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JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL (1774) AND ITS RECEPTION

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Contents

INTRODUCTION

John Woolman, a minister from New Jersey (1720–1772), was one of the most charismatic leaders of Quakerism, as well as a highly recognized author of American autobiographical prose. He is most famous for his *Journal of the Life, Gospel Labors and Christian Experiences, of that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Woolman* (*The Journal* for short (1774)), which was started when Woolman was 35 and finished just in the last days of his lifetime. Woolman also authored a number of essays addressing social and religious issues. Yet, it is the *Journal* which remains most widely read and published text by Woolman.

The *Journal* established Woolman's reputation as that of an American "uncanonized saint"[1]: the greatest Quaker of his day and one of the first activists to protest against the slavery system. For more than two centuries, the *Journal*'s plot and its autobiographical hero have attracted both Quaker and non-Quaker readers and critics, inspiring some to revisit Woolman's story in their own writings. One of the leaders of modern Woolman studies, American historian Geoffrey Plank, reasonably argues that "Woolman's self-presentation, contemporary responses to him, and the posthumous commemoration of him provide an indication of the power and significance of personal narrative within Quakerism and in antislavery politics in Britain and America."[2] Therefore, this dissertation's theme is chosen in order to research Woolman's self-presentation and the major stages of his literary reception.

The relevance of this study is connected with the following observations. 1) Autobiographical texts are currently attracting increasingly careful attention of researchers in literature, history and other disciplines. This may be confirmed by regular thematic conferencing in many countries, as well as by the abundance of

[1] Eliot, Ch. W. Introductory note // The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin; The Journal of John Woolman; Fruits of Solitude by William Penn / Ed. by Ch. W. Eliot. – N.Y.: P.F. Collier and Son, 1909. P. 176.

[2] Plank, G. The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes and his Journal // Slavery and Abolition, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2009. P. 67.

academic publications.[3] 2) John Woolman's *Journal* has a rich history of scholarly reflection in American academia; however, it is still little-researched in most of other countries, including Russia. 3) Focus on the reception of the *Journal* entails analyzis of various interpretations of this classical text; additionally, it contributes to studies of combination of non-fiction with fiction writing. Thus, the topic corresponds to some modern trends in literary studies. 4) Besides, inasmuch as Woolman and some other authors whose texts we study, were Quakers, the dissertation addresses one of the "peripheral," non-mainstream areas of American literature – namely, Quaker literature. Studying of Quaker literature appears quite relevant in the light of the diversity theory, which has been intensively developing since 1990s. The theory suggests that "diversity and multilevelness of racial, ethnic, and even class foundations do not only shape national consciousness and national customs, but also constitute an essential attribute of nation itself."[4] This being said, it is also important to mention that embracing a wide text corpus, the paper discovers some associations

[3] Autobiographical Writings in Interdisciplinary Scholarship: People, Texts, Practices: multi-authored monograph // Ed. by Y.P. Zaretsky, E.K. Karpenko, Z.V. Shushpanova. – Moscow: Biblio-Globus, 2017. 560 p. (In Russian.); Altashina, V.D. The Poetry and Fact in Memoires (France, the 17th and 18th Centuries): Monograph. – Saint Petersburg: Herzen University Publishing House, 2005. 176 p. (In Russian.); Esenina, E.A. A.I. Tswetaeva's Autobiographical Prose: The Problem of Genre. – A diss. subm. for the degree of Candidate in Philology. Moscow, 2021. 224 p. (In Russian.); Zaretsky, Y.P. Autobiographical "Selves" from Augustin to Avvakum (Essays on the History of the European Individual). – Moscow: Russan Academy of Sciences, 2002. 324 p. (In Russian.); Karaeva, L.B. English Literary Autobiography: Transformation of the Genre in the 20th Century. – A diss. subm. for the degree for the degree of Doctor in Philology. Moscow, 2010. 329 p. (In Russian.); Kudryashova, A.A. The Theoretical Basis of the Genre in Russian Autobiographical Prose. – A diss. subm. for the degree of Doctor in Philology. Moscow, 2013. 405 p. (In Russian.); Novikova, S.Y. Autobiographical Prose of Thomas Bernhard: Problems and Poetics – A diss. subm. for the degree of Candidate in Philology. Saint Petersburg, 2018. 211 p. (In Russian.); Schedrina, I.O. Self-Awareness and Autobiographical Narrative: Epistemological Analysis. – A diss. subm. for the degree of Candidate in Philosophy. Moscow, 2018. 133 p. (In Russian.). The Annual Conference "Autobiographical Myth in Literature and Art," The Gorky Institute of World Literature; The International Conference "The Synthesis of Fact and Fiction," Kazan Federal University; International Conference on Biography and Autobiography [Website: https://waset.org/biography-and-autobiography-conference. Accessed: 14.03.2023].

[4] Apenko, E.M. American Quakers and Literature // Bulletin of Udmurt University. 1994. № 4. P. 18-26. (In Russian.)

between the "peripheral" literature of a religious community and the literature of national mainstream (mainstream understood as "the kernel, center of a culture"[5]).

The purpose of the study is to examine the nature of the *Journal*'s reception in texts of various genres. Accordingly, the dissertation constists of two chapters. The first chapter outlines John Woolman's life story and major characteristics of his *Journal*; a review of academic literature is necessarily included in the chapter, as far as the *Journal* is relatively little-known beyond English-language literary studies. Meanwhile, the second chapter is focused on the study's main purpose, namely, analyzis of the *Journal's* multifarious literary reception, its major stages and genre variety. Therefore, there are the following **tasks** to accomplish:

- to outline the story of John Woolman's life and writings;
- to address the *Journal's* ethical messages as well as its poetical features;
- to identify and to categorize the texts which were influenced by the *Journal*;
- to analyze the *Journal*'s reception in every case;
- to identify general patterns and tendencies in the *Journal's* reception.

The objects of the study are John Woolman's *Journal* itself and a number of texts, addressing Woolman's life and spiritual legacy, as well as texts, written under Woolman's literary influence. These include: 1) *non-fiction sketches, essays, introductions* to *The Journal* editions (authored by H. C. Robinson, J. G. Whittier, G. M. Trevelyan and many others), 2) *poetry* (E. M. Chandler, J. G. Whittier, B. J. Everitt and others), 3) *fiction* (T. Dreiser, Ch. Fager), and also 4) *readers' reviews* on the *Journal*. The thesis also touches upon the *Journal's* translations and some interdisciplinary aspects of Woolman's reception, thus outlining some ideas for future research.

The subject of the study is the ethical message and poetical features of John Woolman's *Journal*, the *Journal's* reception in various non-fiction and fiction texts, and, accordingly, literary and cultural portraiture of John Woolman, which has been formed on the basis on his autobiographical self-portaiture.

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[5] Tlostanova, M.V. The Multicultural Debate and American Fiction of the Late 20th Century. – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 2000. P. 4. (In Russian.)

The development of the research area. The *Journal* has been attracting attention of critics and writers since its first edition; however, strictly academic studies of Woolman's life and legacy began only in the 20th century. This process was strongly promoted by the publication of the *Journal*'s academic edition in 1922. The editor Amelia Mott Gummere, an expert on Quaker history, supplemented it with a detailed (150 pages) biography of Woolman.[6] Soon after that Woolman's writings became a topic of university papers: in 1929 a graduate of South California University Esther Brown wrote a master thesis about Woolman's social philosophy.[7] A major step in studying Woolman's biography was made by Janet Whitney, who wrote *John Woolman: American Quaker* (1942).[8] In 1957 Walter Altman published his thesis about Woolman's reading.[9] John Woolman's name was gaining increasing popularity in American studies, and in 1968 his writings became the object of two comprehensive studies of spiritual autobiography as a genre of early American literature.[10]

1971 was a momentous year in Woolman studies, when professor Phillips Moulton edited a textually verified edition of the *Journal*, which remains the most reputable today; it is its 8th reprint[11] to which this study mostly refers. Unique contributions to studying of Woolman's legacy have also been made by such scholars as Paul Rosenblatt, Sterling Olmsted, Michael Heller, Edward Higgins, Margaret Stewart, Geoffrey Plank, Thomas Slaugher, James Proud, Michael Birkel, Jon Kershner. This list is by no means exhaustive of the richness of academic literature about Woolman (the subject which we will return to in section 2.1). It is also

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[6] Gummere, A.M. The Journal of John Woolman: Biographical Sketch // The Journal of John Woolman. – N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1922. P. 1-150.

[7] Brown, E.M. The Writings of John Woolman: With Especial Emphasis on Their Social Philosophy. – A thesis subm. to the University of Southern California, 1929. 92 p.

[8] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker. – L.: George G. Harrap & Co. ltd., 1942. 432 p.

[9] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading. – A diss. subm. to Florida State University, 1957. 293 p.

[10] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America. – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. 280 p.; Millar, A.E., Jr. Spiritual Autobiography in Selected Writings of Sewall, Edwards, Byrd, Woolman, and Franklin: A Comparison of Technique and Content. – A diss. subm. to the University of Delaware, 1968. 357 p.

[11] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays / Ed. by Ph. P. Moulton. – Richmond: Friends United Press, 2007. 336 p.

noteworthy that Woolman studies are often interdisciplinary: the minister's literary heritage is being studied from the points of view of history, philology, religious studies, psychology. This fact can be vividly illustrated by a 2003 book called *The Tendering Presence*,[12] comprising twenty insightful essays, in which different approaches are combined.

In Russian academia, first Woolman studies were conducted in 1990s. Elena M. Apenko's article "American Quakers and Literature"[13] (1994) addresses John Woolman's *Journal* within the wider context of early Quaker literary history as a whole. 1995 was the year when the first Russian edition of the *Journal* was published; the translation was performed by Tatiana A. Pavlova, an expert on British history, who supplemented it with an introduction and a scholarly apparatus.[14] The *Journal* as a kind of traveloque is mentioned in Ekaterina A. Stetsenko's book (1999),[15] and also in recently published thesis by Daria D. Kuzina.[16] However, more detailed studies in Russian have not been published yet.

As for the *Journal*'s reception, one can notice that this topic is little-explored not only in Russian, but in global scholarship as well. There are very few papers which focus on it. Here we will list several publications we have found which concentrate on one or another aspect of the *Journal's* literary reception.

1) A list of poetical tributes to Woolman in A. M. Gummere edition of the *Journal*.[17]

2) G. Friedrich's article about Woolman's influence on Dreiser.[18]

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[12] The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman / Ed. by M. Heller. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003. 340 p.
[13] Apenko, E.M. American Quakers and Literature…
[14] Woolman, J. The Journal. A Plea for the Poor / Transl. by T.A. Pavlova. – Moscow: Astreia, 1995. 336 p. (In Russian.)
[15] Stetsenko, E.A. History Written on the Way… (Notes and Books of Travel in American Literature of the XVII–XIX Centuries). – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, 1999. 312 p. (In Russian.)
[16] Kuzina, D.D. Transformation of the Travelogue Genre in American Literature of the First Thirs of the 20th Century. – A diss. subm. for the degree of Candidate in Philology. Moscow, 2022. P. 41. (In Russian.)
[17] Gummere, A.M. The Journal of John Woolman: Biographical Sketch…
[18] Friedrich G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal // American Quarterly. 1955, 7 (4). P. 385-392.

3) Ph. P. Moulton's article "The Influence of the Writings of John Woolman,"[19] addressing Woolman's reception by thinkers and activists of the 19th–20th centuries.

4) J. Perkins's article "The European Reception of John Woolman's *Journal*,"[20] focusing on the topic of *Journal's* reception in European literary circles (the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries) within the larger context of their attitude to American Quakerism and abolitionism.

It is also important to mention three academic studies not focusing on the *Journal's* reception as their main theme, and yet containing some insightful observations about it, which have made a significant contribution to the present research. The first one is Edwin Cady (a professor of English, specializing in American literature) book "John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint"[21] (1966). The second one is Edith Livesay's thesis "John Woolman: Persona and Person"[22]; published in 1976, it still appears highly relevant for this theme. Livesay diligently compares the *Journal's* self-portraiture with archival records on Woolman. The third paper is the aforecited historian Geoffrey Plank's paper "The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes, and his *Journal*" (2009).

The problem of reception of literary texts, as well as of writers' images, is by no means new. Looking at the modern bibliography of the field, one can notice, for example, A.A. Zlatopolskaya's and M.V. Zagidullina's papers, which focus on evolution of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's and Alexander S. Pushkin's images in Russia.[23] These topics imply different kinds of reception: cross-cultural, philosophical and

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[19] Moulton, Ph. P. The Influence of the Writings of John Woolman // Quaker History. Vol. 60, No. 1, 1971. P. 3-13.

[20] Perkins, J. The European Reception of John Woolman's Journal // Quaker History, Vol. 69, No. 2, 1980. P. 91-101.

[21] Cady, E.H. John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint. – N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1966. 182 p.

[22] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person. – A diss. subm. to the Univ. of Delaware, 1976. 315 p.

[23] Zlatopolskaya, A.A. "Intus et in cute". Reception of the Image and Autobiography of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Russian Philosophical and Anthropological Thought of the 18th – 19th Centuries // The Century of Philosophy : Almanack. Iss. 22. Ed. by M.I. Mikeshin, T.V. Artemieva. – Saint Petersburg: SPb. Centre for the History of Ideas, 2002. P. 20-32. (In Russian.); Zagidullina, M.V. Pushkin Myth at the End of the 20th Century. – Chelyabinsk, 2001. 245 p. (In Russian.)

anthropological reception by men of letters in the case of Rousseau; intracultural reception by the general reader in the case of Pushkin. Apparently, some basic kinds of reception, which are going to be referred to in the thesis, should be categorized.

Traditionally, the term "reception" communicates several meanings in literary studies. As Antoine Compagnon notes, there is 1) reception as *reading*[24], and 2) reception as (A) an *influence* of a writer upon other writers, and (B) a book's life in literature.[25]

Another categorization, among many, was proposed in M.V. Tzvetkova's paper focused on receptive approach to comparative studies. The author indicates two major kinds of reception:

1) *Reproductive reception* comprises aspects, related to a text's entering the "recepting environment." These are various kinds of text's transformation (translations, adaptations, editorial corrections), first editions and reprints, introductions, commentaries, critical reviews, academic studies, literary biographies, readers' responses.

2) *Productive reception* implies that a text enters other authors' writings. A scholar is supposed to pay attention to epigraphs, quotations, allusions, reminiscences, themes' and plot's transformations, borrowing, stylization, parodying, literary polemics; travesty, pastiche, collages etc.[26]

This study addresses all the major kinds of reception, listed above, to some extent. It examines fictional and non-fictional texts, inspired by Woolman, as well as readers' reviews on the *Journal*, and some editorial practices. It should be also noted that the study focuses primarily on intracultural (English-language) reception of the *Journal*.

Methodological and theoretical foundation of the research comprises methods of cultural history and a functional method based on analysis of a text's

[24] German receptive aesthetics of H.R. Yauss and W. Izer; American School of Reader's Response.
[25] Compagnon, A. The Demon of Theory: Literature and Common Sense / Transl. from French by S.N. Zenkin. – Moscow: Sabashnikov Publishing House, 2001. P. 172. (In Russian.)
[26] Tsvetkova, M.V. The Receptive Approach and Its Possibilities within Comparative Studies // Bulletin of Vyatka State University. 2010, № 3-2. P. 11-12. (In Russian.)

reception by readers in different historical periods; besides, the study employs a categorization method, reception studies' theoretical statements, and also some elements of mythological criticism. Combination of these methods seems to be fruitful for a comprehensive research.

