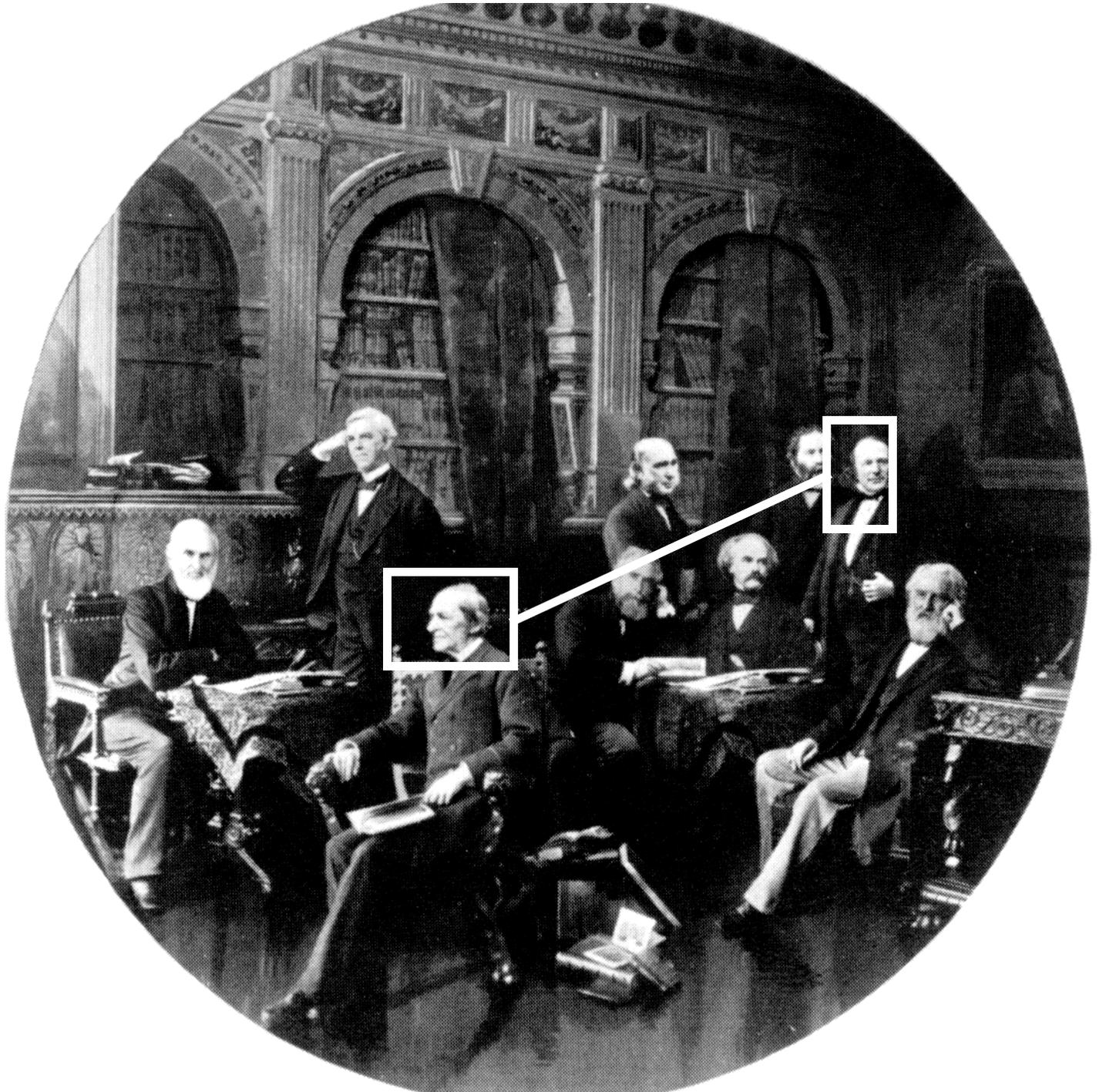
HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



Whittier-Holmes-Emerson-Motley-Alcott-Hawthorne-Lowell-Agassiz-Longfellow



The northern Presbyterians in fact welcomed Darwin's witness with respect to one very sensitive political issue. This was the question of the unity of origin of the human species. They were up in arms against their southern Presbyterian brethren, who justified slavery on the grounds that God had created several distinct species of man, each with a particular destiny. During the Civil War an 'American school of anthropology' developed in the South which propagated this view. It drew the support even of Agassiz, the eccentric Lamarckian biologist of Harvard.

According to the northern Presbyterians, this 'polygenist' thesis was a denial of the truth, to which both the Bible and the [Declaration of Independence](#) bore witness, that all men were created equal. Darwin unequivocally supported the view that all the races were simply varieties of one species, with a common origin. This aspect of Darwinian theory was particularly stressed by [Asa Gray](#), Agassiz's rival at Harvard, and the leader of the American Darwinians.

On one vital matter, however, Darwin's views were unacceptable to many, indeed most, Christians. He posited the mutability of species and -despite his initial caution- it became evident that he believed man had evolved from non-human primate forbears. This theory of the transmutation of species was clearly irreconcilable with the Book of Genesis, but there were many respectable scholars who believed that it was also at odds with biological facts. A great number of mainstream biologists in the 1860s believed that the species were fixed. Agassiz's version of Cuvier's typology even allowed for the separate creation of each individual species. Morgan, a competent amateur biologist, sided with Agassiz on this issue. He wrote a naturalist's study of the American beaver (which won Agassiz's admiration) in which he strongly affirmed his faith in Cuvier and in the separate creation of the human species.

One could, however, believe that the species were fixed without having to believe that they were changeless. Agassiz and many of his colleagues might rule out 'transmutation', the change of one species into another; but they still believed that a species could develop along appropriate lines. Each species might realize an inner potential, which gradually unfolded.



Those who thought in this way commonly conceived of the development of species on the analogy of the evolution of the embryo. The tadpole might become a frog, but that did not amount to a change of species. Indeed, ontogeny, the development of an individual, might recapitulate phylogeny, the history of a species. The term 'evolution' itself was generally used in this embryological sense until about 1880, and neither Darwin in *THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES* (1859) nor Morgan in *SYSTEMS* (1871) or *ANCIENT SOCIETY* (1877), used the word 'evolution' at all.

Agassiz's version of evolution assumed that the world had been designed by God. Particular species had been created in order to fit into particular ecological relations. They were, moreover, programmed to develop as the whole cosmological order itself progressed. Adaptation was a sign of planning rather than of selection. Agassiz was quite explicit that evolution was comprehensible only as the gradual unfolding of a divine plan. Species were incarnations of a divine idea. 'Natural history must, in good time, become the analysis of the thoughts of the Creator of the Universe, as manifested in the animal and vegetable kingdoms.'

Agassiz's theory of development was the biological equivalent of a common New England Calvinist belief that human history, since Christ, was a record of progress and moral improvement inspired by God, in which every group had its preordained rôle. This idealistic view was in stark contrast to the scepticism of Darwin or the pessimism of Malthus. 'I believe in no fixed law of development', Darwin had written in *ORIGIN*, and when Christian intellectuals attacked his 'materialist' theory they meant in particular his view that history is contingent, unplanned, without a goal, the product simply of random mutation and natural selection.

(See especially William Stanton, *THE LEOPARD'S SPOTS: SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE IN AMERICA 1815-1859*, 1960. See Morgan, *THE AMERICAN BEAVER AND HIS WORKS*, 1868.. See Mayr, *AGASSIZ, DARWIN AND EVOLUTION*, 1959. The passage from [Louis Agassiz](#) is cited on page 171.)



After [Louis Agassiz](#) had retraced the steps of Humboldt by visiting Brazil, he confided to [Waldo Emerson](#), according to Emerson's son's account, that the whole population of that country was "wretchedly immoral, the colours and features of the people showing the entire intermixing of all the races." Scientific racism recapitulates typology. We can learn from the same source that Professor Agassiz believed that, were he able to obtain enough live subjects to perform the requisite dissections, "hundreds, that is, of live subjects," he would be able to demonstrate that a baby elephant while *in utero* was a mastodon, and a baby tapir *in utero* a megatheron.²⁴⁶

Thoreau once killed a cistudo for Professor [Louis Agassiz](#), and upon reflection was ashamed.

Scientific embryology recapitulates theology. While we might prefer not to entertain questions such as whether Thoreau should instead have killed [Louis Agassiz](#) for the cistudo: was the placing of such a man in a chair at Harvard College, an institution at that time primarily useful for the habilitation of the younger sons of businessmen, under conditions of primogeniture, as reverend divines, precisely the placing of such a mentality where it didn't belong, or was it precisely the placing of such a mentality where it did belong?

January 13: [Barclay Coppoc](#), having unlike his brother [Edwin Coppoc](#) escaped from Harpers Ferry, and then having eluded capture, wrote to Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of the Secret "Six" conspiracy to bring him up to date on developments: "but five of our little band now away and safe, namely Owen [Owen Brown], Tidd [Charles Plummer Tidd], Meriam [Francis Jackson Meriam], O.P. Anderson [[Osborn Perry Anderson](#)], or as we used to call him Chatham Anderson, and myself. . . . We were together eight days before [John E. Cook and Albert Hazlett were] captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Meriam left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left, and we kept together, until we got to Centre County, Pa., where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated and I went on through with the box to Ohio on the cars. Owen [Owen Brown] and Tidd [Charles Plummer Tidd] went on foot towards the north-western part of Penn." [Osborn Perry Anderson](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#), and Francis Jackson Meriam, traveling separately, would eventually find safe exile in the area of St. Catharines, Canada. Owen Brown and Charles Plummer Tidd would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County, Pennsylvania.

During this month, in Iowa, at his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), [Friend Barclay Coppoc](#) was being [disowned](#) on account of his failure to adhere to the Peace Testimony.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



January 13. Tuttle was saying to-day that he did remember a certain man's living with him once, from something that occurred. It was this: The man was about starting for Boston market for Tuttle, and Mrs. Tuttle had been telling him what to get for her. The man inquired if that was all, and Mrs. Tuttle said no, she wanted some nutmegs. "How many," he asked. Tuttle, coming along just then, said, "Get a bushel." When the man came home he said that he had had a good deal of trouble about the nutmegs. He could not find so many as were wanted, and, besides, they told him that they did not sell them by the bushel. But he said that he would take a bushel by the weight. Finally he made out to get a peck of them, which he brought home. It chanced that nutmegs were very high just then, so Tuttle, after selecting a few for his own use, brought the remainder up to town and succeeded in disposing of them at the stores for just what he gave for them.

One man at the post-office said that a crow would drive a fox. He had seen three crows pursue a fox that was crossing the Great Meadows, and he fairly ran from [them] and took refuge in the woods.

Farmer says that he remembers his father's saying that as he stood in a field once, he saw a hawk soaring above and eying something on the ground. Looking round, he saw a weasel there eying the hawk. Just then the hawk stooped, and the weasel at the same instant sprang upon him, and up went the hawk with the weasel; but by and by the hawk began to come down as fast as he went up, rolling over and over, till he struck the ground. His

[NUTMEGS](#)

246. Have you heard that the initial script for the movie *Jurassic Park* had it as "*Park Agassiz*"?



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

father, going up, raised him up, when out hopped the weasel from under his wing and ran off none the worse for his fall.

The surface of the snow, now that the sun has shone on it so long, is not so light and downy, almost impalpable, as it was yesterday, but is somewhat flattened down and looks even as if [IT] had had a skim-coat of some whitewash. I can see sparkles on it, but they are finer than at first and therefore less dazzling.

The thin ice of the Mill Brook sides at the Turnpike bridge is sprinkled over with large crystals which look like asbestos or a coarse grain. This is no doubt the vapor of last evening crystallized. I see vapor rising from and curling along the open brook and also rising from the end of a plank in the sun, which is net with melted snow, though the thermometer was 16° only when I left the house.

I see in low grounds numerous heads of bidens, with their seeds still.

I see under some sizable white pines in E. Hubbard's wood, where red squirrels have run about much since this snow. They have run chiefly, perhaps, under the surface of the snow, so that it is very much undermined by their paths under these trees, and every now and then they have come to the surface, or the surface has fallen into their gallery. They seem to burrow under the snow about as readily as a meadow mouse. There are also paths raying out on every side from the base of the trees. And you see many holes through the snow into the ground where they now are, and other holes where they have probed for cones and nuts. The scales of the white pine cones are scattered about here and there. They seek a dry place to open them,—a fallen limb that rises above the snow, or often a lower dead stub projecting from the trunk of the tree.



January 13: Farmer says that he remembers his father's saying that as he stood in a field once, he saw a hawk soaring above and eying something on the ground. Looking round, he saw a weasel there eying the hawk. Just then the hawk stooped, and the weasel at the same instant sprang upon him, and up went the hawk with the weasel; but by and by the hawk began to come down as fast as he went up, rolling over and over, till he struck the ground. His father, going up, raised him up, when out hopped the weasel from under his wing and ran off none the worse for his fall.

October 25-26: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) attempted some spin-doctoring at the 24th annual meeting of the Pennsylvania



Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia, spin-doctoring which would be reported on November 3, 1860 in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#). According to that source, she had been glad that the resolution accepted by



the meeting did not sanction the measures resorted to by John Brown rather than those which had always been approved by the Pennsylvania branch of this society, and by the national organization of which it was a part. She had read, from the society's Declaration of Sentiments, what she had said were not only her own views, but also the views always sponsored by this society:

"Our principles lead us to reject and to intreat the oppressed to reject all carnal weapons, relying solely on those which are might through God to the pulling down of strongholds." We did not countenance force, and it did not become those -Friends and others- who go to the polls to elect a commander-in-chief of the army and navy, whose business it would be to use that army and navy, if needed, to keep the slaves of the South in their chains, and secure to the masters the undisturbed enjoyment of their system - it did not become such to find fault with us because we praise John Brown for his heroism. For it is not John Brown the soldier that we praise; it is John Brown the moral hero; John Brown the noble confessor and martyr whom we honor, and whom we think it proper to honor in this day when men are carried away by the corrupt and pro-slavery clamor against him. Our weapons were drawn only from the armory of Truth; they were those of faith and hope and love. They were those of moral indignation strongly expressed against wrong. [Robert Purvis](#) has said that I was "the most belligerent non-resistant he ever saw." I accept the character he gives me; and I glory in it. I have no idea, because I am a non-resistant, of submitting tamely to injustice inflicted either on me or on the slave.



I will oppose it with all the moral powers with which I am endowed. I am no advocate of passivity. Quakerism, as I understand it, does not mean quietism. The early Friends were agitators; disturbers of the peace; and were more obnoxious in their day to charges, which are now so freely made, than we are.

Friend Lucretia concluded by expressing her pleasure that the new resolution committed the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society to nothing inconsistent with the high moral grounds it had ever occupied. She reported a comment by O'Connell, that no revolution was worth the cost of a single drop of human blood. She indicated that John Brown had well illustrated in his own case the superiority of moral power to physical power — of the sword of the spirit to the sword of the flesh.

[Robert Purvis](#) also addressed this assembly:

What is the attitude of your boasting, braggart republic toward the 600,000 free people of colour who swell its population and add to its wealth? I have already alluded to the dictum of Judge Taney in the notorious Dred Scott decision. The dictum reveals the animus of the whole government; it is a fair example of the cowardly and malignant spirit that pervades the entire policy of the country. The end of the policy is, undoubtedly, to destroy the coloured man, as a man. With this view, it says a coloured man shall not sue and recover his lawful property; he shall not bear arms and train in the militia; he shall not be a commander of a vessel, not even of the meanest craft that creeps along the creeks and bays of your Southern coast; he shall not carry a mailbag, or serve as a porter in a post-office.

November 3: Professor [William Henry Harvey](#) wrote to [Harvard professor Asa Gray](#) about the completion of his reading of [Charles Darwin](#)'s ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES:

I have no objection *per se* to a doctrine of derivative descent.... I have had a short friendly correspondence with Darwin on the subject, but without much result one way or the other.... His latter chapters are those which have most impressed me.... Certainly there are many *broad facts* which can be read by a supposition of descent with variation. *How broad* those facts are, and how broad the limits of descent with variation may be, are questions which I do not think his theory affords answer to. It opens vistas vast, and so it evidently points whence, through time, light may come by which to see the objects in those vistas, but to my mind it does no more.... A good deal of Darwin reads to me like an ingenious dream.

ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES

Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), the foremost spokesperson for nonviolence in the abolitionist movement in America, brought forward the position she had taken in regard to the “Christiana riot” near Philadelphia by declaring in regard to the raid by John Brown that²⁴⁷

It is not John Brown the soldier we praise, it is John Brown the moral hero; John Brown the noble confessor and patient martyr we honor, and whom we think it proper to honor in this day when men are carried away by the corrupt and proslavery clamour against him. Our weapons were drawn only from the armory of Truth; they were those of faith and love.



Nevertheless, in this supercharged atmosphere in which men were just then being asked to abandon the arms of faith and love in order to pick up the “New Minnie,” Lucretia’s use of the vocabulary of violence, her use of terms like “weapons” and “armory,” were bound to be problematic, bound to be misused by those, such as Horace Greeley, who were determined to misunderstand and mock.

[NO ENTRY IN THOREAU’S JOURNAL, FOR 3 NOVEMBER]

247. We might say that HDT was the most belligerent nonresistor of evil the world had yet seen, but in fact that description had already been awarded to someone. It was awarded by [Robert Purvis](#) to [Lucretia Mott](#), and there is no shadow of a doubt that Friend Lucretia was a convinced disbeliever in violence. These words of hers are from the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#) of November 3, 1860.



HDT

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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM





1861

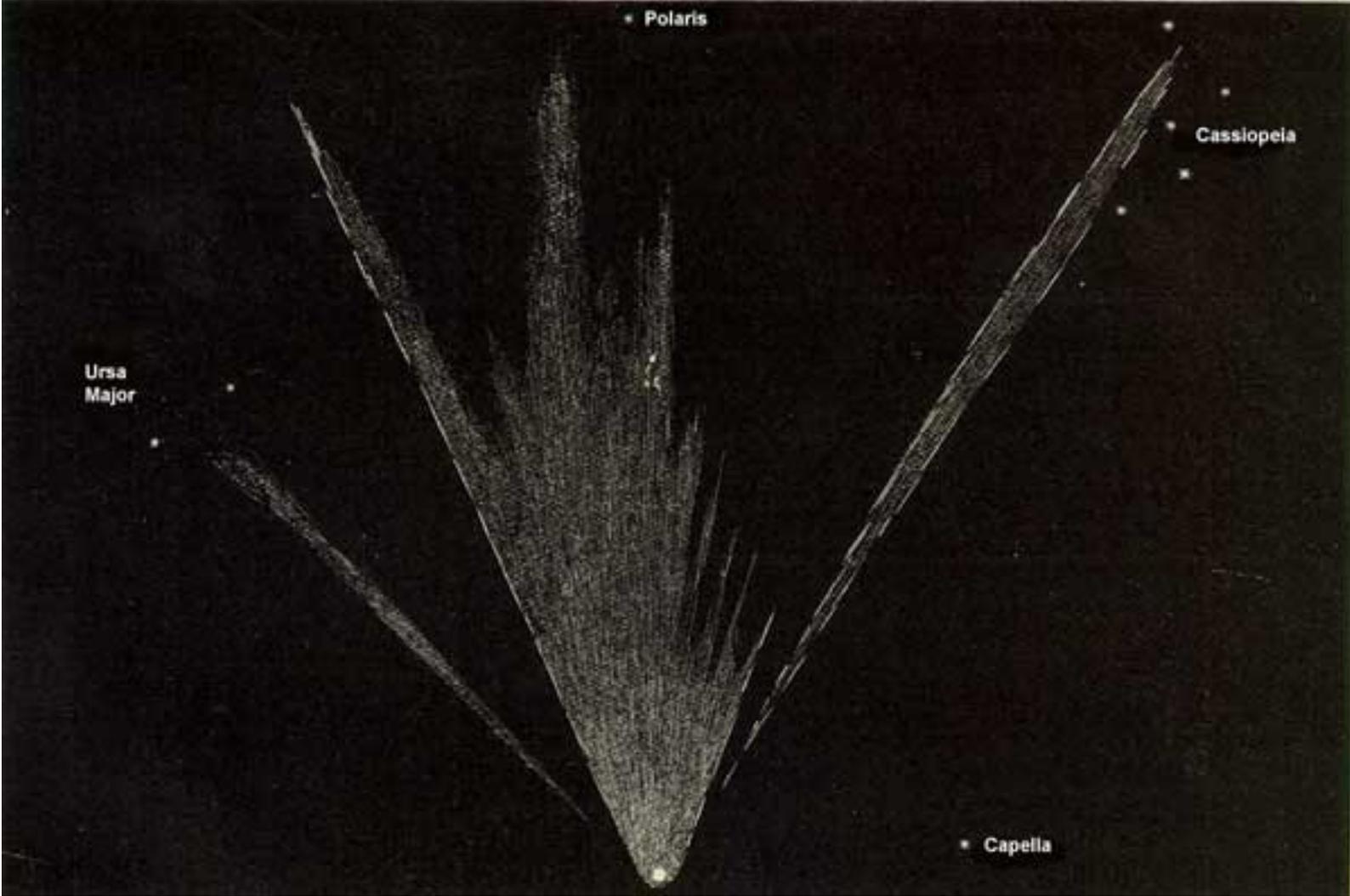
Professor [William Henry Harvey](#) got married with [Friend](#) Elizabeth Lecky Phelps of Waterpark, County Limerick (they had known each other for a very long time; unfortunately, however, the bridegroom would soon begin to hemorrhage).

June 30, Sunday evening: An unanticipated comet of enormous size suddenly appeared on the horizon, over the United States and Europe. Calculations indicate that on this night the earth probably was passing directly through the gas and dust of this comet's tail. On this night, actually, the celestial observer E.J. Lowe jotted into his meteor log that the sky had been of a yellowish tinge before sunset, with the sun seeming somehow dimmed and the general levels of illumination less than usual. Also, John Russell Hind reported a certain peculiar phosphorescence in the appearance of the sky, something which may or may not have been entirely attributable to the aurora of the Northern Lights. From the observatory of Athens we have this report from the astronomer Schmidt:

SKY EVENT

The twilight behind Mt. Parnassus had not yet faded away when I was informed, and I can truthfully say no other surprise could have made so deep an impression. The night before had been absolutely clear and I had not seen a trace of a comet. Now the sky was filled by this majestic figure, spreading the tail from horizon to beyond Polaris, and even across Lyra. It was, to use the language of the past, a comet of truly fearful appearance. At 9 o'clock the head of the comet, looking as large as the moon, was next to Mt. Parnassus. The head and the very wide lower part of the tail appeared like a distant fire, and the tail seemed like windblown smoke illuminated by the fire. After the head had disappeared below the horizon and it had grown dark, one could see that the tail extended to the Milky Way in the constellation Aquila. At 11PM I went to the observatory to watch [for] the reappearance of the head in the northeast.... At midnight and for some time after the tail stood nearly vertically above the northern horizon, its most brilliant portion and the nucleus hidden, the tail reached 30 degrees of arc beyond the zenith [indicating that the total length of this comet's tail above and below the zenith would measure more than 120 degrees]. At 4:27AM the head of the comet became visible again, following reappearance of the brightest parts of the tail which produced weak but noticeable shadows. Neither the Great Comet of March 1843 nor Donati's comet of October 1858 had been so bright.... I watched the rising of the comet's head with the naked eye; it was an incredible phenomenon that cannot be compared to anything else. The great mass of light hung like a dull smoky fire over the dark outline of the mountains. As it grew lighter the tail disappeared, I could only see about 4 degrees of arc of the tail at 5:30AM. But at 6:08AM when Capella was the only still visible star the nucleus was still clearly luminous.

The 4th great new comet of the 19th Century, I Thatcher, had been first detected from Australia. Of course, since the only way to notify Europe of the detection of this comet was by ship and so, by the time this news arrived in the Northern hemisphere, it had already come been sighted also by Europeans and Americans. This comet appeared inordinately large because it was passing close by our planet and as of this date was brushing across us its complicated tail of changing construction.²⁴⁸ This comet, together with the double comet I Liais of 1860, would contribute to our [Andromedid meteor showers](#).²⁴⁹



As of this date or slightly later, from New Bedford, Henry Thoreau's "Friend Ricketson," [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#), was writing to inform him that he had been "converted" to a strong belief in the truth of Christianity.

The Shanty, 30th June 1861

Friend Thoreau,

I have been desirous of hearing from you for a long time, and par-

248. Venus, at its closest point to the Earth, is about 23,000,000 miles away, and this comet was passing within 11,000,000 miles. By way of strong comparison, the comet Lexell had in July 1770  passed within 1,401,200 miles. Of course, nothing happened of any great moment in either case, as the tail of a comet is quite insubstantial even by way of contrast with a meteor shower, but this would give rise to stories (sponsored it would appear by adherents of the "God's This Weird Dude" school of theology) connecting the event to the bloodshed of our Civil War.



ticularly in regard to your health, which from your letter of 22^d March I was sorry to hear was not as good as usual; but as you speak of your complaint as that of “a severe cold,” I hope by this time you have bid farewell to it and are once more tramping about the woods and fields of old Concord and boating on your favorite stream. We had our full share of the snowstorm of which you gave so glowing an account inclusive of your domestic water sentinel (a short way of saying pump!) with its “ghost” of snow. I have kept my usual record of the return of the birds, and am happy to inform you that the Quail has several times of late saluted me with his sweet whistle or call for “Bob White” as the country boys hereabouts translate him. We have had a peculiar singing pewee with an additional stave to his little song very peculiar & rather comical in its way.

I am glad to hear of the success of Friend Alcott, as Superintendent of your village schools— Concord may well be proud to have such a Captain— Please remember me affectionately to him & his family & thank him for me for a copy of his School Report which I duly rec^d and read with attention, noting Miss A’s happy travesty of the old Scotch border song. I was sorry to find you “aberat” and hope that some less cause than illness prevented you. Concord cant spare any of her ballast.

My dear friend, Since I saw you, & considerably since I wrote you last have I met with some fresh and very unexpected experiences, which have resulted in a change of my religious views. Long, long have I striven to become a good man, rather, to obtain that peace of mind which I conclude to be the evidence of a soul in a state of acceptance with its Creator, but in vain have been my efforts and my researches in the wisdom of the schools of ancient and modern philosophy, the (I fear) delusive and bewitching scepticism of so many noble minds. I am now quite inclined to believe in what are termed the dogmas of Christianity— at least in a part of them & have ceased to rebel against the rest. From my repeated failures in the path of virtue & godliness I am at last convinced of the necessity of regeneration i.e. a new heart— and what may surprise you still more, I am led to believe in the existence of an Evil Spirit, the great adversary of the Soul, whose malign influence has so often destroyed my fondest hopes of peace. I seize upon the truth of the Gospel as recorded in the Old and New Testaments as a shipwrecked sailor to the hand

249. “COMET TEBBUTT, (C/1861 N1=1861 II). A naked-eye object from discovery until mid-Aug., T=1861 June 12. Extraordinary display created by comet’s close encounter with Earth. Spotted in the Southern Hemisphere on May 13th at 4th magnitude. Moved north very slowly across Eridanus. On June 8th, of 2nd magnitude. At mid month, 1st magnitude. Tail already 40 degrees long. Thereafter, motion increased dramatically. On June 24th, when near Rigel, zero magnitude. In conjunction with the Sun on June 29th. Earth passed through the comet’s tail! In the Northern Hemisphere, appeared suddenly in Auriga at dawn - immense, brilliant object. Descriptions suggest the head was at least -1 or -2 magnitude. Tail seen to stretch from Auriga to Ophiuchus - 120 degrees! Comet became circumpolar on July 1st. The next night the head was zero magnitude, tail 97 degrees long. On July 8th, when near the Big Dipper, 1st magnitude with a tail up to 60 degrees long. Thereafter rapidly declined. Of 2nd to 3rd magnitude at mid month, 4th at the end. Lost to the unaided eye in mid August.”



stretched forth to rescue him from the whelming waves. The spiritual wants of man herein recorded and corroborated by his inward light seem to be so aptly fitted that nothing less than a Divine master could have given them to us. What is human life without the faith and hope thus inspired within the soul! – the faith of so many of the great and good, the saints and Martyrs of the Church of Christ. Oh! dear T. we need it all. “I am not mad most noble Festus” but am willing to be accounted a fool for the sake of the great Head of the Church. I know that you are too good and too pure a man to smile at my new born Zeal or rather newly awakened for I once before long ago was similarly led. Do nt think that I am about to forsake my kind Concord friends, the purest, wisest and best of philosophers, dear noble souls – no – My heart yearns for your spiritual recognition of the revealed word, wherein ye may see that “ye must be born again”. What ever takes from our faith and hopes in the future life, robs us of the only possessions that render our earthly existence endurable.

Let us devoutly pray to God for light, for light & strength. We must feel contrite – be ready to smite our breast and cry “God be merciful to me a sinner”. O! there must be a listening ear to the fervent petition of the troubled soul– Our Heavenly Father will hear us — He will answer too our prayers. I humbly trust that He has mine.

As I said before I have no rebellion in my heart now– I gladly accept whatever provision God has made for our future happiness, & endeavor to repose with faith upon the arm of Divine Wisdom– Welcome Christ the Saviour of our souls if God so wills, Mystery though it be – purest of the pure, simplest & wisest of all teachers, who died for his faithfulness – the great exemplar & guide of man through the thorny road of earthly life, whose life blood sealed the great testimony of truth he wrought out for us – typical of regeneration He died for us all– How grateful we should feel towards him, the great Head of the Church.

