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2. Lisa McGirr connects Schuller’s ministry with the social conservatism dominant in Orange County from the 1950s through the 1990s. By 1976 the home congregation in Garden Grove, California, had 8000 members; *The Hour of Power* broadcast, 3 million weekly viewers (*Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001], 105–7, 249–54).


10. Susan Mizruchi, Introduction, Religion and Cultural Studies, ed. Susan L. Mizruchi (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), x. Cf. Kevin Schultz and Paul Harvey, who have explored why historians of modern (post-1865) America have relegated American religious history to a subfield; they point to the persistence of secularization narratives as well as to secularist biases among academics that have safely confined “religious history to a history of the lower classes, or the racialized, or the marginalized” (“Everywhere and Nowhere: Recent Trends in American Religious History and Historiography,” Journal of the American Academy of Religion 78, no. 1 [2010]: 129–35).


14. Leigh Eric Schmidt makes this point eloquently: “I can see evangelist George Whitefield’s crossed eyes in a portrait; I can still see some of the pulpits from which he preached; I can pore over his sermons; I can read his journals. But I can never lend him my ears or eavesdrop on his prayers” (Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000], 15).


17. In 1850, Congregationalists claimed only 4 percent of total church members in the U.S.; Presbyterians, 11.6 percent; and Episcopalians, 3.5 percent. In the same year, Baptists accounted for 20.5 percent of total church membership; Methodists, 34.2 percent; and Catholics, 13.9 percent (Finke and Stark, 56–57).

19. Hambrick-Stowe, xi; Grodzins, ix; Applegate, 4.


21. See Jeanne Halgren Kilde on why the Gothic revival style flourished despite seemingly contradicting Protestants’ democratic values and anti-Catholicism. Besides symbolizing aesthetic refinement, Gothic architecture allowed evangelicals to assert Christian unity and reinforced the idea of church as a sacred space distinct from a public sphere made increasingly contentious by debates over slavery. The more democratic amphitheater style associated with, for instance, Charles Grandison Finney’s Broadway Tabernacle or Henry Ward Beecher’s Plymouth Church in Brooklyn would not become the norm until the 1870s (*When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], 56–83, 112–45).

22. Because my study foregrounds those denominations that considered preaching a male vocation, I use masculine pronouns to refer to Protestant preachers.


28. Ibid., 73.

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*Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 95. In 1850 Congregationalists accounted for 4 percent of total church membership, and Unitarian Congregationalists were an unidentified percentage of this total (Finke and Stark, 56).


41. On women preachers, see Catherine Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). African American preaching is by far the most studied of these various marginalized preaching traditions, even though the relative paucity of extant antebellum sermons by African Americans has made historical inquiry a challenge. Gregory Jackson has noted many of the reasons for the dearth of surviving African American sermons from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including


42. Nineteenth-century Christians often referred to theologically conservative denominations as “evangelical,” but historiography has tended to limit that term to Methodists, Baptists, and others who maintained that salvation required a conversion experience. As an example of the scope of “evangelical” in the antebellum period, Robert Baird’s Religion in America identified as “unevangelical” few affiliations: Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Universalists, Christian Connexionists, Swedenborgians, Tunkers, Jews, Rappists, Shakers, Mormons, atheists, Deists, socialists, and Fourierists ([New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844], xii).


44. Nathaniel Hawthorne, Preface, The House of the Seven Gables ([Columbus]: The Ohio State University Press, 1965), 1–3. But see Nina Baym, who has argued, based on her survey of more than two thousand book reviews in American periodicals, that the distinction between “romance” and “novel” meant little in America between 1840 and 1860. The novel was both a modern offshoot of the older tradition of romance and a blanket term that included...
the romance as a psychological and symbolic subcategory. Reviewers often used the terms interchangeably (Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984], 225–35).


52. For a panoramic view of ministers in nineteenth-century American fiction, see Douglas Walrath, who reads the progressive devaluation of fictive ministers from the 1790s to the 1920s as a reflection of the clergy’s declining cultural authority and the country’s growing secularism. This argument accepts too uncritically both Douglas’s thesis about a ministerial loss of authority that pre-dates the Civil War and theories of secularization that overstate the cultural acceptance of scientific advances (Displacing the Divine: The Minister in the Mirror of American Fiction [New York: Columbia University Press], 2010).


56. My work thus follows up on Lawrence Buell’s reflection that the “major American renaissance authors,” including Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, and Thoreau, saw themselves in competition with religion and that many of their works “are either sermons (like Emerson’s Divinity School Address and Parker’s Discourse of the Transient and Permanent in Christianity) or at one remove from sermons, like Emerson’s Nature or Brownson’s New Views.” Buell notes that the influence of the sermon on the era’s literary production has gone largely uninvestigated “undoubtedly because of scantly background information about the sermon form,” an observation that holds true today (Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973], 103–4). Cf. Buell, “The Unitarian Movement and the Art of Preaching in 19th-Century America,” American Quarterly 24, no. 2 (1972): 167.


58. Jordan Alexander Stein and Justine S. Murison’s overview of the evolving methodological approaches to religion and early American literature suggests that similar tendencies have governed work on literature before 1830 (“Introduction: Religion and Method,” Early American Literature 45, no. 1 [2010]: 9–10). Stein and Murison note how the advent of poststructuralist literary theory in the 1970s fueled the tendency in the 1980s for early Americanists to stress the determining role of language and rhetoric in colonial religious life; a distinct yet often complementary strand of scholarship, typified by the work of Sacvan Bercovitch, treated religion as myth or ideological system. Though Stein and Murison also identify scholarship analyzing religion as a form of experience, this approach seems to have had less purchase on literary studies. In the same issue, Wendy Raphael Roberts pushes back against the field’s persistent deracination of the religious, calling attention to how the interconnected realms of the oral and religious shaped eighteenth-century literature, in particular poetry (“Demand My Voice: Hearing God in Eighteenth-Century American Poetry,” Early American Literature 45, no. 1 [2010]: 119–44).

59. My point here resonates with Buell’s suggestion that literary scholars stand to benefit from a closer engagement with religious studies, in particular the study of lived religion, which he sees as potentially useful to them in that, like literary studies, it “too prefers to conceive of religion as culture” and, in emphasizing the fluidity and creativity of religion, avoids the binaries of secular and sacred. Approaching religion in this light can help students of literature resist constraining “assumptions such as that a text’s religious dimension must reside chiefly in some sort of thesis or idea structure and/or that religious motives are to be decoded in terms of such secular motives as political resistance or cultural survival” (“Religion on the American Mind,” American Literary History 19, no. 1 [2007]: 32–55).

60. Stephen Railton has pointed out that the “five major works of the American Renaissance”—Nature, Moby-Dick, Walden, Leaves of Grass, and The Scarlet Letter—all relied upon the model of the Protestant sermon in that the writers were concerned with explicating a text (e.g., nature or a pond or an embroidered letter), much as a preacher would explicate the Bible.
Railton leaves this parallel behind in his readings but notes that writers who would seek to fill the role of preachers lacked institutional privilege and an authorizing scripture or theology (*Authorship and Audience: Literary Performance in the American Renaissance* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991], 107–8).


68. Siti, 119.


70. On the etymologies of “religion” and “secular” and the difficulty of mapping these terms onto the modern world, see Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, *Introduction to Rethinking Secularism*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7–9.


72. Ibid., 601.


74. Although there is no sociological analysis comparable to Bourdieu’s for nineteenth-century American literary production, see Lawrence Levine for a landmark study of cultural


78. See most notably Charles Taylor’s critique of the “subtraction stories” implicit in many historical and sociological narratives, in which once religion is “subtracted” from a social formation, what is left is assumed to be natural and self-evident (A Secular Age [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 2007], 22).


Chapter 1

1. Melville, Moby-Dick, 40.


5. Emerson turned this idea on its head when he claimed that the democratic mixing that came with church attendance was more valuable than the sermon itself: “What was once a mere circumstance, that the best and worst men in the parish, the poor and the rich, the
learned and the ignorant, young and old, should meet one day as fellows in one house, in sign of an equal right in the soul,—has come to be a paramount motive for going thither” (“An Address,” 78).


8. Unitarian minister Samuel Osgood commented wryly on the spate of literature bemoaning the problem of underpaid clerics: “No subject, except perhaps the Slave question, has been handled more frequently of late than that of parish life, especially in respect to its trials, and at least a half dozen books have been sent out within two or three years, claiming as much sympathy for the clerical martyr and his consort, as is claimed for Uncle Tom and Aunt Chloe” (*Mile Stones in Our Life-Journey* [New York: Appleton, 1855], 42).