The novelty of the study is fuelled by its effort to fill some gaps concerning Woolman's literary reception. The *Journal* studies are by no means exhausted within English-speaking academia, whereas beyond it they still seldom fall within the scope of scholarly attention. Meanwhile, many of the texts discussed in Chapter 2 have not previously been explored by literary scholars within global academia. Also, no comprehensive study of the *Journal's* reception has been undertaken so far. In addition, it should be mentioned that this study has required an extensive bibliographic search, which laid the groundwork for creating an overview on Woolman studies (i.e., academic literature about Woolman), on the one hand, and a corpus of literary and fictional texts, inspired by Woolman, on the other hand. The collected data allows to identify some prospects for further research.

The practical significance of the thesis lies in the fact that the materials and results of the research can be employed in such university courses as "History of World Literatures," "History of American Literature," "History of Autobiographical Writings," "Religious Studies," etc.

The theoretical significance of the study is facilitated by its insights into the phenomenon of the more than two hundred years of an autobiographical text's reception, the latter being examined by appealing to a voluminous corpus of diverse fictional and nonfictional texts.

The statements to be defended:

● John Woolman's *Journal* is addressed primarily to the author's fellow Quakers, and it is firmly rooted in the traditional patterns of Quaker prose. The metaphor of *travel* plays an essential role in the poetics of the *Journal* and is repeatedly reproduced as part of the *Journal's* plot, and at the lexical level alike. Analysis of "travel" vocabulary of the *Journal* reveals close association of its semantics with the semantics of "labor," "work," as well as "keeping a journal."

● Chronologically, the literary reception of the *Journal* can be divided into three major periods: 1) a "preamble" to active critical reception: 1774 – the middle of the 19th century; 2) the hagiographic period: the middle of the 19th century – 1950s; 3) a period of steady increase of academic interest in Woolman, accompanied by rethinking of the hagiographic portraiture: the 1950s – the present day. In terms of genre, the literary reception of the *Journal* is characterized by a considerable diversity. The *Journal* has inspired numerous essays, poetic texts, a juvenile book of "domestic abolitionism," a novelized biography, a biographical novel, a biographical story, as well as a purely fictional novel.

● The process of "sanctification" of Woolman's figure, i.e. portraying him as a saintly person, took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, and has manifested itself through the use of a number of typically "hagiographic" motifs in non-fictional texts, as well as in poetry, biographies and works of fiction. At the same time, a marked tendency since the middle of the 20th century is the writers' endeavor to challenge some "flatness" of the minister's hagiographic portraiture and to create a somewhat rounder character.

● Woolman's autobiographical self-portaiture and the plot of the *Journal* have become the foundation for a number of fictional and semi-fictional texts. That said, whereas J.P. Whitney's novelized biography *John Woolman, American Quaker* provides the reader with a detailed version of the minister's life as life of a historical figure, in T. Dreiser's *Bulwark* some elements of the *Journal's* plot are completely fictionalized: the setting is carried over to the 20th century, and Woolman himself appears as the protagonist's prototype. Other works inspired by John Woolman's *Journal* (anonymous *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman*, C. O. Peare's *John Woolman: Child of Light*, Ch. Fager's *John Woolman and the Slave Girl*) may be viewed as intermediary gradations between the predominantly documentary and predominantly fictional portrayals of Woolman's character.

● Modern readers' reviews of the *Journal*, the fact of its regular reprinting, as well as various forms of commemoration of the minister's legacy indicate that the

Journal still holds the status of an American autobiographical classic, generating interest among Quakers and non-Quakers alike.

As part of the **approbation of the study**, the author took part in eight conferences (International Conference "Lomonosov" (2021), International Conference "Loyalty, Subjecthood, and Citizenship: Between Empire and Nation" (2021), International Conference "Synthesis of Fiction and Non-Fiction in Literature and Art" (2021), Russia-wide Conference "Pedagogical Discourse in Literature" (2021), two International Conferences "The Eighteenth Century: Intimacy and Publicity in Literature and Culture of the Era" (2021) and "The Eighteenth century: Ancient Myths and Enlightenment Utopias" (2023), two International Philological Conferences held by Saint Petersburg State University (2022, 2023)). The thesis was also discussed at postgraduate seminars organized by the Department of Foreign Literatures of the University. The author has published six related papers; two of them are published in peer-reviewed journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation (in Cyrillic "ВАК")[27]; two are published in Scopus indexed journals[28].

The thesis structure: Introduction, two chapters, Conclusion, List of literature, Appendices. The first chapter consists of six sections and is focused on Woolman's life; it also reviews academic interpretations of the *Journal*. The second chapter includes ten sections which examine diversity of Woolman studies, as well as the various aspects of literary reception of the *Journal* in the 18th – 21st centuries. The bibliography includes 292 items in Russian and English.

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[27] Abdurakhmanova-Pavlova, D.V. "Non-fiction" and "Fiction" in John Woolman's *Journal* // Philology and Culture. 2021. № 3 (65). P. 46-55. (In Russian.); Abdurakhmanova-Pavlova, D.V. John Woolman's Image in the English non-fiction in the 1850–1940s: Hagiographical motifs // Bulletin of Saratov University. New Series. Philology. Journalism. 2022. Vol. 22, iss. 2. P. 177-185. (In Russian.)

[28] Abdurakhmanova-Pavlova, D.V. Reception of John Woolman's *Journal* in Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark* // Tomsk State University Journal. 2022. № 478. P. 5-13. (In Russian.); Abdurakhmanova-Pavlova, D.V. Sister Ruth's Stories, or, Evenings with John Woolman (1865) and Juvenile Literature of Domestic Abolitionism // Literature of the Americas. 2022. № 13. P. 367-382. (In Russian.)

CHAPTER 1. JOHN WOOLMAN AND HIS *JOURNAL*

1.1. An Outline of John Woolman's Life and Writings

John Woolman was born on October 19, 1720, in Norhampton (New Jersey) to farmers Samuel and Elizabeth Woolman, and was their fourth child. His grandfather, John Woolman, Sr., had moved to America from Gloucestershire in 1677[29]; thus, Woolman's parents belonged to the second generation of Woolman family in New Jersey. Samuel and Elizabeth Woolman were Friends,[30] and the mode of life within

[29] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 10.

[30] Quakerism, or *The Religious Society of Friends*, is a Protestant movement which originated in Britain in the revolutionary era of the 17th century. George Fox (1624–1691), the most famous among the founders of the "Society of Friends," was a shepherd born to a Puritan family. As Fox himself recounts in his *Journal*, at the age of 19 he experienced a mystical rebirth, after which he decided to become a preacher. Scholars argue that his doctrine is rooted in the heritage of the mystical searchings of the Reformation. Quakerism is based on the concept of the divine presence in the soul of every person (the Inward Light, the Inward Christ), as well as on a number of i.e. Testimonies: first of all, these are Testimonies for Equality, for Peace, for Truth, for Simplicity. Quaker prayer meetings are quite peculiar, for they take place in complete silence; the task of each believer at such a meeting is to "listen" to the *Inward Light*; once a Quaker feels an illumination given to him, he can speak to his fellow believers.

Quakers have acquired the reputation of a "peculiar" community: early Friends wore specific "plain" costumes, used the pronoun *thou* instead of *you* regardless of the title of the person they spoke to, etc. In Britain, the Quaker community was considered dangerous and severely persecuted in the first decades of the Society's formation. Naturally, many Friends went to America, where, in 1681, William Penn founded the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, with its capital in the "City of Brotherly Love" – Philadelphia, a religiously tolerant city from its very beginning. John Woolman lived in a much calmer era of the Quaker history, i.e. the period of Quietism, or, the time of "cultural creativeness and mystical inwardness" (Brinton, H.H. Friends for 350 years: The history and beliefs of the Society of Friends since George Fox started the Quaker Movement. – Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, 2002. P. 181-187).

Many Quakers were active abolitionists. For more than three centuries they have been involved in numerous pacifist and philanthropic projects in various countries. In 1947 The Society of Friends was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Modern Quakerism is characterized by universalism, openness to other spiritual traditions. At the same time, the "Society of Friends" preserves its cornerstones: faith in the Inward (Inner) Light and following the Testimonies.

English-language Quaker studies are very extensive; they cover historical, religious, cultural and other aspects of the Society's life. Studies in Russian focus on the history of Quakerism, and also on the Friends' large-scale humanitarian mission to the Soviet Union (see Pavlova, T.A. George Fox, Early Quakers and the Problems of Pacifism // Pacifism in History. Peacemaking Ideas and Movements. – Moscow, 1998. P. 28-48. (In Russian.); Pavlova, T.A. The Enlightenment Spirit and Early Quakers // The Man of the 17th Century. Part 1. – Moscow: The Institure of World History,

their religious community was entirely based on the Quaker beliefs. Accompanied by his siblings and neighbors, John Woolman went to a Quaker school; following their parents, the children attended Quaker meetings; families gathered to read the Holy Scripture together on Sundays. Woolman recalls in the *Journal* that as just a young boy he was deeply interested in religion; he often read the Bible by himself and had some mystical experiences.[31]

Woolman's parents attached great importance to both intellectual and labor education of their children; thus young Woolman worked a lot on the farm, and it was rural life that first impressed him as a model of an exemplary, harmonious lifestyle. However, although Woolman was the eldest son and was to continue his parents' farming business, at the age of twenty he decided, with the consent of his father and mother, to leave the farm for a job in the nearby town of Mount Holly. The young man became an assistant to the owner of a local shop and began to learn trade from him. The owner was also a tailor, and Woolman decided to learn tailoring as well.

A few years later, Woolman opened his own shop, selling food products and household goods, while also making clothes to order. He liked tailoring because it allowed him to attain financial independence; besides, it was easier than trade business to combine tailoring with religious service. It is noteworthy that a Woolman's older sister, Elizabeth Woolman, with whom they were very close, had chosen the same occupation.[32]

In 1746, however, a sad event occurred in Woolman's life: 31-year-old Elizabeth died of smallpox. Smallpox outbreaks were not infrequent in that era, but it was after Elizabeth's untimely death that the fear of the disease began to haunt Woolman. Although inoculation (artificial inducing immunity) was practiced in the American colonies at the time, the procedure was risky, and Woolman never chose to do it.

Later in 1746, Woolman made a three-month journey to the southern provinces of Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland, where slavery was most common. This

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RAS, 2005. P. 149-159. (In Russian.); Nikitin, S.A. How Quakers Tried to Save Russia. – Moscow: New Literary Observer, 2020. 408 p. (In Russian.), etc.

[31] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 23.

[32] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 88.

made a profound impression on Woolman and marked the beginning of his regular visits to various regions of the American colonies.

In 1749 John Woolman married Sarah Ellis (1721–1787), the niece of his uncle Joseph Burr. They had two children: Mary (1750–1798) and William (1754; died in infancy). Raised in the same Quaker community, Sarah Woolman always supported her husband in his religious service.

In the 1750s Woolman began to gain increasing prominence among Quakers as a minister.[33] In 1754, the first essay by Woolman was published, with the blessing of his then late father, *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*.[34] It was followed by a number of other essays, such as *A Plea for the Poor*, 1763-64 (publ. in 1793), *Serious Considerations on Trade*, 1768, *Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind & How It Is To Be Maintained*, 1770, *On Loving Our Neighbors As Ourselves*, 1772.[35]

In 1755, Woolman began his *Journal*, which he kept for the last sixteen years of his life. It was also the period of his most active travelling (on horseback and on foot) through the American colonies. Woolman visited the southern provinces and New England several times, and he also travelled to an Indian settlement in Wyalusing. Every trip was fraught with innumerable dangers, and their descriptions in the *Journal* are permeated with Woolman's concern for his family back home. Meanwhile, in 1771, a happy event occurred: Mary, the beloved daughter of John and Sarah

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[33] It should be mentioned that the Russian word *проповедник* ("preacher") is one of the possible equivalents of the Quaker *minister*, but it does not exactly convey the nuances of its meaning. Because of Quakerism's belief in the equality of human beings, the mission of preaching among Quakers could at one time or another be carried out by any Friend who felt the inspiration given to him or her by the Inward Light. The term *(recorded) minister*, however, usually referred to Friends who were recognized by fellow Quakers for a special spiritual gift. This status was honorable, but the ministers were not paid for their speeches. In Quakerism, paid religious service has not been accepted.

[34] A published translation of this or other essays is not yet available in Russian, but some of the titles were translated by T.A. Pavlova for the scholarly apparatus in the Russian edition of the *Journal*. As for the use of the word *negro* in the Russian translation of an essay title, it is important to emphasize that in this case it is used in a neutral, non-ideological sense, the sense which is referred to by O.Y.Panova in her research of African American literature (Panova, O.Y. Black American Letters of the 18th – early 20th Centuries: Problems of History and Interpretation. – A diss. subm. for the degree of Doctor in Philology. Moscow, 2014. P. 24. (In Russian.)).

[35] A more complete list of Woolman's works is given in the Appendix 1.

Woolman, started her own family. Soon after that, leaving his son-in-law John Comfort's as the head of the family, Woolman decided to embark on his long-desired translatlantic voyage to England, his ancestral homeland and the homeland of Quakerism.

He was not to return to America: after a three-month journey on foot through England, Woolman contracted smallpox. In October 1772, the minister died in York, surrounded by his British friends, and having bequeathed to fellow Quakers the *Journal* manuscript.

This is an outline of John Woolman's biography, retracing some major events, most of which are mentioned in the *Journal*. Of course, however, much remained outside the text. Woolman wrote very little about his friends and family (though he had twelve siblings); he was laconic in describing what he saw in his numerous trips. The same applies to the professional life of the journalist.[36] Similar to his contemporary and compatriot, the most famous American autobiographer Benjamin Franklin, John Woolman learned not just one or two but a fairly large number of trades in his lifetime. A tailor and a merchant in the first place, he was also a conveyancer, surveyor, and keeper of an apple orchard; for a while he ran an elementary school for which he wrote a primer; he was also seriously interested in law and navigation.[37] Meanwhile, in the *Journal* all these activities are mentioned passingly, if at all. Woolman's true calling was religious service: participating in Quaker meetings, ministry, having conversations with his coreligionists, keeping in touch with Friends living elsewhere.[38]

Part of his ministry was his literary art. Strictly speaking, it is not the word "art" that applies best to Woolman, but the word "work," because the Quaker creed of that era was rather antagonistic to arts. Early Quakerism showed more tolerance than

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[36] When referring to Woolman as an autobiographer, one should bear in mind the genre hybridity of his text. In this paper, the term 'autobiographer' is used somewhat conditionally: perhaps the term 'diarist' would be also justified.

[37] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading. – A diss. subm. to Florida State University, 1957. P. 52.

[38] Meetings are the organizational units of the Society of Friends (the largest and most inclusive for all American Quakers is the Yearly Meeting in Pennsylvania).