Monday Mrng. July 1. Thus far I wrote last evening & now take my pen to draw my letter to a close. We are just commencing mowing & the scythes are already busy in the hands of my hired men – the most graceful of the farmer’s graceful labor – all of which is the living poetry of rural life.

Do let me hear from you soon? And remember me kindly to Channing for whom I shall ever feel an affectionate interest, and to dear father Alcott, and to that complex gentleman, scholar, philosopher & Christian, Radulphus Primus! My wife has had a long illness, but is now recovering. My valued Uncle, James Thornton died 27 April last in his 64th year, of which please inform Channing, who knew him. With kind regards to your mother & sister, I remain truly & affectionately

Your friend,



Dan¹ Ricketson
“Te teneam monius deficiente manu.”

What he meant by that he would feel sufficiently confident to confide to his journal in his extreme old age, in May 1885 just after he had read of and had evidently been perplexed by the supernaturalist beliefs that had passed for religion in the mind of Victor Hugo:

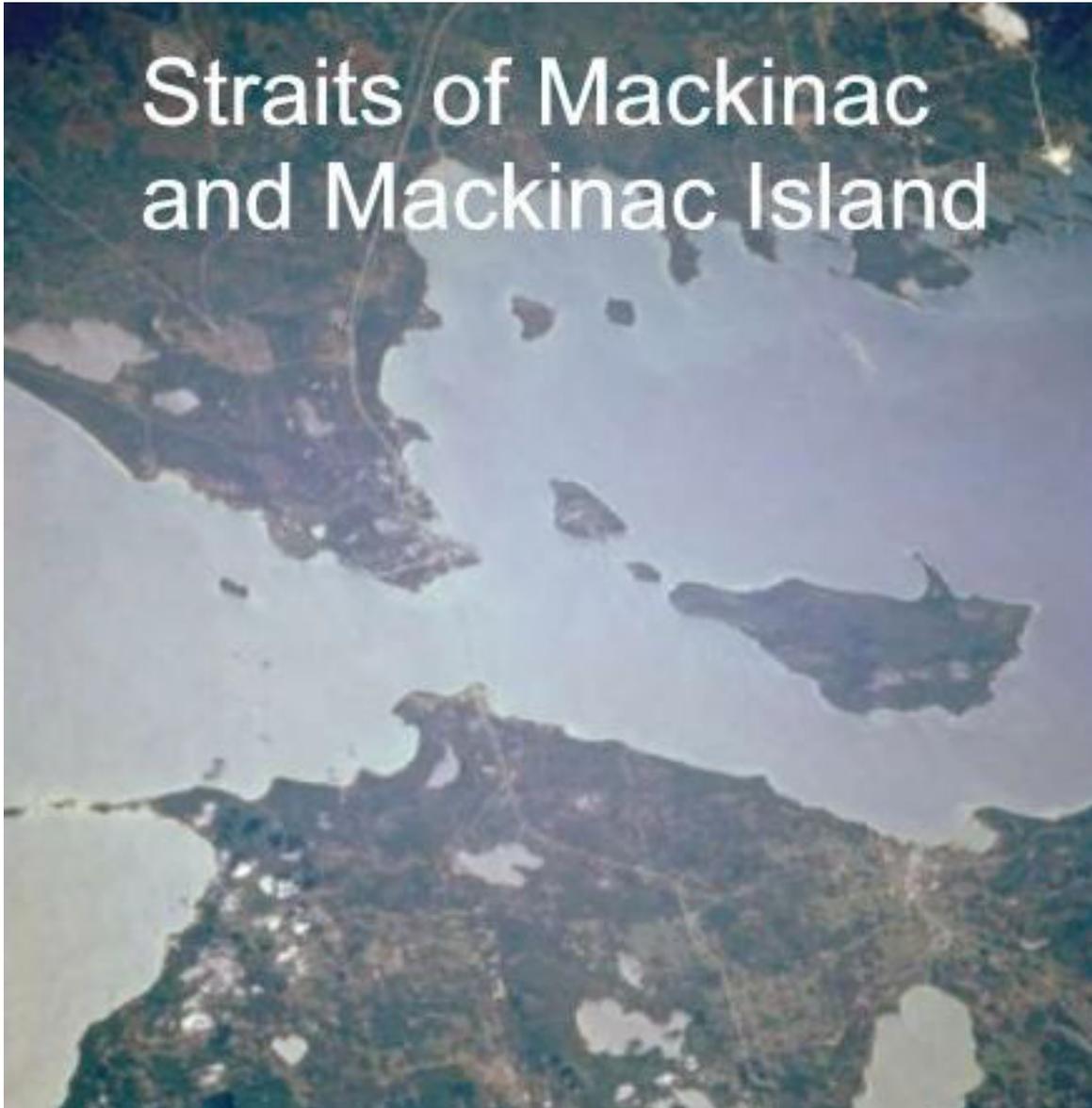


I believe in the gentle doctrines of the early Friends – particularly that of “the indwelling light,” as the first great teacher and guide, it being ... the true interpreter of the Sacred Volume whose pages bear record of this divine manifestation to mankind from the earliest ages.... At the hour of death I hope for grace from on high, to resign myself with childlike confidence into the hands of our Heavenly Father, the great and good Creator, whose protecting care over me in my past youth, manhood, and old age, I have so often witnessed.... As a birthright member of the Society of Friends, I would express my continued faith in its Christian doctrines, so simple and true, so human and charitable when rightly observed, feeling that in the future they will be seen to be the truest interpretation of the Christian truth. So, asking God’s blessing upon those who may be called upon to suffer for its principles I would close.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Thoreau jotted down that he and Horace Mann, Jr. had reached the “Mackinaw House” on [Mackinac Island](#). By 1838 this island, which had started out as the Michilimackinac “Green Turtle” burying ground, had already become firmly established as a summer health resort, catering in particular to those suffering from seasonal allergies such as hay fever. In fact some sufferers had to be turned away in earlier years for lack of accommodations. By 1861 there had been a building boom –although the Grand Hotel and the Michigan State Park were still a number of years in the future– and Thoreau and Mann were able to choose among several hotels and boarding houses. It was unseasonably cold and Thoreau was so ill at this point that he spent most

of his time sitting by the fire with Mann bringing [botanical](#) collections in to him. Be it noted that Margaret Fuller and [William Cullen Bryant](#) had been on Mackinac Island and young Mann had himself been there before as a boy of 13 with his father.



We may recollect a letter written by Horace Mann, Sr. on Mackinac Island in 1857: “I never breathed such air before, and this must be some that was clear out of Eden, and did not get cursed. I slept every night under sheet, blanket, and coverlet, and no day is too warm for smart walking and vigorous bowling. The children are crazy

with animal spirits.”²⁵⁰



Therefore, it is clear, Thoreau did not return to Concord via the Great Lakes by accident, nor stop off at Mackinac Island by happenstance.

ASTRONOMY

250. See pages 157-163 of J.A. Van Fleet, OLD AND NEW MACKINAC (Ann Arbor, 1870).

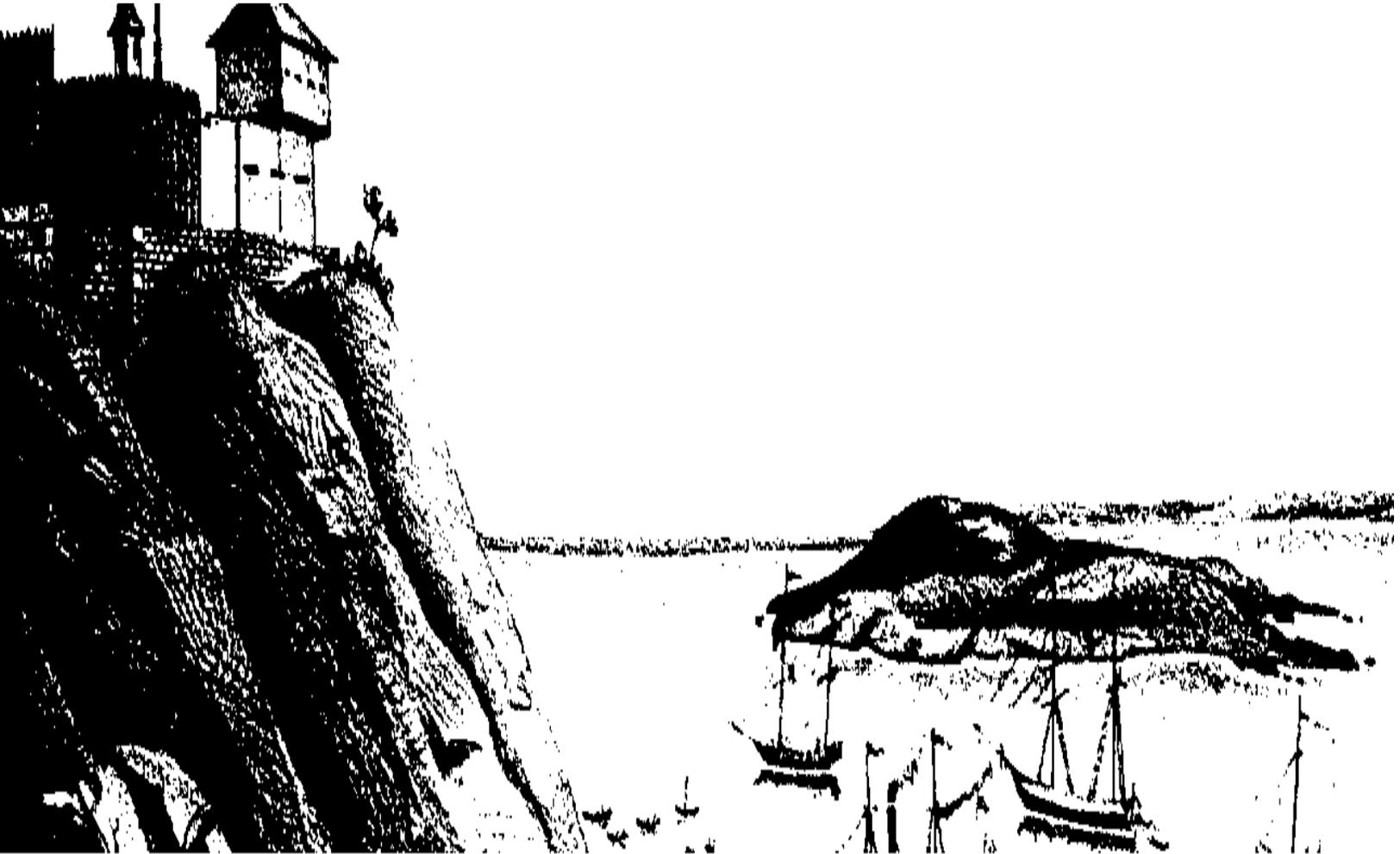
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Michilimackinac "Green Turtle" Island on Lake Michigan





1862

At the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), an astronomical observatory was added. Also, Friend Ebenezer Metcalf donated securities of the value of \$22,500 to enable the children of Friends to attend this Quaker institution.

[Friend Alfred H. Love](#)'s AN APPEAL IN VINDICATION OF PEACE PRINCIPLES, AND AGAINST RESISTANCE BY FORCE OF ARMS (Philadelphia: Maas and Vogdes).

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Professor [William Henry Harvey](#)'s *PHYCOLOGIA AUSTRALICA* (London: Volume 4, plates 181-240). Also, his "Notice of a collection of algae made on the northwest coast of North America, chiefly at Vancouver's Island, by David Lyall, Esq., M.D., R.N., in the years 1859-1861," in [Journal of the Linnaean Society Bot.](#) (6:157-177). Also, [Friend William](#)'s religious views as expressed in correspondence with his friend Josiah Gough were published in the form CHARLES AND JOSIAH: OR FRIENDLY CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN A CHURCHMAN AND A [QUAKER](#) (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. Grafton-Street; London:—Bell and Daldy).

CHARLES AND JOSIAH

The Roman [Catholic](#) Sisters of Mercy moved their St. Aloysius orphanage in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from their convent on Claverick Street into a newer building on Prairie Avenue.

In New-York, [Quakers](#) founded a Friends Employment Society to train young women to work in hospitals and other jobs.

With the beginning of civil war, for financial reasons the Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania was forced to discontinue its instruction. [Friend Ann Preston](#) was, however, able to open the doors of her new Woman's Hospital on North College Avenue in Philadelphia, and was able to raise enough money to send her colleague Dr. Emeline Horton Cleveland off to the Maternité hospital in Paris to study

obstetrics — so that upon her return the new hospital could have a resident physician.



The federal Congress passed the Morrill Act which established land-grant colleges in rural areas: through such land-grant colleges, millions of women would be able to acquire low-cost degrees. The Homestead Act promised 160 acres of free land to anyone regardless of gender, who would live on it and improve it for five years: many single women would “prove up claims” under this act, especially teachers who would be able to work the land during the summer vacation.

In 1841, three women had already receive full baccalaureate degrees from Oberlin College, but Mary Hosford, Elizabeth Smith Prall, and Caroline Mary Rudd were white. In this year’s graduating class at Oberlin College, Mary Jane Patterson became the 1st African-American woman to receive a full baccalaureate degree.

June 20: According to a report that would appear in the New-York Tribune on the following day, a delegation of Progressive Friends called upon President Abraham Lincoln to present a memorial praying him to decree the emancipation (general [manumission](#)) of the [slaves](#), which had been adopted at their annual meeting in the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Members of the delegation were: Friend Thomas Garrett, Friend Alice Eliza Hambleton, Friend Oliver Johnson, Friend Dinah Mendenhall, Friend William Barnard, and Friend Eliza Agnew:

The President was reported to have said that, as he had not been furnished with a copy of the memorial in advance, he could not be expected to make any extended remarks. It was a relief to be assured that the deputation were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons. The next most troublesome subject was Slavery. He agreed with the memorialists, that Slavery was wrong, but in regard to the ways and means of its removal, his views probably differed from theirs.²⁵¹ The quotation in the memorial,

251. In fact President Abraham Lincoln’s own attitude toward the prospect of an Emancipation Proclamation was that this would be, if it would be anything, a mere military tactic of last resort. He would become famous in American history as “The Great Emancipator” not because of any affection for the American negro but only after the course of events had caused him to begin to muse in desperation that “Things have gone from bad to worse ... until I felt that we had played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game!” Never would a man be more reluctant to come to the aid of his fellow.



from his Springfield speech, was incomplete. It should have embraced another sentence, in which he indicated his views as to the effect upon Slavery itself of the resistance to its extension.

The sentiments contained in that passage were deliberately uttered, and he held them now. If a decree of emancipation could abolish Slavery, John Brown would have done the work effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be any more effective?

Friend Oliver Johnson was reported to have replied as follows: "True, Mr. President, the Constitution cannot now be enforced at the South, but you do not on that account intermit the effort to enforce it, and the memorialists are solemnly convinced that the abolition of Slavery is indispensable to your success."

The President was reported to have further said that he felt the magnitude of the task before him, and hoped to be rightly directed in the very trying circumstances by which he was surrounded.

Wm. Barnard was reported to have addressed the President in a few words, expressing sympathy for him in all his embarrassments, and an earnest desire that he might, under divine guidance, be led to free the slaves and thus save the nation from destruction. In that case, nations yet unborn would rise up to call him blessed and, better still, he would secure the blessing of God.

The President was reported to have responded very impressively, saying that he was deeply sensible of his need of Divine assistance. He had sometime thought that perhaps he might be an instrument in God's hands of accomplishing a great work and he certainly was not unwilling to be. Perhaps, however, God's way of accomplishing the end which the memorialists have in view may be different from theirs. It would be his earnest endeavor, with a firm reliance upon the Divine arm, and seeking light from above, to do his duty in the place to which he had been called.

Frederick Palmer wrote from New Orleans to his sister in Connecticut:

*Good Morning Sister,
... A little boy about Franks age came in last night with a pair
of handcuffs around his leg where his [owner] fastened him to
keep from running away. They suffer very much. Do you pity them
poor creatures? Do you ever think of them?
How beautiful Montville must look ... I will imagine you
preparing to sit down to write me a letter which I do not believe
you are doing.
Do not be afraid to write me all the news. Do you miss me at
home? Do the neighbors ever inquire for me?*

1863

[Friend Alfred Henry Love](#) was drafted into the Union army, but refused to hire a substitute.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



January 1: The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered the annual election sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature.

Major General John B. Magruder, who had become the Confederate commander of military forces in Texas on November 29, 1862, gave the recapture of Galveston top priority. At 3AM four Confederate gunboats appeared, coming down the bay toward Galveston. Soon afterward, the Rebels commenced a land attack. The Union forces in Galveston were three companies of the 42d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment under the command of Colonel Isaac S. Burrell. The Confederates captured or killed all of them except for the regiment's adjutant. They also took the *Harriet Lane*, by boarding her, and two barks and a schooner. Commander W.B. Renshaw's flagship, the USS *Westfield*, ran aground when trying to help the *Harriet Lane* and, at 10AM, she was blown up to prevent her capture. Galveston was in Confederate hands again although the Union blockade would limit commerce in and out of the harbor. Soon afterward, the Rebels would be commencing a land attack upon the port city.

Congress had enacted in 1861 that all slaves employed against the Union were to be considered free, and in 1862 that all slaves of men who supported the Confederacy were to be considered free. At this point President Abraham Lincoln, who had been dragging his feet, more or less got on board this onrushing train. Having made a preliminary proclamation on September 22, 1862  that [emancipation](#) from [slavery](#) would become effective, at the turn of the year, in those states which had not renounced their rebelliousness, at this point he made good on his threat by issuing a proclamation of emancipation that had been drafted by a bunch of Washington lawyers.

READ THE FULL TEXT

A devout man, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase read the BIBLE daily and sought comfort in God for the loss of so many of his wives and so many of his children. When Chase had called to the President's attention that there was no mention of the Deity in the draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had allowed as a new last line "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of all mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

At the clock tick which began this year he, as a martial law measure, offered to "emancipate" all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, without offering anything at all to any slave whom he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick, especially since we have no reason to suspect that he would have been willing to touch any black person whom he did have the power physically to touch. Although to all appearances he grandly was declaring to be free all slaves residing in territories in rebellion against the federal government, his "Emancipation Proclamation," so called, would turn out to be actually only a temporary martial-law proclamation, which in accordance with the deliberate intention of its careful drafters would free precious few. (I don't know that a head count has ever been conducted, and here suggest that such a count would prove to be alarming if not nauseating.) The proclamation explicitly stated that it did not apply at all to any of the slaves in border states fighting on the Union side; nor would it be of any applicability to slaves in southern areas already under Union control; nor would it be of any use to any other slaves, since, naturally, the states in rebellion would take no action on Lincoln's order.²⁵² To avail themselves of this opportunity, slaves would have to vote with their feet. At great risk they would need to make their way across the battle lines into

252. The hypocrisy of this was being well commented on in French newspapers at that time. For a review of this French commentary on the American white hypocrisy, refer to Blackburn, George M. FRENCH NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. Contributions in American History No. 171. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

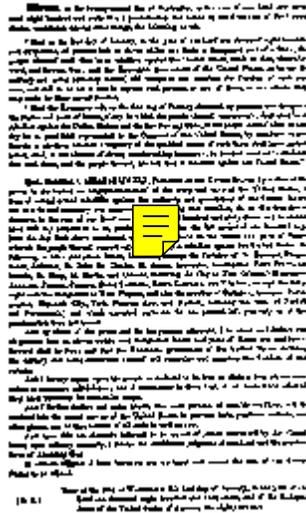


LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

the Northern-controlled territories, where they would need to volunteer for war labor and get their names registered in the emancipation program. Pacifists and noneffectives need not apply.

Proclamation.



Abraham Lincoln had been quite reluctant to see affairs come even to such a straited pass as this. A believer in white supremacy, he never viewed the war in any other manner than in terms of preserving the Union and his own control as President over the entirety of it. The simple fact was that, as pressure for abolition mounted in Congress and the country, as a practical politician similar to President Richard Milhouse Nixon (who would espouse and finance the Head Start program because of its political popularity although he believed the money was being wasted on children who, because they were black, would be incapable of profiting from the attention and the expenditure), Lincoln was willing to cave in and make himself more responsive. Thus it had come about that:



A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual arm rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing [*sic*??] said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Palquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebone, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Morthampton [*sic*??], Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all case when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.



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The federal government's temporary instrument of war allowed that, while human slavery would continue to be tolerated everywhere within its sphere of influence, it would no longer tolerate this practice in any area **not** within said sphere of influence.

Nevertheless, before a black audience in Tremont Temple in Boston, this governmental declaration was read aloud and Frederick Douglass led in the singing of the hymn "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" [William Cooper Nell](#), President of the sponsoring Union Progressive Association, addressed the group. For this occasion [Waldo Emerson](#) composed "Boston Hymn," a poem in which he neatly cut the Gordian Knot of compensation:

**Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is the owner,
And ever was. Pay him.**

We may imagine that on this occasion hands were shaken all around, with no distinction of color. Imagine then, if you will, the author of this Emancipation Proclamation, President Abraham Lincoln, during one of his many electoral campaigns, reaching down from the stump and grasping the hand of a black man. Do you fancy that this ever happened?

The word "[emancipation](#)," after all, comes to us from the Latin *manus*, meaning "hand," and *capio*, meaning "take." When a Roman purchased something, it was considered that the act of purchasing was not complete, either conventionally or legally, until he had grasped it with his hand. If he was purchasing land, he picked up a handful of soil and thereby took title. If he was purchasing a slave, he took hold of the slave and thereby took title.

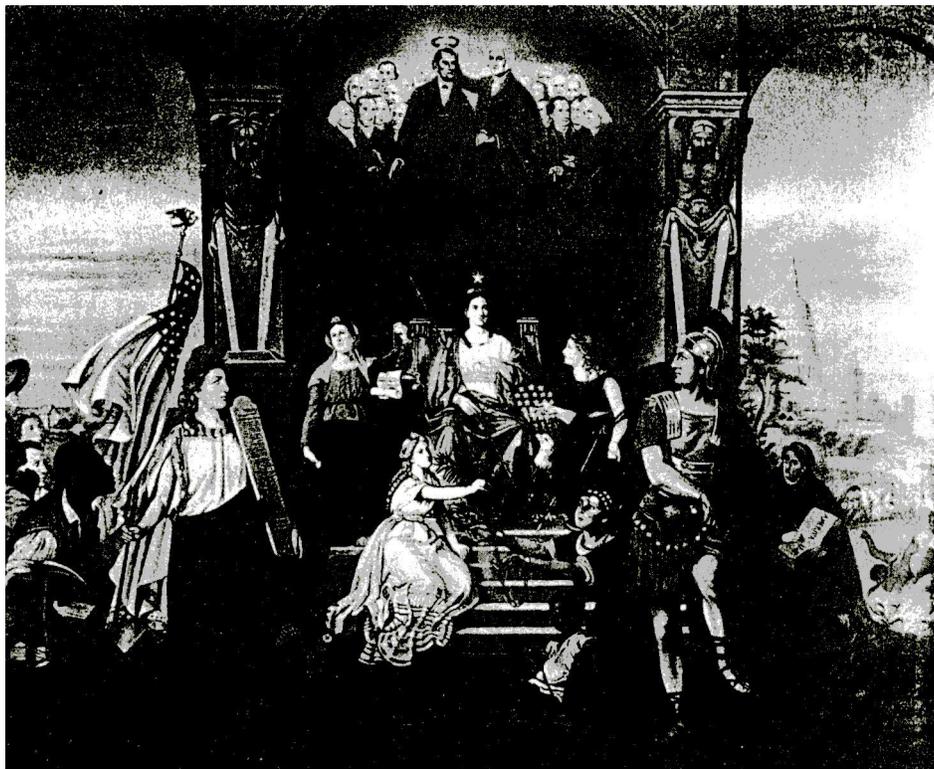
The power of this *paterfamilias* over his son was, in fact, the same as the power of this man over his slave –

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he could execute either one— but there was a legal ceremony by which, when his son became of age, his son could be set free to form his own *familias*. In that ceremony the father took the son by the hand, as if he were taking possession of a slave, but then dropped his son's hand. After he had done this three times in succession, his son was *emancipio*. Emancipation, therefore, had a lot to do with shaking hands. Except during the US Civil War.

I am leading up to saying that Abraham Lincoln “emancipated” all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, but did not emancipate any slave he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick. Here, in this painting, we can see how it was done:



The Emancipation Proclamation was an offer to place names on a list, which persons, should they fulfil the preconditions, would, at the end of the period of hostilities, be granted papers of [manumission](#) by the Federal Government. This was a very formal matter. It required prior registration. Whose names were actually so registered? Who actually received such papers of manumission? There should be such a list somewhere, if anyone did initiate or complete this process and if anyone did actually get freedom through this vehicle. Where is that list? How long is it? Does it exist? No, my friend, you've been conned. After a long and bloody civil war which was fought over whether we were going to be one nation state or two rather than over racial issues, we got ourselves out of this holiday from the Commandments in part by a carefully worded temporary martial law measure denominated the Emancipation Proclamation, which had been created by a team of white Washington DC lawyers. Under the terms of that martial law measure, which lapsed as soon as martial law lapsed, if a Southern slave could make it across the battle lines intact, and then perform labor for the Northern armies, and if that Southern slave could arrange to have his or her name recorded as part of the indicated program, as one of its beneficiaries, **then**, and **only** then, could he or she hope that at the successful conclusion of the war he or she would receive freebie manumission papers from the federal government. Read the fine

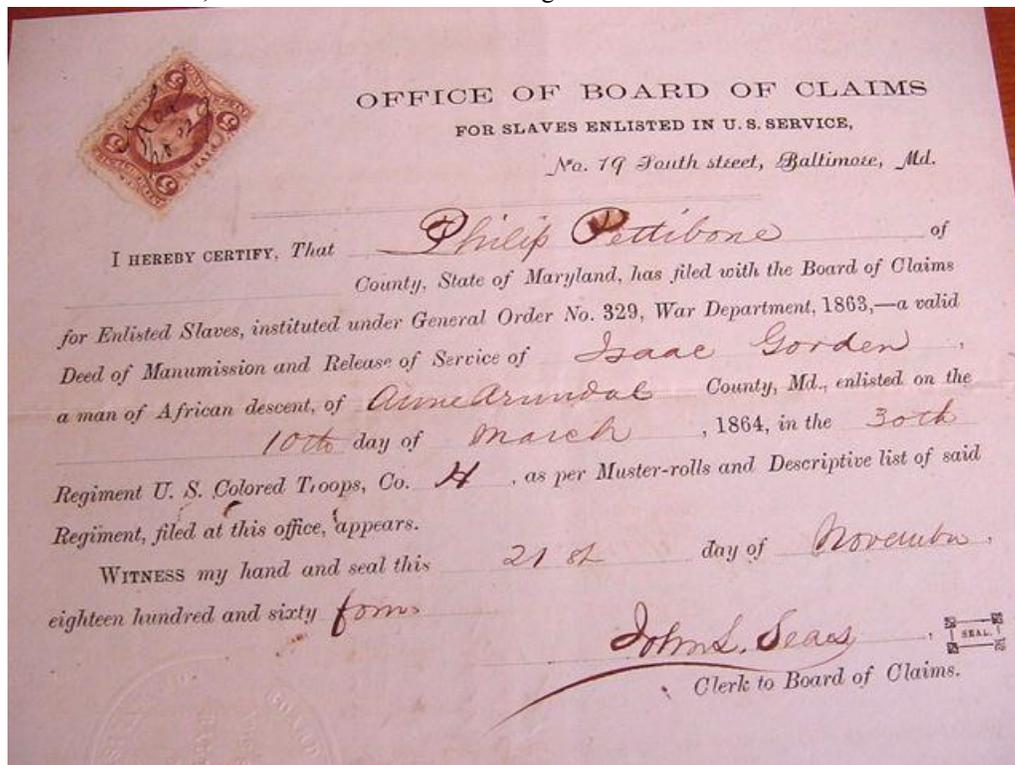


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print, and weep. I don't know how few people managed to avail themselves of this very restricted opportunity, but I do know it must have been very few, and I suspect in fact that it was zero. Perhaps one reason why we don't have a list of the names of people who obtained freedom in this way is embarrassment, at how short or null such a list would prove to be. We don't want to know about such things.