9. See Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 79–88, 111–29, 243–46. Scott describes how clergy developed a mystique of sacred difference around the pulpit in the first three decades of the nineteenth century by avoiding political preaching (18–35). See Jonathan D. Sassi on how the New England clergy between 1783 and 1833 sought to demonstrate the relevance of Christian beliefs and values to public issues (*A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001]). Richard J. Carwardine has shown that evangelical ministers largely abided throughout the 1830s and 1840s by the cultural mandate that clergy remain politically neutral, especially in the pulpit. However, when in the late 1840s and 1850s the political issues at the center of national debate shifted from economic ones with seemingly little religious significance to the more heated ones of “temperance, Roman Catholicism, war, the extension or restriction of slavery, and the future of the Union itself,” more and more evangelical ministers preached on political issues (*Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* [1993; Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997], 30).

10. Gedge, 113. On changes in ministerial preparation, see also Scott, 60–64, and Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990). As Buell has pointed out, students at Harvard and Andover in the early nineteenth century devoted nearly all of their third year to the study of homiletics. Buell also notes the advent of university chairs of sacred rhetoric, beginning with Andover in 1809, and the fact that the men who occupied these positions (e.g., Henry Ware, Jr. at Harvard, Henry Ripley at Newton, and Ebenezer Porter, William Russell, and Edwards A. Park at Andover) often wrote on homiletics as well (“Unitarian Movement,” 172).

12. Occasionally there were objections to the primacy of preaching in ministers’ professional lives. One physician-missionary to Hawaii published a tract objecting to the weight that Protestants placed on pulpit preaching, arguing that the word “preach” was interpreted too narrowly—as delivering sermons only, rather than promulgating the gospel through various means. “The press is neglected; private personal influence is neglected; the sabbath school is neglected; familiar bible-class studies are neglected; and even social conferences for prayer and praise are frequently deserted, because, forsooth, preaching is the method of God’s ordination. Immured in his silent study, occasionally the Minister appears, a visitant from another land, to perform the wondrous preaching; then for a week retires; and again appears to accomplish his pantomime of apostolic labor” (L. H. Gulick, *A Sermon on the Foolishness of Preaching* [Honolulu: Government Press, 1853], 13). Gulick added that the disproportionate value assigned to preaching ended up underrating the labors of others working in the mission field, including physicians, teachers, and all women.


14. On the Unitarian dominance of antebellum literary institutions, see Buell, “The Literary Significance of the Unitarian Movement,” 212–23.


17. Ibid., 23.


24. Humphrey, 349.


27. Ware, *Connexion*, 10, 17.


29. Antebellum homiletic rhetoric seldom alluded to masculinity, a discourse that became more pronounced after the Civil War with the rise of “muscular Christianity,” a movement that emphasized men’s health and strength as integral to their Christian lives. Henry Ward Beecher’s *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, for instance, is saturated with such masculinist rhetoric as, “A true minister is a man whose manhood itself is a strong and influential argument with his people” and “Manhood is the best sermon” (29–31). On the rhetoric of manhood, masculinist


38. Porter, 170.

39. Ibid., 89.

40. Bethune, 49.

41. David Reynolds argues in “From Doctrine to Narrative: The Rise of Pulpit Storytelling” that nineteenth-century preaching was marked by a new, anecdotal pulpit style. This claim is almost certainly true of the revival sermons of the Second Great Awakening, especially Finney, who defended his sermon style against detractors who thought it lowered the dignity of the pulpit by pointing out that “story-telling ministers” merely followed the example of Jesus, who told parables: “Tells stories!” he wrote. “Why, that is the way Jesus preached. And it is the only way to preach” (Finney, 209). However, I have seen little evidence of either anecdote or extended storytelling in the weekly and occasional sermons of white, non-Methodist, Northeastern preachers before the Civil War. Reynolds’s argument appears stronger for postbellum preachers, who increasingly worked narrative into their sermons: e.g., the “story sermons” of Presbyterian DeWitt Talmage or Congregationalist Charles Sheldon’s original serialization of *In His Steps* in his weekly sermons.

42. Arens, 386.

43. Analyzing the sermon themes of five ordinary ministers from various regions and denominations, Mark Y. Hanley argues that sermons in the 1840s and 1850s emphasized religious issues such as “sin, salvation, judgment, and ‘separation from the world’” over cultural or material ones (*Beyond a Christian Commonwealth: The Protestant Quarrel with the American Republic, 1830–1860* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994], 125, 136–56).


50. Howe, 166.


52. Conkin notes that by 1850 most antebellum Unitarians were probably Universalist in their sentiments, believing that all of humanity would eventually be saved, often after a purgatorial waiting period (105).


54. Based on a random sampling of titles in Orville Roorbach’s *Bibliotheca Americana*, Candy Gunther Brown has estimated that individually printed sermons accounted for less than two percent of the overall book market between 1852 and 1855, down from 2.6 percent in the previous century. Yet she also notes that this apparent decrease is complicated by the fact that sermons also circulated in denominational periodicals and literary annuals, often re-packaged in new forms (*The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004], 50). Sermons may have made it to print more often than other public addresses: “of printed discourses the proportion of sermons to other public addresses is probably not less than a hundred to one” (Dewey, *The Pulpit*, 5).


56. Liberal ministers disparaged the mass emotion generated when a well-spoken preacher addressed a crowd. Edward T. Channing warned Harvard seniors: “We are not to go to church that we may catch sympathy and fervor from a crowd, which we shall never experience elsewhere”—counsel that highlights the appeal of sermons as shared religious experiences (*Lectures Read to the Seniors in Harvard College* [Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856], 131).

57. Edwards A. Park, *The Indebtedness of the State to the Clergy: A Sermon Delivered before His Excellency George N. Briggs, Governor, His Honor John Reed, Lieutenant Governor, The Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, January 2, 1851* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1851), 12. See also Spring, who estimated that a rural
pastor preaching three times a week—twice on Sunday and once during the week, plus on special occasions such as weddings, funerals, baptisms, and fast days—was “distributing” the equivalent of 46,800 tracts a year, and that he did so at a much lower cost than those hypothetical tracts and with a much greater effectiveness (The Power of the Pulpit, 112).


60. Humphrey, 109. The maxim more traditionally ascribed to Luther is “Bene orasse est bene studuisse,” or to have studied well is to have prayed well (Porter, 89).


64. Henry Ware, Jr., Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching. 3rd ed. (1824; Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), 83; Ware, Connexion, 8–9.


67. The extent to which preachers adopted extemporaneity deserves further investigation; see Buell, “Unitarian Movement,” 179. On the debate over manuscript-based versus extemporaneous preaching in nineteenth-century England, where manuscript preaching was also on the wane, see Robert H. Ellison, The Victorian Pulpit: Spoken and Written Sermons in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1998), 33–42.

68. Blair, too, had strongly discouraged reading in the pulpit, on the grounds that no persuasive discourse could “have the same force when read, as when spoken” (288). He recommended that most preachers should speak from notes, except for novices who needed to learn the art of sermon construction and experienced ministers who wanted to work through a theological issue for their own edification.

69. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1820–1872, 10 vols., ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), 7:169; Ware, Hints, viii, 17, 24, 13, 90, 93. The similarity of Emerson’s
rhetoric to Ware’s is not coincidental. Emerson served as assistant pastor to Ware at Second Church in Boston in 1828 and succeeded him there in 1829. Calling attention to the neglected connection between Ware and Emerson, Tim Jensen has explored Emerson’s debt in the Harvard Divinity School address to Ware’s Hints (“‘Their Own Thought in Motley’: Emerson’s Divinity School Address and Henry Ware Jr.’s Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching,” Journal of Unitarian-Universalist History 24 [1997]: 17–30).

70. Ware, Hints, 24, 6.
71. Ibid., 12, 23.
72. Ibid., 4, 87, 89.
73. Ibid., 21, 22, 26.
74. See, for instance, Views and Feelings Requisite to Success in the Gospel Ministry, 31.
75. Finney, 211, 216, 218.
76. Humphrey, 118, 119.
77. Henry J. Ripley, Sacred Rhetoric; Or, Composition and Delivery of Sermons. To Which are Added Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching, by Henry Ware, Jr. D.D. (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1849), 180.
78. Humphrey, 124. Hints on Preaching without Reading, 8–9, 71. The pamphlet alludes to 2 Samuel 24:24, in which David insists on paying for the oxen he is about to sacrifice: “neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the LORD my God of that which doth cost me nothing.”
80. Humphrey, 13. Porter, 93.
82. H. Ripley, 128.
83. W. Russell, 50.
85. Porter, 93, 81.
86. Ibid., 157; Finney, 202.
89. Porter, 180; Bethune, 23.
90. Bethune, 21.
91. F. W. P. Greenwood, “The Charge,” in Orville Dewey, On the Preaching of Our Saviour, 37. The rule against making parishioners laugh may have begun to relax after mid-century. H. W. Beecher told ministers that they were not to try to make their listeners laugh by, for instance, telling jokes, but that if laughter occurred naturally, they should not attempt to stifle it (178–79).