Puritanism in many respects; nevertheless, in their attitude to arts Friends seemed more adamant than Puritans. Naturally, sometimes a pun is made: rejecting arts, Quakers "out-puritaned the Puritans."[39] According to early Friends, every book ought to be either spiritually instructive or scientifically useful[40]; aesthetical and entertaining aspects were perceived as excessive and distracting the attention of the reader from moral development. Later (in section 1.3.3) it will be shown how the *Journal* actualizes the motif of writing as *work*.

Addressing Woolman's essays, scholars find clear echoes of the Enlightenment in their content and style.[41] At the same time, the *Journal*'s language appears so religious and, at first glance, far from any kind of stylistical sophistication, that some early critics considered its author a barely literate person of natural gifts.

The heart of the *Journal* is the mystical image of the *Inward Light*, fundamental to Quaker theology. The concept can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, it is "That of God in everyone," an intrinsic thing; on the other hand, it is an external influence that allows a person to understand their nature.[42] Contrary to common confusion of notions, the Inward Light in Quakerism is not identical to conscience: conscience is only one of the manifestations of the Inner Light.[43] The autobiographical Woolman lives, constantly "attuning" to the divine revelations given by the Inward Light, and trying to bring his actions in accordance with it.

Every episode of life Woolman writes about is examined and appreciated by him through the lenses of his mystical experience and *heavenly wisdom*.[44] Apparently, producing his life narrative is not a principal purpose for Woolman, but rather a

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[39] Tolles, F.B. "Of the Best Sort but Plain": The Quaker Esthetic // American Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 4. 1959. P. 485; "Were Quakers Puritans?" [Эл. ресурс: https://quakerspeak.com/video/were-quakers-puritans/ (Accessed: 14.02.2023)].

[40] Characteristically, many natural scientists have Quaker background (Brinton, H. Friends for 350 Years… P. 140).

[41] Frost, J.W. John Woolman and the Enlightenment // The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman / Ed. by M. A. Heller. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003. P. 167-179.

[42] Ambler, R. The Light to Live By: An Exploration in Quaker Spirituality. URL: http://quakers.ru/свет-которым-жить-рекс-эмблер/ [Accessed: 25.01.2023]. (Translated into Russian.)

[43] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 55.

[44] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 64.

material for his spiritual reflection. Like many Quaker autobiographers, Woolman seeks to demonstrate the transformative power of Inward Light. At the very beginning of the *Journal* Woolman declares his autobiographical intention: *I have often felt a motion of Love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God, and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work*.[45]

The *Journal* is a deeply introspective text. External events of the author's life are described only to the extent that is necessary to understand his inner spiritual life – a life lived in a tireless effort to follow the leadings of the *True Shepherd*,[46] to act in accordance with the insights given by the Inward Light. Woolman believes that the Peaceable Kingdom should be the guiding star for humanity; it is possible to achieve it, and the path may be found, in some measure, through implementing social reforms. As A.O. Dyson rightly points out, Woolman's social analysis and self-analysis seem to be inseparable.[47] Accordingly, for all its introspection, the key theme of the *Journal* is the social one: first of all, slavery, but also relations of European settlers with Native Americans, pacifism, business ethics.[48] The whole range of these problems is seen by Woolman as inextricably linked; in W. Hedges's apt words, as a social thinker Woolman was simultaneously "the most pessimistic and optimistic American of his age."[49] The social and ethical messages of the *Journal* will be subjected to a more detailed scrutiny in the following section.

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[45] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 23.
[46] Ibid. P. 35.
[47] Dyson, A.O. The Ethics of Social Protest: John Woolman… P. 129.
[48] Naturally, modern scholars call Woolman not only a proto-abolitionist, but also a herald of anti-consumerism: see, for example: Holcomb, J. Moral Commerce: Quakers and the Transatlantic Boycott of the Slave Labor Economy. – Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2020. P. 27-35.
[49] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision // Utopias: The American Experience / Ed. by G.B. Moment and O.F. Kraushaar. – Meruchen, N.J. & L.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980. P. 100.

1.2. The *Journal*'s Ethics and Social Message

Whereas William Hedges, analyzing Woolman's views on the feasibility of a social utopia, calls Woolman the "the most pessimistic and optimistic American of his age," the acknowledged expert on the *Journal* Phillips Moulton characterizes the minister's attitude as, first of all, very realistic.[50] Each definition is justified in its own way. Woolman appears pessimistic in his rather gloomy outlook on the prospects of the social reality he observes, whether it be the reality of the New or the Old World. His optimism, on the other hand, is fuelled by a profound belief in the possibility of mankind's regaining the lost harmony. Thinking about ways to do this, Woolman takes into account the reality of his day, the practical possibilities and the limitations of the present moment.

Many scholars addressing Woolman's worldview agree that his ethical system is based on the ideas of *balance*, *equilibrium, harmony*.[51] As E. Livesay justly notes, the world picture created in the *Journal* has some mathematical tint to it.[52] Meanwhile, S. Kagle and J. Plank interpret it in musical terms (Kagle compares the themes of the *Journal* and their interaction with *themes* in music, and Plank writes about Woolman's inherent desire to regain lost *harmony*, so that each human being would play the part assigned to them in the global *symphony*, guided by *music sheets* – i.e. divine revelation[53]). Such social ills as slavery, poverty, conflict of European settlers with the indigenous peoples of the continent, according to Woolman, are negative, first of all, as violating the harmony established by the Creator, the God-given social balance. Woolman notes that the victim of the imbalance is not only the oppressed side – slaves, Indian peoples displaced by the colonists, but, in many ways, the oppressors themselves: slaveholders, colonists etc. Imbalance and inequality in

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[50] Moulton, Ph. P. Introduction / Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 11.
[51] Livesay, E. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 34, 142, 255; Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 45; Boroughs, Ph. L. S. J. John Woolman's Spirituality // The Tendering Presence… P. 7.
[52] Livesay, E. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 157.
[53] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature: 1620–1799. – Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979. P. 48; Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire. – Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. P. 95.

human relations, according to Woolman, has a detrimental effect on the individual spiritual well-being of each human soul and on the spiritual climate of society as a whole. The *Journal* is permeated with the idea of the need for balance and of an essential, inextricable interconnectedness of people with each other and with nature.

For the autobiographical hero of the *Journal*, the belief in the universal hidden interconnectedness is fuelled not only by his religious faith and intellectual reasoning, but also by purely emotional experience. One day as a child, Woolman, playing on the road, saw a robin bird near her nest. He threw some stones at her for fun, and one of the stones killed the bird. Analyzing his feelings in retrospect, Woolman notes that at first he was happy with his own accuracy; however, his joy was soon replaced by horror. The boy realized that not only had he killed the bird, but he had condemned its brood to starvation; he realized that, for mercy's sake, it would be better to kill the orphaned birds. This sad episode (sometimes interpreted as a kind of parable[54]) from Woolman's childhood is one of the first in the *Journal*, and in many ways it sets the ethical line of all subsequent reflections of the autobiographer. "He had imagined himself the victor in a contest, boys against birds," Margaret Stewart argues, "but suddenly he saw himself as the villain in a real-life drama, one that highlighted the connection rather than the competition amongst living beings. By killing the robin he had hurt himself; ethics had become a palpable reality."[55]

For Woolman, understanding the universal connection of living beings is inseparable from thinking about his own position in the world. As mentioned in the previous section, Woolman's parents belonged to the second generation of British settlers; their family was by no means poor. Some of Woolman's close ancestors and neighbors were slaveholders.[56] The Society of Friends, to which the minister belonged, was becoming increasingly prosperous in the Eighteenth century, and this fact came into inevitable conflict with the Quaker ideal of "plain life." Meanwhile,

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[54] Banes, R. A. The Exemplary Self: Autobiography in Eighteenth-Century America // University of Hawai'i Press: Biography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1982. P. 231.
[55] Stewart, M.E. Thinking about Death: The Companionship of John Woolman's *Journal* // The Tendering Presence… P. 109.
[56] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 83, 331.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey settlers' relations with their Indian neighbors, which had been mostly peaceful during the rule of William Penn,[57] were becoming increasingly strained in Woolman's lifetime, amid worsening political situation. All these processes caused a lot of anxiety to the sincere adherents of the Quaker faith, with its emphasis on the equality of all people, pacifism, simplicity of lifestyle. Describing this period in the history of American Quakerism, E. Livesay notes: "As with all religions, the beauty of the conception warred frequently with the reality of human failings and limitations. John Woolman struggled all his life to resolve this war […]. Furthermore, he felt it his duty to try to persuade others to do the same."[58]

And indeed, as E. Higgins rightly points out, John Woolman's *Journal* is in a certain sense a "research," and its task is to show, taking the example of the autobiographical hero's story, whether it is possible to live according to the Quaker teachings, the Friends' ethics expressed in their testimonies.[59] Woolman devotes much of his attention to events of public importance that have prompted him to rethink from a religious perspective his behavior, actions, and decisions made in a given situation.

Certainly, one of the key topics of the *Journal* is **abolitionism**. Woolman sees slaveholding as "*a dark gloominess hanging over the land*."[60] In the first chapter, Woolman recollects an episode from his youth, which, as well as the robin episode, exerted a significant influence on the evolution of his worldview. One day, the owner of the shop where Woolman served as an assistant commissioned him to write a bill of sale for a slave. "*The thing was sudden, and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so through weakness I*

[57] William Penn (1644–1718) was one of the most influential people in the history of Quakerism. He founded Pennsylvania (1681) and authored a number of religious texts. His most famous works are *No Cross, No Crown* (1669), *Fruits of Solitude* (1692).
[58] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 8.
[59] Higgins E. John Woolman's Journal: Narrative as Quaker Values Transmission // Quaker Religious Thought. 1993. Vol. 81. P. 25.
[60] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 38.

gave way and wrote it, but at the executing it, I was so afflicted in my mind that I said before my master and the Friend that I believed slavekeeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion."[61] The next time another person asked for a similar service, Woolman refused, preferring not to be a good worker, but to remain a good Christian. From Woolman's point of view, to remain a good Christian he had to express not as much personal protest as "God's protest" against any injustice.[62]

Woolman returns to the issue of slavery repeatedly throughout the *Journal*, mentioning selling or inheriting slaves, retelling his dialogues with advocates for slaveholding, describing his travels to the southern colonies and the observations made there. As W. Hedges notes, the statement that "*liberty is the natural right of all men equally*"[63] was made long before the Declaration of Independence, and when Woolman said "all people" he really meant it, without any reservations.[64] Meanwhile, his opponents defended legitimacy of slavery system referring to the Bible (arguing that the black race was the offspring of Cain); they also spoke about saving Africans from tribal wars, and supported the idea by the argument that Quaker slaveholders were humane.[65] Abolition of slavery appeared unrealistic: according to M. Heller, "to bring a universal end to slavery in the mid-eighteenth century might have seemed as difficult as it seems in the late-twentieth century to imagine bringing about nuclear disarmament."[66]

Nevertheless, over the years Woolman, along with a number of his Quaker associates, grew increasingly convinced that abolition of slavery was absolutely necessary. Reflecting on the economy of the British Empire, Woolman deduced that to some extent the slaveholding system included a vast majority of American and British citizens: not just the slaves and slaveowners themselves, but also, for example,

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[61] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 32-33.
[62] Dyson A.O., the Rev. The Ethics of Social Protest: John Woolman… P. 133.
[63] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 61.
[64] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 90.
[65] In her thesis, O.Y. Panova presents a graphic chart, categorizing these and some other arguments for and against slavery on the principle of binary opposition (Panova, O.Y. Black American Letters of the 18th – early 20th Centuries… P. 60-64).
[66] Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 4.

ordinary buyers of goods produced by slave labor. This once again attested to the universal interconnectedness of human beings – not only in the spiritual but also in the very material sense. His personal role in perpetuating the slaveholding system and promoting the antislavery cause was the most disturbing question for Woolman.

Another essential aspect of the *Journal*'s social message concerns not interclass relations, but relations between peoples and pacifism. Woolman's lifetime were marked by the Seven Years' War; its colonial theater was the French and Indian War, which erupted in 1754 and presented American Quakers with a need to pay the war tax. Woolman devoted the fifth chapter of the *Journal* to the description of the war-related events.

It is important to make a small digression here and note that by the middle of the 18th century the central place among the pillars of Quaker faith had been occupied by the Testimony for Peace. Nevertheless, the pacifist ideas did not immediately play a pivotal role in the Friends' beliefs (this is indicated, for instance, by J. Roads in her thesis on lexis of 17th-century Quaker prose[67]). Initially, at the time of the English Revolution, Quakers believed that a kingdom of justice and harmony was soon to come, and therefore they saw no need to formulate a peace doctrine. The beginning of the Restoration, though, meant that their utopian hopes were not fulfilled, and then the Friends started a practical work on the construction of their Society.

Public declaration of peaceful intentions was crucial, because Quakers, alongside with other religious dissidents, were under grave suspicion by the royal authorities as people able to raise rebellions.[68] In 1661 "A Declaration from the Harmles and Innocent People of GOD, called Quakers, Against all Plotters and Fighters in the World" was published and marked Quakers' corporate witness: non-participation in wars, rebellions and armed struggle, non-use of weapons and any

[67] Roads, J. The Distinctiveness of Quaker Prose, 1650-1699: A Corpus-Based Enquiry. – A diss. subm. to the University of Birmingham, 2015. P. 252.

[68] Pavlova, T.A. The Nonviolence Principle in Early Quakers' Teaching. The Doctrine's Documentary Basis // Nonviolence as Weltanschauung and Way of Life (Historical Aspect). – Moscow: The Institure of World History, RAS, 2000. P. 64. (In Russian.)

violence regardless of purpose and circumstances.[69] Unconditional pacifism remains an essential part of Quaker identity[70] today, which gives it prominence against the background of related religious movements. However, as A.A. Guseynov notes, due to this position, Quakers, as well as Mennonites and some other religious pacifists, have been largely "outside of the mainstream in history."[71]

At the same time, it was the pacifism of Quakers, their law-obedience and loyalty to the authorities, that ensured the religious community's continuous development and its fine reputation both in the metropole and the colonies. However, in the case of the payment of military taxes, many American Friends faced a dilemma: raising money for "external" battles (i.e. material battles, as opposed to "internal," spiritual ones) meant compromising not only their Testimony for Peace, but also their freedom of conscience, for the sake of which they ancestors "*left their native country and settled in this then a wilderness*."[72]

After some serious discussions, in December 1755 Woolman and a number of his Quaker associates signed a letter to all Friends calling on them to be neutral and to refuse to pay taxes. Therefore, as a number of authors note, Woolman can be seen as a forerunner of Henry David Thoreau and his position on the Mexican-American war.[73] Meanwhile, Woolman himself felt it necessary to emulate John Huss, who "*modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right*," and Thomas à Kempis – a man who "*without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have labored* […] *by a pious example* […] *to promote virtue and an inward spiritual religion*."[74]

Analyzing the dilemma confronted by Woolman's autobiographical hero in this part of the *Journal*, one can deduce that this is a dilemma between two equally

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[69] Pavlova, T.A. The Nonviolence Principle in Early Quakers' Teaching... P. 65.
[70] McKeogh, C. Quaker Peace Testimony and Pacifism // Presented at the 67th Political Studies Association Annual Conference, 10-12 April 2017, Glasgow, United Kingdom. P. 5.
[71] Guseynov, A.A. In Conclusion. Ethics of Non-Violence // History of Ethical Teachings / Ed. by A.A. Guseynov. – Moscow: Academic Project; Triksta, 2015. P. 868. (In Russian.)
[72] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 82.
[73] Thoreau, H.D. On the Duty of Civil Disobedience / Thoreau, H.D. Walden & Civil Disobedience. – L.: Collins Classics, 2018. P. 313-341.
[74] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 76.

important aspects of the Quaker Testimony for Peace. To interpret this Testimony, it is necessary to bear in mind the above-mentioned historical circumstances in which it was formulated. Declaring the peaceful intentions of their sect, the founders of Quakerism implied not only refusal to participate in wars, but also loyalty to the authorities. In a situation when the authorities demanded the payment of a war tax, Quakers faced a stark choice: they did not want to be conspirators, but at the same time they realized that obeying this requirement meant compromising their identity and the integrity of their community as a pacifist community. Woolman's autobiographical hero eventually finds an acceptable way of solving the dilemma, which, however, does not fully settles the *Journal's* dramatic conflict between "conscience" and "law."