I have come across one such actual named military emancipation from this period. This emancipation did not, however, relate in any way to the Emancipation Proclamation. It related, instead, to a military Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves which was instituted under General Order No. 329 of the War Department during 1863. Here is the original certification of manumission document, from this Office of the Board of Claims, and it seems to be based on military service that had been rendered by the slave Isaac Gorden as a member of H Company, 30th Regiment, of the U.S. Colored Troops. It includes an order to reimburse the owner of this soldier Isaac Gordon, a man named N. Hammond Esgless. The document reads as follows: "OFFICE OF

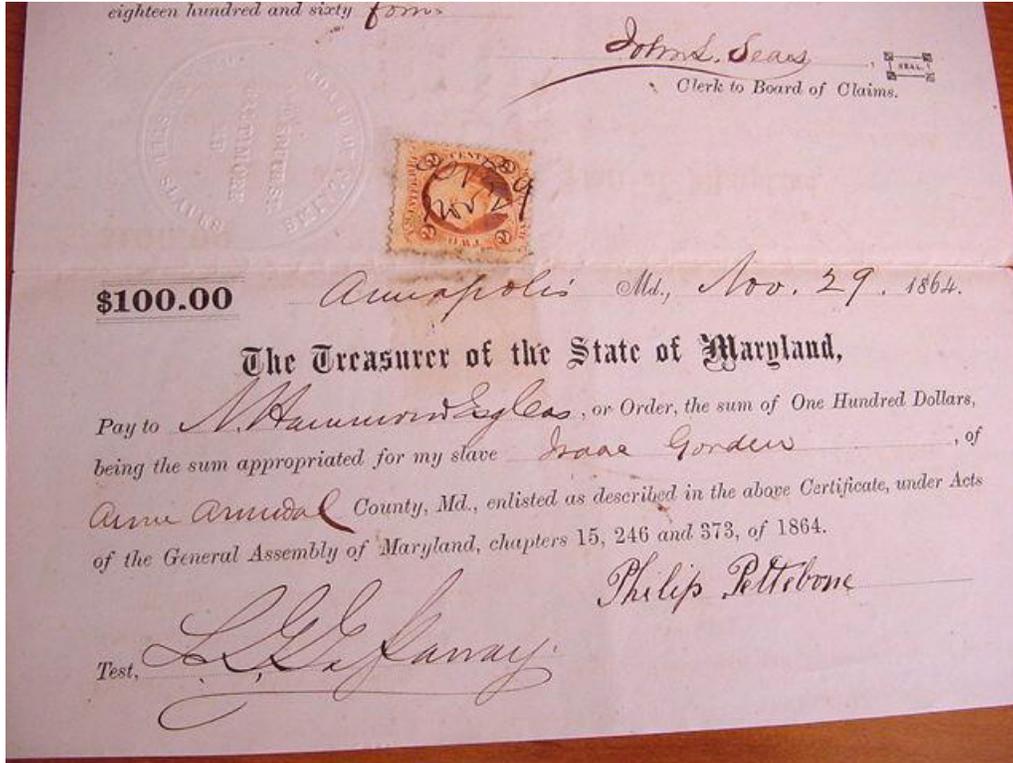


BOARD OF CLAIMS for slaves enlisted in U.S. Service, No. 19 South Street, Baltimore, [Maryland](#). I HEREBY CERTIFY, That Philip Pettibone of [blank] county, State of Maryland, has filed with the Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves, instituted under General Order No. 329, War Department, 1863, - a valid Deed of Manumission and Release of service of Isaac Gorden a man of African decent, of Anne Arundel county, Md., enlisted on the 10th day of March, 1864, in the 30th Regiment U.S. Colored Troops, Co. H, as per Muster-rolls and descriptive list of said Regiment, filed at this office, appears. Witness my hand and seal this 21st day of November, eighteen hundred and sixty four [signed] John S. Sears, Clerk to Board of Claims." There is an impress seal that says: Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves No. 19 South St. Baltimore, Md. At the bottom of the document the following appears: "\$100.00 Annapolis Md. Nov. 29, 1864. The Treasurer of the State of Maryland, Pay to N. Hammond Esgless, or Order, the sum of One Hundred Dollars, being the sum appropriated for my slave Isaac Gorden, of Anne arundel County, Md. enlisted as described in the above Certificate, under Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, chapter 15, 246 and 373, of 1864. [signed] Philip Pettibone Test, [signature illegible]" There are two Revenue stamps, a 5-cent and 2-cent, attached to the document and they are dated "Nov 29." The document has two folds. There is writing on the back of the

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document which appears to be for filing purposes.



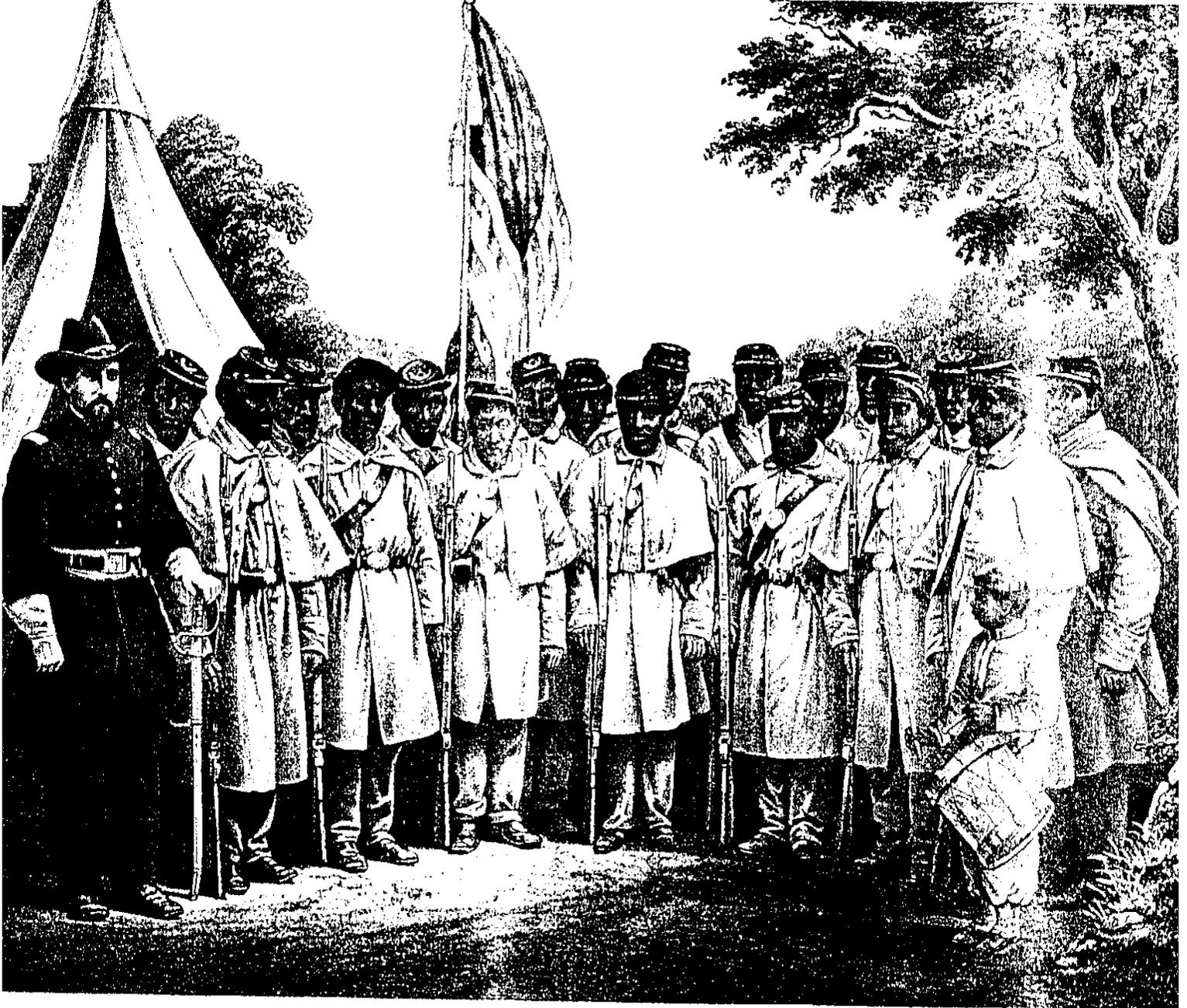
After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, Headman Seattle (See-Ahth of the Susquamish) of the Susquamish, the same “Chief Seattle” who is famous for an environmentalist speech in the manner in which we all should be famous for our environmental speeches, that is, famous for an environmental speech which in fact wasn’t made (his actual speech seems to have been about the deep spiritual differences between peoples of widely differing cultures), **did** free his eight Native American slaves. 

In this year, the Union army would begin to enlist black soldiers, to serve of course under white officers, of course at a lower rate of pay than white soldiers. Notice this unit’s drummer, who was paid at a lower rate still,

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paid less for being not only black but also, indeed, only a little boy. A quite emancipated little boy.



COME AND JOIN US BROTHERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECRUITING COLORED REGIMENTS

1210 CHESTNUT ST. PHILADELPHIA.

The lithograph which pictured this little drummer was based on a daguerreotype made indoors, next door to

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“Roadside”, the country home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) near Philadelphia.



This was a military training camp, on which people were preparing for the task of killing other people, and it was named “Camp [William Penn](#),” after a [Quaker](#) pacifist who was being alleged to have given up the wearing

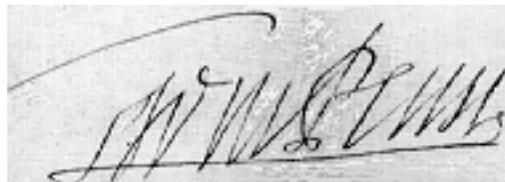
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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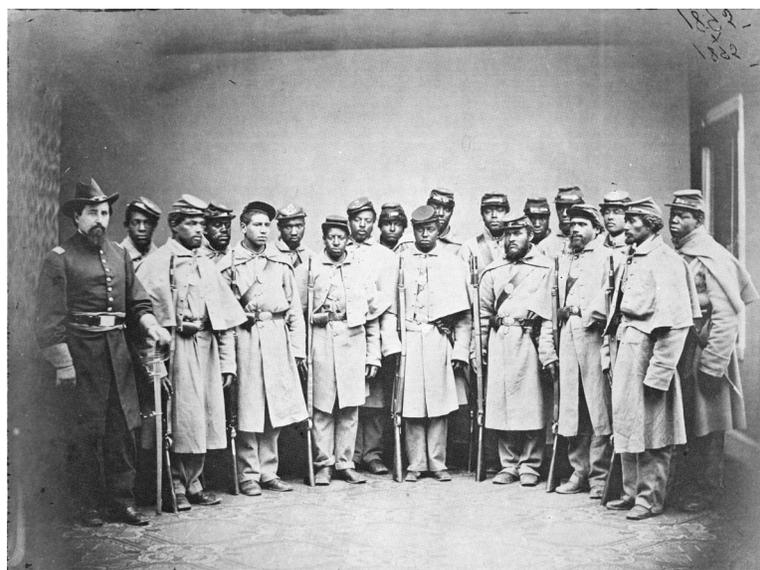
of the sword of nobility, whose favorite punch line went:



It is not our ends that justify our means.



The image is a fraud. In the original, there is no flag waving bravely in the background. There is no tent. There is no greenery. There is no little drummer boy flanking to the right. Looking carefully at the fraud, we can see that the countenances of the black men have been sketched on, exaggerating their negroid features in such manner as to emphasize, that the important thing which we are to grasp about these Union soldiers, is their ethnicity.

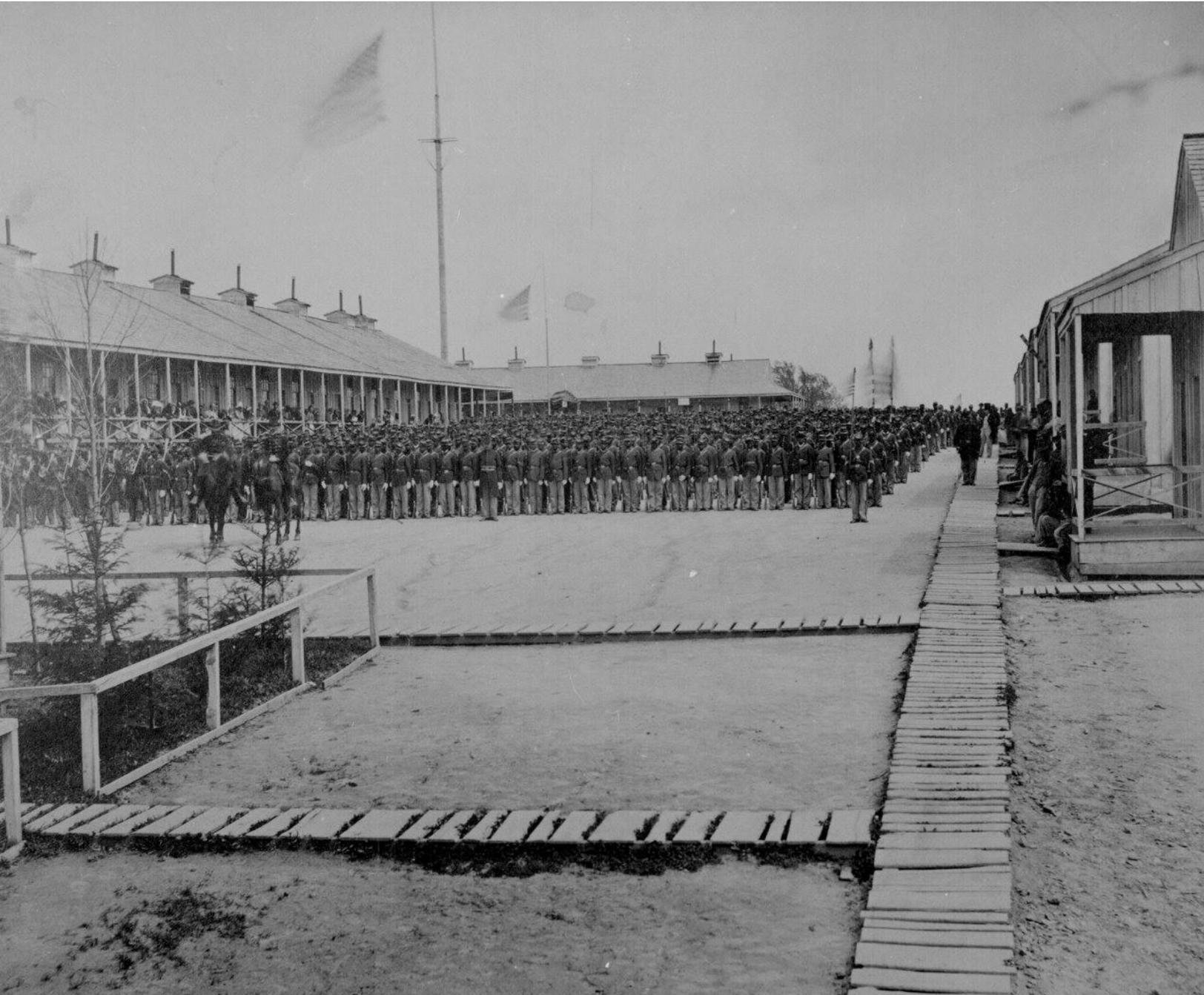


Here is a real photograph of Camp [William Penn](#). As you can clearly see, a waving flag looks quite a bit

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

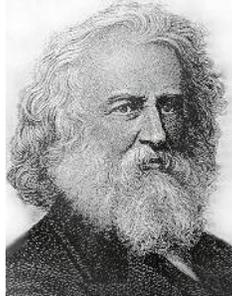
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different in a real photograph of the period!



The irony of this seems rather heavy. [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) wrote, as his contribution to the recruitment campaign for the war (what if they gave a war and nobody came?), the immortal patriotic doggerel

“one if by day, and two if by night.”²⁵³



Frederick Douglass traveled through the cities of the North, recruiting black men to serve the Union Army. His son Lewis, age 22, and his son Charles Remond, age 19, were among the first to enlist. But the Union armies were routinely returning runaways to their owners. General McClellan ordered that slave rebellions were to be put down “with an iron hand.” But there were **so many** runaways. Finally, in Virginia, a Union general who believed in slavery, Benjamin Butler, began to declare them “contraband of war” and put them to work. Although Abraham Lincoln had twice disciplined Union generals who had freed slaves, putting slaves to work was something the President could accept, and the result was the Confiscation Act.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson described a celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation at Camp Saxton on one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, that had been occupied by Northern black

253. Well, at least that was the way Gerald Ford’s teleprompter had it, when he gave the keynote address at the Concord Bicentennial Celebration of April 19, 1975 at the Old North Bridge. And perhaps no poet has been parodied more: it’s all because, while he was at Bowdoin College in 1822 with author-to-be [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) (still [Hathorne](#)) and president-to-be [Franklin Pierce](#), he was accustomed to play whist without a helmet.

[Acting on a news story about ex-Presidents selling their autographs, I have sent a copy of this page to ex-President Gerald Rudolph Ford, along with a \$1.⁰⁰ bill and a reminder that in the era in question a dollar bill was worth almost precisely what a C-note is worth today, and asked if he could in good humor initial below:

X _____]

Longfellow’s thing about “one if by land, and two if by sea” was of course inaccurate in that the Atlantic Ocean didn’t ever get involved. The militia’s concern was whether the regular troops stabled in Boston were going to march down the Neck and through Roxbury, or first row themselves across the Charles River so they could march through Cambridge. In quoting Longfellow before the Concordians on April 19, 1975 as having said “one if by day, and two if by night,” Former President Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr., seems to me to have been saying something very Thoreauvian to these people, he was almost saying:

Look, this history stuff you have been passing off is drivel, and besides, you aren’t at all like your ancestors. For one thing your ancestors didn’t worship themselves, the way you worship yourselves through your ancestors. For another thing, it’s way past time you people got busy and did something for others, rather than wanting other people to come around and make your bacon for you. Would you look at this dump, you’re turning Concord into a damned tourist trap! By creatively “misquoting” this poem, I’m going to show you how little it, and you, are worth in the great scheme of things.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

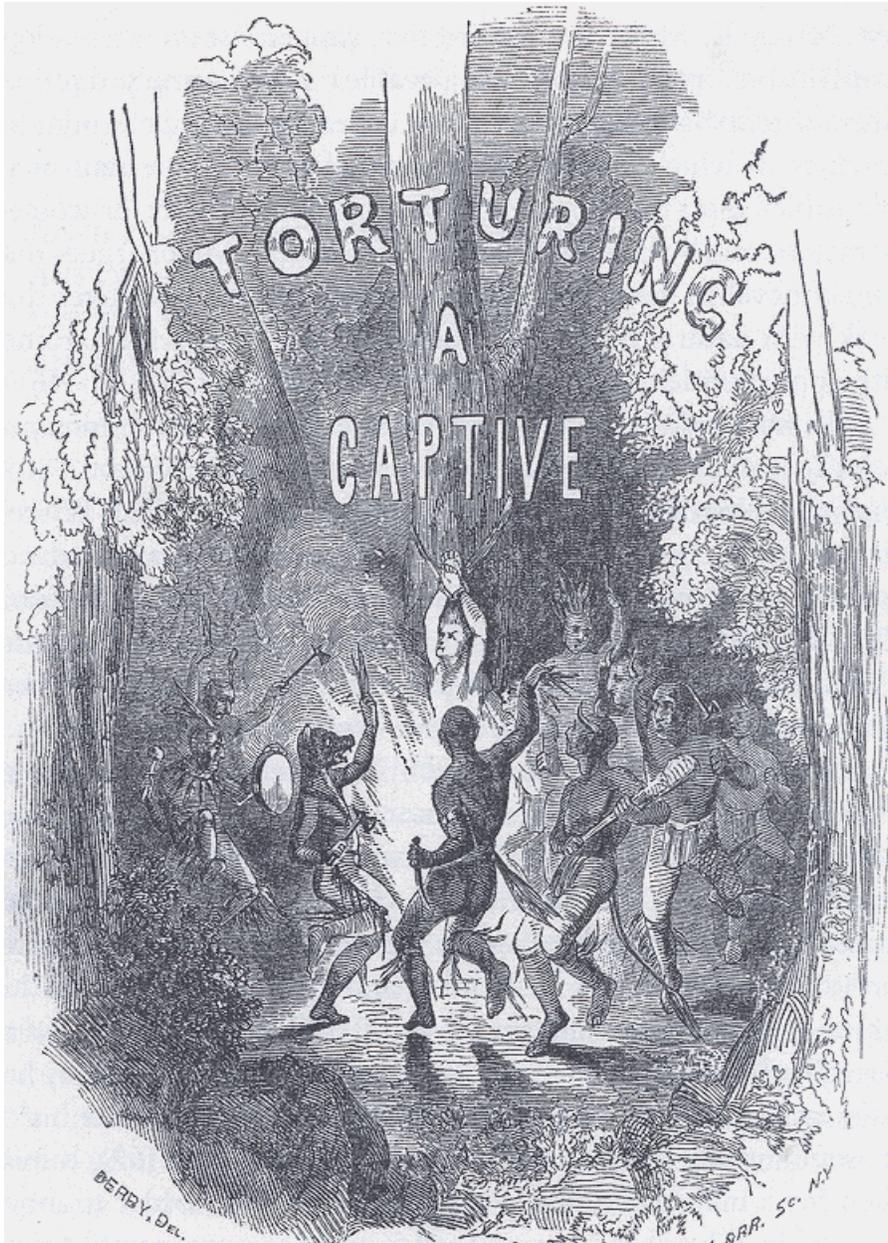
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troops and were being protected by the ships of the US Navy.

The services began at half past eleven o'clock, with a prayer.... Then the President's Proclamation was read.... Then the colors were presented.... Then followed an incident so touching, so utterly unexpected and startling, that I can scarcely believe it on recalling, though it gave the keynote to the whole day. The very moment the speaker had ceased, and just as I took and waved the flag, which now for the first time meant anything to these poor people, there suddenly arose, close beside the platform, a strong male voice (but rather cracked and elderly), into which two women's voices instantly blended, singing as if by an impulse that could no more be repressed than the morning note of the song-sparrow. —

My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing!

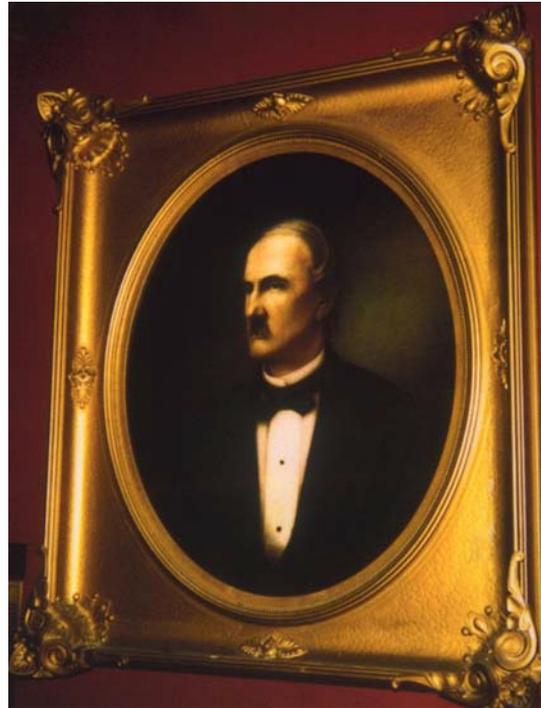
After the ceremony the white officers visited a nearby plantation and viewed the instruments of torture still lying in the local slave-jail.



In Beaufort, South Carolina, the Reverend William Henry Brisbane, the Union officer in charge of auctioning off the lands and structures of the former slave plantations of the district, read the Emancipation Proclamation aloud to thousands of freedmen.

General John Pope sent General Henry Hastings Sibley and General Alfred Sully onto the Dakota reservation in Minnesota, to hunt down the remaining tribespeople and get them off their land so it could be divided into

farm acreage for white people.



(Early in this year, Stephen Grover Cleveland, a future president, was 26 years of age and it was time to serve his country — so he hired a man. He was just as much a draft dodger, in his era, as Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, in our own era!)

April 23: Frances Dana Gage, writing from Parris Island, South Carolina, invented the “and ar’n’t I a woman” speech and inserted it into the mouth of Sojourner Truth, “the weird, wonderful creature, who was at once a marvel and a mystery.” She even had Truth assuming the pose of Story’s famed “Libyan Sibyl” sculpture.²⁵⁴

[T]his is testimony to the role of symbol in our public life and to our need for this symbol.... Gage crafted her “Sojourner Truth” carefully, and her sensitivity was remarkably modern. Her account is still compelling. But it is by no means the real Sojourner Truth.

254. Nell Irvin Painter. SOJOURNER TRUTH: A LIFE, A SYMBOL. NY: W.W. Norton, 1996 pages 174-5.

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How did Gage figure she could get away with such a misrepresentation? Oh, easy. After all, in this month's The Atlantic Monthly, Harriet Beecher Stowe was presenting an article on Sojourner Truth, recounting an "Is God dead?" story she was claiming to have heard from the lips of Wendell Phillips. This gent, while not exactly denouncing his anti-slavery colleague Mrs. Stowe as a fabricator, would need to deny having been present on any such occasion.



< .OCCASION SUCH ANY ON PRESENT NOT WAS I

Frederick Douglass would not controvert (of course) that the incident had indeed occurred, but would also (of course) refrain from confessing a key incidental detail — that in fact this had occurred in a low-rent Quaker meetinghouse in Salem, Ohio, on August 22, 1852,  rather than, as being recounted by Stowe, in



upscale downtown Boston's toney Faneuil Hall.



Stowe's article also was creating out of whole cloth a story that Isaac and Maria Van Wagenen of Wagondale, members of the Klyn Esopus Dutch Reformed Church and Isabella's employers in upstate New York, had been Quakers. It was at this point that she was improving upon reality by making out that Truth was out of Africa, that Truth had inspired William Wetmore Story's famed "Libyan Sibyl" statue, and even — that Truth had deceased. Obviously, Stowe was writing for THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY's \$200, and both these tall tales, the one by Gage as well as the one by Stowe, now seems to have been examples of our dealing whitely with Truth.

However, also, Stowe did reminisce about a statuette, now lost, that had been done by Charles Cumberworth at some time in the 1840s,  which had depicted a black female at a fountain. This lost statuette had been remarkable enough in its own right, for that period, because:²⁵⁵



[T]he age-old status of the slave combined with the newer concept of race created an extremely powerful cultural formation that rendered the African American virtually the embodiment of what was **not** classically sculptural.... Simply to represent black slaves in sculpture was in a sense to emancipate them. Before 1860 there are no known images whatsoever of African Americans, slave or free, in marble or bronze, the more permanent and prestigious materials of the sculptor's art.

255. Kirk Savage. STANDING SOLDIERS, KNEELING SLAVES: RACE, WAR, AND MONUMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA. Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1997

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"Everything in life is unusual until you get accustomed to it."

— The Scarecrow, in THE MARVELOUS LAND OF OZ (L. Frank Baum, 1904)



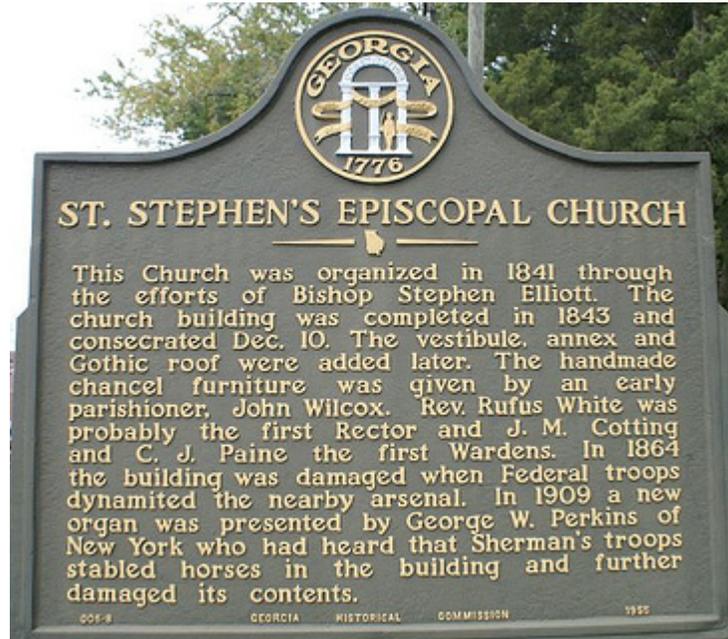
December 15: Both in the North and in the South, [conscientious objectors](#) had been facing difficulties. For instance, a southern [Quaker](#), Friend Seth W. Laughlin, after more than a week of beatings, had been told that he was to be executed. As the firing squad prepared, Friend Seth repeated the words of Jesus: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and the soldiers, hearing this, refused to fire — Friend Seth died, however, a few weeks later from the beatings he had already sustained. The military both North and South had been forced to become aware that this sort of activity was a waste of time and resources. On this day the Adjutant General signed an order directing that the holdouts who were refusing not only to fight but also to pay the fine — primarily Quakers— be released on their own parole (refer to Fernando G. Cartland's SOUTHERN HEROES; OR THE FRIENDS IN WAR TIME, Cambridge MA: Riverside Press, 1895, pages 211-213).

1864

→ The Friends meetinghouse in Cranston, Rhode Island, the one that had been erected in 1729, was at this point acquired by the Oak Lawn Benevolent Society. A new Baptist church would be erected on its foundation, the building itself being shifted to behind this new church for use as the community's library. Here it is toward the center of this old photo behind the big tree, with the new Oakland Community Baptist Church building with the steeple to the left:



 The Episcopal church structure in Georgia that had been established through the efforts of Bishop [Stephen Elliott, Jr.](#) was damaged when Federal troops led by General William Tecumseh Sherman stabled their horses in it, and dynamited a nearby arsenal.²⁵⁶



No mention would be made of the Civil War in Flushing Monthly Meeting minutes, even at the height of the conflict. Flushing [Quakers](#) joined with New York [Yearly Meeting](#) in resisting the payment of war taxes, although they declared this to be not an act of disloyalty to the Union but instead merely an expression of their loyalty to the Quaker Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

There was a [Wilburite](#) worship group in Warwick (until 1881) that affiliated with the Wilburite Providence Monthly Meeting of North [Providence](#)/Pawtucket, [Rhode Island](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Luke Howard](#) died on the 21st of Third Month near London: “in the ninety-second year of his age, “he most gently departed this life, to enter upon the life that knows no death, and to be fore ever with the Lord.” For a considerable period prior to his death he had been unable to remember the names he had assigned to the various types of clouds. (He and his wife Mariabella “Bella” had formally left the [Quakers](#) to become members of the [Plymouth Brethren](#), a nondenominational Christian movement which had originated in Ireland and England during the 1820s and 1830s. Nevertheless, his body was interred in the Quaker cemetery at Winchmore Hill on the 26th of Third Month “with the full acquiescence of Friends.”)

256. This is not the Professor [Stephen Elliott](#) of South Carolina whose botany textbook Henry Thoreau consulted, but his son.