94. Humphrey, 63.

95. Whitefield, 424.


98. Abbott, 9. The argument that a sleepy pastor made for a sleepy congregation was the more typical formulation. See, for instance, Bethune: "It is easy to tell what kind of a speaker is in the pulpit by observing his auditory. If they sit listless, lounging unconcerned, or looking carelessly around, however good a man he may be, he is a poor preacher; but if they bend their eyes intently upon his countenance, listening ut avis cantu aliquo, or their cheeks be flushed, their tears starting, or their hands clenched, and there is a hush over all, so that his lowest whisper is heard in every part, he must be eloquent" (10).


100. R. Hall, 13, 10.


102. Porter, 36.


104. Osgood, 174–75.


Chapter 2


12. Machor acknowledges this point but discounts it (e.g., “Historical Hermeneutics,” 64). Baym mentions that *Godey’s*, *Harper’s*, and *The New York Ledger* all ran fiction (*Novels, Readers, and Reviewers*, 14–18) and notes that the *Ledger* was “the nation’s most popular fiction weekly” (18).


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17. Zboray, A Fictive People, 164.
24. Nord, 117. See Buell, who notes that Unitarians were more accepting of fiction than the orthodox but still placed their “practice of fiction within rather prim boundaries” (“Literary Significance,” 219).
25. Kelley also notes this discrepancy between conduct books and periodical reviewers, 182–83n40.
29. The conduct books referenced in this chapter were all authored by Americans, with the exception of Arthur Freeling’s The Young Bride’s Book: An Epitome of the Domestic Duties and Social Enjoyments of Woman, as Wife and Mother (New York: Wilson and Company, 1849).
33. Daniel Smith, Lectures to Young Men on Their Dangers, Safeguards, and Responsibilities (New York: Lane & Scott, 1852), 48–49.
34. Here I extend and revise the work of scholars who focus on how antebellum conduct books policed women’s reading. See, for instance, Kelley, Learning to Stand and Speak, 157–59; Jane E. Rose, “Conduct Books for Women, 1830–1860: A Rationale for Women’s Conduct and Domestic Role in America,” in Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 37–58; and Suzanne Ashworth, “Susan Warner’s The Wide, Wide World, Conduct Literature, and Protocols of Female Reading in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,” Legacy 17, no. 2 (2000): 141–64. Whereas Ashworth finds conduct books discouraging novel-reading as “a precursor to nervous disorders, paranoia, a fragile constitution, and fatal diseases” (146), I discovered only light emphasis on the physical


38. George W. Burnap, *Lectures to Young Men, on the Cultivation of the Mind, the Formation of Character, and the Conduct of Life: Delivered in Masonic Hall, Baltimore* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1840), 54.
39. William G. Eliot, Jr., *Lectures to Young Men*, 5th ed. (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1855), 74–75. Holifield notes that from the colonial era to the Civil War, ministers accounted for 262 of the 288 college presidents (119). Cf. the advice of James Waddel Alexander to workingmen in *The American Mechanic* (1838); he lamented that by reading novels year after year, workers lost all mental vigor, just as surely as their stomachs “would have lost all tone, if for a period they would have been fed nothing but pastries, ices, and confections” (qtd. in Zboray, *A Fictive People*, 124).
42. Janice Radway, “Reading Is Not Eating: Mass-Produced Literature and the Theoretical, Methodological, and Political Consequences of a Metaphor,” *Book Research Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1986): 11. See D. Stewart for a recuperation of the reading as eating metaphor, insofar as reading was linked to actual eating practices and had bodily effects (93–117).
43. Lehuu has pointed out that conduct books regularly used temperance rhetoric in their commentary on reading (137); I would add that this language appears most prominently with respect to fiction.
45. Swisshelm, 151.
47. T. Clark, 65.
50. S. H. Barnes, *A Book for the Eldest Daughter* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1849), 118, 121. Nord also cites this line, attributing it to the November 1847 issue of
the American Tract Society’s newspaper, the *American Messenger* (118; 194n13); apparently Barnes either copied the sentence verbatim or was the original unnamed author of the article.


52. Although we might speculate, as Kelley does, that it was “[f]iction’s power to shape a more expansive subjectivity that gave cultural arbiters pause,” it is worth stressing that the conduct book authors themselves did not grant fiction this power (*Learning to Stand and Speak*, 182). What we might see as expanded subjectivity, they regarded as useless wanderings of the imagination.


59. D. Smith, 47.


64. Wise, *The Young Man’s Counsellor*, 214.

65. See, for instance, Arthur, *Advice to Young Ladies*, 60; T. Clark, 66; Coxe, 70; Freeling, 56. See also Ashworth, who notes the prevalence in advice manuals of the ideas that novels taught women “false views of life,” thus unfitting them for domestic duties (160n–161n).


68. T. Clark, 67.

Series of Conversations on the Subject of Confirmation. Intended for the Use of the Middle and Higher Ranks of Young Females, vol. 1 (New York: E. Bliss and E. White, 1825), 266.

70. William A. Alcott, Letters to a Sister; or Woman’s Mission. To Accompany the Letters to Young Men (Buffalo, NY: Geo. H. Derby and Co., 1850), 89.

71. Wise, The Young Lady’s Counsellor, 188–89.


73. D. Smith, 47.

74. Wise, The Young Man’s Counsellor, 213. In a reversal of the slippery slope argument that bad fiction led to worse, see Thomas Augst on how the 1853 report of the New York Mercantile Library justified the heavy percentage of fiction in its collection by arguing that novels would lead to more substantive reading (The Clerk’s Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003], 197).

75. Cary, 125.

76. T. Clark, 69.


78. Lehun maintains that advice books from the 1830s to the 1850s tended to argue for moderation in reading in general (132).

79. Eliot, 73.

80. Coxe, 171.

81. T. Clark, 69.

82. Burnap, Lectures to Young Men, 55.

83. Barnes, 119.

84. Sedgwick, 246.

85. Cary, 126.

86. Burnap, Lectures to Young Men, 57, 55.

87. Todd, The Daughter at School, 119. Cf. Kelley, who writes that Scott was “spared the condemnation that attended the reading of fiction” (Learning to Stand and Speak, 181).


89. Sedgwick, 247.


91. Arthur, Advice to Young Ladies, 61.


Chapter 3

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The Quaker City sold 60,000 copies in 1845 and 30,000 each year for the next five years. David Reynolds, George Lippard: Prophet of Protest: Writings of an American Radical, 1822–1854 (New York: Peter Lang, 1986), 5.

2. See, for instance, David S. Reynolds’s influential take on Lippard throughout Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988). Reynolds draws a more detailed portrait of Lippard, including his linked religious and political beliefs, in George Lippard (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), and in his introduction to George Lippard: Prophet of Protest, esp. 27–29; see also his Faith in Fiction, 187–96. Lippard has been read most often in terms of class. See, for instance, Leslie Fiedler, who wrote that Lippard had a “kind of natural access to the erotic dreams and paranoid fantasies of the male members of the working class” (Introduction, The Monks of Monk Hall by George Lippard [New York: Odyssey, 1970], ix); Michael Denning, who has called Lippard “the most overtly political dime novelist of his or subsequent generations” (Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America [London: Verso, 1987], 87); and Paul Erickson, who has explained that Lippard saw his work as a writer and editor as the moral and practical equivalent of manual labor, regarding it as “neither a ‘profession’ nor a ‘calling’ but as work” (“New Books, New Men,” Early American Studies 1, no. 1 [2003]: 312). Against this last, I would maintain that Lippard regarded authorship as both work and calling.


4. Leslie A. Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel (1966; Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1997), 246; Reynolds, Beneath the American Renaissance, 91. R. L. Moore similarly downplays Lippard’s religious seriousness by foregrounding his economic motivation: Lippard “wished to sensationalize moral and religious instruction so that it sold a lot of books” (28). In Faith in Fiction, Reynolds presents religion as more important to Lippard’s work: “his novels were a repository for a large variety of religious forces, satirical and affirmative, that had been gathering strength since the 1820s” (188).


7. [George Lippard], Quaker City, June 2, 1849; [Lippard], “A National Literature,” Quaker City, February 10, 1849.