One of the most vivid episodes of the *Journal* is the story about a Woolman's **trip to the Indian town of Wyalusing**, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. Such an expedition posed an extreme danger at any time, for the way to Wyalusing ran through difficult terrain, but in June 1763 the trip was even more risky. It was a time of a serious escalation between British settlers and Indians. On the eve of his departure, Woolman learned of the brutal attacks against several Englishmen. Nevertheless, the minister decided not to cancel the expedition.

Woolman explained his desire to go by his long-felt "*love* […] *toward the natives of this land*," his wish "*to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in*."[75] This long-entertained idea was reinforced by Woolman's 1761 encounter with Papunehang, a man of striking personality, leader of the local Delaware Indian community, who had come to Philadelphia to hand over to the English three captives set free by other tribes.

It is known that many Christian preachers worked actively as missionaries among the Indians; thus, it is not surprising that during the expedition Woolman met David Zeisberger, a Moravian, whose missionary visit to Wyalusing was not the first for

[75] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 122, 127.

him.[76] At the same time, Quakers were never really interested in proselytism,[77] and therefore Woolman did not set a goal of converting Indians to Christianity. Generally, eighteenth-century Quakers did not pursue missionary objectives in their dealings with the indigenous peoples; their aim was to maintain good-neighbourliness.[78] Woolman was not the only Quaker who sought to improve the Society of Friends' relations with Indians. Besides, it is noteworthy that Woolman's and his fellow believers' incentives to go on such trip were not only diplomatic, but also purely psychological (curiosity about the Indian lifestyle) and religious ones.

Similar to many Quakers, Woolman, though reluctant to be a missionary, hoped to share some spiritual truths with other people. There is an episode where Woolman describes the paintings on a tree he saw on his way to Wyalusing: "*As I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red but some with black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world — thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors* […] *and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other — during these meditations the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people arose very fresh in me*."[79]

According to Kari Thompson (a historian who has studied the development of eighteenth-century Quaker relations with Native Americans in great detail), Woolman's approach was in many ways unique.[80] Woolman went to Wyalusing with the idea that he himself could receive some "instruction"[81] from the Indians; he hoped, above all, for a dialogue with the indigenous people. His hopes came true. Communication with the Delawares, including their leader, Papunehang, and prayers

[76] Pickett, R.H. A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger // Quaker History, Vol. 79, No. 2, 1990. P. 77-92.
[77] Dictionary of Religions: Judaism, Christianity, Islam / Ed. by V. Zuber, J. Potin. Transl. by E.A. Teryukova. – Saint Petersburg: Piter, 2009. P. 325. (In Russian.)
[78] Thompson, K.E.R. Inconsistent Friends: Philadelphia Quakers and the Development of Native American Missions in the Long Eighteenth Century. – Diss. subm. to the University of Iowa, 2013. 204 p.
[79] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 126.
[80] Thompson, K.E.R. Inconsistent Friends… P. 107-108.
[81] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… C. 127.

shared with them left a powerful impression on the Quaker minister's heart. Woolman believed that some divine truths can be revealed to any human being regardless of the external form of their religion, and therefore the minister was sensitive and respectful to the spiritual experience of each person he met.[82] Ultimately, as Livesay notes, the main mission of the Quaker traveller was to share some spiritual insights with Delawares, not to find out who was the first to gain them.

While undertaking this journey, Woolman learned more information about how much land the Delaware had lost and how their condition was connected to both slavery and the overall development of the transatlantic economy.[83] But in spite of this, Woolman did not subject colonial policy towards Indians to harsh criticism. As J. Soderlund rightly points out, "Woolman hesitated to preach what he could not fulfill in his own life."[84] He understood that he was himself a European settler, and his income was inseparable from the benefits the colonists had derived from the initial and further expansion of their settlements. He could not refuse to participate in these economic processes, and therefore could not assume the role of a judge.[85]

Woolman's personal mission, however, was to realize the Quaker ideal of *plainness*, *simplicity* into his life as much as possible. Simplicity for Quakers implies moderation and reduction of "excesses" in all aspects of life, whether it be speech, clothing, wealth accumulation. The fruits of moderation, according to Woolman, are extremely positive. For an individual, this is the elimination of the need to overwork in pursuit of success. In Woolman's view, giving up excessive labor is necessary because it can provide a person with more time and energy for a balanced life and spiritual development.[86] Meanwhile, for society in general, understanding that the "*The Creator of the earth is the owner of it*"[87] and the cultivation of plain living entails

[82] Livesay, E. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 25.
[83] Soderlund, J.R. African Americans and Native Americans in John Woolman's World // The Tendering Presence... P. 159.
[84] Soderlund, J.R. African Americans and Native Americans in John Woolman's World… P. 151.
[85] Ibid. P. 162.
[86] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 118, 240.
[87] Woolman, J. A Plea for the Poor // Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 239.

getting rid of such evils as slavery, wars, all sorts of oppression, i.e. restoring *harmony*, the God-given balance.

As many scholars point out, professional economists would certainly call Woolman's economic theories naïve. And yet, despite the simplicity, "naïvete" of his ideas, their implementation seemed extremely difficult.[88] Woolman recounts how, regardless drop in his income, he gradually reduced the assortment of goods in his shop (for example, he stopped selling rum, sugar and molasses – "*the fruits of the labor of slaves*"[89]). Setting out on long journeys, he eventually preferred to go on foot to get "*a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves*."[90] The desire to have no personal benefit from the slaveholding system dictated incremental abandonment of silver vessels, of dyed clothing etc. While in England, Woolman grew painfully aware of the harsh conditions of young postal staff's labour, and thereupon hardly used postal service.

In these decisions of the minister the fundamental Quaker ideals were fully realized. Many Friends did believe that the world could become a utopia.[91] But, at the same time, many of Woolman's actions were seen by his co-religionists skeptically, and sometimes even explicitly disapprovingly, particularly because they were interpreted as "singular," violating the Testimony for Equality – in other words, a desire to stand out. Woolman himself was also fearful of falling a prey to his pride; an example of this can be found in his description of the hard journey to Wyalusing: "*…I thought that to all outward appearance it was dangerous travelling at this time, and was after hard day's journey brought into a painful exercise at night* […]. *In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me*."[92]

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[88] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 38.
[89] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 156.
[90] Ibid. P. 145.
[91] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 100.
[92] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 130.

Some other episodes of the *Journal* contain similar reflections; however, to say that the text is replete with them would be an exaggeration. A. M. Gummere famously called the *Journal* "the most impersonal autobiography ever written."[93] Indeed, Woolman's personality, with its strengths and weaknesses, does not seem to be the center of the narrative: having embraced the Quaker idea of all people's equal importance, Woolman was able to escape "the twin pitfalls of egotism: self-adulation and false modesty."[94] The autobiographical hero of the *Journal* thinks little about himself as an individual[95]; nor does he pay much attention to the events of his epoch (so, in the *Journal* we will not find a hint of the revolution brewing in the colonies[96]), to either ordinary or famous contemporaries. The latter can be partly explained by Woolman's sensitivity to the notion of privacy, his respect for the personal autonomy of others.[97] It seems, however, that this somewhat indifferent attitude to many acute issues of the day was based, first and foremost, on the autobiographer's quest for a more global perspective on history.

It seems that the historical successes and failures of a particular nation are secondary to Woolman. As many scholars point out, Woolman writes little to praise his young country: on the contrary, he regularly mentions poverty, which "he could see […] even though it was not so visible in the new world as in the old."[98] Woolman set his hopes not on the prospects of a particular country, but on "the final revolution to which he dedicated his life, the coming of the 'pure peaceable government of Christ.'"[99]

In the world picture of the *Journal* and Woolman's essays, the opposition between the concepts of "us and them," "close and distant" seems almost removed,

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[93] Gummere, A.M. The Journal of John Woolman: Biographical Sketch… P. X.
[94] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 236.
[95] Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 219.
[96] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 87.
[97] Larina, T.V. 'Privacy', or Personal Autonomy, as an Essential Concept of English Culture // Bulletin of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia; "Russian and Foreign Languages and Teaching Methods" Series. 2003, № 1. P. 128-134. (In Russian.)
[98] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 100.
[99] Ibidem.

or at least weakened. For Woolman, humanity is one family,[100] and this vision is sometimes expressed metaphorically. Speaking about the Indians, he compares his desire to take care of them with the desire of a kind person towards "*brother in affliction*."[101] On a ship sailing to England, Woolman meets young sailors whose hard work arouses his compassion, "*as though they were my children according to the flesh*."[102] The kinship of men is a phenomenon evident to Woolman not only from the spiritual point of view (being a result of the origin of all souls from a single source), but also from a purely physical one. In an essay Woolman argues that not only all people have similar physical needs; they are also liable to the same physical and mental ailments.[103] It should be noted here that bodily, physical images in general play a fundamental role in the *Journal*. A close connection of physical and spiritual imagery in the *Journal* has drawn attention of one of the first scholars, who turned to the *Journal* from the standpoint of literary studies, Paul Rosenblatt; subsequently Michael Meranze and a number of other scientists also wrote about it.[104] In turn, Edith Livesay draws attention to the fact that for Woolman people are "connected as parts of a body."[105]

Perhaps the most vivid bodily imagery of the *Journal* can be found in Woolman's famous vision episode (Chapter XII). This episode is often called the key to the whole *Journal*.[106] Woolman had this experience[107] during a severe illness that

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[100] Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 235

[101] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 134.

[102] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays... P. 167.

[103] Woolman, J. Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes // Proud, J. (Ed.). John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth. The Journalists Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera. – San Francisco: Inner Light Books, 2010. P. 4.

[104] Rosenblatt P. John Woolman. – N.Y.: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1969. P. 109; Meranze, M. Materializing Conscience: Embodiment, Speech, and the Experience of Sympathetic Identification // Early American Literature. Vol. 37, No. 1, 2002. P. 71-88.

[105] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 239.

[106] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 72.

[107] Some authors call this a dream, but it seems that it would be more accurate to use the word "vision," since there are no indications of John Woolman's sleep in the episode. Margaret Stewart uses the term "near-death experience" (Stewart, M.E. Thinking about Death: The Companionship of John Woolman's *Journal* // The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman; In Honour of Sterling Olmsted and Phillips P. Moulton / Ed. by Mike Heller. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003. P. 111-113).

nearly cost him his life. In his vision, the autobiographer writes, "*I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name,"* and then, being *"desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour, between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed in with them and henceforth might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being*." After some time, he heard an angel's voice, saying: "*John Woolman is dead*." Then he saw mines, "*where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians*," and he "*heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for his name to me was precious*." The autobiographer continues: "*Then I was informed that these heathens were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ, and they said amongst themselves: 'If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant*.'"[108]

Interpreting this episode, M. Stewart draws attention to the fact that at first the vision-seer was alienated from the "heathens," but then begins to identify with them; he listens to what the miners say, and from their point of view looks at the owners of these mines, the influential Christians, who value "rich treasures" higher than the lives of people, their "fellow creatures." In place of the "dead" individual identity, which Woolman designates as "my own will," comes the collective identity symbolized by the figure of Christ.[109]

This mystical vision is not the only one in the *Journal*. Recording dreams and visions played a significant role in Quaker journals,[110] and Woolman adheres to the religious tradition in this regard. At the same time, according to many critics, Woolman's *Journal* is remarkably hybridous: it combines a religious and mystical content, difficult to articulate, with plenty of documentary data recorded in an

[108] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 185-186.
[109] Stewart M.E. John Woolman's "Kindness beyond Expression": Collective Identity vs. Individualism and White Supremacy // Early American Literature, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1991. P. 251-275.
[110] Brinton, H. Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends. – Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1972. P. 93-107.

accurate book-keeping way (naturally, W. Altman points out that Woolman was always interested in arithmetic,[111] and E. Livesay depicts him as a man of "sharp business intellect," "always interested in facts and figures, making mathematical calculations about time, money, […] the prices of food, rent, […] the wages…"[112]).

Steven Kagle argues that the *Journal* unfolds itself before the reader through inductive logic, but the logic of Woolman himself is deductive. So, starting with the statement that slavery is evil, Woolman deduces own his own culpability, and then, through some new mathematical calculations, concludes that the slave of one master is in a certain sense a "collective" slave of all free citizens.[113] Daniel Shea makes a similar observation: the entire *Journal*, according to the researcher, is a movement from the abstraction (in particular, the abstract word "oppression") to the specifics of sensual knowledge (for example, when Woolman tries to empathize to the condition of slaves by travelling on foot.).[114]

Here again, one can see the importance of bodily imagery in the *Journal*. If humanity is a single body, or the sum of related "bodies," then the social ills, or more precisely, "a wrong Spirit"[115] from which they arise, can be compared to an infectious disease.[116] The *Journal*'s ethical picture of the world does not emphasize the concepts of good and evil[117] as much as the concepts of divine love and self-love. Self-love, Woolman believes, begets nothing, but strives only for self-assertion, whereas life is born only of divine love.[118]

The concept of freedom is also closely related to these concepts. According to Paul Rosenblatt, the idea of freedom in the *Journal* is multilayered and not limited by its literal historical meaning, i.e. the idea of liberation of slaves; it implies a deeper

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[111] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading… P. 176.
[112] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 255.
[113] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature: 1620–1799. – Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979. P. 50.
[114] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 52.
[115] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 100, 129.
[116] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 61.
[117] Heller, M.A. John Woolman and Good and Evil // Good and Evil: Quaker Perspectives / Ed. by J.L. Scully and P. Dandelion. – L., N.Y.: Routledge, 2016. P. 71-80.
[118] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 64.

spiritual sense.[119] Emancipation of slaves is an external manifestation of inner deliverance of the man from tyranny of the spirit of selfishness.[120] This tyranny, according to Woolman, can be overthrown only by *obedience* to the higher laws, the divine commandments. Human liberty appears inseparable from the love of man for his fellow human beings.[121]

As M. Heller notes, the *Journal*, alongside with the texts of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, sends a hopeful message: a vision of society "in which men and women could find community, equality, simplicity and peace".[122] In his turn, A. Millar Jr. characterizes the *Journal* as "a uniquely spiritual portrait of early America as one society sorely in need of divine guidance. [...] Whether the recipient of his attention was a braided sea captain or a chained Negro, Woolman looked upon the inner man and the soul that must be redeemed through Christ. Woolman lived to portray the Truth to Friends as well as friends, or, in other words, all human beings."[123]

1.3. The *Journal*'s Poetics

1.3.1. Genre and Composition

Autobiography in American Literature. Able to assume various forms, autobiography seems to be one of the most popular genres of American literature from its very beginning.[124] True stories of real people, told by themselves, can be fertile sources of knowledge for the reader, a kind of "life manuals." Meanwhile, for the colonial authors writing confessional prose was both a psychological need (for self-

[119] Rosenblatt P. John Woolman. – N.Y.: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1969. P. 116.
[120] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 101.
[121] Rosenblatt P. John Woolman… P. 116.
[122] Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 215.
[123] Millar, A.E., Jr. Spiritual Autobiography in Selected Writings of Sewall, Edwards, Byrd, Woolman, and Franklin… P. 177.
[124] Cox, J. M. Recovering Literature's Lost Ground: Essays in American Autobiography. – Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. P. 11-12; Sayre, R. F. Autobiography and the Making of America // The Iowa Review. Vol. 9. Issue 2, 1978. P. 1; Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature: 1620–1799. – Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979. P. 24-26.

expression, introspection) and a spiritual mission – pleasing to God and useful for people, who might find the author's life story enlightening.