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1865

According to Don H. Doyle's "Slavery, Secession, and Reconstruction as American Problems" in *THE SOUTH AS AN AMERICAN PROBLEM* (Athens GA and London: The U of Georgia P, 1995), the Civil War did not exactly except as a first approximation bring any "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to America's formerly enslaved citizens of color:



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The strategy conservative whites in the Deep South pursued immediately following emancipation was to utilize the power of the state to reestablish planters' control over their former slaves. Mississippi led the way in 1865  by devising a Black Code, a multifaceted legal instrument designed to force blacks to either sign year-long labor contracts or face arrest and fines (chiefly for vagrancy), which would be secured by the planters to whom the state would then bind over the prisoners to serve as an involuntary workforce. There were, in addition, a whole range of laws restricting black civil rights: the right to bear arms, assemble, and practice religion, among others. An apprenticeship law gave the state power to declare freed minors orphans and bind them over to a guardian, their former owners having first claim. Where before the state sanctioned the power of the master over slave, now the state itself was the source of coercive power over black labor ... white Democrats would stand by the polls and write down the names of black Republican voters and publish their names in the local paper along with editorials urging landlords not to employ these "disloyal" blacks the following season. Fraudulent ballot counts and other improprieties became commonplace in closely contested southern elections.... What was truly shocking to Americans outside –and many within– the South was the hideous reign of terror carried out by the Ku Klux Klan and its various local imitators, such as the Knights of the White Camelia, that began with the onset of Radical Reconstruction and peaked in 1871.  Here was a violent campaign involving murder, mutilation, whipping, and the burning of homes, schools, and churches. It took place far outside the bounds of law and well outside the traditions of even the most vicious political or labor conflicts seen up to that time in America. The Klan was engaged in a campaign of terror deliberately designed to intimidate black voters and to harass or murder Republican leaders. To be sure, many of the atrocities committed by the Ku Klux Klan and its ilk were acts of personal vengeance aimed at punishing individual blacks who were "out of their place." At times they seemed motivated by the more general goal of denigrating the status of blacks at a time when Republicans were struggling to elevate them. The Klan was never a highly structured organization; it was more a collection of very local dens who imitated one another rather than following a coherent plan. Democratic leaders did all they could to dismiss concern about the Klan by denying its existence or explaining it away as a series of disconnected personal conflicts. But the geographical pattern of violence that was concentrated in politically contested areas such as upstate South Carolina and northern Mississippi, the strategy of intimidating Republican voters and leaders, and the timing of Klan atrocities before and during elections all point to its purposeful role as the terrorist wing of the Democratic Party allied in a struggle to overthrow Republican rule....



The fault for this did not, however, lie entirely with white southerner hypocrites:

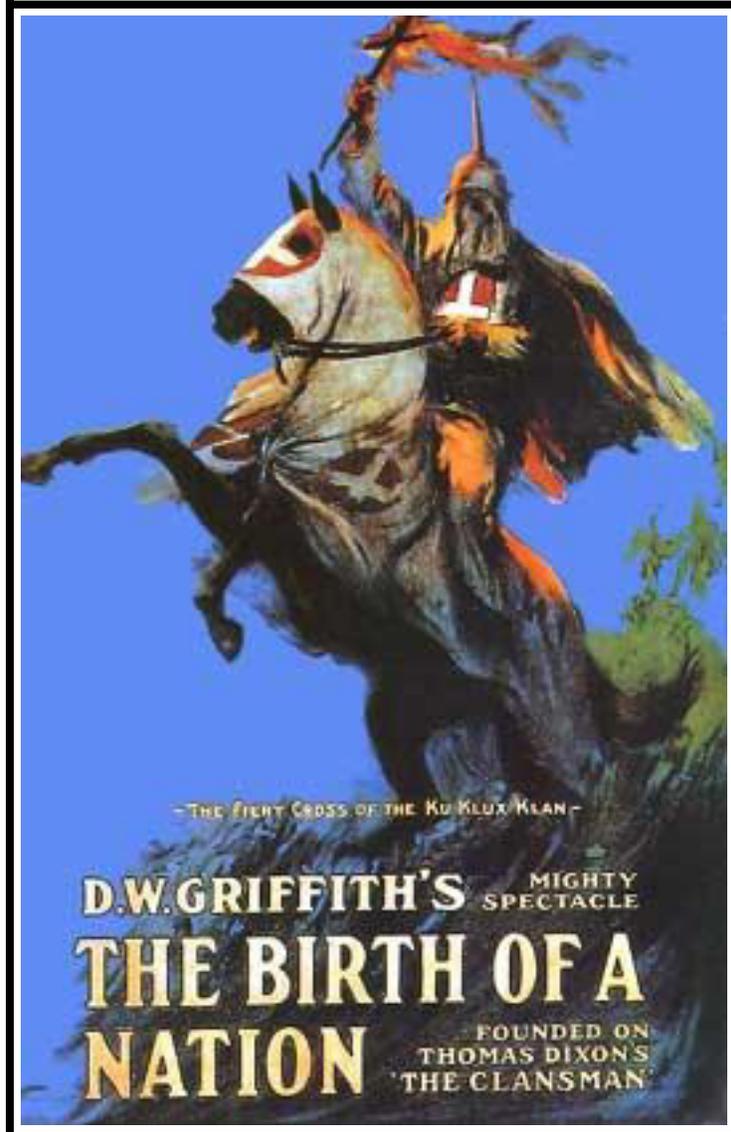
As horrified as they were at the atrocities in the South, northerners were growing indifferent to the plight of blacks or at least less willing to maintain their rights by force of arms. From the beginnings of the antislavery crusade, even radical abolitionists had focused moral attention on purging the Republic of sin, not on uplifting the slave or integrating freed blacks into the society as full and equal citizens. That latter goal had been advanced as a necessary political strategy of Republicans in a reconstituted Union and not solely out of humanitarian concern for the freed slaves. White supremacy may not have been as salient to northern political and social thought, but public opinion there was hardly united behind ideals of a biracial democracy in America. Furthermore, as Democrats excoriated Republicans for intervention in southern affairs, the rising political price for intervening on behalf of blacks offset the benefits of defending black citizenship in the South. President Grant referred to the change in northern public opinion in 1875  in response to the desperate pleas of fellow Republican Adelbert Ames, governor of Mississippi, who begged Grant to send U.S. troops to safeguard the coming state elections and prevent more racial violence: "[The] whole public are tired out with these annual, autumnal outbreaks in the South." It was two years later that all federal troops were withdrawn and Reconstruction was brought to an end, part of the bargain made between Democrats and Republicans following the disputed presidential election of 1876. 

No, case you hadn't noticed, there's hypocrisy all over the place, folks. It ain't a local monopoly.

While some [Friends](#) were spurred by the desire to emancipate the enslaved and to prevent the expansion of enslavement into the territories, this motive was "conspicuously absent" from letters Indiana Quaker soldiers wrote home, and a wider study of the letters of Quaker soldiers asserts that "sentiments of patriotism rather than hatred of slavery were foremost in these soldiers' thought as well as in their letters." That the war was necessary principally to preserve the Union rather than to free the enslaved people of the South was clearly a widespread sentiment that had serious consequences in the postwar era.²⁵⁷

257. Page 148 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

It ain't exactly a scarce commodity.



Throughout the period of civil strife, Charles King Whipple had discouraged any army enlistment, black or white, until the government abolished slavery. Not even the Emancipation Proclamation, of course, would come close to meeting this requirement. At this point, Whipple, utterly consistent to his principles, spoke out against all proposals that rebel leaders be executed.

The 1st federal Congress meeting in New-York in 1789 had considered a “sweetener” to get several holdout states to ratify the Constitution and join in the union, the “sweetener” being adoption of 10 or 11 amendments to the newly drafted constitutional document — a batch of amendments that would come to be referred to collectively as our Bill of Rights. The federal government had retained one of these initial 14 official copies and sent out the other 13 to the prospective signees. On March 19, 2003, an attempt would be made to sell North Carolina’s official copy of the US Constitution’s Bill of Rights to the new National Constitution Center museum in center-city Philadelphia for \$4,000,000 — and the FBI would recover this

document under the law of “replevin” because in this year, at the end of the Civil War, it had been stolen. However, no arrest would be made. The document in question had originated as one of the 14 copies of the proposed Bill of Rights scribed by clerks of the 1st House of Representatives and Senate and signed by Senate Secretary Samuel A. Otis, House Clerk John Beckley, House Speaker Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, and Vice-President John Adams. (North Carolina’s copy would be retained in their statehouse until stolen, presumably by some Union soldier of General William Tecumpseh Sherman’s army who would take it home with him to Tippecanoe, Ohio. In 1866 this veteran would find a buyer for the document he had looted. Over the decades one owner after another would offer, through intermediaries, to sell the purloined paper back to the state of North Carolina. It would turn up again in 2000 when some people would come to George Washington University’s First Federal Congress Project with armed bodyguards, making an attempt to authenticate the document.)

March 8: [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s residence in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) near what is now the corner of Humboldt Avenue and Wayland Avenue, called “Elmgrove,” burned to the ground.

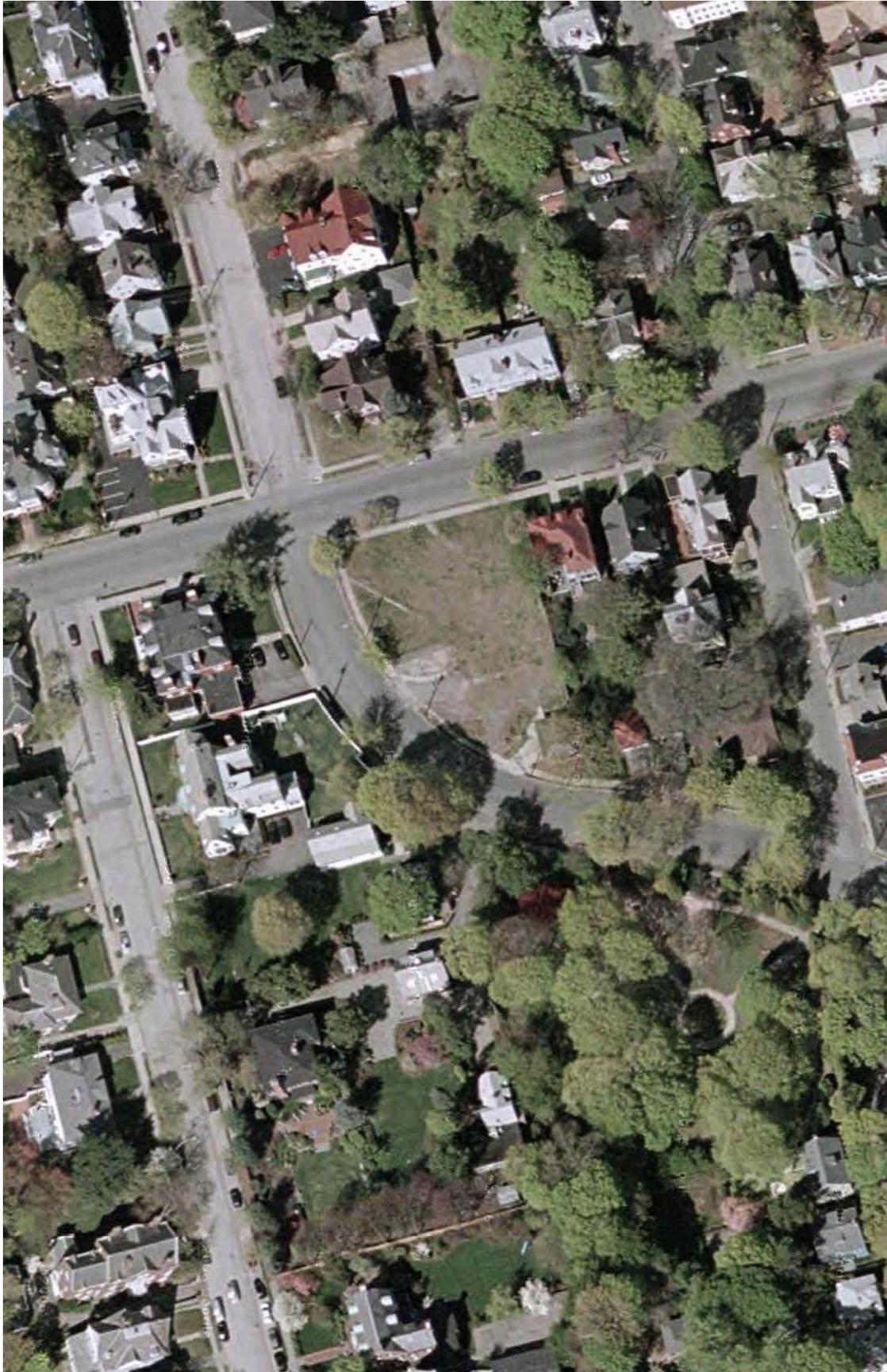


December: In a reaction against the compromising tactics adopted by the American Peace Society during the civil war, a Universal Peace Union was launched in Boston, planned by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), [Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#), and William Lloyd Garrison. This group favored amending the US Constitution to remove the power to make war.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



1866

In Philadelphia, [Friend Ann Preston](#) became dean of the Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania, the first woman to be granted such a responsibility.



Publication of a book entitled [THE FIGHTING QUAKERS](#). The book recounts the services of three Quaker soldiers during the US Civil War. The two brothers, Edward and John Ketcham, were in a dilemma about whether to enlist or remain home with their aged and widowed mother and maintain the farm. It was determined that one should enlist and they cast lots. Fate allowed Edward to join the 120th New York Infantry as a lieutenant. Yet, the urge to serve overwhelmed John and he arranged matters at home and joined his cousin, Captain Nehemiah Hallock Mann's, company as a lieutenant in the 4th New York Cavalry. The book consists of letters from brother to brother, sons to mother, and excerpts from Edward's diary which are pieced together by Duganne's commentary. Covered in the book are the battle of Chancellorsville, the march to Gettysburg, the cavalry fights at Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville, and the battle of Gettysburg in which Edward is killed. John finds and buries him on the battlefield and is in position to witness Pickett's charge. John is captured at Raccoon Ford later in 1863, while Captain Mann is killed in fighting near Front Royal during August 1864 (this has been reprinted in 1995, with a new introduction and biographical sketches of each of the soldiers).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

At the 11th National Women's Rights Convention, the first since the beginning of the US Civil War, in New-York, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) presided over a merger between suffragists and the American Anti-Slavery Association: the new group was to be called the American Equal Rights Association.



(However, the devil is in the details, and during this year some cheap political trickery was going down: the XIVth Amendment to the United States Constitution was being enacted by the federal Congress and this, when ratified by a sufficient number of state governments in 1868, would amount to the fact that for the very first time in that foundational document “citizens” and “voters” were explicitly stipulated as being of necessity exclusively “male.” Gosh, nobody noticed, shame on us.)

1867

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was again enlarged.

At [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), it was decided that henceforth they would begin the school year in September and end it in June so that the scholars would be able to provide labor at home during the harvest season (this change is for some reason said to have created a large excess of boys over girls at the school). Although the Quaker scholars would continue to walk down the hill to the Friends meetinghouse for Sunday morning worship and for midweek worship, the practice of attending Sunday afternoon meeting was discontinued. Also discontinued was the practice of morning meeting in the school itself.

A new attitude was emerging toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: “Call it by what name you will, mysticism, spiritualism, transcendentalism, it will scarcely be going beyond what history warrants to affirm that every writer or thinker who has taken deep hold of the hearts, not of the intellects, of mankind, has been a teacher of the doctrine of the ‘Divine Principle in man,’ of the ‘enthusiasm (*vergötterung*) of humanity.’ An illustration of the same truth will be furnished by every poet who has touched the deepest sympathies of the heart, whether he write in prose or verse.... He that dishonoureth the creature dishonoureth the Creator.”²⁵⁸

However, it would be a mistake to presume that the above shift in attitudes regarding the arts meant that Quaker students would be able to learn to play a musical instrument. Not so. Even in 1881, when a grand piano would be offered as a gift to the Moses Brown School, it would be accepted only under a stipulation that “music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.”

258. Alfred W. Bennett in the [Friends' Quarterly Examiner](#), 1, no. 1 (1867)

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November 14: [Waldo Emerson](#) heard [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), among others, speak at a special morning meeting, at the Cyrus Bartol home at 17 Chestnut Street in Boston, of the Radical Club.

1869

[Hicksite Friends](#) created a coeducational college in Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College.

QUAKER EDUCATION

Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *THE HOLY GRAIL AND OTHER POEMS* (London: Strahan, 1870 [1869]) included a dialect poem entitled "Northern Farmer: New Style" which attributed to a northern-England [Quaker](#) farmer a comment, more or less "Don't thou marry for money, but go where money is" (Anthony Trollope would pick this up and insert it into a number of his novels):

Dosn't thou 'ear my 'erse's legs, as they canters awaäy?
Proputty, proputty, proputty—that's what I 'ears 'em saäy.
Proputty, proputty, proputty—Sam, thou's an ass for thy paaïns:
Theer's moor sense i' one o' 'is legs, nor in all thy braaïns.

Woä—theer's a craw to pluck wi' tha, Sam; yon 's parson's 'ouse—
Dosn't thou knaw that a man mun be eäther a man or a mouse?
Time to think on it then; for thou'll be twenty to weeäk.
Proputty, proputty—woä then, woä—let ma 'ear mysén speäk.

Me an' thy muther, Sammy, 'as been a'talkin' o' thee;
Thou's beän talkin' to muther, an' she beän a tellin' it me.
Thou'll not marry for munny—thou's sweet upo' parson's lass—
Noä—thou 'll marry for luvv—an' we boäth of us thinks tha an ass.

Seeä'd her todaäy goä by—Saäint's-daäy—they was ringing the bells.
She's a beauty, thou thinks—an' soä is scoors o' gells,
Them as 'as munny an' all—wot's a beauty?—the flower as blaws.
But proputty, proputty sticks, an' proputty, proputty graws.

Do'ant be stunt; taäke time. I knaws what maäkes tha sa mad.
Warn't I craäzed fur the lasses mysén when I wur a lad?
But I knaw'd a Quaäker feller as often 'as tow'd ma this:
"Doänt thou marry for munny, but goä wheer munny is!"

An' I went wheer munny war; an' thy muther coom to 'and,
Wi' lots o' munny laaäid by, an' a nicetish bit o' land.
Maäybe she warn't a beauty—I niver giv it a thowt—
But warn't she as good to cuddle an' kiss as a lass as 'ant nowt?

Parson's lass 'ant nowt, an' she weänt 'a nowt when 'e 's deäd,
Mun be a guvness, lad, or summut, and addle her breäd.
Why? for 'e 's nobbut a curate, an' weänt niver get hissén clear,
An' 'e maäde the bed as 'e ligs on afoor 'e coom'd to the shere.

An' thin 'e coom'd to the parish wi' lots o' Varsity debt,
Stook to his taäil thy did, an' 'e 'ant got shut on 'em yet.
An' 'e ligs on 'is back i' the grip, wi' noän to lend 'im a shuvv,
Woorse nor a far-welter'd yowe: fur, Sammy, 'e married for luvv.



Luvv? what's luvv? thou can luvv thy lass an' 'er munny too,
Maäkin' 'em goä together, as they've good right to do.
Couldn I luvv thy muther by cause 'o 'er munny laaïd by?
Naäy—fur I luvv'd 'er a vast sight moor fur it: reaäson why.

Ay, an' thy muther says thou wants to marry the lass,
Cooms of a gentleman burn: an' we boäth on us thinks tha an ass.
Woä then, propuppy, wiltha?—an ass as near as mays nowt—
Woä then, wiltha? dangtha!—the bees is as fell as owt.

Breäk me a bit o' the esh for his 'eäd, lad, out o' the fence!
Gentleman burn! what's gentleman burn? is it shillins an' pence?
Propuppy, propuppy's ivrything 'ere, an', Sammy, I'm blest
If it isn't the saäme oop yonder, fur them as 'as it 's the best.

Tis'n them as 'as munny as breaks into 'ouses an' steäls,
Them as 'as coats to their backs an' taäkes their regular meäls,
Noä, but it 's them as niver knaws wheer a meäl's to be 'ad.
Taäke my word for it Sammy, the poor in a loomp is bad.

Them or thir feythers, tha sees, mun 'a beän a laäzy lot,
Fur work mun 'a gone to the gittin' whiniver munny was got.
Feyther 'ad ammost nowt; leastways 'is munny was 'id.
But 'e tued an' moil'd issén dead, an' 'e died a good un, 'e did.

Looök thou theer wheer Wigglesby beck cooms out by the 'ill!
Feyther run oop to the färm, an' I runs oop to the mill;
An' I 'll run oop to the brig, an' that thou 'll live to see;
And if thou marries a good un I 'll leäve the land to thee.

Thim's my noätions, Sammy, wheerby I means to stick;
But if thou marries a bad un, I 'll leäve the land to Dick.—
Coom oop, propuppy, propuppy—that's what I 'ears 'im saäy—
Propuppy, propuppy, propuppy—canter an' canter awaäy.

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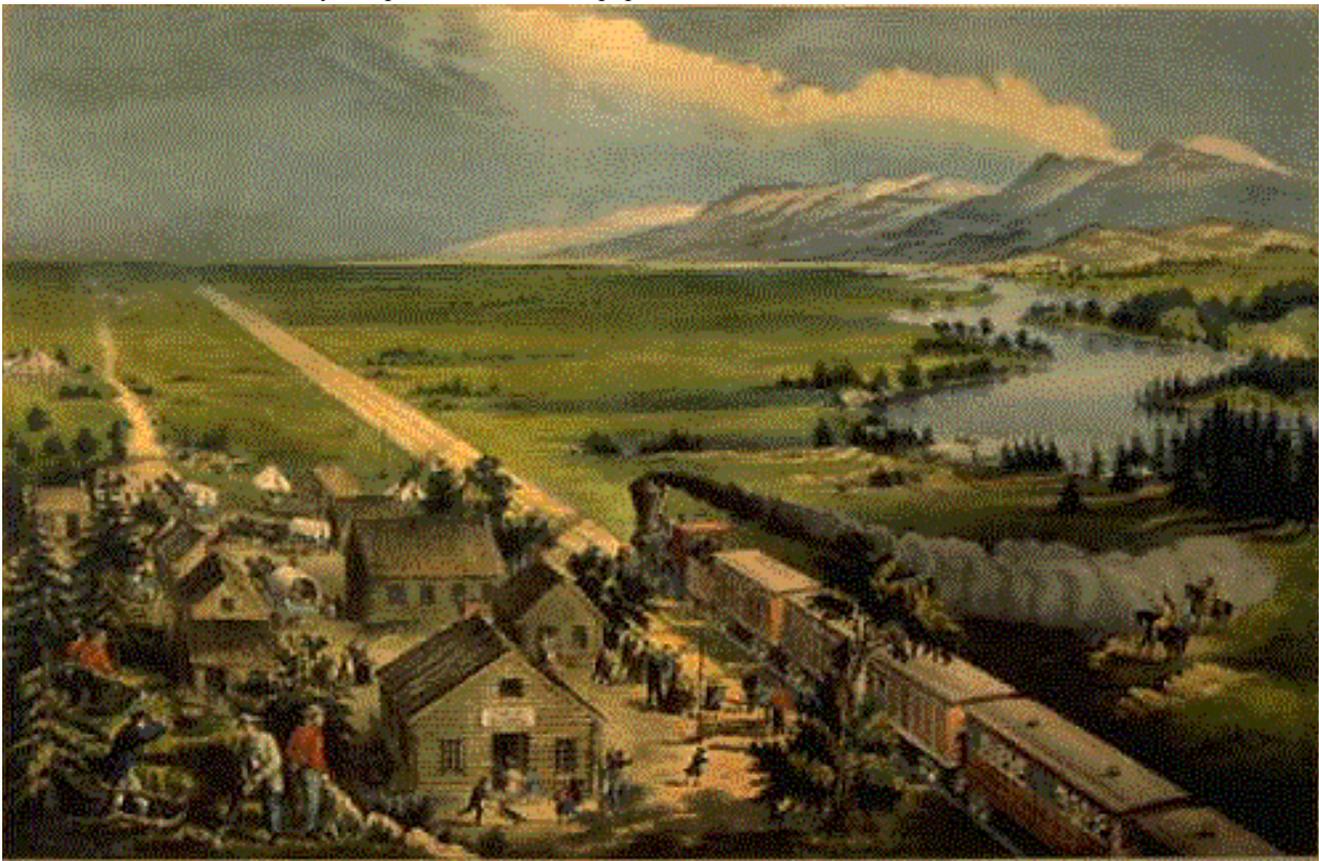
19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



1870

The 9th national census. [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) acted as a census taker in Montgomery County, [Maryland](#) during the federal census for this decade.

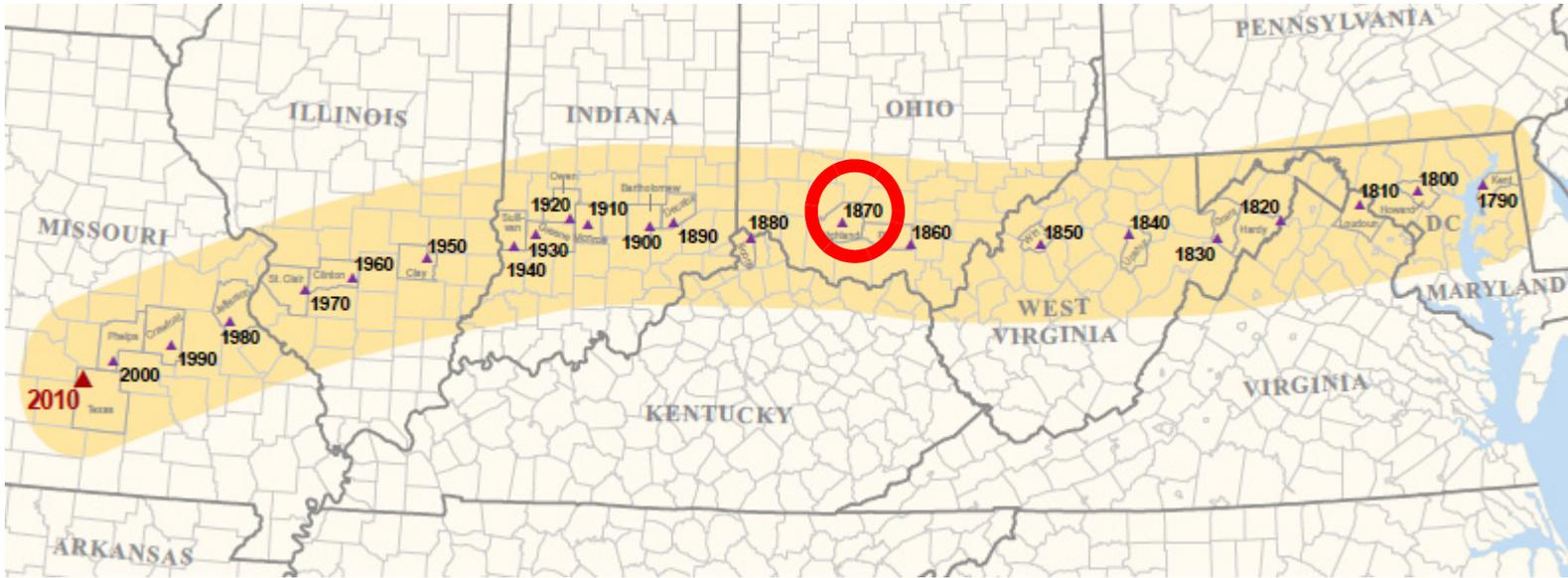
As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland from [Baltimore](#). By this period the center of population had relocated.



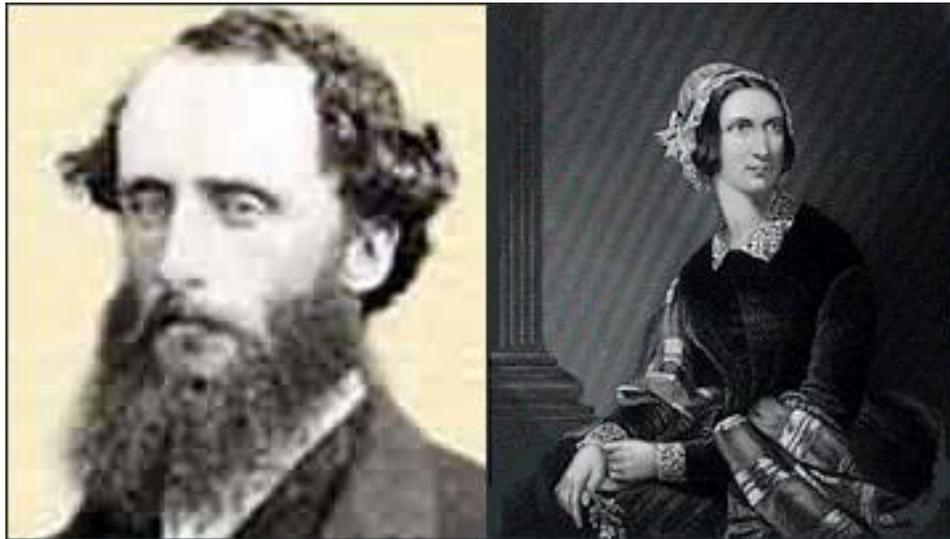
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(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)



At about this point, [William Howitt](#) and his family established themselves in [Rome](#). Having begun in [Quakerism](#) and converted to Spiritualism, [Mary Howitt](#) eventually would convert from Spiritualism to Roman [Catholicism](#).



Jesse Hoover, town blacksmith, married Hulda Minthorn, a teacher from Ontario, Canada. The Hoovers began a family in a small cottage by the Wapsinonoc Creek on a farm outside West Branch, Iowa. The birth of their first son Theodore (Tad) in 1871 would be followed in 1874 by another boy, Herbert Clark Hoover (Bert). Then in 1876 there would be a girl, Mary (May). Hulda Hoover would be a recorded Friends minister and would frequently speak at Quaker meetings.