10. Reynolds remarks that while little is known of Lippard’s childhood, “we get the general picture of a frail, feverishly imaginative boy finding refuge from misfortune in religion, in solitary walks out to the country, and in the incessant reading of the Bible, history, and fiction” (George Lippard, 3).

12. Of this incident, Bouton wrote, "[W]e don't know exactly how much of the following anecdote is fact, and how much playful 'enlargement.' At any rate this is the circumstance to which Lippard used to attribute his 'backsliding' from the ministry" (*Life and Choice Writings*, 13).

13. Reflecting the paper's new breadth, Lippard changed the name to *The Home Journal and Citizen Soldier* in January 1844.


17. See, for instance, Lippard's story, “The Carpenter's Son,” *The Nineteenth Century* 1, no. 2 (1848): 72–99; his essays in *The White Banner*, including "Brotherhood Versus Atheistic Sectarianism" (123–40); and his ritual address to new members of the Brotherhood of the Union, in which he proclaimed the coming day when "at last mankind are knit in Brotherhood,—at last God our father dwells with his children" (Brotherhood of the Union Papers, Series A, folder 4, a folio ms.,10p., Library Company). Lippard distanced himself from anti-Catholicism, arguing that Protestant "priests" were just as disruptive of domesticity and claiming that the virtues of Catholicism were lost on those who decried the Pope. They could not see the Church’s "love for the beautiful in poetry, painting, and sculpture," "its reverence for woman in its almost deification of Mary the Virgin Mother," or "its thousand appeals to the senses, the heart, and the soul" (”Brotherhood," 126–27). Shelley Streeby explains that although Lippard critiqued nativism, including restrictions on immigration and naturalization, and defended Catholics in general, he remained suspicious of the Catholic priesthood as an enemy to democracy and liberty (American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002], 49–51).


19. Lippard recycled and expanded "Jesus the Democrat" as part of his 1848 story, "Jesus and the Poor." The later version depicts the preacher even more unfavorably, calling him "Rev. Dr. Five-thousand-a-year" and pricing the pews at "$800 cash, or $1000 in copper stock, at par" (”Jesus and the Poor," *The Nineteenth Century* 1, no. 1 [1848]: 74; the story also ran in the May 26, 1849, issue of the Quaker City). This later version is newly focused on those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The transfigured Jesus calls "Come!" repeatedly, and while the rich do not respond, the poor, the widowed, the orphaned, "a Black Man," and a condemned felon come forward. The face of Jesus shines away their rags and suffering. See Timothy Helwig on Lippard's racial politics, which while stopping short of abolitionism, included opposition to chattel slavery and a willingness to see African Americans as fellow exploited laborers (”Denying the Wages of Whiteness: The Racial Politics of George Lippard's Working-Class Protest," *American Studies* 47, no.3/4 [2006]: 87–111).


21. Scholars regularly note Lippard's friendship with Universalist minister Charles Chauncey Burr without considering the congruence between Lippard's work and Universalist theology and politics. Larzer Ziff comes closest in remarking that Lippard's belief that preachers had a duty to stand up for the poor against the rich "brought him into close alliance with


25. Laurie, 162, 165–68.


27. Publisher's Advertisement, Washington and His Generals, or, Legends of the Revolution (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber, 1847), 1. Abel C. Thomas, A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New-York, with Sketches of Its History in Reading, Hightstown, Brooklyn, and Elsewhere (Philadelphia, 1872), 113. Thomas reports that after Burr stepped down, supply preachers filled the pulpit for nine months, then the church stood "silent as a tomb" for another fifteen months (ibid.).

28. Laurie, 165.

29. George Lippard, The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall. A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery, and Crime, ed. David S. Reynolds (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 223. Subsequent references are to this edition unless otherwise noted. George Lippard, “The Gospel of the New World,” Quaker City, October 6, 1849; the subhead indicates that it was originally given as a speech at the City Hall in Wilmington, Delaware, on September 30, 1848. George Lippard, Memoirs of a Preacher; or, Mysteries of the Pulpit (1849; Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1864), 58.


32. [George Lippard], “Two Parties in Every Church,” The White Banner (1851): 127.

33. Bressler details Universalist opposition to capital punishment (83–84).

34. George Lippard, “Jesus and the Poor,” The Nineteenth Century 1, no. 1 (1848): 69.
36. A. Thomas, 82.
38. Ibid., 5.
39. Asher Moore, Universalism, the Doctrine of the Bible (Philadelphia: Gihon, 1847), 85.
40. Lippard, The Quaker City, 4.
41. Here I follow Denning, who writes that although Lippard’s prose is often called pornographic, “voyeuristic” is the apter word (99).
42. See Shelley Streeby, who points out that Lippard’s writing partook of the “antebellum ‘culture of sentiment’” that is almost exclusively, though wrongly, identified with female readers and writers (“Opening Up the Story Paper: George Lippard and the Construction of Class,” boundary 2, 24, no. 1 [1997]: 189). Although Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler’s groundbreaking collection, Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), and subsequent work in this vein has done much to disrupt the association of sentimentalism with women, Lippard’s fiction is seldom read through this framework.
43. Gedge discusses how Pyne “monstrously distorted the clergyman’s masculine roles as professional, pastor, and father” (4).
44. Lippard, The Quaker City, 263.
45. Ibid., 202. When Devil-Bug lights the fire meant to suffocate Byrnewood Arlington, he uses fat pine and charcoal, remarking, “Cuss it how the fat pin [sic] blazes!” (ibid., 110). Cf. the “Housewarming” chapter of Walden, in which Thoreau describes how “a few pieces of fat pine were a great treasure” to his fire-building (170).
47. Reynolds, Introduction, George Lippard, xxxvi.
49. Lippard, The Quaker City, 263, 262, 267.
50. Ibid., 201.
51. Ibid., 268.
52. When Stephen Girard, a Philadelphia tycoon, died in 1830, he left $2 million so that Philadelphia could build a college for poor white orphan boys. Because the authorities objected to Girard’s stipulation that no clergy could ever enter the college, the school remained unbuilt in 1845, fifteen years after his death. Throughout the 1840s Lippard railed against this notorious situation as a symbol of the indifference of the privileged classes to the poor; the school eventually opened in 1848.
53. Lippard, The Quaker City, 269.
54. Arens, 370. Here “prophetic” does not relate to predicting the future, though Lippard is also fascinated with prophesying in that sense, as evident in the astrologer’s fortune-telling, the prophecy of greatness that Dora heard as a child, Lorrimer’s vision of his death on the water, and Devil-Bug’s elaborate vision.
55. Lippard, The Quaker City, 270. This is the sort of passage that prompted a burlesque of
Lippard in the *Mechanic's Advocate*: "He stood upon the field of blood! Ha! ha! Upon the field of blood stood he! [ . . . ] He was a perfect picture as he uplifted his right arm in the light of the big round moon—Ha! ha! Ho!! Ho!! He!!! He!!!" (April 22, 1848), 156.

56. Lippard, *The Quaker City*, 270.

57. A version of "Adonai" titled "The Entranced, or the Wanderer of Eighteen Centuries" originally ran in the *Quaker City* under the column heading "Pulpit of the Poor" on December 30, 1848; January 6, 1849; January 13, 1849; February 10, 1849; and February 17, 1849; then without this heading on April 28, 1849, and May 19, 1849. On "Adonai," see Streeby, *American Sensations*, 44–52, as well as Streeby, "Haunted Houses: George Lippard, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Middle-Class America," *Criticism* 38, no. 3 (1996): 452–58.


60. Lippard, *The Quaker City*, 448.


63. Ibid., 93–94.

64. Ibid., 135.


67. Ibid., 384. George Lippard, Address to the Brotherhood of the Union, October 4, 1852, in Manuscript Volume 1 in the Brotherhood of the Union Papers, Library Company.

68. Lippard, *The Quaker City*, 413.


72. Lippard, "Key to the Quaker City," 6, 10. The review was by I. R. Diller, publisher of *The Citizen Soldier*.


75. *Memoirs of a Preacher* appeared in fourteen installments (though originally slated for eight) in the *Quaker City* from December 30, 1848 to May 12, 1849. It was published in May 1849 as two books: *Memoirs of a Preacher, A Revelation of the Church and the Home* (Philadelphia: Jos. Severns, 1849) and the "sequel" (or latter half of the story), *The Man with the Mask: A Sequel to The Memoirs of a Preacher, a Revelation of the Church and the Home* (Philadelphia: Jos. Severns and Company, [1849]). It was then reprinted as *Mysteries of the Pulpit: Or, a Revelation of the Church and the Home* (Philadelphia: E. E. Barclay, 1851) and again in a single volume, which included the entire two-part story, *Memoirs of a Preacher; or, Mysteries of the Pulpit* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1864). Subsequent citations are to the 1864 edition, unless otherwise noted.