Steven Kagle, in his *American Diary Literature: 1620–1799* (1979), points to a remarkable fact that before the Civil War almost every American writer kept a diary: from the Puritan poet of the seventeenth century Edward Taylor, to the romanticists Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne and Melville.[125] Keeping diaries was seen by many as a good way of improving their literary style; in order to obtain some advice, diarists sometimes asked their friends to read them. In the 17th century, the main kinds of the American diary were the spiritual diary, as well as diaries of travellers and pioneers, in which geographical exploration were joined with spiritual discoveries[126]; the next century was the time of development of the military diary, the diary of courtship and romance.[127] Meanwhile, it was the spiritual diary which still had a supreme importance for religious people in the age of Enlightenment. The diary was seen by many colonists as a "confidant" in the moments of weakness, doubt, and loneliness.[128] It is also notable that the spiritual diary allowed Puritans, Quakers, Methodists, as well as followers of other denominations, to discover a certain "pattern" in their lives, a pattern which could help them "reveal the truth of the past and plan the direction of the future."[129]

Diaries and journals were certainly not the only forms of literature which developed in colonial America. Researchers agree that the colonial period of American culture is a golden age of non-fiction literature[130]; fiction was secondary. The leading role was played by diaries, (auto)biographies, historical essays, travelogues, sermons and other documentary genres. At the same time, as Larisa A.

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[125] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 25.
[126] Ibid. P. 27.
[127] Ibid. P. 27-28.
[128] It seems, however, that American individualism and loneliness are sometimes dramatized, being part of America's mythos (see Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 27).
[129] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature... P. 29.
[130] Koreneva, M.M. Introduction // The History of Literature of the United States. T. I: Literature of the 17th and 18th centuries (Colonial Period and the Epoch of the American Revolution). – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 1997. P. 101. (In Russian.)

Mishina notes, the genre boundaries in the non-fiction literature of the colonial period appeared, as a rule, rather vague and fuzzy.[131]

The vagueness of the **genre boundaries** is also characteristic of Woolman's most famous text. Its very title, *The Journal*, is conventional for Quaker confessional literature. At first glance, it appears to be the author's definition of genre; yet on closer examination this way to identify the book's genre proves to be somewhat misleading. A significant part of the text – namely, those chapters in which Woolman recalls his childhood and youth (Chapters I–III) – belongs rather to the genre of autobiography in the strict sense of the term. These chapters contain almost no dated periodic entries; a retrospective view prevails. It is the next nine chapters (IV–XII) which are composed in the diary form; however, even in these chapters the conventional standards of the diary (such as indication of the exact dates and chronological sequence of the events narrated) are sometimes violated. Besides, if we take into account the idea of the prominent expert on autobiography Philippe Lejeune, that a necessary feature of the diary is its "spontaneity," the fact that it is not supposed to be corrected,[132] then the text of Woolman does not correspond to the definition at all: it is known for certain that the *Journal* was carefully edited by the author and the publishers.

Nevertheless, some scholars do not attach such importance to the idea of (non)editing to assign the genre. Thus, Kagle believes that a crucial feature of the diary, which distinguishes it from related genres, is not the absence of editorial correction, but the fact that it is being produced for a long time period, and thus it communicates gradual evolution in the author's worldview, his new perspectives on life values. If the text reproduces the immediacy of the author's first impressions of any events, as well as the gradual shifting of the author's perspective, it remains a

[131] Mishina, L.A. Diary as Genre and as Form in the Seventeenth Century American Literature // Bulletin of Lobachevsky University of Nizhny Novgorod. Literary Studies. 2015. № 2 (2). P. 148. (In Russian.)
[132] Lejeune, Ph. On Diary / Ed. by J.D. Popkin and J. Rak; transl. by K. Durnin. – Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. P. 182.

diary, even after some revisions.[133] Kagle compares the revised and the unaltered types of the diary, respectively, to a cultivated garden and a wild meadow; the beauty of each type is worthy of appreciation.[134]

It was mentioned earlier that by the time of Woolman, the diary (journal) genre had become conventional and welcomed among Quakers (while autobiography in the strict sense of the word was perceived as rather too vain for a religious person[135]). The first Quaker journal was written by George Fox, the most famous of the Society of Friends' founders, and was published in 1694. In Quakerism, the dogmatic component is not fundamental, because the faith is based on individual mystical experience. And yet that is exactly why Friends "were interested in the pathway [they fellow Quakers] had trod in the pilgrimage from unbelief to spiritual maturity."[136] At the same time, in general, Quakers were not as prolific diarists (journalists) as Puritans,[137] and this may be explained by the fact that the problem of sin and salvation was less acute for Quakers, and they also had the opportunity to speak at their meetings.

Scholars believe that the first rough sketches of the future *Journal* were made by Woolman before his 35 (age, which he records as the beginning of the work).[138] These preliminary records subsequently served as the basis for the first, retrospective, part of the *Journal*. Later on, he seldom included all his entries into the *Journal* immediately, and copied there only some of them, often shortening.[139] Just a small number of Quaker journals was published in that era; naturally, Woolman did not know whether his text would be published or not. It was only in 1770, the fourteenth year of keeping the *Journal*, that Woolman had a reason to believe that his work was to be published, and he dedicated the remaining two years of his life, along with producing new chapters, to editing those already written. In doing so, he made some

[133] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 15-16, 24.
[134] Ibid. P. 24.
[135] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 65.
[136] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 1.
[137] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 30.
[138] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 261.
[139] Ibidem.

notes on the margins of the manuscript for future editors, such as, for example: "If this *Journal* is printed, leave out this conference."[140]

The story of the *Journal* editing, its first publication and subsequent reprints may be a separate, fairly tangled and fascinating research subject, and it has already been thoroughly explored by a number of scholars. We will return to some of the nuances of this story in the following sections; here it should be emphasized that the *Journal* is not a collection of spontaneous entries, but a carefully (and to some extent collectively) polished text.

To assign the genre of the *Journal*, one should also pay attention to the slight differences between the terms "journal" and "diary." S. Kagle points out that although these two concepts are often used as synonyms, "journal" carries its own specific meaning: 1) it can be applied to official records, records of work; 2) unlike diary, it focuses more on internal than external concerns; on ideas rather than events.[141] Indeed, John Woolman's *Journal* is addressed, first of all, to the "official" (ministerial) aspect of the author's life; at the same time, it is dominated not by an eventful plot, but by a philosophical component. It is also noteworthy that, as section 1.3.3 will show, in Woolman's case, the title of the journal is etymologically linked to the core motifs of the text.

Summing up this outline of the *Journal*'s genre hybridity, one may conclude that the work of Woolman combines features of the autobiography and the diary. This hybridity explains some discrepancy in research literature as well as in the publishing practice, which assign Woolman's text to each genre with about equal frequency.

The composition of the *Journal* is largely determined by the Quaker convention. Howard Brinton, an authoritative Quaker historian, in his book "Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends"[142] finds a pattern which

[140] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 268.
[141] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 16. Interestingly, in the Russian literary tradition of the 19th century diaries were also sometimes called *журналы* (journals) (for example, A.I. Herzen and S.A. Tolstaya used such a title for their notes). (Egorov, O.G. Russian Literary Diary of the 19th Century. History and Theory of the Genre. – M.: Flinta, Science, 2003. P. 218. (In Russian.))
[142] Brinton, H. Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends. – Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1972. 130 p.

most of the Quakers journalists follow to some extent. This pattern consists of several standard elements, the main of which are:

1) divine revelations in childhood;

2) youthful frivolity (period of weakening faith);

3) the divided self (search for religious inspiration);

4) unification through silent worship;

5) the spoken ministry (sign of spiritual maturity);

6) adoption of plain speech, plain dress, and simple living;

7) following the Peace Testimony;

8) restriction of business (following the ideal of simple living).

As Brinton notes, the singularity of Woolman's *Journal* lies in the fact that it includes all these elements. However, according to Livesay, Woolman manipulates all these standard components in such a way that "his journal is as different from other journals as Woolman himself was from other Quakers."[143]

Another interesting observation has been made by Heller. Approaching the *Journal* from the point of view of mythological criticism, Heller points out at the similarity of the elements (spiritual stages described by Brinton) in the *Journal* with the stages of development of the mythical hero described by J. Campbell in his famous book *"The Hero with a Thousand Faces."* These stages are the following: "The Call to Adventure" (in Woolman's case, mystical experiences he had as a child), "Refusal of the Call" (the period of weakened faith), "Supernatural Aid" (divine revelations), "The Crossing of the First Threshold" (the beginning of ministry), "The Road of Trials" (furthering antislavery cause; periods of doubt), "Atonement with the Father" (strengthening faith), "Apotheosis" (the vision in which an Angel says "John Woolman is dead") and "The Ultimate Boon" (regaining some peace of mind by the autobiographical hero).[144]

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[143] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 277.

[144] Campbell, J. The Hero with a Thousand Faces. – N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1949. 416 p. Qtd. in: Heller, M. Soft Persuasion… P. 207-209.

The correspondence of the *Journal*'s composition to this mythological formula entails the question of its fictionality. Drawing a distinction between fictional and non-fictional components in the autobiography is difficult, as was pointed out in Northrop Frye's book "Anatomy of Criticism".[145] According to Frye, autobiography is a form which merges with the novel because "most autobiographies are inspired by a creative, and therefore fictional, impulse to select only those events and experiences in the writer's life that go to build up an integrated pattern."[146]

This idea of Frye's was echoed by the author of the book "John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint" (1966). Edwin Cady interprets the *Journal* as a work of fiction: "…courage and lowliness, morality and sweetness, spiritual richness and simplicity are linked together in an unpretentious drama of the death and transfiguration of the ego. Whether or not the author was 'really' like that, his invention of John Woolman was a marvelous creation."[147] Ten years later, Livesay's thesis "John Woolman: Persona and Person" was designed as a challenge to Cady's opinion about fictionality of the *Journal*'s hero, and her careful comparison of the *Journal*'s motifs with historical records (letters, testimonies of contemporaries, etc.) allowed the researcher to conclude that there is no essential difference between Woolman the historical figure and Woolman the hero of the *Journal*.[148]

Meanwhile, eventually theories of autobiography promoted the idea according to which any work of this genre, regardless of the "truthfulness" of the author, is more fruitful to consider as a fictional text. The question regarding the *Journal* remains controversial.[149] However, within the scope of this study it is not as important to assign the genre of this text from a theoretical point of view, as to recognize the fact that the elements of the *Journal*'s plot and the autobiographical image Woolman created have been able to further integrate into some fictional texts.

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[145] Frye, N. Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays. – Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957. P. 303.
[146] Ibid. P. 307.
[147] Cady, E. John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint… P. 133.
[148] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 278.
[149] The idea about the *Journal*'s fictionality, its adherence to a certain pattern is supported by Edward Higgins's work: Higgins, E.F.D. John Woolman's *Journal*: Narrative as Quaker Values Transmission // Quaker Religious Thought. 1993. Vol. 81. P. 25-37.

Let us turn to another aspect of Woolman's text, and consider its structure as a diary in terms of compositional varieties of the genre. A modern specialist in diary literature O. G. Egorov notes that the genre of diary in general includes two **types of composition**: the continuous composition and the discrete one. The continuous composition implies an unbroken sequence of dated entries and a greater focus the author places on the "world of things" than on the "world of ideas."[150]

Meanwhile, in diaries with discrete composition events important for the author from an *ideological* point of view are brought to the foreground. The structure of the entries in this case seems less consistent to the reader, because objective "external" facts here are interspersed with records reflecting "hidden subjective mechanisms of the author's mind and character."[151] Discrete composition is typical for such a type of diary which can be called introverted. The introverted type records the author's inner life, and it is organized according to psychological time rather than according to astronomical time. "The main function [of such diaries]," Egorov argues, "is understanding and emotional experience of events, whereas these events themselves do not matter much."[152]

In general, John Woolman's *Journal* can be designated as the introverted type of diary, and its composition, respectively, as the discrete type. Many scholars, including Heller, notice slight violations of chronology in the *Journal*, as well as somewhat fragmented composition of the text.[153] Kagle believes that this kind of fragmentation corresponds to the nature of the genre, as well as to the word *hints*, used by Woolman in the very first sentence of the *Journal*, where he declares his autobiographical intention. The word "hints" suggests that the reader will see "the fragmented truth of the diarist rather than the systematic overview of the autobiographer."[154]

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[150] Egorov, O.G. Russian Literary Diary of the 19th Century. History and Theory of the Genre. – Moscow: Flinta, Science, 2003. P. 218. (In Russian.)
[151] Egorov, O.G. Russian Literary Diary of the 19th Century… P. 139.
[152] Ibid. P. 138-139.
[153] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 195, 218-219.
[154] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 48.

However, as Shea and Heller point out, with all its "fragmentation," the *Journal* retains a narrative integrity. This is facilitated by Woolman's reasoning in chapter I and his vision in chapter XII: the vision in the last chapter refers to the reasoning from the beginning of the text.[155] Thus a kind of a ring composition emerges. In his turn, Higgins discovers a similar ring composition, paying attention to the parallel between the episode with birds in chapter I and Woolman's reflections on "*innocent birds in the branches* […] *who act according to the will of their Creator*,"[156] in chapter XII. These findings are corroborated by Millar's remark that one of Woolman's phrases at the end of the *Journal* adopts the tone of an epilogue.[157]

At the same time, as Kagle notes, the *Journal* has also been affected by the naturally inherent in the genre inability to be completed, its openness to a permanent addition, and this feature corresponds to Woolman's worldview: the diary cannot contain "the last word" of the author, by nature it "never really concludes but rather extends, open to the world with which it deals."[158] Here we come to the most important rhetorical strategy of Woolman – namely, "soft persuasion," which, along with some stylistic features of the *Journal*, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

1.3.2. Rhetorical Strategies and Stylistics

One of the most comprehensive studies on Woolman's style and rhetoric was written in 1989 by Michael Heller, a Professor of American studies.[159] According to Heller, Woolman's rhetoric is based on the strategy of "**soft persuasion**." This strategy, as the scholar shows, is deeply rooted in Woolman's Quaker worldview.