1871

A [Quaker](#) meeting, known as “Patuxent Monthly Meeting,” was organized in Hughesville, in Charles County, [Maryland](#), as part of the Orthodox group of [Baltimore](#) Yearly Meeting. The minister was named Neave and would serve until his death in 1929. In 1876 this monthly meeting would have 28 members, and at its largest point it would have 36 members.

Edmund Davis took in Mrs. Sarah D. Dennis as a partner in the patent medicine business conducted under the name “[Perry Davis & Son](#).” They would relocate the manufacturing facility to 136 High Street, [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES



Losses in the great Chicago fire caused the complete liquidation of the assets of the Washington Providence Insurance Company of [Providence](#). The business would need to be revived through the infusion of new capital.

The [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received \$17,732.75 from the city of [Providence](#) for a plot of land that had been cut off from the school grounds by an extension of Thayer Street. This money would be spent on an addition to Alumni Hall.

[Quakers](#) formed the New-York Colored Mission, to aid freed slaves.

Brazil freed the children of slaves. The Rio Banco Law.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

There exists in a new edition of [Friend John Woolman](#)'s JOURNAL dating to this year a note by [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), who had known Henry David Thoreau personally, which contrasts the famous (among Friends) Woolman with Thoreau to the detriment of Thoreau. The note in question is a footnote to the following text by Woolman:

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family; and, on serious consideration, believed truth did not require me to engage much in cumbering affairs. It had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful. Things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did I found it to weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burden; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumber; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. In this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to His holy will. Then I lessened my outward business, and, as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down merchandise, and followed my trade as a tailor by myself, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees, in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating. In merchandise it is the custom where I lived to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having frequently observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful, and not costly.

In the time of trading I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors and the custom of wearing too costly apparel led some people into great inconveniences; and that these two things appear to be often connected with each other. By not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us. And by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is even among such as are not drunkards a craving of liquors to revive the spirits; that partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others (led to it through immoderate labour), very great quantities of rum are every year consumed in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

When men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members of a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied. And where those whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows, it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers. This is a



case to be lamented.

Every degree of luxury hath some connection with evil; and if those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, have that mind in them which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, it is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat and have taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided. I have felt an increasing care to attend to that Holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did those who have the care of great estates attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind as to cause men to love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage their concerns, without employing some people in providing luxuries of life, or others in labouring too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ, yet through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandise for a living have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the Prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

In the footnote [Whittier](#) accuses Thoreau of displaying scorn in addition to commiseration, but asserts that Friend [John](#) had Thoreau's commiseration without Thoreau's scorn. Here is Whittier's published note:

He [Woolman] seems to have regarded agriculture as the business most conducive to moral and physical health. He thought, "If the leadings of the Spirit were more attended to, more people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry, where labour is agreeable and healthful." He does not condemn the honest acquisition of wealth in other business free from oppression; even "merchandising," he thought, **might** be carried on innocently and in pure reason. Christ does not forbid the laying up of a needful support for family and friends; the command is, "Lay not up for YOURSELVES treasures on earth." From his little farm on the Rancocas he looked out with a mingled feeling of wonder and sorrow upon the hurry and unrest of the world; and especially was he pained to see luxury and extravagance overgrowing the early plainness and simplicity of his own religious society. He regarded the merely rich man with unfeigned pity. With nothing of his scorn he had all of Thoreau's commiseration, for people who went about bowed down with the weight of broad acres and greathouses on their backs.

August 29, Tuesday: In [Japan](#), the Emperor Meiji ordered the abolition of the *han* system of feudal domains and establishment of prefectures as local centers of administration.

In London, Karl Marx provided intelligence about events of the revolution in France to [The Examiner](#).

In Tennessee, [Elbert Russell](#) was born in a [Quaker](#) family and assigned the name “Elbert” in honor of a Dr. Elbert Rogers — who had kindly interrupted his vacation to attend at the delivery.

The first seven and a half years of my life were passed, with slight exceptions, in the East Tennessee village of Friendsville. My memories of it are mostly "stills," like snapshots of her children which a mother cherishes and with which she ornaments her bedroom. On the west side of Friendsville stood our house and beyond it the Friends meeting house between the graveyard and a cedar grove.

1872

During this year and the following one [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) would be serving as president of the [Sandy Spring](#) Lyceum.

In Philadelphia, [Ann Preston](#) died, and was buried near [Lucretia Mott](#) and [James Mott](#) and other [Quaker](#) abolitionists at the Fair Hill burial ground.



She was succeeded at her post as dean of Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania by her friend Dr. Emeline Horton Cleveland (who, eventually, would be laid to rest beside her).

The ornamental iron gates from the town house of [Friend Abraham Redwood](#) on Thames Street in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), which had been shipped here from London in 1731, were presented to the [Redwood Library](#). They are now to be seen at its side entrance.



1873

[Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) became one of the original directors of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company. He would serve in this capacity until 1880.

The expression of a rather typical conservative attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts:

“We would renewedly caution all our members against indulging in music, or having instruments of music in their houses, believing that the practice tends to promote a light and vain mind.... It becomes us to be living as strangers and pilgrims on earth, seeking a better country, and to be diligently using [our time] for the great end for which it is lent to us..., and not in vain amusements or corrupting pleasures, but striving that ‘whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we may do all to the glory of God...’”

—Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) (Orthodox), BOOK OF DISCIPLINE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1874

August 10, Monday: The Providence Journal reported that “John Stanton Gould, a worthy and eminent son of Newport, died in Hudson, New York, Saturday night, in the sixty third year of his age.”

Herbert Clark Hoover (Bert) was born in West Branch, Iowa, a town that was largely Quaker QUAKER.

HERBERT HOOVER

His birthplace would be memorialized by Grant Wood:





LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

1875

[Harriet Purvis](#) died, and was buried at the Fair Hills [Friends'](#) burial ground near her home in Byberry, Pennsylvania. (Later, the widower [Robert Purvis](#) would remarry with another resident of Byberry, [Friend](#) Tacy Townsend.)

In this timeframe about half the students at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were not from [Quaker](#) families, with about one out of every five of the students who were Quakers coming to the school from outside New England. The board and tuition rate that was being charged of members of the New England Yearly Meeting was \$100 (that's roughly equivalent to \$10,000 in the currency of the 21st Century), while Quakers from outside New England were being charged \$190, scholars only one of whose parents was a Quaker were being charged \$190, and non-Quakers were being charged \$300.

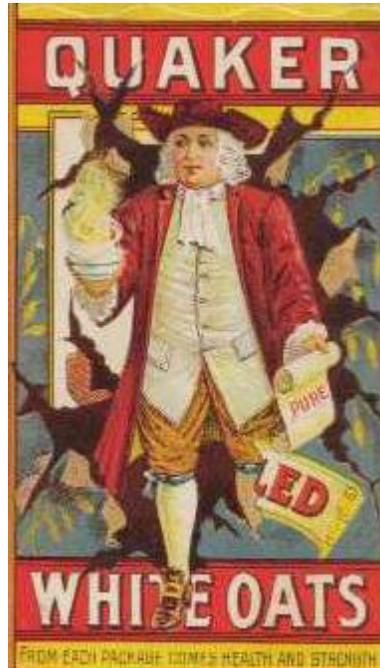
Most of the [Quaker](#) schools in Philadelphia had by this point been consolidated into two, that we now know as the William Penn Charter School and the Friends Select School (they consider their date of origination, on the basis of the foundation date of schools that came together to create these entities, to have been 1689).

1876

Descendants of Betsy Ross hypothesized, or largely fabricated, an account according to which His Excellency George Washington himself had asked this disowned Quaker to create a national flag to his design (they were doing this primarily in order to create a new tourist attraction for the Philadelphia area).

1877

Introduction of Quaker Oats.²⁵⁹



On the next screen is little Herbert Clark Hoover, as photographed in this year. Some have alleged him to have been a [Quaker](#). (In this database, we explore the restricted sense in which that claim might be substantiable.)

1878

By this point, although Princeton, New Jersey had at the beginning been a predominantly [Quaker](#) community, the local Quakers had been very much outnumbered by Presbyterians. The local monthly meeting would be “laid down” and its property placed under the trusteeship of the Chesterfield (or the Crosswicks?) monthly meeting. Those Friends remaining in the vicinity would henceforth travel either to Trenton or to Crosswicks for worship. The Stony Brook buildings would fall into disrepair, and in 1900 or 1901 the original schoolhouse would be torn down.

259. This product has nothing to do with the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

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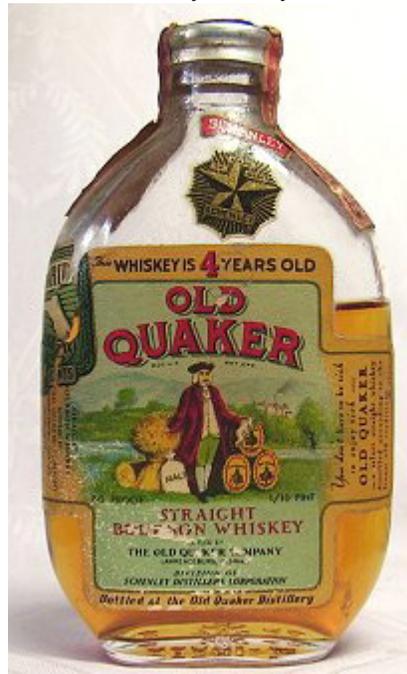
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October 1: With “Quaker Oats” having been introduced in the previous year, the product having nothing whatever to do with the [Religious Society of Friends](#),



The field was wide open for other American consumables that could vend themselves by means of an implicit reference to [Quaker](#) probity. Therefore on this day the Corning & Company of Peoria, Illinois began to offer a product they termed “Old Quaker,” “A Friendly Whiskey”:



1879

Friend [Lucretia](#) delivered herself of a thought:

*In a true marriage relation
the independence of the hus-
band and the wife is equal,
their dependence mutual, and
their obligations reciprocal.*

Lucretia Mott.

1879.

Old friends Sojourner Truth and [Lucretia Mott](#) had a reunion. Comparing their wrinkles, Truth found the explanation not in the four years difference of their ages but in “I have two skins; I have a white skin under, and a black one to cover it.”

A new [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was erected in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), on Elm Street.



The Smiley administration ended and the Augustine Jones administration began at the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Here is how this new administration would be described in Friend Eric Kristensen’s “An Outline of Moses Brown School’s History,” prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations:

1879-1904: Music and art invade the school in great profusion. Student life flourishes with clubs, athletic associations and teams, and various society forms. Girls and boys mix in classes

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and in many extracurricular events. Elizabeth Fry fund established by Ella J. Wheeler with a gift of \$30,000 for scholarships; Stephen T. Olney bequeaths \$43,000 for the permanent fund of the school; other gifts and bequests by Sarah Slade, Timothy Earle, Philip Tripp, Eleanor Cattell and others bring the gift total to more than \$90,000 most of which was added to the permanent endowment. (page 7)

Here is how Friend Eric Kristensen had described the previous “Smiley Administration” which was ending:

1860-1879: Smiley administration. Albert K. (from Oak Grove in Vassalboro) was principal, his twin brother Alfred H. was Associate Principal for much of this time. A sister, Rebecca H. was head of the girls’ department from 1863-1879. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed; attendance increased, the debt decreased, and a number of new buildings were built. After the Civil War, attendance often reached 200; in 1875 a record 222 students enrolled. The averages for the period were 103 boys and 69 girls for a total of 172. The contract system remained from the Cartland days, whereby the Principal received a salary; after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. This allowed the Principal to realize a considerable amount in some years, and the School Committee was assured of sound business practices which eliminated accumulated debt, reduced the deficit and provided a balance for improving the school plant. The School was commonly called the “Quaker Jail” by students of this period. After Moses Brown, the brothers opened the famous Mohonk Mountain House outside of New Palz NY. (page 6)

Is it not curious, to see a religious institution that has been exempted from taxation being run for profit, with half the profit disappearing annually into the Headmaster’s own pocket? –This sort of situation shines an interesting light on the category “nonprofit,” for in fact even today a tax-exempt foundation is allowed to offer “incentive compensation” to its CEO and other key executives without its “nonprofit” standing being considered in any way to be compromised.²⁶⁰



At one of the State of [Rhode Island](#)'s "detrribalization" hearings, members of the [Narragansett](#) tribe expressed their reasons for continuing tribal relations on the reservation. In their statements a number indicated a preference to live as a protected community on their ancestral property, alleged that they resented being considered as drunks, liars, paupers, and thieves, and protested that "detrribalization" was merely the final phase of an agenda of dispossession by white colonists. The speakers referred to themselves, and were referred to, alternately as "Indians" and "colored," and foresaw no advantage to being considered citizens or to being considered colored. That the racial mixing which had been going on for generations had rendered them less of a Native American tribal community was denied by Daniel Sekater, a council member:

We have now here a little mite of property that belongs to the Narragansett Indians, conveyed to them by their foreparents, and it belongs to them; and it does seem to me that they ought to have the handling of it as they see fit... Some argue that they ought to come out as citizens because they are mixed up with others. There are [Negroes], it is true -- perhaps more [Negro] than anything else. But other classes are mixed up with other nations just as well There is hardly one that can say, "I am a clear-blooded Yankee."

The council did however agree to quitclaim to the State all common, tribal, and vacant lands, except the site of the church, with its graveyard and August Meeting ground.

260. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transitioned from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

²⁴ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

— MATTHEW

6:24 [MATTHEW 6:24](#)

March: The family of 7-year-old [Friend Elbert Russell](#) had moved to Tennessee because of his father's health, but when his parents died the children were relocated from Tennessee to West Newton, Indiana, just south of Indianapolis (Elbert would be there until graduation from high school).



Father's illness began suddenly one day some six weeks after Mother's death. He seemed to get some better for a little time, then grew worse. He was broken in health and spirit by Mother's death. He had forebodings of his own. In one of his poems he tells of his fruitless attempts to comfort his motherless children and in another he predicted: "Twill not be long till God shall call me to her." I remember a dream which he had about this time. He dreamed, he said, that he died, but his spirit lingered about watching the preparations for the funeral. He discovered that they were lining his coffin (coffins were homemade to order then) with old sacks; and that disgusted him so much that he decided not to be buried at all but to come back to life.

I have no remembrance of the decision to send for Grandfather Russell. I only know that he was there when Father died. I was playing on the east porch, trying to make a bow and arrows out of some peach tree shoots which I had just brought from back of the lot, when Eva ran out the door crying and went across the field to Riley Lee's house. I knew at once that Father was dead. Grandfather carried only a few things with us to Indiana. I remember the old trunk which he had. In Grandfather's home I remember seeing in after years some of mother's dresses and a few quilts. I was given as treasured mementos Father's drawing set and Mother's Bible.

1880

After about this point, the aging [Friend William Henry Farquhar](#) would retire from most of his positions. For the remainder of his life, he would reside on his farm "The Cedars" near the town of [Sandy Spring](#) with wife [Margaret Briggs Farquhar](#) and their grandchildren, where he would be authoring several books and would remain of great influence with the Montgomery County School Board.



They were young once.

1881

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) burned, and would be replaced by the present structure:



When Clark Shove of Fall River offered to donate a grand piano to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) took his proposal as an opportunity for the Society to reappraise its attitude toward the arts. After serious consideration, the elders decided that this gift would be accepted, it being understood that “music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.”

During this year Friend Rufus Matthew Jones was completing his studies at the school.

The [Quakers](#) of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) had since 1845 been divided into a Gurneyite group and a Wilburite group. At this point, however, the local Wilburite meeting was laid down (discontinued). In 1899 the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.



February 10: A report from Walt Whitman in regard to the death of [Thomas Carlyle](#):

“Specimen Days”

Death Of Carlyle

And so the flame of the lamp, after long wasting and flickering, has gone out entirely.

As a representative author, a literary figure, no man else will bequeath to the future more significant hints of our stormy era, its fierce paradoxes, its din, and its struggling parturition periods, than Carlyle. He belongs to our own branch of the stock too; neither Latin nor Greek, but altogether Gothic. Rugged, mountainous, volcanic, he was himself more a French revolution than any of his volumes. In some respects, [Page 887] so far in the Nineteenth century, the best equipt, keenest mind, even from the college point of view, of all Britain; only he had an ailing body. Dyspepsia is to be traced in every page, and now and then fills the page. One may include among the lessons of his life – even though that life stretch'd to amazing length – how behind the tally of genius and morals stands the stomach, and gives a sort of casting vote.

Two conflicting agonistic elements seem to have contended in the man, sometimes pulling him different ways like wild horses. He was a cautious, conservative Scotchman, fully aware what a foetid gas-bag much of modern radicalism is; but then his great heart demanded reform, demanded change – often terribly at odds with his scornful brain. No author ever put so much wailing and despair into his books, sometimes palpable, oftener latent. He reminds me of that passage in Young's poems where as death presses closer and closer for his prey, the soul rushes hither and thither, appealing, shrieking, berating, to escape the general doom.

Of short-comings, even positive blur-spots, from an American point of view, he had serious share.

Not for his merely literary merit, (though that was great) – not as “maker of books,” but as launching into the self-complacent atmosphere of our days a rasping, questioning, dislocating agitation and shock, is Carlyle's final value. It is time the English-speaking peoples had some true idea about the verteber of genius, namely power. As if they must always have it cut and bias'd to the fashion, like a lady's cloak! What a needed service he performs! How he shakes our comfortable reading circles with a touch of the old Hebraic anger and prophecy – and indeed it is just the same. Not Isaiah himself more scornful, more threatening: “The crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim, shall be trodden under feet: And the glorious beauty which is on the head of the fat valley shall be a fading flower.” (The word prophecy is much misused; it seems narrow'd to prediction merely. That is not the main sense of the Hebrew word translated “prophet;” it means one whose mind bubbles up and pours forth as a fountain, from inner, divine spontaneities revealing God. Prediction is a very minor part of prophecy. The great matter is to reveal and [Page 888] outpour the God-like suggestions pressing for birth in the soul. This is briefly the doctrine of the Friends or Quakers.)



“Specimen Days”

DEATH OF [Thomas Carlyle](#) [continued]

Then the simplicity and amid ostensible frailty the towering strength of this man – a hardy oak knot, you could never wear out – an old farmer dress’d in brown clothes, and not handsome – his very foibles fascinating. Who cares that he wrote about Dr. Francia, and “Shooting Niagara” – and “the Nigger Question,” – and didn’t at all admire our United States? (I doubt if he ever thought or said half as bad words about us as we deserve.) How he splashes like leviathan in the seas of modern literature and politics! Doubtless, respecting the latter, one needs first to realize, from actual observation, the squalor, vice and doggedness ingrain’d in the bulk-population of the British Islands, with the red tape, the fatuity, the flunkeyism everywhere, to understand the last meaning in his pages. Accordingly, though he was no chartist or radical, I consider Carlyle’s by far the most indignant comment or protest anent the fruits of feudalism to-day in Great Britain – the increasing poverty and degradation of the homeless, landless twenty millions, while a few thousands, or rather a few hundreds, possess the entire soil, the money, and the fat berths. Trade and shipping, and clubs and culture, and prestige, and guns, and a fine select class of gentry and aristocracy, with every modern improvement, cannot begin to salve or defend such stupendous hoggishness.

The way to test how much he has left his country were to consider, or try to consider, for a moment, the array of British thought, the resultant *ensemble* of the last fifty years, as existing to-day, **but with Carlyle left out**. It would be like an army with no artillery. The show were still a gay and rich one – Byron, Scott, Tennyson, and many more – horsemen and rapid infantry, and banners flying – but the last heavy roar so dear to the ear of the train’d soldier, and that settles fate and victory, would be lacking.

For the last three years we in America have had transmitted glimpses of a thin-bodied, lonesome, wifeless, childless, very old man, lying on a sofa, kept out of bed by indomitable will, but, of late, never well enough to take the open air. I have noted this news from time to time in brief descriptions in the papers. A week ago I read such an item just before I started [Page 889] out for my customary evening stroll between eight and nine. In the fine cold night, unusually clear, (Feb. 5, ‘81,) as I walk’d some open grounds adjacent, the condition of Carlyle, and his approaching – perhaps even then actual – death, filled me with thoughts eluding statement, and curiously blending with the scene. The planet Venus, an hour high in the west, with all her volume and lustre recover’d, (she has been shorn and languid for nearly a year,) including an additional sentiment I never noticed before – not merely voluptuous, Paphian, steeping, fascinating – now with calm commanding seriousness and hauteur – the Milo Venus now. Upward to the zenith, Jupiter, Saturn, and the moon past her quarter, trailing in procession, with the Pleiades following, and the constellation Taurus, and red Aldebaran. Not a cloud in heaven. Orion strode through the southeast, with his glittering belt – and a trifle below hung the sun of the night, Sirius. Every star dilated, more vitreous, nearer than usual. Not as in some clear nights when the larger stars entirely outshine the rest. Every little star or cluster just as distinctly visible, and just as nigh. Berenice’s hair showing every gem, and new ones.



“Specimen Days”

DEATH OF [Thomas Carlyle](#) [concluded]

To the northeast and north the Sickle, the Goat and kids, Cassiopea, Castor and Pollux, and the two Dippers. While through the whole of this silent indescribable show, inclosing and bathing my whole receptivity, ran the thought of Carlyle dying. (To soothe and spiritualize, and, as far as may be, solve the mysteries of death and genius, consider them under the stars at midnight.)

And now that he has gone hence, can it be that Thomas Carlyle, soon to chemically dissolve in ashes and by winds, remains an identity still? In ways perhaps eluding all the statements, lore and speculations of ten thousand years – eluding all possible statements to mortal sense – does he yet exist, a definite, vital being, a spirit, an individual – perhaps now wafted in space among those stellar systems, which, suggestive and limitless as they are, merely edge more limitless, far more suggestive systems? I have no doubt of it. In silence, of a fine night, such questions are answer'd to the soul, the best answers that can be given. With me, too, when depress'd by some specially sad event, or tearing problem, I wait till I go out under the stars for the last voiceless satisfaction. [Page 890]

[Thomas Carlyle](#) FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW
Later Thoughts and Jottings.

There is surely at present an inexplicable *rapport* (all the more piquant from its contradictoriness) between that deceas'd author and our United States of America – no matter whether it lasts or not.¹ As we Westerners assume definite shape, and result in formations and fruitage unknown before, it is curious with what a new sense our eyes turn to representative outgrowths of crises and personages in the Old World. Beyond question, since Carlyle's death, and the publication of Froude's memoirs, not only the interest in his books, but every personal bit regarding the famous Scotchman – his dyspepsia, his buffetings, his parentage, his paragon of a wife, his career in Edinburgh, in the lonesome nest on Craigenputtock moor, and then so many years in London – is probably wider and livelier to-day in this country than in his own land. Whether I succeed or no, I, too, reaching across the Atlantic and taking the man's dark fortune-telling of humanity and politics, would offset it all, (such is the fancy that comes to me,) by a far more profound horoscope-casting of those themes – G.W.F. Hegel's.² [Page 891]

1. It will be difficult for the future — judging by his books, personal dissymphathies, &c., — to account for the deep hold this author has taken on the present age, and the way he has color'd its method and thought. I am certainly at a loss to account for it all as affecting myself. But there could be no view, or even partial picture, of the middle and latter part of our Nineteenth century, that did not markedly include Thomas Carlyle. In his case (as so many others, literary productions, works of art, personal identities, events,) there has been an impalpable something more effective than the palpable. Then I find no better text, (it is always important to have a definite, special, even oppositional, living man to start from,) for sending out certain speculations and comparisons for home use. Let us see what they amount to — those reactionary doctrines, fears, scornful analyses of democracy — even from the most erudite and sincere mind of Europe.

2. Not the least mentionable part of the case, (a streak, it may be, of that humor with which history and fate love to contrast their gravity,) is that although neither of my great authorities during their lives consider'd the United States worthy of serious mention, all the principal works of both might not inappropriately be this day collected and bound up under the conspicuous title: “Speculations for the use of North America, and Democracy there, with the relations of the same to Metaphysics, including Lessons and Warnings (encouragements too, and of the vastest,) from the Old World to the New.”



“Specimen Days”

[Thomas Carlyle](#) FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [continued]

First, about a chance, a never-fulfill'd vacuity of this pale cast of thought – this British Hamlet from Cheyne row, more puzzling than the Danish one, with his contrivances for settling the broken and spavin'd joints of the world's government, especially its democratic dislocation. Carlyle's grim fate was cast to live and dwell in, and largely embody, the parturition agony and qualms of the old order, amid crowded accumulations of ghastly morbidity, giving birth to the new. But conceive of him (or his parents before him) coming to America, recuperated by the cheering realities and activity of our people and country – growing up and delving face-to-face resolutely among us here, especially at the West – inhaling and exhaling our limitless air and eligibilities – devoting his mind to the theories and developments of this Republic amid its practical facts as exemplified in Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, or Louisiana. I say **facts**, and face-to-face confrontings – so different from books, and all those quiddities and mere reports in the libraries, upon which the man (it was wittily said of him at the age of thirty, that there was no one in Scotland who had glean'd so much and seen so little,) almost wholly fed, and which even his sturdy and vital mind but reflected at best.

Something of the sort narrowly escaped happening. In 1835, after more than a dozen years of trial and non-success, the author of [SARTOR RESARTUS](#) removing to London, very poor, a confirmed hypochondriac, “Sartor” universally scoffed at, no literary prospects ahead, deliberately settled on one last casting-throw of the literary dice – resolv'd to compose and launch forth a book on the subject of **the French Revolution** – and if that won no higher guerdon or prize than hitherto, to sternly abandon the trade of author forever, and emigrate for good to America. But the venture turn'd out a lucky one, and there was no emigration.

Carlyle's work in the sphere of literature as he commenced and carried it out, is the same in one or two leading respects that Immanuel Kant's was in speculative philosophy. But the Scotchman had none of the stomachic phlegm and never-perturb'd placidity of the Konigsberg sage, and did not, like the latter, understand his own limits, and stop when he got to the end of them. He clears away jungle and poison-vines and [Page 892] underbrush – at any rate hacks valiantly at them, smiting hip and thigh. Kant did the like in his sphere, and it was all he profess'd to do; his labors have left the ground fully prepared ever since – and greater service was probably never perform'd by mortal man. But the pang and hiatus of Carlyle seem to me to consist in the evidence everywhere that amid a whirl of fog and fury and cross-purposes, he firmly believ'd he had a clue to the medication of the world's ills, and that his bounden mission was to exploit it.¹

1. I hope I shall not myself fall into the error I charge upon him, of prescribing a specific for indispensable evils. My utmost pretension is probably but to offset that old claim of the exclusively curative power of first-class individual men, as leaders and rulers, by the claims, and general movement and result, of ideas. Something of the latter kind seems to me the distinctive theory of America, of democracy, and of the modern — or rather, I should say, it is democracy, and is the modern.



“Specimen Days”

Thomas Carlyle FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [continued]

There were two anchors, or sheet-anchors, for steadying, as a last resort, the Carlylean ship. One will be specified presently. The other, perhaps the main, was only to be found in some mark'd form of personal force, an extreme degree of competent urge and will, a man or men "born to command." Probably there ran through every vein and current of the Scotchman's blood something that warm'd up to this kind of trait and character above aught else in the world, and which makes him in my opinion the chief celebrater and promulger of it in literature – more than Plutarch, more than Shakspeare. The great masses of humanity stand for nothing – at least nothing but nebulous raw material; only the big planets and shining suns for him. To ideas almost invariably languid or cold, a number-one forceful personality was sure to rouse his eulogistic passion and savage joy. In such case, even the standard of duty hereinafter rais'd, was to be instantly lower'd and vail'd. All that is comprehended under the terms republicanism and democracy were distasteful to him from the first, and as he grew older they became hateful and contemptible. For an undoubtedly candid and penetrating faculty such as his, the bearings he persistently ignored were marvellous. For instance, the promise, nay certainty of the democratic principle, to each and every State of the current world, not so much of helping it to perfect legislators and executives, but as the only effectual method for surely, however slowly, training [Page 893] people on a large scale toward voluntarily ruling and managing themselves (the ultimate aim of political and all other development) – to gradually reduce the fact of **governing** to its minimum, and to subject all its staffs and their doings to the telescopes and microscopes of committees and parties – and greatest of all, to afford (not stagnation and obedient content, which went well enough with the feudalism and ecclesiasticism of the antique and medieval world, but) a vast and sane and recurrent ebb and tide action for those floods of the great deep that have henceforth palpably burst forever their old bounds – seem never to have enter'd Carlyle's thought. It was splendid how he refus'd any compromise to the last. He was curiously antique. In that harsh, picturesque, most potent voice and figure, one seems to be carried back from the present of the British islands more than two thousand years, to the range between Jerusalem and Tarsus. His fullest best biographer justly says of him:

“He was a teacher and a prophet, in the Jewish sense of the word. The prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah have become a part of the permanent spiritual inheritance of mankind, because events proved that they had interpreted correctly the signs of their own times, and their prophecies were fulfill'd. Carlyle, like them, believ'd that he had a special message to deliver to the present age. Whether he was correct in that belief, and whether his message was a true message, remains to be seen. He has told us that our most cherish'd ideas of political liberty, with their kindred corollaries, are mere illusions, and that the progress which has seem'd to go along with them is a progress towards anarchy and social dissolution. If he was wrong, he has misused his powers. The principles of his teachings are false. He has offer'd himself as a guide upon a road of which he had no knowledge; and his own desire for himself would be the speediest oblivion both of his person and his works. If, on the other hand, he has been right; if, like his great predecessors, he has read truly the tendencies of this modern age of ours, and his teaching is authenticated by facts, then Carlyle, too, will take his place among the inspired seers.”