76. George Lippard, Prologue to "Memoirs of a Preacher: A Revelation of the Church and the Home," *Quaker City* (December 30, 1848).


78. See Butterfield, who links Jervis and Maffitt (306), and Gedge, who explores the "dangerously intimate" relationship of clergy and women in the nineteenth century and the complex power dynamics of clerical scandals (4).

80. *Report of the Trial of Mr. John N. Maffitt, Before a Council of Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Convened in Boston, December 26, 1822* (Boston: True and Greene, 1823), 6, 12, 14.

81. Ibid., 15.


84. Elsemore, 21. Elsemore is ambiguous about when the first wife died; the announcement of Maffitt’s second wedding was circulating in the papers at “about the same time” (ibid., 15).


87. Ibid., June 2, 1849.


93. Ibid., 52.

94. Ibid., 58.

95. Lippard, *The Quaker City*, 263.


97. Ibid., 59.

98. [George Lippard], "A Quire of Writing Paper, a Bottle of Ink, and a Steel Pen," *Quaker City*, January 27, 1849.

99. Ibid., 123. This chapter revises and expands an editor’s column Lippard had written six years earlier for the October 4, 1843 issue of the *Citizen Soldier*.


104. Ibid., 124–25.


106. George Lippard, “Twenty-Three Thoughts,” *Quaker City*, May 12, 1849.


Ziff discusses Lippard’s fascination with the Illuminati (105–7). [George Lippard], “To the Men Who Work—Another Word,” Quaker City, September 29, 1849. On the links between the Brotherhood and later labor organizations, see Reynolds, Prophet of Protest, 38–41 and McKanan, 117. See Reynolds on how The Scarlet Letter seems to borrow from Lippard’s The Quaker City (Beneath the American Renaissance, 265–68).

Chapter 4

5. For more on the churchgoing habits of the Manning family and the religious milieu of Salem during Hawthorne’s lifetime, see M. Moore, 102–22.
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(Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1974), 215. Cf. Buell, who reads the preacher along similar lines (Literary Transcendentalism,102).


17. Ibid., 421.


19. Hawthorne, Mosses from an Old Manse, 4, 3, 5.


27. Peabody, 19.


30. Ware, Memoir, xi. Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, 123.


35. Roberta Weldon also notes how the public perception that Dimmesdale’s illness is connected to his saintliness mirrors conventions of nineteenth-century ministerial biography (*Hawthorne, Gender, and Death: Christianity and Its Discontents* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008], 15).
40. Ware, *Memoir*, x, xii.
42. “Elegiac Stanzas (On the Death of John Emery Abbot),” (Salem: n. p., 1819), lines 15, 60.
43. Ware, *Memoir*, xvi.
44. Edward B. Hall, *Memoir of Mary L. Ware, Wife of Henry Ware, Jr.* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co., 1853), 74–76.
50. Ibid., 220.
51. Ibid., 171.
56. Ibid., 249. Dimmesdale supposedly preaches in 1649. The election sermon preached that year, Thomas Cobbett’s to mark the election of Governor John Endicott, is not extant and
was probably never printed (M. X. Lesser, "Dimmesdale’s Wordless Sermon," American Notes and Queries 12, no. 5 [1974]: 93–94).


61. Kant, 82.


63. Ibid., 248.


65. Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, 249. Reference to Dimmesdale’s Election Sermon as inspired plays with the fact that the public celebration around Election Day was an adaptation of the English festivities surrounding Whitsuntide, or Pentecost, the day commemorating the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles and the gift of tongues. See Frederick Newberry, Hawthorne’s Divided Loyalties: England and America in His Works (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1987), 186–93.


68. Griffin, A Sermon on the Art of Preaching, 11; Dewey, On the Preaching of Our Saviour, 30.


70. Ibid., 243, 249.


73. Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, 244.

74. See Jerome McGann, who points to Romantic agony as the overlooked dark side of the Romantic conception of the imagination (The Romantic Ideology: The Critical Investigation [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983], 131). On the centrality of pain to the Romantics, see Steven Bruhm, Gothic Bodies: The Politics of Pain in Romantic Fiction (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 1–29. Hawthorne’s inspiration to treat a sermon as a pained Romantic utterance may have been Charlotte Brontë’s Jane Eyre, another novel that exploits the discrepancy between the moral rigidity of Calvinism and the human frailty of Calvinist preachers. As Jane deliberates over whether to marry St. John Rivers, she hears him preach a magnificent sermon that seems to issue from a troubled inner life: “[I]t seemed to me—I know not whether equally so to others—that the eloquence to which I had been listening had sprung from a depth where lay turbid dregs of disappointment—where moved trou-
bling impulses of insatiate yearnings and disquieting aspirations” ([1847; New York: Knopf, 1991], 2:149–50). Both novels show a minister preaching well because he harbors painful, un-Christian secrets, with his sermon a cryptic message to a romantically invested woman.

80. Ibid., 95.
88. See Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers*, 144–46.
91. Cf. Railton, who argues that the Puritans applaud the sermon because it tells them what they want to hear and that Dimmesdale’s penchant for pleasing the crowd is Hawthorne’s commentary on how authors must pander to succeed with the public (127–28). I would contend that the listeners are described as responding not to Dimmesdale’s message, but to his pain-fueled eloquence.
95. Ibid.
97. [Arthur Cleveland Coxe], “The Writings of Hawthorne,” *Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register* 3, no. 4 (January 1851), in Idol and Jones, 151.
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100. Hawthorne, August 30, [1842], The American Notebooks, 352.


Chapter 5


7. Melville, Moby-Dick, 209.


13. Herman Melville to John R. Brodhead, December 30, 1846, in Melville, Correspondence, 70. For an account of Melville and Brodhead’s business dealings, see H. Parker, 1:481–84.


18. Edwin Tanjore Conwin, qtd. in Frederick, 81.


21. Ibid., 26–27.

28. Ibid., 74.
37. Ibid., 335.
43. L’Estrange, ix.
45. L’Estrange, 102.
49. From 1855 to 1975, the church was called All Souls. See Hershel Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography; Volume 2, 1851–1891* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 66. Elizabeth and perhaps Herman returned to the church in 1865 when they moved back to New York from Pittsfield (ibid., 586).
50. Rath, x.
52. Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 39–40. In outfitting the Whaleman’s Chapel, Melville borrowed the marble cenotaphs from the New Bedford Seamen’s Bethel, which he visited with his brother Gansevoort in 1841 shortly before setting sail on the *Acushnet*. From Taylor’s church in Boston, which he may have visited in 1849, he took the idea for a raised pulpit and an oil painting of a ship in a storm with an angel overhead (H. Parker, 1:184, 614).
55. H. Parker, 1:614.
58. Melville to Hawthorne, November [17??], 1851, in Melville, *Correspondence*, 212.
59. William Spanos’s reading of Mapple’s pulpit as a Panoptic watchtower from which the preacher surveys his working-class hearers ignores how little attention Mapple pays to the congregation once he begins to speak (*The Errant Art of Moby-Dick: The Canon, the Cold War, and the Struggle for American Studies* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995], 93).
60. Mark Trafton, qtd. in *Life of Father Taylor: The Sailor Preacher* (Boston: Boston Port and Seamen’s Aid Society, 1904), lxxvii.
64. E. Channing, 139.
65. Here I would like to correct a point in Reynolds’s *Beneath the American Renaissance* that has gained currency among scholars. Reynolds has written that slangy retellings of the Jonah story made up “a whole genre of popular antebellum sermons” contributed to the *Sailor’s Magazine and Naval Journal* by popular preachers from 1829 on and that these col-
loquial sermons “directly anticipated Father Mapple’s salty sermon” (29). However, his main example of American folk preaching, “six separate Jonah sermons” from the 1839–40 volume of the Sailor’s Magazine, is not from an antebellum sermon but from a reprint of the London sailor-preacher John Newton’s 1806 paraphrased republishing of a 1675 booklet of sermons on the book of Jonah written by John Ryther (1634?–1681), a nonconformist minister in Wapping, England. John Newton (1725–1807), rector at St. Mary Woolnoth, London, (and author of the hymn “Amazing Grace”) published his “revised and corrected” version of Ryther’s A Plat for Mariners, or, The Seaman’s Preacher: Delivered in Several Sermons upon Jonah’s Voyage (London, 1675) under the title The Seaman’s Preacher, Consisting of Nine Short and Plain Discourses on Jonah’s Voyage Addressed to Mariners (Cambridge, MA: Hilliard, 1806). Leaving Ryther’s language and theology largely unchanged, Newton divided the original five discourses into nine and edited them to correct typographical mistakes and omit “many repetitions and redundancies” (The Seaman’s Preacher, vii). The Sailor’s Magazine published Newton’s redaction from November 1839 through April 1840, then from October 1840 to December 1840. The magazine did not credit Newton or alert the reader that the original sermon was from the seventeenth century. Nor do Jonah sermons seem to be a popular subgenre of folk sermon in antebellum America, at least judging from the pages of the Sailor’s Magazine. Only three Jonah sermons appeared there between the magazine’s inception in 1829 and Moby-Dick’s publication in 1851. Two, printed in December 1828 and December 1830, were original; the third, appearing in November 1839, is another paraphrased excerpt from Ryther, with further modernizations and abridgments. None sounds much like Mapple, though Curtis Dahl has teased out a few similarities ("Jonah Improved: Sea Sermons on Jonah," Extracts 19 [1974]: 6–9). The “Worship at Sea” column that Reynolds cites as the forum for Jonah sermons ran regularly only in the first year of the journal’s publication, dropping off altogether after 1833.