In his *Journal*, Woolman addressed, first of all, his coreligionists, and therefore his relations with the reader could be paralleled to the image of a Quaker speaking at

[155] Shea, D.B. Spiritual Autobiography… P. 72; Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 214.
[156] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 185.
[157] Millar, A.E., Jr. Spiritual Autobiography… P. 176.
[158] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 51.
[159] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion…

a worship meeting.[160] Such meetings provide believers with an opportunity to experience silence together: for Quakers, silence has more spiritual value than speech.[161] The task of the speaker at a Quaker meeting is ideally to "deepen the listeners' sense of silence"[162], and thus help them to better follow leadings of the "inward Light," "inward Teacher." The same task was undertaken by the author of the *Journal*, and Woolman's vocabulary choice, sentence structure, argumentation are all subordinate to it.[163]

Woolman sought to use language in this way to help readers reconsider their actions, and also their life in general, from the point of view of "Inward Truth." Interestingly, one can hardly find the contents of the author's numerous dialogues with the supporters of slavery in the *Journal* (with one exception). This fact was drawn attention to by Daniel Shea in his "Spiritual Autobiography in Early America" (1968). Shea explains the fact, firstly, by the author's desire to avoid being repetitive, and secondly, by his belief that a deeper understanding of the injustice of slavery will come to a person not so much through reasoning, but rather with the help of the Light, "the power of truth" – as it happened to Woolman himself.[164]

Exploring Woolman's rhetorical strategies, Heller points out at their remarkable correlation with the metaphor of "the good physician," proposed by Stanley Fish, the famous literary critic associated with reader–response criticism. Similar to a "good

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[160] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 5.

[161] See, for example: Bauman, R. Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence among Seventeenth-Century Quakers. – N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1983. 168 p.; Plugh, M.H. Meaning in Silence and the Quaker Tradition // ETC: A Review of General Semantics. Vol. 69, No. 2, 2012. P. 204-215; Acosta, A.M. Pregnant Silence and Mystical Birth: Quaker Worship in the Seventeenth Century and the Subversive Practices of Silence // Restoration: Studies of English Literary Culture, 1660–1700. Vol. 43, No. 1, 2019. P. 51-72. Pierre Lacout, a Swiss Quaker (b. 1923), offered a characteristical remark about silence in Quakerism. In his book *God is Silence* (*Dieu est silence*, 1969) Lacout wrote: "Words split apart, Silence unites. Words scatter, Silence gathers together. Words stir up, Silence brings peace." (Lacout, P. God is Silence. – London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1970. P. 1).

[162] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 5-6.

[163] Ibid. P. 2.

[164] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America. – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. P. 64. *Truth, the Light*, *the Word* – these and many other concepts are used by Woolman almost as synonyms, designating the Divine. This theme is thoroughly studied in the article: Condia-Williams, Ch. The Names of God in George Fox and John Woolman // Quaker Religious Thought, Vol. 80, 1992. P. 33-40.

physician" in the literal sense, "the good physician" in literature does not tell the reader–"patient" what he desires to hear, but requires of him "a searching and rigorous scrutiny of everything they believe in and live by."[165] Such a writer–"physician" motivates the reader to reexamine his own beliefs and move forward, he speaks to "a man's best self and to instincts of which he may not even have been aware."[166]

Interestingly, in the course of his reasoning Fish chooses the same metaphor Quakers employ – namely, the metaphor of "the inner light."[167] "The inner light" can be considered a universal metaphor of spiritual and mystical experience. According to the Quaker doctrine, such experience is potentially available to all people, and consequently, the relationship between the author and the reader in the *Journal* is a relationship "centering upon the commonly held belief in divinity within every person."[168] The dichotomy of winner/loser was alien to Woolman: he saw advocates of the opposite view as neither opponents nor, still less, enemies. His "soft persuasion" strategy demonstrates an understanding of human similarity, connectedness and interdependence.[169]

The most important language device Woolman employs in his "soft persuasion" strategy is his use of the **plain style**.[170] Although scholars point out at different sorts of the "plain style" in English literature (in both religious writings and secular literature of Britain and America), there are some fundamental features: the plain style is, as the term suggests, a choice of direct, unornamented, laconic language.[171] R. Hogan and G.Bogart define plain style by defining some major tendencies:

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[165] Fish, S.E. Self-consuming Artifacts. The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature. – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972. P. 1. Qtd. in: Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 6.
[166] Ibid. P. 18. Qtd. in: Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 8.
[167] Ibid. P. 3. Qtd. in: Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 8.
[168] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 8.
[169] Ibid. P. 4-5.
[170] Ibid. P. 4.
[171] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 28. Interestingly, some scholars find the roots of the "plain style" in the writings of French Quietists, as well as their predecessors, Catholic mystics of the Counter-Reformation (Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading… P. 143).

● the semi-literate style and the flat style (having limited vocabulary and deviating from conventional grammar, replete with colloquial expressions and clichés), on the one hand;

● the ornate style (replete with polysyllabic words, refined grammar, metaphors etc.) and the experimental style (playing with the language rules), on the other hand.

The plain style is something between these extremes. It overcomes conventionality of semi-literate and flat styles, but also avoids overuse of metaphors, similes etc., inherent in the ornate style.[172] It has a long and rich history in the English rhetorical tradition. For this study, it is important to take into account that in the age of Enlightenment the plain style was particularly favoured by many intellectuals. This was promoted by the democratic zeal of the Enlightenment, the writers' desire to make knowledge accessible to the general reader; another reason was rapid development of science and the scientific language during that era.[173]

For Woolman, the plain style had a benefit of appealing to his Quaker contemporaries: it was conventional for Quaker literature and it corresponded to the Enlightenment ideas. On the other hand, this plainness of style helped to bring about the effects of a fresh and unsophisticated language,[174] which fostered the reader's trust.

Woolman's efforts in editing the *Journal* were aimed at "purifying" the language, searching for its clarity.[175] In her essay addressing the problem of human and divine languages in Woolman's writings, Lisa Gordis pays attention to the musical imagery in a famous passage from the *Journal*: "*…feeling the spring of divine love opened and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace*. […] *my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the language of the pure Spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart and taught [me] to wait in*

[172] Hogan, R., Bogart, H. The Plain Style: A Rhetoric and Reader. – N.Y.: American Book Company, 1967. P. 8.
[173] The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present / Ed. by P. Bizzell, B. Herzberg. – Boston: Bedford Books, 1990. P. 638.
[174] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 4.
[175] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 65.

silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his flock."[176] Gordis notes that the limits of imperfect human language are thus transcended, and the divine revelation may be compared to music.[177] Interestingly, Shea and Livesay also write about **rhythmic patterns** of the *Journal*[178] and some biblical cadences[179] in his text (it seems unanimously recognized that the Bible exerted the most profound influence on Woolman[180]).

As Shea notes, simplicity of Woolman's style illuminates the *Journal* with "the impression of remarkable freshness and timelessness."[181] An example of this can be found in Woolman's reflections on Indian drawings he saw on a tree trunk. The *Journal*'s author does not look at Indians through the lenses of cultural stereotypes of his time, which were gravitating towards two extremes (a savage Indian versus a noble Indian, the tutor of white man); he rather thinks about them in universal terms: "His Indian warrior could as well be an Anglo-Saxon, an Athenian [warrior]…".[182]

Contrary to a romanticist myth cultivated later (it will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3), the stylistic simplicity of the *Journal* was by no means a consequence of Woolman's literary inexperience. Quite the opposite, it was the result of careful text polishing.[183] Woolman learned a lot from reading Augustan essays, with their "clarity of thought and strong construction."[184] His style was also significantly affected by numerous "practical" books and official documents. But the defining role in the development of Woolman's style, as W. Altman shows, was certainly played

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[176] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 31.
[177] Gordis, L.M. Spirit and Substance: John Woolman and "The Language of the Holy One" // The Tendering Presence… P. 68.
[178] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 68; Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 254.
[179] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 220.
[180] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading…; Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 220; Birkel, M.L. Preparing the Heart for Sympathy: John Woolman Reading Scripture // The Tendering Presence… P. 88-104.
[181] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 66.
[182] Ibidem.
[183] Rosenblatt, P. John Woolman… P. 99; Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 9.
[184] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 9.

by Quaker authors (George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and Woolman's contemporaries) and followers of various mystical religious movements.[185]

The Quaker literary conventions strongly favour **understatement**,[186] and many scholars agree that this is clearly manifested in the the *Journal*.[187] One of Woolman's friends wrote down a phrase the minister once said: "I have never found any better rule than enough."[188] One can find a graphic example of Woolman's understatement comparing his description of sailing to England with that of one of his fellow passengers, a young physician called John Till Adams. Writing letters to his friends, the young man told them about storms threatening to overturn the ship. Upon coming home to Britain, Adams promised to never again go sailing: "I shall never venture to put myself again in that Lottere where there is a danger of having so great a number of Blanks as a Prize."[189] Meanwhile, one of the few weather-related remarks in this part of Woolman's *Journal* consists of three words: "rough weather mosly."[190] The result of such an approach is "a focused, distilled prose, where every word counts."[191]

Comparing different drafts of the *Journal*, one could make quite interesting observations[192]; a careful comparison was performed by Livesay. The researcher revealed that by correcting the vocabulary of the *Journal*, Woolman pursued several objectives, among which were the following.

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[185] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading… P. 253.
[186] Higgins, E.F. Narrative and Values in the Quaker Journals of Thomas Chalkley, Elizabeth Ashbridge and John Woolman. – A diss. subm. to The Union Institute, 1992. P. 114.
[187] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 3, 26; Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 150-151, 176, 202; Stewart, M.E. Thinking about Death… P. 117; Miller, J.D. "Nature Hath a Voice": John Woolman's Wilderness "Habitus" // Religion and Literature, Vol. 45, No. 2, 2013. P. 41.
[188] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 189.
[189] Letter to William Logan, dated July 9, 1772 // William Portsmouth Logan Papers. Vol. 1, Logan-Fisher-Fox Collection, HSP. Qtd. in: Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 197.
[190] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 166.
[191] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 253.
[192] Such an opportunity may be taken advantage of by readers of Phillips Moulton's edition of the *Journal*: it is supplied with detailed commentaries in which Woolman's lexical changes are described.

1) Making his diction simpler and quieter. For example, in his new drafts Woolman used *mind* instead of *intellect* (in its turn, *interval* was replaced with *time, perfection of Christianity* with *purity of Truth* etc.[193]).

2) Avoiding misrepresentation of other people. When it comes to people, the verb *be* was often replaced by Woolman with the verb *appear*,[194] or the word *character* with the word *reputation*.[195] Referring to slaveowners' unwillingness to free their slaves, Woolman erased the first version '*being resolved to continue them in slavery*' and wrote '*being inclined to continue them in slavery*.'[196] The emphasis shifts from personalities to principles and opinions; and when Woolman does not share these principles and opinions, in the revised sentences he represents them as "a matter of different stages of growth, implying that all Friends will come to the truth in due time."[197]

3) Unwillingness to overstate his own virtues. The source, the author of all good is God; man is only capable of achieving anything good through God's grace. This idea is promoted by the frequent use of the word *open*, which conveys the meaning of God's "channels" opening to a person, a communication between the Creator and the believer.[198] This may be illustrated by the next example: the phrase *some things occurred to my mind* was substituted with *some things were opened in my mind*.[199] A finished, 'present perfect' action (*lesson I have learned*) was replaced with a continuing action (*useful lesson for me to be learning*).[200]

According to Livesay, these corrections were made by Woolman with no thought of managing his own image in any direction: the journalist sought "to avoid appearing either impossibly good or unconvincingly bad."[201] The major reason to make

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[193] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 269. One can also notice another transformation in these examples: Latinate words are often substituted with stylistically more "mundane," "everyday" Germanic words.
[194] Ibid. P. 237-238.
[195] Ibid. P. 272.
[196] Ibid. P. 271.
[197] Ibid. P. 271.
[198] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 242.
[199] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 102. Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 270.
[200] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 17.
[201] Ibid. P. 268, 256.

corrections was his desire to write in a language "quieter, simpler, and more his own, lightened of the automatic diction and religious clichés," and not so much to express his feelings as to help others.[202] The *Journal*'s central motif is the author's desire *to be truly humbled*,[203] which is understood as the first step in developing right relationship with God.[204]

Many scholars highlight the exceptional importance passive voice plays in the text: as E. M. Apenko writes, what we see in the *Journal* is "the image of the author's 'perceiving mind.'"[205] While editing the text, Woolman sought to minimize the use of the pronoun I.[206] Naturally, in 1922 A. Gummere called the *Journal* "the most impersonal autobiography ever writer,"[207] whereas Th. Couser characterized it as a "selfless autobiography,"[208] and M. R. O'Reilly as a story of "the unconstructed self."[209] Woolman's shift *from people to principles*, as well as the effect of the author's self-forgetfullness, produced by selection of the facts he reports and by some stylistic changes, provide the *Journal* with a rather impersonal (regarding either himself or other people) intonation and noticeably softens its didacticism. As Shea notes, "In directing attention away from himself and toward his vision of Truth, Woolman does not come forward to his reader with the exhortation, 'Do as I, a model for action, have done'; he simply insists, 'Do as you must, seeing what I have seen.'"[210]

Heller believes that "despite Woolman's non-heroic qualities […], he achieves in the *Journal* a paradoxical heroic stature."[211] It seems that the nature of this paradox

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[202] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 266.
[203] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 26.
[204] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 13-15.
[205] Apenko, E.M. American Quakers and Literature… P. 25; Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 225; Kershner, J.R. "The Government of Christ": John Woolman's (1720–1772) Apocalyptic Theology. – A diss. subm. to the University of Birmingham, 2013. P. 79.
[206] Brinton, H. Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends… P. 1.
[207] Gummere, A.M. The Journal of John Woolman: Biographical Sketch… P. X.
[208] Couser, G. Th. American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mode. – Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979. P. 40.
[209] O'Reilley, M.R. John Woolman: The Unconstructed Self // The Tendering Presence... P. 133-147.
[210] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 80.
[211] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion... P. 207.

has been interpreted insightfully by Shea: "It would not have occurred to Woolman that […] he revealed himself as fully as later autobiographers more enamored of their individuality. His efforts to withdraw from the reader's view result finally in a self-portrait whose art is its transparency; the central actor of his narrative is no less compelling a figure for his reluctance to take the stage."[212] Extending Shea's theatrical metaphor, one can agree that Woolman does avoid taking the stage; instead of the stage he takes a road. Meanwhile, the reader is not invited to an auditorium seat; he is rather a fellow traveller.

1.3.3. The Metaphor of Journey

One of Woolman's first biographers, Janet Whitney, notes that "The *Journal*, carefully recording all the journeys and not much else, gives a false impression of restless movement."[213] A similar observation was made by Hedges: "…the Journal creates an image of Woolman as nearly perpetual pilgrim along colonial back roads, cowpaths, and Indian trails, from New England to North Carolina"[214] and "the most unsettled of all Americans, endlessly seeking not the good life but the good."[215] Heller also points to the most essential role that verbs of motion as well as the word *motion* itself and its derivatives play in the *Journal* (interestingly, it is found in the very first sentence of the book).[216]

It should be mentioned here that, as O.G. Egorov notes, the travel appears to be a classic topos of the diary genre; as for the European diary literature, "years of pilgrimage" (made, as a rule, at a young age) were seen as a sign of successful spiritual individuation.[217] What distinguishes the *Journal* in this respect, is the fact that its hero undertakes his journeys in the second half of his lifetime (Woolman took his first long

[212] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America… P. 84.
[213] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 309.
[214] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 87.
[215] Ibid. P. 100.
[216] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. iii, 225.
[217] Egorov, O.G. Russian Literary Diary of the 19th Century… C. 38-39.

trip exactly in the middle of his life). But in his case the "years of pilgrimage" also serve as a sign of spiritual maturation.