“Specimen Days”

Thomas Carlyle FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [continued]

To which I add an amendment that under no circumstances, [Page 894] and no matter how completely time and events disprove his lurid vaticinations, should the English-speaking world forget this man, nor fail to hold in honor his unsurpass'd conscience, his unique method, and his honest fame. Never were convictions more earnest and genuine. Never was there less of a flunkey or temporizer. Never had political progressivism a foe it could more heartily respect.

The second main point of Carlyle's utterance was the idea of **duty being done**. (It is simply a new codicil – if it be particularly new, which is by no means certain – on the time-honor'd bequest of dynasticism, the mould-eaten rules of legitimacy and kings.) He seems to have been impatient sometimes to madness when reminded by persons who thought at least as deeply as himself, that this formula, though precious, is rather a vague one, and that there are many other considerations to a philosophical estimate of each and every department either in general history or individual affairs.

Altogether, I don't know anything more amazing than these persistent strides and throbblings so far through our Nineteenth century of perhaps its biggest, sharpest, and most erudite brain, in defiance and discontent with everything; contemptuously ignoring, (either from constitutional inaptitude, ignorance itself, or more likely because he demanded a definite cure-all here and now,) the only solace and solvent to be had.

There is, apart from mere intellect, in the make-up of every superior human identity, (in its moral completeness, considered as *ensemble*, not for that moral alone, but for the whole being, including physique,) a wondrous something that realizes without argument, frequently without what is called education, (though I think it the goal and apex of all education deserving the name) – an intuition of the absolute balance, in time and space, of the whole of this multifarious, mad chaos of fraud, frivolity, hoggishness – this revel of fools, and incredible make-believe and general unsettledness, we call **the world**; a soul-sight of that divine clue and unseen thread which holds the whole congeries of things, all history and time, and all events, however trivial, however momentous, like a leash'd dog in the hand of the hunter. Such soul-sight and root-centre for the mind – mere optimism explains only [Page 895] the surface or fringe of it – Carlyle was mostly, perhaps entirely without. He seems instead to have been haunted in the play of his mental action by a spectre, never entirely laid from first to last, (Greek scholars, I believe, find the same mocking and fantastic apparition attending Aristophanes, his comedies,) – the spectre of world-destruction.

How largest triumph or failure in human life, in war or peace, may depend on some little hidden centrality, hardly more than a drop of blood, a pulse-beat, or a breath of air! It is certain that all these weighty matters, democracy in America, Carlyleism, and the temperament for deepest political or literary exploration, turn on a simple point in speculative philosophy.



“Specimen Days”

[Thomas Carlyle](#) FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [continued]

The most profound theme that can occupy the mind of man – the problem on whose solution science, art, the bases and pursuits of nations, and everything else, including intelligent human happiness, (here to-day, 1882, New York, Texas, California, the same as all times, all lands,) subtly and finally resting, depends for competent outset and argument, is doubtless involved in the query: What is the fusing explanation and tie – what the relation between the (radical, democratic) Me, the human identity of understanding, emotions, spirit, &c., on the one side, of and with the (conservative) Not Me, the whole of the material objective universe and laws, with what is behind them in time and space, on the other side? Immanuel Kant, though he explain'd, or partially explain'd, as may be said, the laws of the human understanding, left this question an open one. Friedrich von Schelling's answer, or suggestion of answer, is (and very valuable and important, as far as it goes,) that the same general and particular intelligence, passion, even the standards of right and wrong, which exist in a conscious and formulated state in man, exist in an unconscious state, or in perceptible analogies, throughout the entire universe of external Nature, in all its objects large or small, and all its movements and processes – thus making the impalpable human mind, and concrete Nature, notwithstanding their duality and separation, convertible, and in centrality and essence one. But G. F. Hegel's fuller statement of the matter probably remains the last best word that has been said upon it, up to date. Substantially adopting the scheme just epitomized, [Page 896] he so carries it out and fortifies it and merges everything in it, with certain serious gaps now for the first time fill'd, that it becomes a coherent metaphysical system, and substantial answer (as far as there can be any answer) to the foregoing question – a system which, while I distinctly admit that the brain of the future may add to, revise, and even entirely reconstruct, at any rate beams forth to-day, in its entirety, illuminating the thought of the universe, and satisfying the mystery thereof to the human mind, with a more consoling scientific assurance than any yet. According to Hegel the whole earth, (an old nucleus-thought, as in the Vedas, and no doubt before, but never hitherto brought so absolutely to the front, fully surcharged with modern scientism and facts, and made the sole entrance to each and all,) with its infinite variety, the past, the surroundings of to-day, or what may happen in the future, the contrarieties of material with spiritual, and of natural with artificial, are all, to the eye of the *ensemblist*, but necessary sides and unfoldings, different steps or links, in the endless process of Creative thought, which, amid numberless apparent failures and contradictions, is held together by central and never-broken unity – not contradictions or failures at all, but radiations of one consistent and eternal purpose; the whole mass of everything steadily, unerringly tending and flowing toward the permanent *utile* and *morale*, as rivers to oceans. As life is the whole law and incessant effort of the visible universe, and death only the other or invisible side of the same, so the *utile*, so truth, so health, are the continuous-immutable laws of the moral universe, and vice and disease, with all their perturbations, are but transient, even if ever so prevalent expressions.



“Specimen Days”

Thomas Carlyle FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [continued]

To politics throughout, Hegel applies the like catholic standard and faith. Not any one party, or any one form of government, is absolutely and exclusively true. Truth consists in the just relations of objects to each other. A majority or democracy may rule as outrageously and do as great harm as an oligarchy or despotism – though far less likely to do so. But the great evil is either a violation of the relations just referr’d to, or of the moral law. The specious, the unjust, the cruel, and what is called the unnatural, though not only permitted [Page 897] but in a certain sense, (like shade to light,) inevitable in the divine scheme, are by the whole constitution of that scheme, partial, inconsistent, temporary, and though having ever so great an ostensible majority, are certainly destin’d to failure, after causing great suffering.

Theology, Hegel translates into science.¹ All apparent contradictions in the statement of the Deific nature by different ages, nations, churches, points of view, are but fractional and imperfect expressions of one essential unity, from which they all proceed – crude endeavors or distorted parts, to be regarded both as distinct and united. In short (to put it in our own form, or summing up,) that thinker or analyzer or overlooker who by an inscrutable combination of train’d wisdom and natural intuition most fully accepts in perfect faith the moral unity and sanity of the creative scheme, in history, science, and all life and time, present and future, is both the truest cosmical devotee or religioso, and the profoundest philosopher. While he who, by the spell of himself and his circumstances, sees darkness and despair in the sum of the workings of God’s providence, and who, in that, denies or prevaricates, is, no matter how much piety plays on his lips, the most radical sinner and infidel.

I am the more assured in recounting Hegel a little freely here,² not only for offsetting the Carlylean letter and spirit – cutting it out all and several from the very roots, and below the roots – but to counterpoise, since the late death and deserv’d apotheosis of Darwin, the tenets of the evolutionists. Unspeakably precious as those are to biology, and henceforth indispensable to a right aim and estimate in study, they neither comprise or explain everything – and the last word or [Page 898] whisper still remains to be breathed, after the utmost of those claims, floating high and forever above them all, and above technical metaphysics. While the contributions which German Kant and Fichte and Schelling and Hegel have bequeath’d to humanity – and which English Darwin has also in his field – are indispensable to the erudition of America’s future, I should say that in all of them, and the best of them, when compared with the lightning flashes and flights

1. I am much indebted to J. Gostick’s abstract.

2. I have deliberately repeated it all, not only in offset to Carlyle’s ever-lurking pessimism and world-decadence, but as presenting the most thoroughly **American points of view** I know. In my opinion the above formulas of Hegel are an essential and crowning justification of New World democracy in the creative realms of time and space. There is that about them which only the vastness, the multiplicity and the vitality of America would seem able to comprehend, to give scope and illustration to, or to be fit for, or even originate. It is strange to me that they were born in Germany, or in the old world at all. While a Carlyle, I should say, is quite the legitimate European product to be expected.



“Specimen Days”

[Thomas Carlyle](#) FROM AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW [concluded]

of the old prophets and *exalt[??]s*, the spiritual poets and poetry of all lands, (as in the Hebrew Bible,) there seems to be, nay certainly is, something lacking – something cold, a failure to satisfy the deepest emotions of the soul – a want of living glow, fondness, warmth, which the old *exalt[??]s* and poets supply, and which the keenest modern philosophers so far do not.

Upon the whole, and for our purposes, this man’s name certainly belongs on the list with the just-specified, first-class moral physicians of our current era – and with [Waldo Emerson](#) and two or three others – though his prescription is drastic, and perhaps destructive, while theirs is assimilating, normal and tonic. Feudal at the core, and mental offspring and radiation of feudalism as are his books, they afford ever-valuable lessons and affinities to democratic America. Nations or individuals, we surely learn deepest from unlikeness, from a sincere opponent, from the light thrown even scornfully on dangerous spots and liabilities. (Michel Angelo invoked heaven’s special protection against his friends and affectionate flatterers; palpable foes he could manage for himself.) In many particulars Carlyle was indeed, as Froude terms him, one of those far-off Hebraic utterers, a new Micah or Habbakuk. His words at times bubble forth with abysmic inspiration. Always precious, such men; as precious now as any time. His rude, rasping, taunting, contradictory tones – what ones are more wanted amid the supple, polish’d, money-worshipping, Jesus-and-Judas-equalizing, suffrage-sovereignty echoes of current America? He has lit up our Nineteenth century with the light of a powerful, penetrating, and perfectly honest intellect of the first-class, turn’d on British and European politics, social life, literature, and representative personages – thoroughly dissatisfied with all, and mercilessly exposing the illness of all. [Page 899] But while he announces the malady, and scolds and raves about it, he himself, born and bred in the same atmosphere, is a mark’d illustration of it.

1882

[Mary Howitt](#) converted from Spiritualism to Roman [Catholicism](#).



As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year at the Somerset monthly meeting:

R.M. formerly P. has accomplished her marriage contrary to our discipline and having been treated with there for did not manifest a suitable disposition to condemn her deviation. We therefore disown her from being a member of our religious society.²⁶¹

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Since the [Wilburites](#) who had split off as the Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket had lain down this meeting in the previous year, the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had at this point two places of worship in the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). One was at the corner of North Main and Meeting Streets, and the other at the Friends' Boarding-School on the ridge of College Hill. A town guidebook offers: "The first-named, a plain and unpretentious wooden structure, has been a place of worship of the Society since about 1727. An addition was made to the building in 1784-1785. The town was accustomed, for a long time, to hold their meetings in this house, and a school was for many years kept in the upper part of it. A small Friends' meeting-house was built as early as 1704."

This is what a [Providence, Rhode Island](#) guidebook had to say about New England [Yearly Meeting](#)'s boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth, now the [Moses Brown School](#):

FRIENDS' BOARDING-SCHOOL is one of the noblest and most richly endowed educational institutions in New England. Its 225 pupils come from twenty states, to prepare in a literary and scientific

261. Somerset Monthly Meeting (Ohio Yearly Meeting), Minutes.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

or classical course (or a combination of the two) for mercantile life or for universities and professional schools. Its founder, Moses Brown, was also a founder of Brown University. He gave, besides his personal care, nearly \$20,000, and about 50 acres of land which are now worth perhaps \$50,000. His son, Obadiah Brown, gave \$100,000, and since then benefactors in large and small sums have been numerous in all parts of the country; among them Wm. Almy, Ebenezer Metcalf, \$30,000, and a Boston lady who in 1882 gave \$30,000. The school has been able by its ample endowment to do noble work. Its foundation might be dated 1780, when Moses Brown headed a subscription by means of which the Society of Friends in 1784 began a school at [Portsmouth](#), R.I.; but it dates merely from 1819, since which time the school has been almost uninterruptedly conducted at Providence. The grounds, buildings, and equipment should be seen by every visitor to the city. The property is cor. Hope and Lloyd Sts., about a mile from the City Hall. The 50 acres are upon an eminence 182 ft. above tide-water, and overlook the city, the rivers, and Narragansett Bay. Nearly all the towns in Rhode Island can be seen from the cupola on the main building. The main building is of brick, 220 ft. long, and contains a dining-hall, girls' schoolroom, public reception-room, parlors and nurseries, recitation-rooms, and dormitories. An extension of brick, 76 ft. long, contains a boys' schoolroom and dormitories. "Alumni Hall," a three-story brick structure, 126 ft. long, contains on the first floor a grand public hall, besides rooms for the scientific apparatus and cabinets, the library, and reading-room; and on the upper floors dormitories for girls. There are also two gymnasiums, -one for each sex,- an enclosed place for roller-[skating](#), ponds for bathing and [skating](#), and academic groves of venerable trees for recreation and retreat. The equipment comprises an abundance of approved astronomical and other scientific-apparatus, laboratories, art-models, a library of 6,000 volumes, six pianos, and other musical instruments, etc. Ventilation, drainage, and other sanitary precautions, are perceptible everywhere. The school takes only boarding pupils, and thus becomes the home of about 225 boys and girls; and here may well be studied the co-education system. The institution is owned by the New-England Yearly Meeting of Friends, who choose the "school committee" of 33 men and women. The faculty consists of 18 male and female instructors, librarians, etc., eight of whom are college graduates, and all of whom are chosen by reason of superior qualifications. The principal is Augustine Jones, A.M., who in 1851 graduated from this school, and later from Bowdoin College, and afterwards from the Harvard Law School, and who was the partner and educator of Gov. John A. Andrew, the Massachusetts "War Governor." He practised law in Massachusetts for 12 years, and served in the general court for one year, and in 1879 relinquished his practice to accept his present responsible position, and has brought to the institution its greater prosperity. It is not possible in this limited space to give the details of the workings, terms, etc., of the school, but a descriptive pamphlet can be had free by any applicant. It must be stated, however,



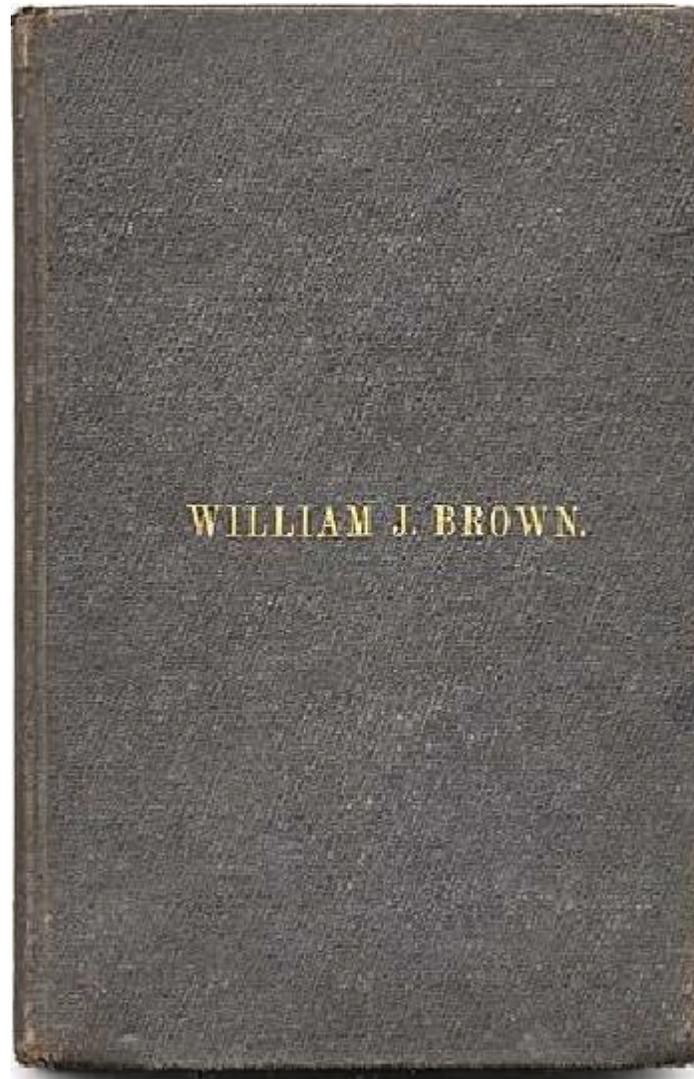
LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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that 25 worthy pupils receive (in scholarships) their entire board, rooms, tuition, washing, etc., free of charge; a fact which in itself indicates the character of the institution. Although managed by Friends, the school is wholly unsectarian, and one-half the pupils are of other denominations.

1883

Publication of the 1st edition of [William J. Brown](#)'s THE LIFE OF WILLIAM J. BROWN, OF PROVIDENCE, R.I.; WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF INCIDENTS IN RHODE ISLAND, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by the firm of Angel & Co., Printers. ²⁶²This 1st edition in its original cloth gilt binding as illustrated is now worth \$2,000 on the rare book market, despite "corners a little bumped and worn and a few modest stains to the rear board." (Fortunately, the autobiography has been reprinted twice, in 1971 and in 2006.)



Professor Joanne Pope Melish would comment, about this autobiography, that:

In depicting his own struggles and those of his ancestors and



262. We have in Providence two life-story books which were published in order to create an income for a needy elderly man of color. One is an 1829 publication done for the benefit of [Robert Voorhis](#), and the other is this 1883 publication by and for [William J. Brown](#). Did that one at least in part inspire this one?



his community, Brown offers a vivid picture of a New England white society reluctantly disentangling itself from slavery, clinging to habits of mind formed in its context, and refashioning its basic arguments into a new form of bondage – the virulent racism that is slavery’s evil twin.... Brown’s memoir is important because it represents a determined effort by a nineteenth-century man of color to undermine the willful historical amnesia that fed, and feeds, New England racism.

(The above corresponds closely with my own personal take on the situation, since I have come to regard the antebellum Providence “quietist” [Quaker](#) context of this black American’s life as having been in effect the testing-ground for what would, subsequent to our Civil War, emerge as the disgrace of our nation’s “Jim Crow” period of racial separatism.)

1884

[Friend William Henry Farquhar](#)’s ANNALS OF [SANDY SPRING](#); OR, TWENTY YEARS’ HISTORY OF RURAL COMMUNITY IN [MARYLAND](#) (Baltimore: Cushings & Baily). At about this point in time, a visitor made a favorable comment about his experience of this district:

I am in the heart of an old-time community of Quakers, who occupy all these lovely slopes and valleys for miles around, with their fine farms and beautifully embowered residences. They are a rich, contemplative, cheerful and social people, with many really learned men, who have occupied this section of Maryland for seventy or eighty years. Eighty or ninety years ago they emancipated their slaves, who, with their descendants, live on small farms around. The whole community, Southern in type, but Northern in political sentiment, is made up of cultivated and refined people. I have seen a good deal of them; and, on the whole, I think they manage to get about as much out of life and the world, in the way of quiet, cheerful happiness, as any people I have ever met. – A.G. Riddle

In John H. Ingram’s “Eminent Women Series,” Mrs. E.R. Pitman’s [ELIZABETH FRY](#) (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place SW).

READ THE FULL TEXT

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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Having already sold off some of its endowment land to meet current expenses in 1876 and apparently gotten away with this, it is not surprising that the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) atop the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would find an opportunity to do so again. In this year, to raise funds, not only were day students admitted to the school thus beginning the end of its status as a boarding school, but also, more of its endowment was sold off to meet current expenses on the excuse that this was “vacant land” anyway. (It is very much an open question, whether such disposal of trust property was in accordance with the original bequest, or was an utterly unlawful raid on the endowment and a violation of their standing as a society incorporated in Rhode Island by legislative charter. It would be lawful, if the money was placed in a trust fund only the income of which would be used for school expenses; however, it would be entirely unlawful, if the money was simply being misappropriated to be used for current school expenses.)

The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women at 10 Garden Street in Cambridge was accepted by the Massachusetts legislature as [Radcliffe College](#), sister to [Harvard University](#).

A memorial was created in [Boston](#) in honor of Friend Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, and the four hanged [Quaker](#) ministers [William Ledra](#), [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Robinson](#), and [Mary Dyer](#):



Famous Last Words:



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

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



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

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>"Strike, man, strike."</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>"Stay for the sign."</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			

10th Month, 24th: A portrait of [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was installed at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Despite the fact that this was an art object it seemed safe enough and unlikely to excite anyone's propensity to sin. Friend John sent his regrets at being unable to be present for this installation.



READ ABOUT THIS DAY

1885

Ninth Month, 29th: A [Quaker](#) women’s college was established in Pennsylvania. It would be known as “Bryn Mawr.”



At the [Friends Boarding School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a bust of Friend [Elizabeth Fry](#) was accepted — despite the fact that this was an art object and therefore frivolous, it seemed rather unlikely to excite anyone’s propensity to sin.





[Herbert Hoover](#) went to live with the Minthorn family in Oregon. Uncle Henry John Minthorn was a doctor in the [Quaker](#) settlement of Newberg, Oregon. His only son had died and the Minthorns had asked for Herbert to be sent to them. Bert traveled by train with a family by the name of Hammil, who were emigrating, and had agreed to look after him on the trip. This was not his first time out of West Branch. Herbert had spent a few months with an uncle, Laban Miles, on the Osage Indian Reservation in Oklahoma Territory. He had also spent time at an Uncle's prairie farm in western Iowa, living in a sod house and helping break new ground. In Oregon, Bert attended the Friends Pacific Academy. After graduating, he would move with his Uncle to Salem, Oregon to help open a real estate office for his uncle and his partners. The Minthorns would want Bert to enroll in a Quaker college such as Earlham or Haverford, but Bert would choose Stanford University so as to be able to take courses in engineering.

1886

February 27: Sarah Nichols Pope-Dixon, a Quaker schoolteacher born in Salem, Massachusetts established in her last will and testament the endowment for a "Sarah N. Pope's Teachers Home" primarily for the accommodation of unmarried women Friends who had devoted most of their lives to teaching. (Before the Trust moneys could be used for such purpose, they would need to accrue interest for some period of time, minus the fees and expenses of the custodian of the funds — in an imperfect world, this would turn out to be two full generations of human life, that is, not until 1936.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
NEW ENGLAND FRIENDS HOME

I, Sarah Nichols Pope Dixon, the wife of Robert Dixon of South View, Crook, near Darlington in the County of Durham, Colliery Manager, in exercise of the power in this behalf contained in the settlement executed previously to and in contemplation of my marriage with my said dear husband and of every other power or authority in any wise enabling me in this behalf hereby revoke all my former wills, codicils and testamentary dispositions, and declare this to be my last will or appointment in the nature thereof. I appoint and bequeath to my sister Elizabeth Hacker Valentine of Salem, near Lynn, Massachusetts, in the United States of America, all my share of the household goods, furniture, linen, silver, china and other articles and effects left to me by my dear parents, and now in her possession, and I also bequeath to her all my pictures, books, and other things belonging to me, and now in her possession at Salem aforesaid, save and except such articles as are named in a memorandum furnished by me to my said dear sister and now in her possession. And I appoint and bequeath the annuities following (namely) to my said sister Elizabeth Hacker Valentine the annuity of two hundred dollars during her life and to my nephew William Cox Pope of St. Paul, Minnesota in the United States the annuity of one hundred dollars during his life, the said annuities to be paid half yearly, the first payment thereof to be made at the end of six calendar months next after my decease. My said dear husband is at present in the enjoyment of a salary which I know to be in his view sufficient to provide for his comfort and for the indulgence of all that his tastes require, but should



circumstances arise in which from the reduction or withdrawal of his salary or otherwise he may in his own uncontrolled opinion require some addition to his means, I direct my Trustee on his written request for that purpose under his hand to allow him out of the income of my property the annual sum of not less than three hundred dollars during the remainder of his life. And if the annual income for the time being of my property shall not be sufficient to pay the said annuities respectively including the annuity to my said dear husband if for the time being payable then I direct that all the annuities for the time being payable shall abate rateably and in equal proportions. And subject and without prejudice as aforesaid I appoint, devise and bequeath all and singular my real and the residue of my personal estate whether in the United States of America or elsewhere which I have any power to dispose of by this my Will unto and to the use of the Provident Life and Trust Company Philadelphia carrying on business at 409 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia in the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as "the said Trust Company"). Upon the trusts following namely) [?] Upon trust with all convenient speed after my decease and in such manner as the said Trust Company shall think proper to sell call in and convert into money all the said real and personal estate (except ready money) with power to make and execute all such contracts and assurances as shall be proper for effecting such sales. And upon further trust with and out of the moneys which shall come to their hands by virtue of the aforesaid residuary devise and bequest and of the trusts relative thereto to pay and discharge all my just debts funeral and testamentary expenses and the pecuniary legacies which I may give by any Codicil or Codicils hereto and to invest the residue of the said moneys in the name of the said Trust Company in such stocks, funds, shares or securities whether in the United States of America or elsewhere as the said Trust Company shall in their absolute discretion deem most advantageous and desirable with power from time to time at the discretion of the said Trust Company to vary and transpose the said stocks, funds and securities for or into any other of the aforesaid stocks, funds and securities, Provided that the said Trust Company may in their absolute discretion retain any of the property whether real or personal comprised in the foregoing appointment devise or bequest in the state of investment or otherwise in which it shall be at my decease so long as they shall in their absolute discretion think fit. And I declare that the same real and residuary personal property and the annual produce thereof shall subject and without prejudice to the trusts aforesaid and to the payment of the annuities hereinbefore appointed or bequeathed be upon the further trusts following (that is to say) A. Upon trust that the said Trust Company do and shall from time to time accumulate in their name in any of the stocks, funds and securities upon which investments are hereinbefore authorized the surplus annual produce of the same trust property respectively and all the resulting income and annual produce thereof until there shall be provided such a capital fund inclusive of the trust property hereby appointed as shall in the judgment of the Committee of



the [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Society of Friends of New England (the Orthodox Branch) to be appointed in that behalf as hereinafter is mentioned be sufficient to provide for the acquisition and suitable endowment of the Home for Unmarried Women Friends who have devoted most of their lives to teaching as hereinafter more particularly mentioned. Provided always that notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained such accumulation shall not be carried beyond the latest period to which it can be legally carried. B. In giving the following expression to my wishes I desire that the Committee of New England Yearly Meeting who may be appointed as hereinafter is mentioned shall have the liberty from time to time to extend or vary any of the particulars hereinafter specified in such manner in all respects as they may from time to time in their absolute discretion judge wise and expedient for the promotion of the general object which I have in view. Having been born in Salem near Lynn in Massachusetts, it will be a satisfaction to me if circumstances allow of the Home being established there; and as the means for establishing the Home are the result of my own industry and economy through the blessing of my Heavenly Father during my maidenhood, it may not be inappropriate that it may receive my maiden name and be called "Sarah N. Pope's Teachers Home." My object is to provide a plain but tasteful and attractive building with accommodation for at least a dozen inmates exclusive of attendants. I desire the building to be so planned as to admit of future additions if found expedient. The rooms to be of various sizes to suit the means of applicants, some to be with moderate sized sleeping rooms with small parlors attached. There should be one or more than one bath room furnished with all needful accommodations a good sized common parlor and dining room with such other rooms as may be required for the Committee, Matron and Officers, good closets to be provided in sleeping rooms and elsewhere. Proper furniture should be provided and from time to time renewed or added to as occasion may require including heating apparatus, kitchen utensils, beds, bedding, chairs, tables, drawers, carpets, table covers, clothes linen, plates, dishes, spoons, knives, forks, books and such other articles, implements, utensils and things whatsoever whether of household or domestic use as the Committee of New England Yearly Meeting to be appointed as hereinafter mentioned shall from time to time think necessary or expedient. I should like a small room at the Home to be appropriated if practicable to the reception of various articles such as books, pictures, photographs and other mementos of travel which I have preserved as of interest in connection with my life work and journeys. The inmates of the Home should be chosen by the Committee to be appointed for the care of the Institution by New England Yearly Meeting as hereinafter mentioned. They should be Members of the Society of Friends of the age of about forty-five years or upwards who have devoted most of their lives to teaching and who have not been married and are known for their peaceable orderly and devoted christian lives. In choosing them preference should be given to Members of New England Yearly Meeting. I should wish them as far as health and other circumstances admit to be in the practice of



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regularly attending Friends Meetings for worship at Salem which I trust may ever continue to be held in the Spirit and life which our early Friends sought to realize as occasions of religious solemnity and edification in which through Christ our ever living High Priest and Mediator the Father is worshipped in Spirit and in Truth. The friends chosen must be able in the opinion of the Committee to give a reasonable prospect of their ability to provide for the punctual payment of the sums, if any, arranged for their board. My idea has been that from \$5. per week and upwards ought to be the sum paid by each inmate for her board. But as I wish that the Home may be for the benefit of the inmates and that it may fulfill the legal definition of "Charity" I desire to leave the amount of such payment for board entirely to the discretion of the committee under the advice of my friend Augustine Jones hereinafter named. I hereby expressly authorize the Committee if they shall think fit to admit inmates without any payment if otherwise in their view suitable and also to allow my said niece Margaret Pope Valentine if she be for the time being living and unmarried to occupy one or more of the rooms at the Home free of charge.