66. These articles ran in January 1831 (142–43), February 1831 (167–68), and April 1831 (232–33). When the topic was revisited sixteen years later in "Preaching to Seamen: The Matter and Manner" in the March and April 1847 issues, preachers were still discouraged from using the “peculiar terms and phrases of seamen”; the style should instead be “plain and simple, solemn and impressive” ([April 1847]: 226).


70. Melville, Moby-Dick, 42.

71. Jonah 1:4; Melville, Moby-Dick, 45–46.


73. Melville, Moby-Dick, 44, 47.
79. Ibid., 43–46.
80. Ibid., 45.
82. Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 47, 48. For the argument that Ishmael's worshipping with Queequeg is a rejection of Mapple's message, see L. Thompson, 163, and Gilmore, *Surface and Depth*, 94.
83. Short, 20.
84. A storm during a sermon was considered a great boon to a preacher. Nantucket Presbyterian minister John S. C. Abbott, who had undoubtedly preached in many a squall, wrote: “And should the wind, admonishing of the gathering storm, moan about the building, or the rain or sleet patter upon the glass, those pensive emotions are still more strongly awakened, which ever wing the soul to explore eternity” (11). Cf. Brooklyn Presbyterian minister Samuel H. Cox: “After Dr. [Joseph] Bellamy had preached once a sermon in a thunderstorm, and used the mingled electricity of the aerial and spiritual heavens, in harmonious bursts of glory around him, as he dared the infidel to contend with the Almighty, or awed the sinner to melt at his feet, while those grand tokens were gleaming and roaring all through nature as he preached, some deacon-like committee waited on him with a request that he would be sure to print it, for they never heard such a sermon in all their life as that: the Doctor replied ‘Yes, if you will also print the thunder and lightning at the same time; since this it was that made it so powerful. The occasion could never be repeated’” (Samuel H. Cox to William Buell Sprague, March 29, 1859, in Sprague, *Annals*, 6:656).
92. Melville to Hawthorne, June [1?], 1851, in Melville, *Correspondence*, 191.
93. Ibid. Cf. Carolyn L. Karcher, who in commenting on this letter to Hawthorne remarks, “Melville felt his own truth-telling mission to be akin to a clergyman’s” (Shadow Over the Promised Land: Slavery, Race, and Violence in Melville’s America [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980], 78. She identifies this mission with Ishmael's warning to America to abandon slavery.

95. Melville, Moby-Dick, 48. Wright notes that Mapple’s “woes” echo Jeremiah and other biblical prophets and that the pairing of “woes” and “delights” mirrors the structure of the Beatitudes in Luke (147–48).

96. Melville, Moby-Dick, 48.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 414.

99. Ibid., 117.


103. Two other aspects of Bellows’s Relation of Christianity to Human Nature suggest its influence on Moby-Dick. One, Bellows echoes yet transforms 1 Corinthians 9:27, where Paul declares that he brings his body under subjection lest “when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.” Anticipating Mapple, Bellows shifts the focus from temperance to defiance of public opinion: “And he who shapes his course to heaven by the way of the public good, may find that having saved others, he is himself a cast-away” (13). Bellows also describes a type of man much like Ahab, the “moral rebel” whose “native spirit of independence and personal sovereignty” lead him to deny God as the soul’s ruler, to the point that he silences his conscience: “Alas! the impenitent are not self-condemned!” (14–15).


105. See Howe, 53–64, 93–96, 166.


107. Melville, Moby-Dick, 45.

108. Ibid., 46.


111. L’Estrange, xii; Melville, Moby-Dick, 46–47.


116. Melville, Moby-Dick, 9–10. Robert K. Wallace suggests that this scene might be based on Melville having seen Frederick Douglass preach at the Zion Methodist Church on Second Street in New Bedford when Melville was in town between December 25, 1840 and January 3, 1841 (Douglas and Melville: Anchored Together in Neighborly Style [New Bedford, MA: Spinner, 2005], 15–21).
117. Karcher reads this scene along similar lines (77).
119. Ibid., 294–95. Wallace explains that Melville may have modeled Fleece's speech on an impromptu address that Thomas van Renssalaer, an African American, gave during a white riot that broke out at the May 8, 1850 meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society at the New York Society Library, to which Melville belonged (103–5). See also Edward Stone, who reads Fleece's sermon as a pessimistic counterpoint to Mapple's theme of self-denial, inserted late in the composition of *Moby-Dick* to highlight the greed of Ahab and his crew and to foreshadow the *Pequod*'s doom ("The Other Sermon in *Moby-Dick*," *Costerus* 4 [1972]: 215–22).

**Chapter 6**

6. Harriet Beecher to George Beecher, February 20, [1830?], in Hedrick, 64. Hedrick makes explicit the possible link between Stowe's public speaking experience at Catharine's school and the sense of vocation she announced to George (ibid.).


10. Thomas Gossett notes that Stowe did not start referring to the book as written or inspired by God until after its completion and clarifies that in her theology, the idea of God having a hand in the book did not guarantee its infallibility or her own superiority (*Uncle Tom’s Cabin and American Culture* [Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985], 93–97). Mary Kelley discusses how a number of nineteenth-century women writers, including Catharine Sedgwick, Caroline Lee Hentz, and Mary Virginia Terhune, equated their fiction-writing with the ministerial vocation, claiming to be, in Kelley’s phrase, “preachers of the fictional page,” while many others described their writing as inspired or guided by God (*Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984], 294).

11. Even when touring Europe in the 1850s, Stowe did not speak before mixed audiences. However, she became the only “eminent woman author” to give platform readings in the nineteenth century when she went on reading tours in 1872 and 1873; see Martha L. Brunson, “Novelists as Platform Readers: Dickens, Clemens, and Stowe,” in *Performance of Literature in Historical Perspectives*, ed. David W. Thompson (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), 669.


18. Spillers, 94.

19. Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, 383. My argument that the narrator’s sermonic voice shifts from sentimental to prophetic parallels Joshua D. Bellin’s claim that the latter half of Stowe’s novel deemphasizes the possibility of a human solution to the slavery problem in favor of anticipating God’s final judgment (“Up to Heaven’s Gate, Down in Earth’s Dust: The Politics of Judgment in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*,” *American Literature* 65, no. 2 [1993]: 287).


25. Ibid., 388.
35. But note that Stowe publicly supported abolitionist ministers, as when she pled for the efficacy of clerical abolitionists in her letter to Frederick Douglass (“To Frederick Douglass, July 9, 1851,” *The Oxford Harriet Beecher Stowe Reader*, ed. Joan D. Hedrick [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999], 60).
37. Ibid., 158–59.
38. Ibid., 113. Hedrick, 226. Hedrick details the Parker-Stowe controversy, explaining how Stowe invoked the ideology of “true womanhood” to engage in male clerical disputation (ibid., 225–30).
41. Ibid., 115.
42. Ibid., 251.
45. Ibid., 88, 358.
Chapter 7

1. William Wells Brown, Clotel, or, The President’s Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1853), 62-64. Subsequent references are to this edition unless otherwise noted.