Meanwhile, the *Journal*'s picture of a never-ending movement is indeed not quite accurate: according to J. Kershner's calculations, Woolman's travelling took just one month a year on average. However, in the *Journal* the author's journeys occupy about 70% of the text.[218] And yet, as E.A. Stetsenko argues, "Woolman does not seem greatly interested in the road itself with its surprises, in the nature he sees or the people he meets: he focuses on his own thoughts, spiritual experiences, and the ministerial purpose of his journey".[219] This is also pointed out by M. Heller, who says that Woolman's descriptions of nature are limited mainly to conveying images of wilderness and desert reminiscent of biblical ones.[220]

Hedges notes that Woolman's view of the landscape is clouded by his reflections on the pervasive social oppression: "…the land he traverses does not look like Eden, Canaan, or Arcadia. What he observes is the fallen world […]. There is in Woolman's *Journal* no celebration of America as a pastoral or agrarian utopia": on the contrary, Woolman sees the hard, back-breaking labour of slaves, indentured servants, and the landowners themselves, whose hearts are "set on greatness."[221] The same can be said of the cities Woolman traverses: as E. Higgins remarks, Woolman's descriptions of English cities foreshadow gloomy Dickensian urbanscapes.[222]

At the same time, as many scholars argue, *travel as a metaphor* plays a fundamental role in the *Journal*; and the metaphorical meaning of travel is mostly difficult to differentiate from the literal one in this text.[223] All the *Journal* is, as Heller believes, a journey narrative that begins in Woolman's parents' house, and ends in his

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[218] Kershner J.R. 'A More Lively Feeling': The Correspondence and Integration of Mystical and Spatial Dynamics in John Woolman's Travels // Quaker Studies, No. 20/1, 2015. P. 103.
[219] Stetsenko, E.A. History Written on the Way… C. 125.
[220] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 201.
[221] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 35; Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 88-89.
[222] Higgins, E.F.D. John Woolman's Journal: Narrative as Quaker Values Transmission… P. 35.
[223] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 245-246; Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 106; Kershner, J.R. 'A More Lively Feeling'…

ancestral homeland, in England.[224] Let us look at the following passage: "*We pursued our journey* […] *and in my travelling on the road I often felt language rise from the center of my mind thus: 'Oh Lord, I am a stranger in the earth; hide not thy face from me.'* [Ps. 119:19]."[225]

In this case, the Biblical image of a stranger might be interpreted both metaphorically and literally. Livesay offers a representative selection of verbs of motion and other 'travel' vocabulary used by Woolman in literal and metaphorical senses.[226] In this paper, let us pay attention to the etymology of some of Woolman's frequent lexical items and their relationship to each other.

It is by no means surprising that the word *journey* is quite frequent (it is used at least 39 times) in the *Journal*. Referring to himself, Woolman uses its cognate *sojourner* three times. As Kershner argues, in the *Journal* the metaphor of the road and its idea of "in-between-ness" is associated with transiency of earthly life.[227] At the same time, it is noteworthy that such a "self-designation" as *sojourner* echoes the name of Woolman's literary role, namely *journalist*. Accordingly, the traditional Quaker title, the *Journal*, implicitly supports the semantics of *journey* and *sojourner*. To a certain extent, the meanings of "travelling," "temporary dwelling," and "journal keeping" all mingle in the *Journal*.

In its turn, according to our calculations, the synonym of *journey*, the word *travel* (and its derivatives), is used in the *Journal* 50 times. And here one can notice that the semantics of *journey* is closely connected to the semantics of *work*. The word *travel*, conveying mostly the idea of movement in modern English, etymologically goes back to a Latin-rooted word, meaning "to torment, labor, strive."[228] Interestingly, Woolman completes the first sentence of the *Journal* (i.e. his autobiographical intention) with the words …*I begin this work*.[229] Besides, there is the word *labours* (*"Gospel*

[224] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… 187.
[225] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays... P. 61.
[226] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 245.
[227] Kershner J.R. 'A More Lively Feeling'… P. 106.
[228] Website: Merriam Webster Dictionary Online. Compare with the English word *travail*, French *travailler*, Spanish *trabajar* etc. (Accessed: 15.01.2023.)
[229] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 23.

Labours") in the text's full title. Thus, reading the *Journal*, one can notice that taking the road, travelling as a kind of work is its overarching metaphor: "*In this journey I may say in general we were sometimes in much weakness and labored under discouragements, and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of divine love, we had seasons of refreshment wherein the power of Truth prevailed*."[230]

Woolman combines the words *journey* and *travelling* with adjectives which mean encountering difficulties (*difficult* [127[231]], *troublesome* [128], *wearisome* [150]*; a hard day's journey* [130]), facing risk (*dangerous* [130, 136], *perilous* [123]), diligence (*diligent* [135]), loneliness/solitude (*lonesome* [70], *lonely* [129], *solitary* [70]). Woolman often mentions his own physical and mental fatigue, but also the fatigue of other travellers and horses. Fatigue overcomes Indians on their warpaths (*the toils and fatigues of warriors in travelling over mountains and deserts* [126]) and hunting expeditions (*much fatigue and hard travels in hunting* [125]), as well as sailors in their transatlantic crossings (*trials of the poor sailors* [168]). At the same time, Woolman associates religious journeys with the notion of duty (*my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey* [124]) and interprets them as pious efforts (*the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times* [147]; *the travels, sufferings, and martyrdom of the Apostles and primitive Christians* [150]).

In the *Journal*, travels appear challenging, exhausting, often hazardous. And yet, Woolman's autobiographical hero summons up the strength from his feeling of divine presence, capable of making any place "home"[232]; and, most often, it is during his travel that Woolman gains illuminating spiritual insights. As Kershner has observed, "Implicit in Woolman's journeys is the expectation that each new geographic location was simultaneously a new place of spiritual revelation and mystical presence."[233]

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[230] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 42.
[231] In this and the following sections the page numbers in square brackets refer to this edition: Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays…
[232] Dandelion, P. Making Our Connections: A Spirituality of Travel. – L.: SCM Press, 2013. P. 7; Qtd. in: Kershner J.R. 'A More Lively Feeling'… P. 104.
[233] Ibid. P. 105.

Summarizing findings on the *Journal*'s motifs of travel and pilgrimage, it is worth paying attention how Woolman uses the word *walk*. This word is used about 30 times in the text, and carries the literal meaning only in 10 cases. Most often *walk* communicates the metaphorical meaning of a spiritual path, which men follow in the sight of God (*walk in uprightness before Him* [63]; *walk in resignedness before Him* [116]). When used literally, "walk" is combined with *lonesome* [149], *lonely* [150], *solitary* [155]. Interestingly, in his essay *Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind & How It May Be Promoted* Woolman himself points at the metaphorical meaning of the verb *walk*: "Walking is the phrase frequently used in Scripture to represent our journey through life…"[234]

Woolman's desire to travel on foot was mostly stimulated by his compassion for the plight of enslaved people. Meanwhile, the *Journal* again creates the image of a lonely wandering pilgrim; what is more, the decision to travel on foot was certainly a kind of symbolic identification with Christ.[235] At the same time, as Heller has observed, the motif of a lonely traveller is traditional for American literature, whether it comes to fictional characters (Ishmael from *Moby Dick*, Huckleberry Finn) or real historical figures (Crèvecoeur, Thoreau, Whitman).[236] Livesay, in turn, traces the image of the pilgrim back to the famous British prototype, noting that "for all its plainness, Woolman's story becomes a more subtle version of *Pilgrim's Progress*."[237]

Thus, the *Journal* converges the semantics of "wandering," "travel" with the semantics of "work," "labor" and "journal keeping." The arduous physical journeys of the autobiographical hero serve as an allegory to the challenging, thorny path of the human soul on earth, "the life-journey as the journey toward unity with God."[238] Bodily fatigue, increasingly disturbing over the years, parallels Woolman's increasing emotional and spiritual yearning.

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[234] Woolman, J. Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind & how it may be promoted // Proud, J. (Ed.). John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth. The Journalists Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera… P. 151.
[235] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 206.
[236] Ibid. P. 215.
[237] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 246.
[238] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 192.

As L.A. Mishina has observed, speaking of the colonial era, "of all the colonial genres, it was the diary that most carefully recorded the first settlers' "works and days," their daily, ordinary life, which, if lived according to rules, has the status of the highest spiritual value in Protestantism."[239] The *Journal*, however, records not only and not so much John Woolman's "works and days" in the literal, everyday sense – but the works, days and "journeys" of the soul. The role of the autobiographer is to a certain extent reduced to the role of a "recording hand," a "writer" as an instrument of a higher power. As Heller has observed, focusing on travel, Woolman seeks "to tell his life-story without making himself the center of the story."[240]

Chapter 1 Conclusions

John Woolman's central work, the *Journal*, addresses a number of social problems of the era, including slavery, relations of European settlers with Native Americans, pacifism, economic and business ethics.

The *Journal* combines autobiographical and diary narrative discourses. In terms of composition, this carefully edited text largely corresponds to the conventional pattern of Quaker journals revealed by H. Brinton. Besides, its composition is fairly similar to the stages of development of the mythical hero, as described by J. Campbell. Compositional conventionality of the *Journal* is mingled with marked rhetorical and stylistic specificity of the text. Woolman's rhetoric is based on the strategy of "soft persuasion" (M. Heller), which is facilitated by the plain style of Woolman's writing, as well as numerous lexical revisions which may be found when different drafts are compared. The overall result is that the prose of the *Journal* becomes somewhat "impersonal."

An essential role in the *Journal* is played by the metaphor of travel, as well as the motifs of "solitude," "labor," and "journal keeping." This is reflected at the compositional, thematic, and lexical levels, as well as in the full title of the text.

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[239] Mishina, L.A. Diary as Genre and as Form in the Seventeenth Century American Literature… P. 151.
[240] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 192.

Chapter 2. RECEPTION OF THE *JOURNAL* IN THE 18TH–21ST CENTURIES

2.1. Woolman Studies, or, Academic Perspectives on Woolman's Legacy

The total volume of Woolman's writings is relatively small: the *Journal*'s volume is about 200 pages, whereas the minister's essays and the surviving letters, in total, amount to some 250 pages.[241] Nevertheless, the *Journal*, along with other Woolman's texts, has attracted increasing attention of critics and scholars for at least several decades. The academic reception of Woolman could be the subject of a separate and fruitful study; within the scope of this work it seems necessary to describe some major horizons of this reception. Let us list the most extensively studied topics and names of some of the researchers who develop them.

1) Woolman's biography, the historical background of his life, his reading and social milieu: William Teignmouth Shore, Amelia Mott Gummere, Frederick Tolles, Janet Whitney, Walter Altman, Henry Cadbury, Thomas Slaughter, Geoffrey Plank, James Proud.[242]

2) Textological studies: Phillips Moulton, Henry Cadbury, Jon Kershner.[243]

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[241] Moulton, Ph. P. John Woolman's Approach to Social Action: As Exemplified in Relation to Slavery // Church History, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1966. P. 399.

[242] Teignmouth Shore, W. John Woolman: his Life and our Times: Being a Study in Applied Christianity. – L.: Macmillan and Co, Limited, 1913. 278 p.; Gummere, A.M. The Journal of John Woolman: Biographical Sketch…; Tolles, F.B. John Woolman's List of "Books Lent" // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. 1942. Vol. 31, No. 2. P. 72-81; Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker…; Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading…; Cadbury, H.J. Did Woolman Wear a Beard? // Quaker History. 1965. Vol. 54, No. 2. P. 111-114; Cadbury, H.J. Sailing to England with John Woolman // Quaker History. 1966. Vol. 55, No. 2. P. 88-103; Slaughter, Th. P. The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition. – N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 2008. 452 p.; Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire. – Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 296 p.; Proud, J. A Note on John Woolman's Paternal Ancestors: The Gloucestershire Roots; The West New Jersey Plantation // Quaker History. 2007. Vol. 96, No. 2. P. 28-53.

[243] Moulton, Ph. P. Preface // The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman / Ed. by Ph. P. Moulton. – Richmond: Friends United Press, 1971. P. ix-xv; Cadbury, H.J. Another Woolman Manuscript // Quaker History. 1972. Vol. 61, No. 1. P. 16-23; Kershner, J.R. The York Manuscript: John Woolman's Final Writings // Quaker History. 2013. Vol. 102, No. 2. P. 28-51.

3) Woolman's spiritual formation; psychological analysis of the *Journal*: Sterling Olmsted, Edith Livesay, George Gillespie, Phillip Boroughs, Paul Anderson.[244]

4) Woolman's texts from the points of view of theology, religious history, history of mysticism: Charlotte Condia-Williams, Jon Kershner, Frederick McElroy, Michael Birkel.[245]

5) Woolman's ethics; his role in the history of social and humanitarian activism: Esther Brown, Phillips Moulton, Marianna Davis, Thomas Terrell, Jr., Youra Qualls, A. O. Dyson, Michael Heller, John Perry, B. A. Lutz, Michael Meranze, Gerald Sazama, Christopher Varga, Michael Graves, David Sox, Winston Osmond, Julie Holcomb.[246]

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[244] Olmsted, S. Motions of Love: Woolman as Mystic and Activist. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 1993. 47 p.; Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person…; Gillespie, G. John Woolman's light in the night: An Analysis // Dreaming. 2000. Vol. 10, No. 3. P. 149-160; Boroughs, Ph. L. S. J. John Woolman's Spirituality // The Tendering Presence… P. 1-16; Anderson, P. The Spiritual Formation of Young John Woolman // The Tendering Presence… p. 17-44.

[245] Condia-Williams, Ch. The Names of God in George Fox and John Woolman // Quaker Religious Thought, Vol. 80, 1992. P. 33-40; Kershner, J.R. "The Government of Christ": John Woolman's (1720–1772) Apocalyptic Theology. – A diss. subm. to the Univ. of Birmingham. 2013. 390 p.; Kershner, J.R. Mysticism and Revelation in John Woolman's Theology // Quaker Religious Thought. 2015. Vol. 125. 34-42 pp.; McElroy, F.L. Prophets of Universal Redemption: Evangelical Antislavery Literature from John Woolman to Ottabah Cugoano. – A diss. subm. to Indiana Univ., 1987. 403 p.; Birkel, M.L. A Near Sympathy: The Timeless Quaker Wisdom of John Woolman. – Richmond: Friends United Press, 2010. 126 p.