I desire that the Home when established shall be placed under the care of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Orthodox Branch) whom I request to accept the same and to appoint for the management and superintendence and the control of the expenditure thereof such Committee of six reliable men Friends and six women Friends as they shall from time to time think suitable which Committee shall report annually to the said Yearly Meeting and be subject in all respects to its control and direction. I take the liberty of suggesting the names of my friends Augustine Jones and Gertrude Whittier Cartland as among those who may be suitably nominated among the first members of such Committee. All sums (if any) which may be received from the inmates shall be applied in such manner as the Committee shall from time to time approve in or toward the current expenses of the Home including those of repair and management. Feeling as I do that these general expressions of my wishes are very imperfect I authorize my friend Augustine Jones, Superintendent of The Friends Boarding School at Providence Rhode Island in whose judgment and skill I have entire confidence to draw up such more formal scheme or Deed of Foundation for the Constitution and Government of the said Home as he in his uncontrolled discretion shall think suitable for the purpose of carrying my intentions into full effect according to the Laws of the United States. And I appoint my friend SAMUEL R. SHIPLEY of Philadelphia aforesaid, or failing him such person or persons as shall be nominated in that behalf by the said Trust Company Executor or Executors of this my Will. And I declare that the receipts in writing of the said Trust Company for the time being acting in the execution of the trust hereby created for any money payable to them by virtue of this my Will shall be good and sufficient discharges for the same and that the persons to whom such receipts shall be respectively given shall not be answerable or accountable for the loss, misapplication or non application or be in anywise



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bound to see to the application of the moneys in such receipts respectively acknowledged to be received or to inquire into or be affected by express or implied notice as to the necessity or propriety or otherwise of any sale or sales made or professed to be made by virtue of this my Will. And I hereby expressly empower the said Trust Company from time to time to execute and enroll all such deeds and assurances and to do all such other acts and things whatsoever as the counsel of the said Company shall from time to time advise in the said New England Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends or any Committee thereof. And otherwise for the more effectual fulfillment and realization of the Trusts and purposes hereinbefore expressed. And I declare that the said Trust Company shall be chargeable for such moneys only as they shall actually receive by virtue of the trusts hereby in them reposed. And also that it shall be lawful for them out of the money which shall come to their hands by virtue of the trusts aforesaid to reimburse themselves all costs, charges, damages and expenses which they may pay or sustain in or about the execution of the aforesaid trusts or any of them or in relation thereto. And I expressly direct that the said Trust Company shall be entitled to be paid or allowed all such commission and other usual charges for business done by them for or in respect of the said Trust Estate in the same manner in every respect as if they had not been Trustees of this my Will. IN WITNESS WHEREOF I the said Sarah Nichols Pope Dixon have to this my last will and testament contained in this and the six proceeding sheets of paper set my hand this twenty seventh day of February one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six.

Sarah N.P. Dixon.

Signed and declared by the said Sarah Nichols Pope Dixon the testatrix as and for her last will and testament in the presence of us, who in her presence at her request and in the presence of each other (all being present at the same time) have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses.

Thomas Douglas, Mining Engineer, West Lodge, Crook.

Elizabeth Douglas, West Lodge, Crook.

Eunice C. Dixon, Great Ayton

1887

As an example of [Quaker disownment](#), here is one that was announced in this year at the Somerset monthly meeting:

"R.G. having neglected the attendance of our Religious meetings and joined the Methodist Society and being treated with therefor did not manifest a disposition to condemn her deviation, we therefore disown her as a member of our Religious Society."²⁶³

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February 17: [William Henry Farquhar](#) died. The body would be placed in the cemetery at [Friends Meetinghouse, Sandy Spring, Maryland](#).

1888

A [Quaker](#) boarding school was established at Abington, Pennsylvania.

[Friend Alfred Henry Love](#) was the Vice Presidential nominee of the National Equal Rights Party as the running mate of Belva Ann Lockwood.

[Friend](#) Joseph Rowntree wrote these words when London Yearly Meeting was considering adopting a Christian creed:

I wish to emphasize the thought that the general welfare of the Society of Friends the world over, will not be advanced by one Yearly Meeting following exactly in the footsteps of another, but by each being faithful to its own convictions and experience. This may not result in a rigid uniformity of either thought or action, but it is likely to lead to something far better - to a true and living unity.... It would be an incalculable evil if the energy of the Society were to be turned away from the homely but most profitable training of Christian work to the dreary region of theological discussion. But such must, I think, inevitably be the case if this Creed is pressed upon the London Yearly Meeting.²⁶⁴

1889

[Margaret Briggs Farquhar](#) died.

264. "Memorandum on the Declaration of Christian Doctrine issued by the Richmond Conference, 1887"



1890

➡ At this point tiny [Rhode Island](#) somewhat displaced Massachusetts by acquiring the distinction of becoming not merely the smallest but indeed the most densely packed and urbanized of all the states.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), the cost of board and tuition increased from \$300 to \$350 per pupil per year, for everybody, with “full or partial scholarships” being made available to the children of Friends (this sum would be equivalent today to an annual charge of roughly \$35,000).²⁶⁵ That is to say, a [Quaker](#) student there transited from being a student of normative standing into being merely a student with a special-exception or quota standing, like being a student with insufficient funds or a student with only one leg. At the same time the previous “contract” system was abandoned, so that henceforth the principal would be paid a fixed salary rather than receiving a percentage of the school’s annual profit.

April: [Friend Elbert Russell](#) graduated from high school in West Newton, Massachusetts. After a summer visit to his family’s home of origin in Tennessee, and a brief romance there, he would begin studies at Earlham College in [North Carolina](#).

I have had many a regret that the subject of sex was so covered with vulgarity and filth. It made it difficult to dissociate modesty from shame and to redeem the subject of sex from a sense of evil and degradation. Those who object to sex education in the church and school seem strangely ignorant of the perverted education which children actually get on the subject.

Fall: [Friend Elbert Russell](#) matriculated at Earlham College in [North Carolina](#).

Except for very cursory contact, I had never come in contact with skeptical thought. One day I was browsing in the college library and noticed an article by Robert Ingersoll. He was at that time the arch-infidel against whom the evangelical preachers warned us. Curiosity led me to read it. Ingersoll was a master of persuasive casuistry. He had the art to ask a question about orthodox religious belief, which no one can answer satisfactorily, and make it appear that the inability to answer is proof that the belief is false or foolish. The article seemed to prove that my religious beliefs were untenable. I remember the empty feeling I had as I almost literally groped my way out of the library; I had lost my religion and had nothing to put in its place. I went out and walked the campus paths for a while in a daze. Gradually I began to gain a better perspective. I could not doubt that I had been helped in the past by religious exercises. They had given me strength and courage; had inspired me to good living and steadied me in

265. Consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



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emergencies. I could not doubt this. The Ingersoll article was largely negative. It would take time and careful thought to find out what it might involve in positive living. Meantime I resolved to keep up the forms of worship and to keep to the moral standards that had been helpful until I found some satisfactory substitutes. That night when I was ready for bed, I knelt to pray as my custom had been for years. And as I prayed in dire perplexity for help and light, suddenly the darkness into which the article had plunged me disappeared, and I slept in peace. In my college course I was led to a pretty thorough overhauling of my theological beliefs, but this experience enabled me to distinguish between experience and theological explanations of experience in a way to save me from ever again being tempted to "throw out the baby with the bath."

1891

A photograph was taken of a rotting ship hulk at Fort Adams near [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem* — a reminder of everything people commonly try to just forget all about:



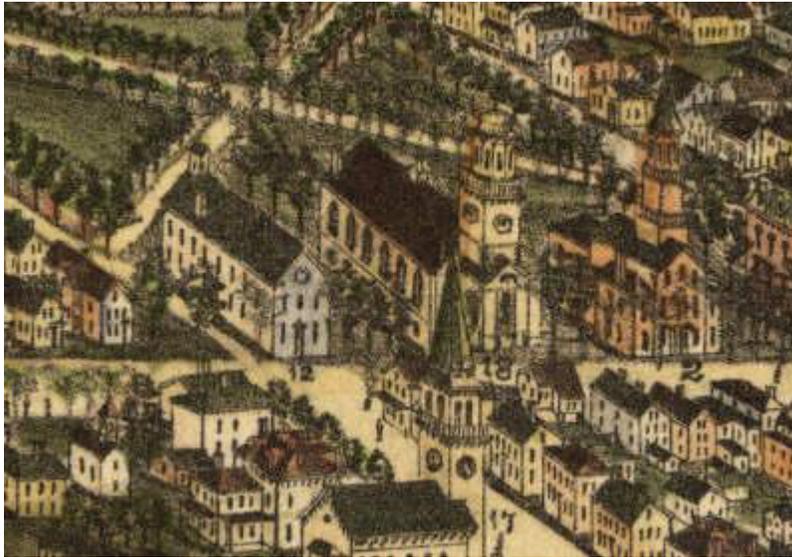
The number of [Quakers](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#) having diminished, the monthly meeting in Conanicut or [Jamestown](#) was laid down, and its remaining members absorbed into other meetings.

This is what the town of [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) looked like in this year:



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Here is a detail of the above image of Bristol in this year:



1892

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), art classes had become so popular that they were described as “a significant source of income.” The Studio of the Three Oaks was erected. Clearly, either the Friends had succumbed to the influence of the general culture or there weren’t enough of them still around to make any difference.

October 18: In 1882 the following material had appeared in the guidebook of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

The institution is owned by the New-England Yearly Meeting of Friends, who choose the “school committee” of 33 men and women. The faculty consists of 18 male and female instructors, librarians, etc., eight of whom are college graduates, and all of whom are chosen by reason of superior qualifications. The principal is Augustine Jones, A.M., who in 1851 graduated from this school, and later from Bowdoin College, and afterwards from the Harvard Law School, and who was the partner and educator of Gov. John A. Andrew, the Massachusetts “War Governor.” He practised law in Massachusetts for 12 years, and served in the general court for one year, and in 1879 relinquished his practice to accept his present responsible position, and has brought to the institution its greater prosperity... Although managed by Friends, the school is wholly unsectarian, and one-half the pupils are of other denominations.



Notice that in this 1882 guidebook, the educational institution had under Principal Augustine Jones already been described as “unsectarian.” That in itself might not be enough to substantiate an inference that its Principal, himself a non-Quaker graduate of this institution, regarded Quakerism as a sect rather than a religion, and therefore as unworthy of his respect or consideration. However, in Principal Jones’s audacious confession to the Rhode Island Historical Society on this day he would explicitly refer to Quakerism as a “sect,” and as I understand the matter, this term “sect” is a term which is not used except in denigration. He therefore had meant in 1882 in characterizing the school under his administration as “wholly unsectarian,” because he did mean on this day in his address to the RIHS, that, in his mode of thinking, Quakerism failed to qualify for the respect and consideration which ought to be extended to a mainline religious denomination such as Episcopalianism or Baptism or Unitarianism or Methodism. Those are not considered sects but Quakerism is considered by him as a sect — nor is he loathe so to characterize it before his audience of Providence worthies.

Principal Augustine Jones’s address would soon be printed up in Providence as [MOSES BROWN, A SKETCH](#).²⁶⁶

MOSES BROWN, A SKETCH

We see that he asserted that in his own estimation these sectarians had been people who had been limited in their appreciation of the values that ought to be sponsored by education. The specific words which he used in regard to Friend Moses Brown are as follows: “Its founder had the limitations of his sect.” He went on immediately after this to switch over from talking about the founder and his intentions, to the foundation of Harvard College and its foundational mission, and again I quote: “It will be remembered, in this connection, that Harvard College, in its beginning, was for Christ and the Church. Its aim was to prepare ministers of the Gospel, but the age and the demands of the times have called it to a wider service.” Clearly he was setting up a parallelism between on the one hand Harvard College having over the years been called to a wider service than what it had been in the beginning (for Christ and the Church), and on the other hand the Quaker Yearly Meeting School having over the years been called to a wider service that what it had been in the beginning (the intentions of benefactors Moses and Obadiah Brown).

Now of course, he was fudging. The case of Harvard College was not similar in that it had not been set up by a large donation from a single founding family in accordance with any specified permanent intention. The Reverend John Harvard, for instance, had provided no more than a small library of books, books for use not constituting any sort of permanent and perpetual endowment only the income of which could be used for school expenses. There had been at Harvard College no foundational acceptance of an obligation to be true to the terms of an endowment. The situation at Harvard had been, therefore, completely different from the situation at this religious educational institution which had been so magnificently endowed by Friends Moses and Obadiah Brown with a large perpetual endowment only the proceeds of which could be used for school expenses. They had donated their family money and lands for a stated purpose and the Quakers who had accepted this bequest had acknowledged that they had accepted an obligation to fulfill said stated purpose, which was to educate Quaker children in a protected manner.

Nevertheless, in bringing in this parallelism between Harvard College and the New England Yearly Meeting School, the clear intent of Principal Jones was to insinuate that since it was all-right for the purpose of Harvard College to have drifted over the years, it was likewise all-right also for the purpose of the New England Yearly Meeting School also to drift over the years. Harvard did not need to be true to the intent of its founders because it really had not had any particular founder and had not received any particular conditional perpetual bequest. The New England Yearly Meeting school, Principal Jones insinuated here —despite the fact that it did originate in such a conditional perpetual bequest only the income from which might be utilized, and only for the

266. Unfortunately, one page is missing from this PDF as it was made available by Google Books.



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accomplishment of the particular stated purpose— likewise had no need to be true to its pledge. Forget that!

We see that Principal Jones frankly acknowledged that the perpetual endowment created by Friend Obadiah Brown had been “by far the largest bequest in one sum, which had been given to any school or college in this country” at the point at which this bequest had been made. Nevertheless their school had been since then “called to a wider service.” This perpetual endowment could be heedlessly used up and disposed of in its entirety and the school then repurposed to some alternative mission, some “wider service,” of Principal Jones’s own choosing. This Principal in his deviation from morality and from honor would only be doing what esteemed others had done before him and gotten away with: even such an illustrious institution as Harvard University had likewise felt free to deviate from the intentions of its originators, and obviously without unseemly consequences.

Am I here “reading between the lines” of this text? I would say that no, I am not reading between the lines — I am merely making plain the meaning of a document that can have no other plain explication. If you suppose that Principal Jones’s words might be provided with some other interpretation, it would then become your obligation to specify what that other interpretation might be. In what other way can sense be made of the words he delivered on this day to this assembly of Providence worthies, than to conclude that he meant to steal the Quaker assets and dispense them as he saw fit?



W.D. O'Connor's THE CARPENTER, a sequel to his 1866 THE GOOD GRAY POET in which he even more straightforwardly portrayed Walt Whitman as a Christ figure.²⁶⁷

Whitman managed an oblique reference to the hanged Friend [Mary Dyer](#) in his NOVEMBER BOUGHS, in a snippet anent the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split among Friends, as an assertion regarding there having been “no persecution worth mentioning” of Friends in America subsequent to her hanging:

“The Separation”

Note. — The Separation. — The division vulgarly call'd between Orthodox and Hicksites in the Society of Friends took place in 1827, '8 and '9. ...A reviewer of the old dispute and separation made the following comments on them in a paper ten years ago: “It was in America, where there had been no persecution worth mentioning since Mary Dyer was hang'd on Boston Common, that about fifty years ago differences arose, singularly enough upon doctrinal points of the divinity of Christ and the nature of the atonement. Whoever would know how bitter was the controversy, and how much of human infirmity was found to be still lurking under broad-brim hats and drab coats, must seek for the information in the Lives of Elias Hicks and of Thomas Shillitoe, the latter an English Friend, who visited us at this unfortunate time, and who exercised his gifts as a peacemaker with but little success. The meetings, according to his testimony, were sometimes turn'd into mobs. The disruption was wide, and seems to have been final. Six of the ten yearly meetings were divided; and since that time various sub-divisions have come, four or five in number. There has never, however, been anything like a repetition of the excitement of the [Hicksite](#) controversy; and Friends of all kinds at present appear to have settled down into a solid, steady, comfortable state, and to be working in their own way without troubling other Friends whose ways are different.”

(It is to be noted that Walt Whitman forwards the notion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged on Boston Common despite the fact that there is no preserved historical evidence whatever that she had not been hanged at the usual place for such events — at the municipal gallows on the Boston Neck.)

Had he made a more careful study of the records of Revolutionary persecution of male Friends, persecution in which our Peace Testimony was taken to be equivalent to traitorous Loyalism to the Crown, of course Whitman would have been able to forward no such simplistic opinion.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

267. NOVEMBER BOUGHS, published in this year of Walt Whitman's death, contains additional material on the [Hicksite](#) split among Friends:



Walt Whitman also mentioned, in NOVEMBER BOUGHS, a collection of 5,000 poems that had been donated to [Brown University](#):

“Five Thousand Poems”

There have been collected in a cluster nearly five thousand big and little American poems — all that diligent and long-continued research could lay hands on! The author of ‘Old Grimes is Dead’ commenced it, more than fifty years ago; then the cluster was pass’d on and accumulated by C. F. Harris; then further pass’d on and added to by the late Senator Anthony, from whom the whole collection has been bequeath’d to Brown University. A catalogue (such as it is) has been made and publish’d of these five thousand poems — and is probably the most curious and suggestive part of the whole affair. At any rate it has led me to some abstract reflection like the following.

I should like, for myself, to put on record my devout acknowledgment not only of the great masterpieces of the past, but of the benefit of **all** poets, past and present, and of **all** poetic utterance — in its entirety the dominant moral factor of humanity’s progress. In view of that progress, and of evolution, [Page 1185] the religious and aesthetic elements, the distinctive and most important of any, seem to me more indebted to poetry than to all other means and influences combined. In a very profound sense **religion is the poetry of humanity**. Then the points of union and rapport among all the poems and poets of the world, however wide their separations of time and place and theme, are much more numerous and weighty than the points of contrast. Without relation as they may seem at first sight, the whole earth’s poets and poetry — *en masse* — the Oriental, the Greek, and what there is of Roman — the oldest myths — the interminable ballad-romances of the Middle Ages — the hymns and psalms of worship — the epics, plays, swarms of lyrics of the British Islands, or the Teutonic old or new — or modern French — or what there is in America, Bryant’s, for instance, or Whittier’s or Longfellow’s — the verse of all tongues and ages, all forms, all subjects, from primitive times to our own day inclusive — really combine in one aggregate and electric globe or universe, with all its numberless parts and radiations held together by a common centre or verteber. To repeat it, all poetry thus has (to the point of view comprehensive enough) more features of resemblance than difference, and becomes essentially, like the planetary globe itself, compact and orbic and whole. Nature seems to sow countless seeds — makes incessant crude attempts — thankful to get now and then, even at rare and long intervals, something approximately good.

1893

Publication, in [Providence](#), of Augustine Jones’s THE TAXATION OF FRIENDS SCHOOL, containing his argument early in this year before the [Rhode Island](#) legislature, that the tax-exempt status of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), which had been voided in 1876 by that legislature, ought to be restored. The argument had been successful, at least in regard to the central 26 acres of land that were in use by the school for its buildings and groves, playgrounds, orchard, and garden.

The George School was established for [Quaker](#) education in Newtown, Pennsylvania.

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In 1806,  a Philadelphia [Quaker](#) discipline had stipulated “that no monuments, either of wood or stone, be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds.” In 1852  a [Hicksite](#) group of Quakers had modified this to read:

that no costly or showy monuments be affixed to graves in any of our burial grounds; or any mark be permitted exceeding six inches in height above the level of the ground, or more than sixteen inches in width and four inches in thickness, with the name and age of the deceased.

At this point an Orthodox group of Quakers made a similar amendment. (A similar pattern can be found in other yearly meetings: the older rule would have been no gravestones at all, then a later rule would permit stones of a limited height with nothing on them other than the name, age, and date of death of the deceased. In the Quaker burying grounds of Newtown Square, Pennsylvania, which were founded in the 1690s, the earliest grave sites have no markers, but starting in the mid-18th Century simple stone markers appear. Rather large and ornate markers are common from 1850s-1890s, and then gradually the markers become simple and small again. A number of Quaker markers now sport iron “Grand Army of the Republic” emblems in addition to the grave and foot stones, indicating that this Quaker had served as a soldier during the civil war — and perhaps that he or his family was not embarrassed at that fact.)

As a result of the strategy of Carrie Chapman Catt, Colorado men make their state the 2d in which women have attained to full voting rights.



FEMINISM

October: [Friend Elbert Russell](#)'s poem “My Genia” appeared in [The Earlhamite](#).²⁶⁸

268. [The Earlhamite](#)'s initial issue appeared in 1873, which makes it now the oldest college alumni magazine in continuous publication in the United States of America.



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1894

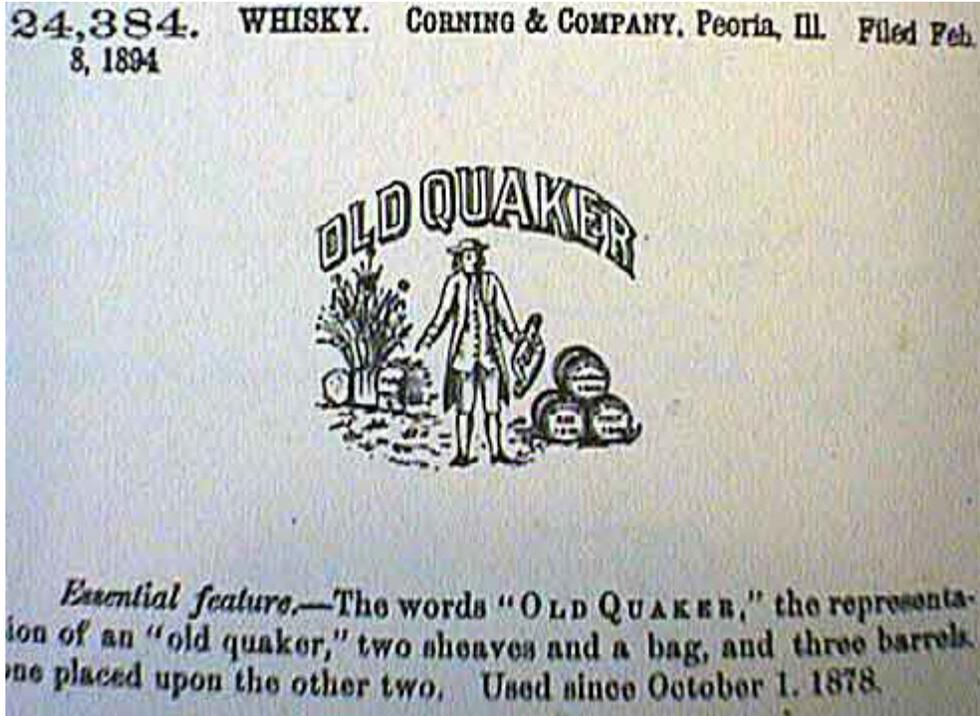
February 8: [Robert Michael Ballantyne](#) died in Rome at the age of 68.

At this point Corning & Company of Peoria, Illinois filed for a government-protected trademark on their “Old Quaker” product, “A Friendly Whiskey” that they had been selling as such since October 1, 1878 — and the product was forthwith granted trademark number 24,384. (It seems clear that in the course of this commercial application and government approval process, no-one must have bothered to consult any actual [Quakers](#).)

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because of course if any actual Quakers had been consulted there would have been the most vigorous protests.)



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

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September: [Caroline Hazard](#) of Peace Dale read a historical paper before the [Rhode Island](#) Historical Society. From this paper would grow her 1899 treatise THE NARRAGANSETT FRIENDS MEETING IN THE XVIII CENTURY WITH A CHAPTER ON [QUAKER](#) BEGINNINGS IN RHODE ISLAND (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

December 13: In the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in St. Martin's Lane in London, [Bertrand Russell](#) got married with [Friend](#) Alys Whitall Pearsall Smith, scion of a well-off family of Philadelphia (the couple would separate in 1911 and divorce in 1921).

1895

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), at the junction of the Alumni Hall erected in 1868 and the old east wing building, a 3-story addition was constructed. Throughout the school facilities, central heating was installed and gas lighting was replaced with electric.

An attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: "It needs to be recognised that our Society has not escaped the tendency to narrow down spiritual action to certain prescribed ways as a substitute for the reality of the spiritual life. For example, while Friends have been among the pioneers of modern science they have, until recent years, repressed all taste for the Fine Arts. These, at their greatest, always contain some revelation of the Spirit of God, which is in the fullest harmony with our spiritual faith. In the fields of music, art, and literature, as in others, Friends may witness to the glory of God and advance that glory by their service. The "fulness of the whole earth is His glory," and we mar the beauty of this message by every limitation we set upon it."

—William Charles Braithwaite²⁶⁹

Friend [Elbert Russell](#) got married with [Lieuetta Lilian Cox](#).

We had a very informal wedding. Albert J. Brown married us. He had been principal of the school there and was then the Friends pastor. We had only twenty-four guests, out close relatives and intimate friends. At seven o'clock, just at sunset, in the evening glow, we came into the parlor from the south bedroom and stood by the open window and said our vows.

We arrived in Indianapolis about eleven o'clock, which allowed us ample time to recheck our baggage and find our berth before the train started. Lieuetta had never been on a sleeper. My one experience was when I returned from Chicago in the spring. I took a Pullman just to see how it was done. We had already decided on a honeymoon trip west. It was a happy moment when Lieuetta came to the berth, and I took her in my arms.

269. "Has Quakerism a message to the world today?" In REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, held by direction of the Yearly Meeting in Manchester, 1895. (London: Headly Bros., 1896)



He would teach theology for a dozen years at Earlham College on the strength of the bachelor's degree he obtained there. He had been chosen as a "safe" candidate who had not been too much exposed to scholarship; nevertheless an uproar began due to his introduction of critical methods of Bible study — was the teacher defending, or was the teacher attacking, the Word of God?

It is difficult to reconcile President Mills' eagerness to appoint me to this position with his habitual care for the scholastic competence of his faculty. His confidence in the plan rather blinded me to the folly of it, for I had great faith in his judgment. It would have been much better to have sent me to a good theological school for at least a year's study. The best explanation of his attitude is that most Friends were quite Evangelical in their theology and had much of the characteristic Quietist and Evangelical fear of Biblical scholarship. The establishment of the Biblical Department at Earlham was regarded as a questionable or dangerous venture. Dougan Clark was orthodox enough for the Evangelicals but rather left wing on the doctrine of holiness. To emphasize scholarship or to depart in any marked way from the vocabulary or emphasis of Evangelical theology would bring down upon the department the vigorous hostility of the fundamentalist leaders.

An attitude expressed in this year, toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: "For human conduct and human happiness, it is far safer to ignore Art altogether, than it is to accept her as the sole guide and arbiter of human life.... Now Art threatens to become Religion in another sense, obliterating all the old landmarks of morality, and deciding by herself, and with reference to artistic considerations alone, what is fitting and becoming in human life."

—Thomas Hodgkin²⁷⁰

270. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Members of the Society of Friends, held by direction of the Yearly Meeting in Manchester, 1895. (London: Headly Bros., 1896)



PREACHING TO NOBODY²⁷¹

'All the artillery in the world, were they all discharged together at one clap, could not more deaf the ears of our bodies than the clamourings of desires in the soul deaf its ears, so you see a man must go into silence or else he cannot hear God speak.'—JOHN EVERARD. 1650.

'God forces none, for love cannot compel, and God's service is therefore a thing of complete freedom.... The thing which hinders and has always hindered is that our wills are different from God's will. God never seeks Himself, in His willing—we do. There is no other way to blessedness than to lose one's self will'—HANS DENCK. 1526.

'The inward command is never wanting in the due season to any duty.'—R. BARCLAY. 1678.

'I think I can reverently say that I very much doubt whether, since the Lord by His grace brought me into the faith of His dear Son, I have ever broken bread or drunk wine, even in the ordinary course of life, without the remembrance of, and some devout feeling regarding the broken body and the blood-shedding of my dear Lord and Saviour.'—STEPHEN GRELLET.

'One loving spirit sets another on fire.'—AUGUSTINE.

271. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



XXXII. PREACHING TO NOBODY

Stephen Grellet, after much waiting on the Lord to shew him His will, was directed by the Spirit to take a long journey into the backwoods of America, and preach the Gospel to some woodcutters who were felling forest timber.²⁷²

At first Stephen did not know which was the wood he was meant to visit, having travelled through hundreds of miles of forests on his journey. So he waited very quietly, his heart as still as a clear lake, ready to reflect anything God might show him. Suddenly a picture came. He remembered a lonely forest clearing, far away. Workmen's huts were dotted about here and there, and a big wooden building rose in the midst of the clearing. All around were woodcutters, some busy sawing timber, some marking the tall forest trees, others carting huge logs and piling them at a little distance. Stephen now remembered the place well. He remembered, too, the workmen's rough faces, and the wild shouts that filled the air as he had passed by on horseback. He had noticed a faint film of blue smoke curling up from the large building, and he had supposed that that must be the dining-shanty where the workmen's food was prepared and where they had their meals. He remembered having thought to himself, 'A lonely life and a wild one!' But the place had not made a deep impression on his mind, and he had forgotten it as he journeyed, in the joy of getting nearer home. Now, suddenly, that forest clearing, with the huts and the dining-shanty and the busy woodmen all round, came back to him as vividly as a picture in a magic-lantern view, while a Voice said, distinctly but very gently in his own heart, so that only he could hear, 'GO BACK THERE AND PREACH TO THOSE LONELY MEN.'

Stephen knew quite well Whose Voice it was that was speaking to him, for he had loved and followed that Voice for many years. Obedience was easy now. He said at once, 'Yes, I will go;' and saying good-bye to his wife, he left his home, and set forth again into the forest. As he journeyed, a flood of happiness came over his soul. The long ride through the lonely woods, day after day, no longer seemed tedious. He was absolutely alone, but he never felt the least bit lonely. It was as if Someone were journeying with him all the way, the invisible Friend whose Voice he knew and loved and obeyed.

When at length he drew near the clearing in the forest, he both trembled and rejoiced, at the thought of soon being able to deliver his message to the woodmen. Coming yet nearer, however, he no longer saw any blue smoke curling up in a thin spiral between the straight stems of the forest trees. Neither did he hear any sound of saws sawing timber, or the men shouting to their horses. The whole place was silent and deserted. When he reached the clearing, nobody was there. Even the huts had gone. He would have thought he had mistaken the place if the dining-shanty had not been there, by the edge of a little trickling stream, just as he remembered it.