4. Brown’s relationship to religion has received little attention. On Brown as a secular writer, see, for instance, John Ernest, who writes that Clotel works in the “secular space between” good and evil, or Russ Castronovo, who writes that Brown “argued against slavery and racial prejudice, not by appealing to religious tenets as many white abolitionists and slave narrators did, but by manipulating the discourses of American politics and history” (John Ernest, Resistance and Reformation in Nineteenth-Century African-American Literature: Brown, Wilson, Jacobs, Delany, Douglass, and Harper [Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995], 52; Russ Castronovo, Fathering the Nation: American Genealogies of Slavery and Freedom [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995], 165–66). Although Ernest has also maintained that “Brown follows Frederick Douglass in distinguishing between the ‘Christianity of this land’ and the ‘Christianity of Christ,’” Brown seems to have had little investment in articulating

5. On Stowe's reception in Britain, see Audrey A. Fisch, American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11–51, and Meer, 131–222. See also Brown's quotation of a review of his Three Years in Europe included at the end of the Narrative of the Life and Escape of William Wells Brown, prefatory to Clotel: "The extraordinary excitement produced by 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' will we hope, prepare the public of Great Britain and America for this lively book of travels by a real fugitive slave" (Brown, Clotel, 47).


13. Brown, Clotel, 244. As R. Levine notes, Brown was both a "deadly serious moralist" and "something of a confidence man and a trickster" ("Introduction: Cultural and Historical


23. Brown, *Clotel*, 89. While the Declaration of Independence holds that all men “are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness,” Jefferson’s draft of the Declaration read “inherent and inalienable rights,” phrasing that circulated widely in the nineteenth century. The final line of Peck’s speech against natural rights is a perplexing variant of the original. *Clotel* reads, “Though man has no rights, as thus considered, undoubtedly he has the power, by such arbitrary rules of right and wrong as his necessity enforces” (Brown, *Clotel*, 89). This conclusion is the compressed borrowing of a sentence that appears several lines beneath the main passage borrowed from the review of Lamartine. The original reads: “Though man has no rights, as thus considered, undoubtedly he has the power, by mutual and common consent, to establish in society such arbitrary rules of Right and Wrong as his necessity enforces” ([Hutson], 402). The phrases “mutual and common consent, to establish in society,” missing in *Clotel*, clarify the purpose of the power Peck grants. Brown may have omitted the phrase “by mutual and common consent” because it frames power as Rousseauian in a way that Chapter 6 associates with Carlton rather than Peck (Carlton’s response begins, “I regret I cannot see eye to eye with you [. . . .] I am a disciple of Rousseau” [Brown, *Clotel*, 89]). Or in deleting this phrase Brown may simply have overshot the mark and skipped over the syntactically necessary phrase, “to establish in society”—the transcriptional error of haplography, when the copyist’s eye moves
forward too far in the text. Or Brown may have sought to undermine Peck’s reasonable-sounding yet insidious monologue by concluding it with gobbledygook.


26. Ibid.

27. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 78.


29. Matthew 7:12.

30. Proslavery theologians countered the argument that the Golden Rule prohibited slavery by coupling it with another verse, “Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal” (Col. 4:1), which clarified, so the reasoning went, that ethical norms should not upend the God-ordained social hierarchy (see Freehling, 65).


34. Charles C. Jones, *A Catechism of Scripture Doctrine and Practice, for Families and Sabbath Schools Designed also for the Oral Instruction of Colored Persons*, 6th ed. (Savannah: John M. Cooper, 1837), 129–30. This is the “Rev. C. C. Jones” referred to in Chapter 13 (Brown, *Clotel*, 133). Brown was probably working from the excerpt of Jones’s catechism in William I. Bowditch’s *Slavery and the Constitution* ([Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1849], 50). As I discuss below, Brown also borrowed the narrator’s discussion of marriage in Chapter 1 from Bowditch. In citing Jones, Brown left out only the Scripture references appended to each question. Snyder’s catechism follows Jones’s through “Q. Is it right for the servant to run away, or is it right to harbour a runaway?—A. ‘No.’” For the next question and answer—“Q. If a servant runs away, what should be done with him?—A. ‘He should be caught and brought back’”—Brown paraphrased Jones, leaving out the biblical precedent Jones cites for returning runaway slaves, Paul’s returning Onesimus to his master. Snyder’s last six questions and answers appear to be original to Brown.


“Slavery is the incubus that hangs over the Southern States,” appears to be original to Brown, though the metaphor was not unique to him (Brown, *Clotel*, 106).


41. Ibid., 134–35.

42. See Holmes, 633. The only positive comment on black preaching in *Clotel* comes in the description of Nat Turner, identified as a “preacher amongst the negroes, and distinguished for his eloquence, respected by the whites, and loved and venerated by the negroes” (Brown, *Clotel*, 212). Here being a preacher is a sign of social status, not of piety or spiritual leadership.


44. In December 1837 and January 1838, Allen helped convene a meeting of Worcester County Congregational ministers on the question of slavery, which issued a “Declaration of Sentiments” condemning the institution and calling for slaveowners to liberate their slaves. See *Proceedings of the Convention of Ministers of Worcester County, on the Subject of Slavery; Held at Worcester, December 5 and 6, 1837, and January 16, 1838* (Worcester: Massachusetts Spy Office, 1838).


47. [Thomas Shaw B. Reade], *Christian Retirement: Or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart*, 2nd ed. (Kirkby Lonsdale: Arthur Foster, 1827), 376.


57. Ibid., 116-17.

58. William Weston Patton, Slavery, the Bible, Infidelity: Pro-slavery Interpretations of the Bible: Productive of Infidelity (Hartford: W. H. Burleigh, 1846), 4–6. [Grimké], Address, 14, 28. Christopher Mulvey notes and reproduces the relevant portion of Patton’s sermon (“Annotations to Clotel; or the President’s Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States. (1853),” in Clotel: An Electronic Scholarly Edition [University of Virginia Press, 2006], p. 118, line 19). Among the many slight changes Brown makes to the phrasing in Grimké is the truncation of her line, “When he designed to do us good, he took upon himself the form of a servant—surely we should love and honor this office,” which Georgiana echoes only through “servant”; presumably Brown thought the last phrase went too far in praise of servitude. Yet Brown seems not to have been overly concerned about the possible proslavery implications of appealing to Christ as the divine servant, as Georgiana’s next two lines pick up Grimké after the deleted phrase: “He took his station at the bottom of society. He voluntarily identified himself with the poor and the despised” (Brown, Clotel, 120; [Grimké], Address, 14).

59. Brown, Clotel, 121.

60. Henry Mayer, All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery (New York: Norton, 1998), 116. Mayer reports that the one thousand copies of the first edition of the Address sold out quickly and that by August 1831, three thousand copies were in circulation (ibid.).


63. In excerpting Garrison, Brown cherry-picked lines in the order they appeared in the pamphlet: from “Remember what a singular relation you sustain to society” through “your example will lose a great portion of its influence” (6–7); from “Make the Lord Jesus Christ your refuge and exemplar” through “you are that people” (7); “You had better trust in the Lord” through “whose God is the Lord” (8); “Get as much education as possible” through “never be truly free until they are intelligent” (10). The next line in Clotel appears to Brown’s own: “In a few days you will start for the state of Ohio, where land will be purchased for some of you who have families, and where I hope you will all prosper” (186). Then Brown had Georgiana
paraphrase the anti-colonizationist sentiments that dominate the end of Garrison’s Address: “We have been urged to send you to Liberia, but we think it wrong to send you from your native land. We did not wish to encourage the Colonization Society, for it originated in hatred of the free coloured people” (186). The next line is from Garrison: “Its pretences are false, its doctrines odious, its means contemptible” (Garrison, 22; Brown, Clotel, 186). Garrison’s subsequent remarks appear, only slightly modified, after the deathbed speech, as the narrator reports Georgiana’s remarks on colonization: “‘If we are to send away the colored population because they are profligate and vicious, what sort of missionaries will they make? Why not send away the vicious among the whites, for the same reason, and the same purpose’” (Garrison, 22; Brown, Clotel, 187).

64. Brown, Clotel, 186–87.


68. Bowditch, 57.

69. Brown, Clotel, 58.

70. Ibid. Bowditch, 57.

71. Brown, Clotel, 64.

72. Ibid. Allen, 15–16.


74. Brown, Clotel, 183–84.

75. Brown, Clotel, 185.

76. Parker Pillsbury, The Church as It Is: or the Forlorn Hope of Slavery (Boston: Bela Marsh, 1847), 78.

77. Brown, Clotel, 185. Brown copied Hughes’s text from “With respect to her philosophy” through “founded in the school of Christianity,” changing only the pronouns and a few punctuation marks. See Benjamin F. Hughes, Eulogium on the Life and Character of William Wilberforce, Esq. Delivered and Published at the Request of the People of Color of the City of New York, Twenty-second of October, 1833 (New York: Office of The Emancipator, 1833; Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1969), 13. Clotel diverges from Hughes in the final clause of the paragraph. Hughes said, “His philosophy was founded in the school of Christianity, for be it
known that Wilberforce was a Christian. He was not only an exemplary and devoted member of the established church; but at the time when religion was noticed in the higher circles only to be scoffed at, he became the author of a work entitled *A Popular View of Christianity*” (ibid.). Brown modified these lines to emphasize Georgiana’s liberal-mindedness: “her philosophy was founded in the school of Christianity; though a devoted member of her father’s church, she was not a sectarian” (Brown, *Clotel*, 185). A similar attempt to reframe Georgiana’s religiosity occurs at the end of Chapter 10. There the narrator says that Georgiana is her father’s superior and teacher and describes her in secular terms: she considers “the right to enjoy perfect liberty as one of those inherent and inalienable rights which pertain to the whole human race, and of which they can never be divested, except by an act of gross injustice” (Brown, *Clotel*, 121).