272. The American Friend, 28th November 1895.



Nowhere was there a living soul to be seen. Evidently all the woodmen had gone away deeper into the forest to find fresh timber, for the clearing was much larger and many more trees had been cut down than on Stephen's first visit. The neglected look of the one big wooden hut that remained showed that the men had not used it for many days. Weeks might pass before any of the woodcutters returned.

What was Stephen to do? He had no idea in which direction the woodmen had departed. It was hopeless to think of tracking them further through the lonely forest glades. Had the Voice made a mistake? Could he have misunderstood the command? Was the whole expedition a failure? Must he return home with his message still undelivered? His heart burned within him at the thought, and he said, half aloud, 'No, no, no!'

There was only one way out of the difficulty, the same way that had helped him to learn his Latin lesson years ago when he was a little boy. But it was no tiny mossy track now, it was a broad, well-marked road travelled daily, hourly, through long years,—this Prayer way that led his soul to God. Tying up his horse to the nearest tree, Stephen knelt down on the carpet of red-brown pine-needles, and put up a wordless prayer for guidance and help. Then he began to listen.

Through the windless silence of the forest spaces the Voice came again more clearly than ever, saying: 'GIVE YOUR MESSAGE. IT IS NOT YOURS BUT MINE.' Stephen hesitated no longer. He went straight into the dining-shanty. He strode past the bare empty tables, under which the long grass and flowers were already growing thick and tall. He went straight up to the end of the room, and there, standing on a form, as if the place had been filled with one or two hundred eager listeners, although no single human being was to be seen, he PREACHED, as he had never yet preached in his life. The Love of God, the 'Love that will not let us go,' seemed to him the most real thing in the whole world. All his life he had longed to find an anchor for his soul. Now that he had found it, he must help others to find it too. Why doesn't everyone find it? Ah! there he began to speak of sin; how sin builds up a wall between our hearts and God; how, in Jesus Christ, that wall has been thrown down once for all, and now there is nothing to keep us apart except our own blindness and pride; and how if we will only turn round and open our hearts to Him, He is longing to come in and dwell with us. As Stephen went on, he pleaded yet more earnestly. He thought of the absent woodcutters. He felt that he loved every single one of those wild, rough men; and if he loved them, he, a stranger, how much more dear must they be to their heavenly Father. 'Grant me to win each single soul for Thee, O Lord,' he pleaded, 'each single soul for Thee.'

Where were they all now, these men to whom he had come to speak? He could not find them. But God could. God was their shepherd. Even if His messenger failed, the Good Shepherd would seek on until He found each single wandering soul that He loved. 'And when the shepherd findeth the lost sheep, after leaving the ninety and nine in the wilderness, how does he bring it home? Does he whip it? Does he threaten it? No such thing! he carries



it on his shoulder and deals most tenderly with the poor, weary, wandering one.'

While he was speaking he thought of the absent woodcutters with an evergrowing desire to help them. He thought of the hard lives they were forced to lead, of the temptations they must meet with daily, and of the lack of all outward help towards a better life. As he repeated the words again, 'Grant me, O Lord, to win these lost sheep of Thine back to Thee and to Thy service; help me to win each single soul for Thee,' he felt as if, somehow, his voice, his prayer, must reach the men he sought, even though hundreds of miles of desolate forest lay between. Towards the end of his sermon, the tears ran down his cheeks. At last, utterly exhausted by the strength of his desire he sat down once more, and, throwing his arms on the rough board before him, he hid his face in his hands.

A long time passed; the silence grew ever more intense. At last Stephen lifted his head. He felt as tired as if he had gone a long journey since he entered the wooden building. Yet it was all exactly the same as when he had come in an hour before,—the rows of empty forms and the bare tables, with grass and flowers growing up between them. Stephen's eyes wandered out through the open door. He noticed a thick mug of earthenware lying beside the path outside, evidently left behind by the woodcutters as not worth taking with them. A common earthenware mug it was, of coarse material and ugly shape; and cracked. As Stephen's eyes fell upon it, he felt as if he hated that mug more than he had ever before hated anything in his life. It seemed to have been left behind there, on purpose to mock him. Here he was with only an earthenware mug in sight, he who might have been surrounded by the exquisite and delicate porcelain that he remembered in his father's factory at Limoges. All that beauty and luxury belonged to him by right; they might still have been his, if only he had not listened for years to the Voice. And now the Voice had led him on this fool's errand. Here he was, preaching to nobody, and looking at a cracked mug. Was his whole life a mistake? a delusion? 'Am I a fool after all?' he asked himself bitterly.

He was in the sad, bitter mood that is called 'Reaction.' Strangely enough, it often seizes people just when they have done some particularly difficult piece of work for their Master. Perhaps it comes to keep them from thinking that they can finish anything in their own strength alone.

Stephen was in the grip of this mood now. Happily he had wrestled with the same sort of temptation many times before. He knew it of old; he knew, too, that the best way to meet it is to face this giant Reaction boldly, as Christian faced Apollyon, to wrestle with it and so to overcome. He went straight out of the door to where the mug was lying, and took up that mug, that cracked mug, in his hands, more reverently than if it had been a vase of the most precious and fragile porcelain. He took it up, and accepted it, this thing he hated worst of all. If life had led him only to a cracked mug, at least he would accept that mug and use it as best he could. Carrying it in his hands, he walked to the little stream whose gentle murmur came through the



tall grasses close at hand. There he knelt down, cleansed the mug carefully, filled it with water, and putting it to his lips, he drank a long refreshing draught. In his pocket he found a crust of bread. He took it out, broke it in two pieces, and then drank again. Only a piece of dry bread! Only a drink of cold water in a cracked cup! No meal could be simpler. Yet Stephen ate and drank with a kind of awe, enfolded in a sustaining, life-giving Presence. He knew that he was not alone; he knew that Another was with him, feeding and refreshing his inmost soul, as he drank of the clear, cold water and ate the broken bread. A wonderful peace and gladness fell upon his spirit as he knelt in the sunny air. The silence of the great forest was itself a song of praise. He rode homewards like a man in a dream. Day after day as he journeyed, the brooding peace grew and deepened. Even the forest pathways looked different as he travelled through them on his homeward way. They had been full of trustful obedience before. They were filled with thankfulness now. But the deepest thankfulness was in Stephen's own heart.

Is that the end of the story? For many years that was the end. Stephen never forgot his mysterious journey into the backwoods. He often wondered why the Voice had sent him there. Nevertheless he knew, for certain and past all doubting, that he had done right to go. Perhaps gradually the memory faded a little and became dim....

Anyway nothing was further from his thoughts than the lonely backwoods of America one afternoon, years after, when on one of his journeys in Europe his business led him across London Bridge. The Bridge was crowded with traffic. Everyone was bustling to and fro, intent on his own business or pleasure. Not many people had leisure to notice one slight figure distinguished by a foreign air of courtliness and grace, in spite of the stiff, severe lines of its Quaker hat and coat. Not many people, even if they had noticed the earnest face under the broad-brimmed hat, would have stopped to gaze a second time upon it that busy afternoon. Not many people. But one man did.

As Stephen was hastening across the crowded Bridge, suddenly he felt himself seized roughly by the shoulders, and he heard a gruff voice exclaiming: 'There you are! I have found you at last, have I?'

Deep down inside Stephen Grellet, the Quaker preacher, there still remained a few traces of the fastidious French noble, Etienne de Grellet. The traces had been buried deep down by this time, but there they still were. They leapt suddenly to light, that busy afternoon on London Bridge. Neither French nobleman nor Quaker preacher liked to be seized in such unceremonious fashion. 'Friend,' he remonstrated, drawing himself gently away, 'I think that thou art mistaken.'

'No, I am not,' rejoined the other, his grip tighter than ever. 'When you have sought a man over the face of the globe year after year, you don't make a mistake when you find him at last. Not you! Not me either! I'm not mistaken, and I don't let you go now I've found you after all these years, with your same little dapper, black, cut-away coat, that I thought so queer; and your broad-brimmed hat that I well remember. Never heard a man preach



with his hat on before!’

‘Hast thou heard me preach, Friend? Why then didst thou not speak to me afterwards if thou wished?’

‘But I didn’t wish!’ answered the stranger, ‘nothing I wished for less!’

‘Where was it?’ enquired Stephen.

‘Why, I heard you preaching to nobody, years and years ago,’ the man returned. ‘At least you supposed you were preaching to nobody. Really, you were preaching to me. Cut me to the heart you did too, I can tell you.’

A dawning light of comprehension came into Stephen’s face as the other went on: ‘Didn’t you preach in a deserted dining-shanty in the backwoods of America near—’ (and he named the place), ‘on such a day and in such a year?’

He asked these questions in a loud voice, regardless of the astonished looks of the passers-by, still holding tight to the edge of Stephen’s coat with one hand, and shaking the forefinger of the other in Stephen’s face as he spoke, to emphasize each word.

By this time all traces of Etienne, the fastidious French nobleman, had utterly disappeared. Stephen Grellet, the minister of Christ, was alive now to the tips of his fingers. His whole soul was in his eyes as he gazed at his questioner. Was that old, old riddle going to find its answer at last?

‘Wast thou there?’ he enquired breathlessly. ‘Impossible! I must have seen thee!’

‘I was there, right enough,’ answered the man. ‘But you did not see me, because I took very good care that you should not. At first I thought you were a lunatic, preaching to a lot of forms and tables like that, and better left alone. Then, afterwards, I wouldn’t let you see me, for fear you should see also that your words had gone in deeper than I cared to show. I was the ganger of the woodmen,’ he continued, taking Stephen’s arm in his and compelling the little Quaker to walk beside him as he talked. ‘It all happened in this way. We had moved forth into the forest, and were putting up more shanties to live in, when I discovered that I had left my lever at the old settlement. So, after setting my men to work, I came back alone for my instrument. As I approached the old place, I heard a voice. Trembling and agitated, I drew near, I saw you through the chinks of the timber walls of our dining-shanty, I listened to you; and as I listened, your words went through a chink in my heart too, though its walls were thicker than those of any dining-shanty. I was determined you should not see me. I crept away and went back to my men. The arrow stuck fast. I was miserable for many weeks. I had no Bible, no book of any kind, not a creature to ask about better things.’

‘Poor sheep! Poor lost sheep!’ Stephen murmured gently; ‘I knew it; I knew it! The Good Shepherd knew it too!’

‘We were a rough lot in those days,’ continued the other, ‘worse than rough, bad; worse than bad, wicked. There wasn’t much about sin that we didn’t know among us, didn’t enjoy too, after a fashion. That was why your sermon made me so miserable. Seemed to know just all about the lot of us, you did. After it, for



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weeks I went on getting more and more wretched. There seemed nothing to do, me not being able to find you, but to try and get hold of the book that had put you up to it. None of us had such a thing, of course. It was a long time before I could lay hands on one. Me and a Bible! How the men laughed! But they stopped laughing before I had done with them. I read and read till I found what you had said about the Good Shepherd and the lost sheep—'and God so loved the world,' and at last—eternal life. And then I wasn't going to keep that to myself. It's share and share alike out in the backwoods, I can tell you. I told my men all about it, just like you. I never let 'em alone, I gave them no peace till they were one and all brought home to God—every single one! I heard you asking Him: "Every single soul for Thy service, every single soul for Thee, O Lord." That was what you asked Him for,—that, and more than that, He gave. It's always the way! When the Lord begins to answer, He does answer! Every single one of those men was brought home to Him. But it didn't stop there. Three of them became missionaries, to go and bring others back to the fold in their turn. I tell you the solemn truth. Already one thousand lost sheep, if not more, have been brought home to the Good Shepherd through that sermon of yours, that day in the backwoods, when you thought you were

PREACHING TO NOBODY!



HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

'PREACHING TO NOBODY.'

This story is not to be found in Stephen Grellet's AUTOBIOGRAPHY. It appeared in 'The American Friend,' November 1895, and is now included in the penny 'LIFE OF STEPHEN GRELLET' in the Friends Ancient and Modern Series. The actual words of Stephen Grellet's sermon have not been recorded. Those in the text are expanded from a sentence in another discourse of his, given here in quotation marks. The incident of the cracked mug is not historical.



September: [Floyd Schmoie](#) was born, a 6th-generation [Quaker](#). We have not been able to discover the exact day of his birth. His given middle name was Wilfred. In this year the first trail was being constructed into Paradise Valley on the slopes of Mount Rainier. Floyd would grow up on a wheat farm near Rantoul, Kansas.

1896

Fall: At a family Thanksgiving dinner in Philadelphia, [Bertrand Russell](#) had an opportunity to meet and be approved of by his wife Alys's [Quaker](#)-American relatives:

While at Bryn Mawr, I gave lectures on non-Euclidian geometry, and Alys gave addresses in favour of endowment of motherhood, combined with private talks to women in favor of free love. This caused a scandal, and we were practically hounded out of the college. From there we went to Baltimore, where I lectured on the same subject at the Johns Hopkins University. There we stayed with her uncle, Dr Thomas.... There was another daughter who had remained a pious and very orthodox Quaker. She always alluded to those who were not Quakers as "the world's people." They all of them used "thee" in conversation, and so did Alys and I when we talked to each other. Some of the Quaker doctrines seemed a little curious to those not accustomed to them. I remember my mother-in-law explaining that she was taught to consider the Lord's Prayer "gay." At first this remark caused bewilderment, but she explained that everything done by non-Quakers but not by Quakers was called "gay," and this included the use of all fixed formulas, since prayer ought to be inspired by the Holy Spirit. -The Lord's Prayer being a fixed formula, and therefore "gay." On another occasion she informed the dinner-table that she had been brought up to have no respect for the Ten Commandments. They also were "gay." I do not know whether any Quakers remain who take the doctrine of the guidance of the Spirit so seriously as to have no respect for the Ten Commandments. Certainly I have not met any in recent years. It must not, of course, be supposed that the virtuous people who had this attitude ever, in fact, infringed any of the Commandments; the Holy Spirit saw to it that this should not occur. Outside the ranks of the Quakers, similar doctrines sometimes have more questionable consequences. I remember an account written by my mother-in-law of various cranks that she had known, in which there was one chapter entitled "Divine Guidance." On reading the chapter one discovered that this was a synonym for fornication.

My impression of the old families of Philadelphia Quakers was that they had all the effeteness of a small aristocracy. Old misers of ninety would sit brooding over their hoard while their children of sixty or seventy waited for their death with what patience they could command. Various forms of mental disorder



appeared common. Those who must be accounted sane were apt to be very stupid. Alys had a maiden aunt in Philadelphia, a sister of her father, who was very rich and very absurd. She liked me well enough, but had a dark suspicion that I thought it was not literally the blood of Jesus that brought salvation. I do not know how she got this notion, as I never said anything to encourage it. We dined with her on Thanksgiving Day. She was a very greedy old lady, and had supplied a feast which required a gargantuan stomach. Just as we were about to eat the first mouthful, she said: "Let us pause and think of the poor." Apparently she found this thought an appetizer.... America in those days was a curiously innocent country. Numbers of men asked me to explain what it was that Oscar Wilde had done. In Boston we stayed in a boarding-house kept by two old Quaker ladies, and one of them at breakfast said to me in a loud voice across the table: "Oscar Wilde has not been much before the public lately. What has he been doing?" "He is in prison," I replied. Fortunately on this occasion I was not asked what he had done.... Against my will, in the course of my travels, the belief that everything worth knowing was known at Cambridge gradually wore off.

1897

[Elbert Russell](#)'s [PRIMITIVE QUAKERISM](#) AND THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR (36 pages, Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor; Nicholson Print. and Mfg. Company).

It is a mistake to leave God out of the world most of the time, just in order to get him in human events once in a while in a miracle.

1898

In the vicinity of Harvard University, a worship group of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) began to meet at this time in a private home. They would meet later, for some time, in the Phillips Brooks House in Harvard Yard, and then in the Farrar Room of Andover Hall on Francis Avenue in Cambridge, before eventually building themselves a meetinghouse in Longfellow Park.

Publication of Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's MEMOIRS OF PLINY EARLE, M.D., containing information in regard to the early trajectory of this psychiatrist at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

Erection at this school at the top of the hill of a tall flagpole, the tallest object on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

April 15: Having reached the age of 87, [Robert Purvis](#) had a stroke and died. He was survived by his 2d wife, [Friend](#) Tacy Townsend Purvis, and his son Dr. Charles B. Purvis. The funeral would be held in Philadelphia and his body would be interred at the Fair Hill Friends' burial ground.²⁷³

A historical marker would be positioned at 1601 Mount Vernon Street, the last house in which he had lived.

273. [Friends](#) burial ground? –Had this man been a [Quaker](#)? Refer to Henry Joel Cadbury's NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, which lists as recorded ministers, and as otherwise active members, the following persons: William Allen, Osborn T. Taylor, Joseph Coleman, [Paul Cuffe](#), Daniel Drew, Noah McLean, Miles Lassiter, David Bustill, William Bowen, Sarah Mapps Douglas, Jeremiah Bowser, Cyrus Bustill, David Mapps, Grace Mapps, Hannah Conn, Emily Rodman Williams, Caesar Sanky, Sarah Antone, and [Robert Purvis](#).



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1899

The [Quakers](#) of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) had since 1845 been divided into a Gurneyite group and a Wilburite group, but in 1881 the local Wilburite meeting had been laid down (discontinued). At this point the local Gurneyite meeting also was laid down.



[Caroline Hazard](#) of Peace Dale, [Rhode Island](#) edited THE WORKS OF ROWLAND GIBSON HAZARD, in four volumes. She was elected to the presidency of Wellesley College despite the fact that she herself did not hold a college degree (she would remain as president until health would force her departure in 1910). Also, in this year Houghton, Mifflin and Company of Cambridge, Massachusetts was publishing her THE NARRAGANSETT FRIENDS MEETING IN THE XVIII CENTURY WITH A CHAPTER ON [QUAKER](#) BEGINNINGS IN RHODE ISLAND.

READ HAZARD TEXT

(To this treatise is appended Hazard's transcription of A QUAKER'S SEA-JOURNAL BEING A TRUE RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO NEW ENGLAND PERFORMED BY ROBERT FOWLER OF THE TOWN OF BURLINGTON IN YORKSHIRE IN THE YEAR 1658, as it had been printed at London in 1659, a treatise having to do with the historic voyage of the vessel *Woodhouse* bearing some of the first Quakers to Rhode Island.

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

London Printed for Francis Coffenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659

Also appended is a list of persons owning slaves in the southwestern district of Rhode Island during that period, with the names of the slaves and the dates on which they were manumitted.)

If you should desire to view a contemporary review of this treatise:

READ HAZARD REVIEW

May: [Friend Elbert Russell](#)'s "An Apparent Failure" appeared in [The Earhamite](#).

It was within the period of my early teaching at Earham that I



began to write moralizing stories, which literary form I developed later in chapel talks and in the "Parson Stories." It was after my return from Chicago University that I did my best work in this form. After I went to Woolman School I wrote a few, but the inspiration of the college chapel was lacking. When I finally went to Duke University, I had ample opportunity to speak in the University Chapel, but the freedom and intimacy of a small college chapel were lacking, and I put my best efforts in developing the literary form of the sermonette, which finally resulted in two books of Chapel Talks. The Parson Stories were never published in book form.

Fall: [Friends Elbert Russell](#) and [Lieuetta Cox Russell](#) attended the sessions of Western Yearly Meeting and were seated in the second row of seats on the platform, behind the speakers and the chairman in charge.

Esther Frame preached that night a rather famous sermon of hers on "Homecoming in Heaven." With dramatic gestures, she drew a number of highly emotional scenes of people reunited in heaven. She had the congregation wave their handkerchiefs in a Chautauqua salute to those who were waiting for them in heaven; she called on all who were sanctified to stand up. Lieuetta and I did not believe in forcing people to make confessions of things they could not wholly accept nor explain; so we kept our seats, very conspicuously. Then she called on all to arise who wanted to go to haven. We kept our seats again. This time our lack of response could not be ignored; she turned and said, "Why Brother and Sister Russell, don't you want to go to heaven?" It was quite embarrassing, as well as good ground for a future attack on the head of the Biblical Department at Earlham, but we ignored the appeal. finally she told a pathetic story about a man traveling on a Pullman with his wire's coffin in the baggage car, at which Minnie Mills Hadley, who had recently brought her deceased husband, Marcus, home from Philadelphia, fainted. At the next stage in her emotional appeal, the wife of Thomas E. Brown, came running down the aisle clapping her hands and shouting "Glory." That was going beyond the limits of even Evangelical Quaker propriety. After a hurried conference among a few leading Friends, including the yearly meeting Superintendent David Hadley, they closed the meeting abruptly. This unsatisfactory denouement seems to have saved Lieuetta and me from any unfavorable reaction from our earlier nonconformity.

October 6: The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), who was in Paris preparing a 4-volume edition of THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE, wrote an indignant letter to the [New York Times](#) objected to Theodore Roosevelt's having in his monograph GOUVERNEUR MORRIS termed Thomas Paine a "dirty little atheist" (the occasion of this protest must have been the historian Roosevelt becoming Governor of New York, since his forgettable monograph had been published by Houghton, Mifflin more than a decade earlier without attracting a whole lot of attention). The Reverend Conway averred that very much to the contrary, the historic Paine had not been little, had not been dirty, and had not been an atheist²⁷⁴ (see a following screen).



One man had a very narrow escape. This was Thomas Paine, the Englishman, who had at one period rendered such a striking service to the cause of American independence, while the rest of his life had been as ignoble as it was varied. He had been elected to the Convention, and, having sided with the Gironde, was thrown into prison by the Jacobins. He at once asked [Gouverneur] Morris to demand him as an American citizen; a title to which he of course had no claim. Morris refused to interfere too actively, judging rightly that Paine would be saved by his own insignificance and would serve his own interests best by keeping still. So the filthy little atheist had to stay in prison, "where he amused himself with publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ." There are infidels and infidels; Paine belonged to the variety—whereof America possesses at present one or two shining examples—that apparently esteems a bladder of dirty water as the proper weapon with which to assail Christianity. It is not a type that appeals to the sympathy of an onlooker, be said onlooker religious or otherwise.

274. Consult Robin McKown's THOMAS PAINE, published in 1962. Paine actually had stood five foot ten inches (precisely the same height as Roosevelt), which was two and one half inches taller than the norm for his contemporaries in England and America.



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GOV. ROOSEVELT ON THOMAS PAINE—LETTER FROM MR. CONWAY.

To The New York Times Saturday Review:

Mr. Cyrus Coolidge, in your REVIEW of Sept. 23, quotes from Charles Burr Todd's "Life of Barlow" a misleading statement, namely, that Paine's "qualification to be a member of the [French] Convention required an oath of fidelity to that country." No oath of any kind was taken; no affirmation or declaration or form was required for membership in an assembly whose function was to frame a Constitution where none existed. To whom or what could they have sworn loyalty? Paine was elected by four departments of France to help frame a Government because he was an American citizen. It happens that Paine had twice sworn fidelity to the United States—once as Secretary of the Congressional Committee of Foreign Affairs, afterward as Clerk of the Pennsylvania Legislature—but, as Monroe pointed out and President Washington officially confirmed, his citizenship was precisely that of all Americans who, born under the British flag, took the side of the American flag. Gouverneur Morris knew this perfectly well, and, although he had Paine thrown in prison in Paris, he wrote to Secretary Jefferson the falsehood that he had vainly claimed him as an American citizen. Robespierre, who was a jurist, also knew that Paine was an American citizen, and but for him Paine would probably have been executed. When Barrère and other accomplices of Morris in the Committee of Public Safety had planned a summary trial of Paine before the Revolutionary tribunal—certain death—Robespierre demanded an exceptional trial for the American member of the Convention, to which trial the United States must be a party. As the only offense of Paine was that he had arranged to return to his beloved America, where he would undoubtedly report the proceedings of Morris in Paris, (frankly revealed in Morris's "Diary and Letters," and known to every contemporary historian except Gov. Roosevelt,) that American Minister could not of course meet Robespierre's conditions.

In his unique collection of blunders described as a "Life of Gouverneur Morris," Gov. Roosevelt says: "So the filthy little atheist had to stay in prison, 'where he amused himself by publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ.'" This sentence, long ago denounced by myself and others without eliciting any retractation, must now remain as a salient survival of the vulgar Paine mythology, and as the most ingenious combination of mistakes ever committed in so small a space in any work professing to be historical.

Instead of being filthy, Paine was scrupulously neat and elegant in his attire, as all of his portraits show.

and not even Edmund Burke, in all his diatribes against Paine, ever hinted that while his guest Paine was other than the "gentleman" that Aaron Burr declared him. He was a favorite guest in the houses of the finest people in Paris also—the Lafayettes, the Duchâtelets, the Condorcets, and Mme. Helvetius, to whose refined and cultured circle at Passy Franklin introduced him. Instead of being "little," Paine was of good height, and remarkably well formed. Instead of being an "atheist," Paine wrote his "Age of Reason" for the express purpose of combating the French atheists, (such as Hebert,) and the book (now called Part I.) was printed in French nearly a year before it appeared in English. Instead of being "against Jesus Christ," the book contains a tribute to the human character of Jesus higher than can be found in any orthodox work of the last century. This author, whom Gov. Roosevelt calls "atheist," inaugurated the first Theistic Church in the world, (the Church of Theophilanthropy in Paris,) with a discourse on the existence of God, which was circulated as a religious tract in London; and he also assisted Elihu Palmer, who was founding in New York the first Theistic Church in the United States.

Paine's Theism is of the pre-Darwinian type, so to say, and does not satisfy the modern conditions of the question, but the constant circulation of his religious works by associations of so-called "infidels," without any suppression or alteration of statements they disbelieve, has set the Governor an example of fairness which he would have done well to follow. Although his attention has been called to his gross errors, privately as well as publicly, the Governor, with all his good qualities, seems unequal to an admission of his mistakes, and he thus imposes on his literary contemporaries the necessity of arraigning not only the errors but the competency, or else the honesty, of their author. In a volume just going to press in Paris ("Thomas Paine et la Révolution dans les Deux Mondes") I have necessarily referred to the Governor's mistakes and his animus, but it would be a great satisfaction if I could be enabled to record his magnanimity and justice in publicly acknowledging the errors and promising their redress in the next edition of his book.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Paris, Oct. 6, 1899.

Had Governor Roosevelt known anything about Paine, he would not have made such a judgment. Had Franklin Delano Roosevelt, however, known anything about [Henry Thoreau](#), had he understood anything about the “fear of fear” sound byte that he lifted from [Waldo Emerson](#)’s ill-considered gloss of Thoreau’s JOURNAL, he might well have termed Thoreau a dirty little atheist.²⁷⁵ He would have been right about one of the three epithets at least: Thoreau was indeed of very slightly shorter than average stature, for an American. Now, you may wonder how it was that Thomas Paine acquired the reputation he acquired, as an atheist, since he was the son not only of an Anglican mother but also of a Quaker father,



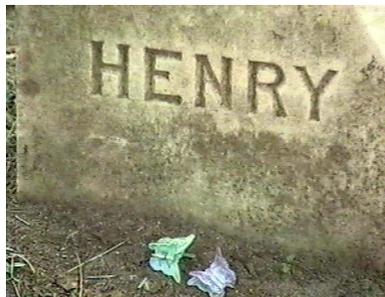
My father being of the quaker profession, it was my good fortune to have an exceedingly good moral education.

and since as a Deist he could repeatedly and loudly proclaim his belief in God:

I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.... My own mind is my own church.

275.Remembering here the Concord lady who used to decorate the graves of the famous in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery with flowers, who, at [Henry](#)’s grave, would always exclaim:

No flowers for you, you dirty little atheist!



Behold, the grave of a wicked man

Behold, the grave of a wicked man,
And near it, a stern spirit.

There came a drooping maid with violets,
But the spirit grasped her arm.
“No flowers for him,” he said.
The maid wept:
“Ah, I loved him.”
But the spirit, grim and frowning:
“No flowers for him.”

Now, this is it —
If the spirit was just,
Why did the maid weep?
— Stephen Crane



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The answer is that this came about in the public reaction of 1794-1796 to his *THE AGE OF REASON*, which he wrote while in prison in Luxembourg — imprisoned because he had urged the French to reason with their king, Louis XIV, rather than merely off with his head. He had sided with the Girondists, the party of moderation at that time, and had been excused for this by the more extreme French politicians on the grounds that, a known [Quaker](#), he must be considered to be opposed in principle to any use of violence — but then he had passed utterly out of bounds even for a non-violenter, by trying to intercede for their king. (During the revolution of the American colonies of England, also, he had tried to persuade Americans to attempt to reason with their British monarch, at a time when it was not really in anyone's agenda to be reasonable.)

It is true that Thomas Paine never joined the Quakers, and that in fact he criticized the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As a Deist, he said that

The religion that approaches the nearest of all others to true Deism, in the moral and benign part, thereof, is that professed by the quakers; but they have contracted themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system.

Now, this sounds very Thoreauvian. Thoreau never charged the Quakers with contracting themselves too much by leaving the works of God out of their system, but he might well have had he thought it, and might well have said it had the occasion presented itself. Also, it is true that Paine did not really consider Quakerism to be a *bona fide* part of Christianity:

The only sect that has not persecuted are the Quakers; and the only reason that can be given for it is, that they are rather Deists than Christians.

CONTINUE TO READ CHRONOLOGICALLY



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19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM



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

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



Prepared: January 18, 2013

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



LIVING IN THE LIGHT:

19TH-CENTURY QUAKERISM

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

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@brown.edu>.
Arrgh.