78. Brown, *Clotel*, 189. Cf. Hughes, 15. Most of the changes to Hughes are minor—for instance, changing the gender of pronouns and adding “Christian’s” before “victory,” perhaps to avoid the allusion in the original to the political victory of West Indian emancipation. Brown’s most significant alteration comes at the end of the passage, where he changed Hughes’s line, “In what light would he consider that hypocritical priesthood who give their aid to foster a popular prejudice against a portion of the community to whom they are immeasurably indebted [. . .].” to “In what light would she consider that hypocritical priesthood who gave their aid and sanction to the infamous ‘Fugitive Slave Law’” (Hughes, 14; Brown, *Clotel*, 189).

79. Maxwell Whiteman, “Robert Purvis, 1810–1898: A Bibliographical Note,” in Robert Purvis, *A Tribute to the Memory of Thomas Shipley, the Philanthropist* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1836; Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1969), n. p. The passage borrowed from Purvis in *Clotel* runs from “If true greatness consists” through “or make him afraid” (Brown, *Clotel*, 189; Purvis, 8). Brown mangled the syntax of this passage in adapting it. Purvis wrote that, if asked for the evidence that true greatness consisted in doing good to mankind, he “would point to broken hearts made whole—to sad and dejected countenances, now beaming with contentment and joy. I would point to the mother, now offering her free born babe to heaven, and to the father, whose cup of joy seems overflowing in the presence of his family, where none can molest him or make him afraid.” Substituting “Who can think of” for “I would point to,” the narrator of *Clotel* says: “Who can think of the broken hearts made whole [. . .].” Without rejoicing? Without praising Georgiana? These ideas are only implicit; the narrator begins a rhetorical question but does not complete it.


83. Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, 257.


86. Ibid., 217.


89. Brown, Clotel, 245.

90. On the “Year of Jubilee,” see Leviticus 25. The phrase “value the common salvation” comes from Jude 1:3, where it refers to the salvation of all believers in Christ. The final sentence quotes Psalms 67:6–7.

91. Brown, Clotel, 245.

92. Brown, Clotel, 80. Brown acknowledges a debt to Child in his Conclusion. R. Levine includes ”The Quadroons” in the Bedford editions.

93. Brown, Narrative of William W. Brown, 40. Brown reported in My Southern Home that “Dr. John Gaines” (the name he gave his master, Dr. John Young, in this last book) would spend Sabbath mornings reading and explaining the Bible to his slaves—“often till half of the negroes present were fast asleep” (William Wells Brown, My Southern Home: Or, The South and Its People, in From Fugitive Slave to Free Man, ed. William L. Andrews [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003], 120).

94. See Farrison, 88, 95–97, 128.

95. Brown to Garrison, 17 May 1853, Black Abolitionist Papers, 1:345. Brown wrote this remark after hearing Calvin Stowe speak, though Stowe was a professor of biblical literature and not technically a clergyman.

96. Brown, Clotel, 121.

Conclusion

1. Finke and Stark, 23. Catholics rose from 5 percent of the total population in 1850 to 12 percent in 1890; as a percentage of church adherents, they accounted for approximately 14 percent in 1850 and 26 percent in 1890 (ibid., 122).

2. Gedge, 47.

3. It is beyond the scope of this book to trace the rivalry between preachers and novelists through the intervening century or so, but I would venture that for much of the twentieth century the sermon continued to play an especially significant role in the African American novel. This dynamic may be due to literarily ambitious African American writers keeping one eye on the predominately white literary establishment and another on the African American community, in which preachers still held a great deal of sway. On twentieth-century African American novels and the sermon, see Dolan Hubbard, The Sermon and the African American Literary Imagination (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), as well as Tuiré Valkeakari’s Religious Idiom and the African American Novel, 1952–1998 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007).


6. In contrast with Dawson, who describes Sewell as having an “unempathetic relation-
ship” with Barker and as marked by “alarming affective inabilities” (198), I would maintain that Sewell perceives and treats Barker with sensitivity. He intuits, for instance, the young man’s love troubles and finds relatively tactful ways of securing new positions for him.


8. Ibid., 304.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 30.

11. Ibid., 239.

12. Ibid., 22.

13. Dawson critiques the minister for preferring to preach to Barker rather than talk with him, “imagine that his sermons substitute for a relationship” (198), but in light of the sermons’ greater efficacy and the inescapable limitations of pastoral counsel, Sewell’s preference seems sensible.


15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 224.

17. Ibid., 22. Here I concur with John Cyril Barton’s point that Miss Vane’s mockery of Sewell’s sermon on sincere speech begins to erode his credibility. However, the ideas presented in the sermon are not exactly “the minister’s procrustean principles.” Inflexible principles are endemic to the sermon form and one of its limitations, as this novel argues. See Barton, “Howells’s Rhetoric of Realism: The Economy of Pain(t) and Social Complicity in The Rise of Silas Lapham,” Studies in American Fiction 29, no. 2 (2001): 179.


19. Ibid., 101.

20. Ibid., 341.

21. Ibid., 341–42.

22. Ibid., 342. In reading this sermon as presented in free indirect discourse, I differ from Barton, who attributes it wholly to the narrator (183). The sermonic cadences of “Complicity” (e.g., “for good or for evil, for sorrow or joy, for sickness or health”) and its theological language (e.g., “The gospel—Christ—God, so far as men had imagined him”) distinguish it from the narrator’s own speech.


24. Similarly, Brook Thomas remarks that the “Complicity” sermon is “an important point of view within the novel,” but not the only valid one (American Literary Realism and the Failed Promise of Contract [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997], 146). See, too, Barton, who argues that Sewell’s final sermon cannot stand as a definitive last word and that to take it as such is to ignore both Sewell’s fallibility and the dialogism of the realist novel (177–83). Barton’s quarrel on this point is mainly with Wai-Chee Dimock, who takes Sewell as representative of Howells’s own philosophy (see Dimock, “The Economy of Pain: Capitalism, Humanitarianism, and the Realistic Novel,” in New Essays on The Rise of Silas Lapham, ed. Donald E. Pease [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 67–90).

25. Dawson, 193. Here I differ from Paul Abeln, who notes only how the sermon is critiqued. He maintains that the sermon achieves only “ephemeral effects,” not “moments of cultural transformation” (William Dean Howells and the Ends of Realism [New York: Routledge, 2005], 23–24). I would say rather that the novel withholding judgment on the sermon’s long-term effects. It does not describe social reforms resulting from this sermon but does leave open the
possibility that appealing to individuals might result in a better society by presenting without irony Sewell’s belief “that you can have a righteous public only by the slow process of having righteous men and women” (341).


27. Howells, The Minister’s Charge, 179.


29. W. D. Howells, “Novel-Writing and Novel-Reading: An Impersonal Explanation,” in Selected Literary Criticism, Volume III: 1898–1920, ed. Ronald Gottesman, Christoph K. Lohmann, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 228. Cf. B. Thomas, who explains that Howell’s “point is that judgment will follow if the novelist is not afraid to treat all sorts of subject matter, even the repressed ones of society” (323n39). Besides noting that Thomas seems to have meant “unafraid” for “afraid,” I would say that while Howells calls for novelists to bring to light society’s repressed subjects, he is not threatening them with impending judgment if they fail to do so. Instead, he makes the public, not God, the judge by refiguring the day of judgment as an ongoing event resulting from the novelist’s bold exposure of “hidden things.”


31. Ibid., 341.

32. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious Affiliation: Diverse and Dynamic" (2008), 145, 154. To disaggregate these Protestants, 86 percent of those attending evangelical churches reported attending at least a few times a year, as did 76 percent of those attending mainline churches and 88 percent of those attending historically black churches. The published survey results do not indicate the percentage of the U.S. population these attendees constitute.