[246] Brown, E.M. The Writings of John Woolman with Especial Emphasis on Their Social Philosophy. – A diss. subm. to the Univ. of Southern California, 1929. 92 p.; Moulton, Ph. P. John Woolman: Exemplar of Ethics // Quaker History. 1965. Vol. 54, No. 2. P. 81-93; Moulton, Ph. P. John Woolman's Approach to Social Action: As Exemplified in Relation to Slavery // Church History. 1966. Vol. 35, No. 4. P. 399-410; Davis, M.W. The Connatural Ground of John Woolman's Triangle // College Language Association Journal. 1965. Vol. 9, No. 2. P. 132-139; Terrell, Th. E. Jr. John Woolman: The Theology of a Public Order // Quaker History. 1982. Vol. 71, No. 1. P. 16-30; Qualls, Y. "Successors of Woolman and Benezet": The Beginnings of the Philadelphia Friends Freedmen's Association // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. 1956. Vol. 45, No. 2. P. 82-104; Dyson A.O., the Rev. The Ethics of Social Protest: John Woolman (1720–1772) // Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 1985. Vol. 68 (1). 115-134 pp.; Heller, M.A. John Woolman and Good and Evil // Good and Evil: Quaker Perspectives / Ed. by J.L. Scully and P. Dandelion. – L., N.Y.: Routledge, 2016. P. 71-80; Perry, J.F. John Woolman and his Ultimate Reality and Meaning // Ultimate Reality and Meaning. 2009. Vol. 32, No. 1. P. 90-102; Lutz, B.A. John Woolman: More Than Just a Journal. The Capacity of One Individual to Make a Difference // Univ. of Wisconsin. History 489. 2009. 29 p.; Meranze, M. Materializing Conscience: Embodiment, Speech, and the Experience of Sympathetic Identification // Early American Literature. 2002. Vol. 37, No. 1. P. 71-88; Sazama, G.W. On Woolman's "Conversations", Ethics, and Economics // The Tendering Presence… P. 190-206; Varga, Ch. "Be Ye Therefore Perfect": Integral Christianity in "Some

6) Woolman's writings in the light of sociological (first of all, postcolonial) studies: Margaret Stewart, Andrew White, Jean Soderlund, Vernie Davis, Susan Dean.[247]

7) Woolman's style, his rhetorical and narrative strategies: Paul Rosenblatt, Michael Heller, Edward Higgins, Lisa M. Gordis.[248]

8) Analysis of the *Journal*'s episodes and themes from the point of view of literary criticism: Elena M. Apenko, Jay Miller, Jon Kershner, Margaret Stewart, Mary Rose O'Reilley.[249]

9) The *Journal* and American autobiography / The *Journal* in the history of spiritual autobiography: Daniel Shea, Albert Millar, Jr., Steven Kagle, Regina Sackmary, G. Thomas Couser, Ruth Banes, James Holte.[250]

Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" // The Tendering Presence… P. 207-218; Graves, M.P. "A Perfect Redemption from this Spirit of Oppression": John Woolman's Hopeful World View in "A Plea for the Poor" // The Tendering Presence… P. 219-242; Sox, D. John Woolman: Quintessential Quaker. 1720 to 1772. – Richmond: Friends United Press, 1999. 148 p.; Osmond, W.S. The Influence of John Woolman on the Quakers' Antislavery Position. – A diss. subm. to the Acadia Divinity College, 1998. 153 p.; Holcomb, J. Moral Commerce: Quakers and the Transatlantic Boycott of the Slave Labor Economy. – Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2020. 272 p.

[247] Stewart M.E. John Woolman's "Kindness beyond Expression": Collective Identity vs. Individualism and White Supremacy // Early American Literature. 1991. Vol. 26, No. 3. P. 251-275; White, A. A "Consuming" Oppression: Sugar, Cannibalism and John Woolman's 1770 Slave Dream // Quaker History. 2007. Vol. 96, No. 2. 1-27 pp.; Soderlund, J.R. African Americans and Native Americans in John Woolman's World // The Tendering Presence… P. 148-166; Davis, V. John Woolman and Structural Violence: Model for Analysis and Social Change // The Tendering Presence… P. 243-260; Dean, S. The Figure of John Woolman in American Multicultural Studies // The Tendering Presence… P. 261-280.

[248] Rosenblatt, P. John Woolman…; Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion: A Rhetorical Analysis of John Woolman's Essays and "Journal". – A diss. subm. to Arizona State University, 1989. 274 p.; Higgins, E. John Woolman's Journal: Narrative as Quaker Values Transmission // Quaker Religious Thought. 1993. Vol. 81. P. 25-37; Gordis, L.M. Spirit and Substance: John Woolman and "The Language of the Holy One" // The Tendering Presence… P. 67-87.

[249] Apenko, E.M. American Quakers and Literature…; Miller, J.D. "Nature Hath a Voice": John Woolman's Wilderness "Habitus" // Religion and Literature. 2013. Vol. 45, No. 2. P. 27-54; Kershner, J.R. 'A More Lively Feeling'…; Stewart, M.E. Thinking about Death: The Companionship of John Woolman's Journal // The Tendering Presence… P. 105-132; O'Reilley, M.R. John Woolman: The Unconstructed Self // The Tendering Presence… P. 133-147.

[250] Shea, D. Spiritual Autobiography in Early America…; Millar, A.E., Jr. Spiritual Autobiography in Selected Writings…; Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature…; Sackmary, R. Horizons of the Self: Autobiography and First-Person Narrative in Early American Literature. – A diss. subm. to The City Univ. of New York, 1978. 259 p.; Couser, G. Th. American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mode…; Banes, R. A. The Exemplary Self: Autobiography in Eighteenth-Century America…;

10) Woolman in the context of American and world philosophy: William Hedges, J. William Frost, William Jolliff.[251]

11) Woolman in the context of Quaker culture and literature: Howard Brinton, Edward Higgins, Ann G. Myles.[252]

12) Woolman compared to other religious figures: Philip L. Boroughs, Ralph Pickett, Sterling Olmsted.[253]

13) Woolman and pedagogy: Ann Dalke, Paul A. Lacey.[254]

This list is by no means exhaustive of all the diversity of modern Woolman studies; it serves only as a reference point, helping to present the range of the topics explored and primary focuses in these studies. However, a number of publications are difficult to categorize as mostly belonging to just one group (especially the books of Edwin Cady, David Sox, Thomas Slaughter). There are also numerous texts about Woolman that are not included in this list, tending rather to the publicistic and essayistic genres, and therefore interesting for consideration from the point of view of the *Journal*'s literary reception.

As we have mentioned before, the very history of Woolman's academic reception could be the subject of a separate work within the scope of history and

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Holte, J.C. The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion Autobiography. – Greenwood Press, 1992. 230 p.

[251] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision // Utopias: The American Experience / Ed. by G.B. Moment and O.F. Kraushaar. – Meruchen, N.J. & L.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980. P. 87-102; Frost, J.W. John Woolman and the Enlightenment // The Tendering Presence… P. 167-179; Jolliff, W. The Economy of the Inward Life: John Woolman and Henry Thoreau // The Concord Saunterer. 2007. Vol. 15. P. 91-111.

[252] Brinton, H. Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 1972. 130 p.; Higgins, E.F. Narrative and Values in the Quaker Journals of Thomas Chalkley, Elizabeth Ashbridge and John Woolman. – A diss. subm. to The Union Institute, Cincinnati, 1992. 263 p.; Myles, A.G. "Stranger Friend": John Woolman and Quaker Dissent // The Tendering Presence… P. 45-66.

[253] Boroughs, Ph. L., S.J. Social Spirituality in John Woolman and Gustavo Gutierrez // Quaker Religious Thought. 1986. Vol. 63. P. 37-59; Pickett, R.H. A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger // Quaker History. 1990. Vol. 79, No. 2. P. 77-92; Olmsted, S. Woolman and Gandhi and Human Betterment or the Yoga of Peacemaking // The Tendering Presence… P. 325-334.

[254] Dalke, A. "Fully Attending to the Spirit": John Woolman and the Practice of Quaker Pedagogy // The Tendering Presence… P. 281-294; Lacey, P.A. Answerable to the Design of Our Creation: Teaching "A Plea for the Poor" // The Tendering Presence… P. 295-310.

philosophy of the humanities. One of the leading experts on Quakerism and Woolman, Jon Kershner wrote a thesis which seems to be a vivid example.[255] In Michael Birkel's opinion, focusing on the analysis of Woolman's "apocalyptic theology," Kershner carries out an outstanding and extremely provocative study questioning the well-established perception of the famous minister's spiritual legacy.[256] Kershner revives a reading of the *Journal* from an evangelical Quaker perspective – a reading first suggested back in the 19th century, but long overshadowed by the more numerous interpretations offered by the liberal branch[257] of Quakerism, which sees Woolman's legacy from a generally humanistic point of view. Reviving the "evangelical" reading of Woolman's writings, the scholar at the same time applies some postmodernist theories in his study.[258]

Kershner's example is but an illustration of the variety of academic and theological approaches to studying the *Journal* and essays written by Woolman. However, it should be emphasized here that this work is not focused on the history of academic or religious (including intra-religious) interpretation of the minister's texts; our porpose is, first of all, to explore some milestones of the secular *literary* reception of the *Journal*, as well as artistic interpretation of Woolman's autobiographical image.

2.2. The *Journal*'s Reception: Major Stages and Genres

Academic interest in Woolman began to progressively increase since 1950s, whereas readers and publicists, as we have mentioned before, became interested in his writings much earlier. Their interest manifested in the publication of numerous reviews, essays about the *Journal*, retelling its plot. These texts addressed to wide readership: Quakers and non-Quakers; Woolman's fellow Americans and citizens of

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[255] Kershner, J.R. "The Government of Christ": John Woolman's (1720–1772) Apocalyptic Theology…

[256] Birkel, M.L. Not Your Grandmother's Apocalypse: The De-Liberalization of John Woolman // Quaker Religious Thought. 2019. Vol. 132. P. 28.

[257] Evangelical Quakerism and Liberal Quakerism are rather umbrella terms, embracing a number of smaller groups.

[258] Birkel, M.L. Not Your Grandmother's Apocalypse… P. 30.

other countries; adults and children. It seems that the history of Woolman's literary reception and his figure as such can be broadly divided into three stages:

Table 1. The Stages of Woolman's Reception

1774 – the middle of the 19th century	In the few decades following the first edition, the *Journal* gains prominence in anti-slavery circles of the USA, Britain and France. Besides, the *Journal* is highly praised by such maitres of the literary world as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, poet and essayist Charles Lamb, memoirist Henry Crabb Robinson. Most reviews of this period, however, are quite succinct, and taken together can be considered as a "*preamble*" to a more dynamic interpretation of Woolman's legacy by critics and publicists.
1850s – 1950s	Interest in Woolman on the part of publicists increases; the "*hagiographic*" era in the history of Woolman's reception begins. This era began to flourish with the development of the abolitionist movement in the USA and the publications of the poet John Greenleaf Whittier.[259] Woolman, as one of the first well-known antislavery activists, attracts considerable attention during this difficult period of American history. In the interpretation of anti-slavery journalism, the minister becomes a saint, a moral authority and a proto-abolitionist. His image is seen as almost legendary one. The main source of information about him, in the meantime, is his *Journal* itself. After the abolition of slavery, Woolman still attracts interest: in later periods, he is portrayed as an example of a man who, due to his deeply religious worldview, was ahead of his time in respect of anti-racism, pacifism, and economic ethics. Woolman's fellow Quakers, as well as followers of other religions see him as an inspiring personification of "practical" Christianity, and his life as a story of practical implementation of religious ideals.
1950s – today	Development of American studies, as well as gathering some new facts, encourage increase of *academic* interest in Woolman's legacy. More academic studies about him are published, as well as textually verified editions of the *Journal*. The portrait of Woolman as a historical figure, a man of his era, whose biography is more complex than the *Journal's* plot, partly replaces the hagiographical image. Today Woolman studies, seen as a cross-disciplinary subject, appear quite an actively developing field within American Studies. At the same time, some elements of the minister's personality "sanctification" are still noticeable both in journalism and in the academic studies of this period, up to the present day.

The proposed periodization is, of course, far from perfect because of some inevitable simplification, and therefore can by no means completely cover and systematize all the material available. The following categorization may to some

[259] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 2.

extent complement it. This includes the main set of publicistic texts about Woolman, as well as fiction related in one way or another to the *Journal* and interesting from the point of view of its reception.

Table 2. Genres of the texts portraying Woolman / influenced by the Journal

1. Publicistic and didactic texts about Woolman	Historiosophic, essayistic texts about Woolman (including those written from the 1850s to the 1950s and containing elements of hagiographic discourse). This group also includes philosophical and critical essays of the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. as well as didactic works of the second half of the 19th century. (R.P.A.'s *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman* (1865), Thomas Green's *John Woolman: A Study for Young Men* (1885)).
2. Poetry	Poems by Quaker poets of the 19th century John Greenleaf Whittier (*To Caroline Neagus with a Copy of Woolman's Journal*), Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (*For Woolman*), and the contemporary poet Blake Jerome Everitt (*John Woolman*), as well as some anonymous poems: 1) written by a British admirer on the death of Woolman; 2) published in the book *Sister Ruth's stories for the Young, or Evenings with John Woolman* (1865).
3. Woolman's semi-fictional biographies	There are at least two biographies of Woolman, combining non-fiction with fiction. In 1943, British-American author Janet Whitney published a novelized biography *John Woolman; American Quaker*. In 1954, a biographical novel by Catherine Owens Peare *John Woolman: Child of Light* was published in the United States.
4. A short story about Woolman, based on his biogrpahy	On the borderline between Woolman's fictional and non-fictional biographies and the fiction inspired by the *Journal* one can find a short story by Chuck Fager, called *John Woolman and a Slave Girl* (1977). It is a fictional episode from Woolman's life, based, however, on the minister's actual biography.
5. A novel	The motifs of the *Journal* are transferred to a completely fictional world by Theodore Dreiser in his Quaker novel *The Bulwark* (published in 1946).
6. Readers' reviews	Reviews of modern readers of the *Journal*, published on GoodReads.com, Amazon.com, on the website of Renovare Book Club, in personal literary blogs.

This chapter examines each part of the proposed categorizations and endeavours to fill in the gaps.

It should be added here that there is also an interesting hypothesis suggested by M. Hoffheimer and concerning the influence of the *Journal* on an episode of *Les Misérables* (1862) by Victor Hugo.[260] For the time being, this hypothesis has been

[260] Hoffheimer, M.H. Jean Valjean's Nightmare: Rehabilitation and Redemption in *Les Misérables* // McGeorge Law Review, 2011, No. 46. P. 168-198. The hypothesis about the *Journal*'s influence

left outside of the scope of this work, due to lack of precise information; nevertheless, it is certainly an idea of great interest and requires further study.

2.3. The Shaping of Woolman's Hagiography in Non-Fictional Texts

Studying the history of Woolman's reception, one can learn a curious fact: just a few days after Woolman's death, in October 1772, a man was born in Britain whose comment on the *Journal* was to become, it seems, the most frequently quoted. The comment is: *"I should almost despair of that man who could peruse the life of John Woolman without an amelioration of heart."*[261] This man was Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and he wrote this in 1797. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the great romanticist's praise remained among the few documented comments on the *Journal*. The flourishing of "Woolmaniana" was yet to come; it began together with the process of Woolman's literary "sanctification."

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on an episode of Hugo's masterpiece, as far as it seems, has not been confirmed yet. Michael Hoffheimer is a University of Mississippi philosophy of law scholar. In his article "Jean Valjean's Nightmare: Rehabilitation and Redemption in *Les Misérables*" he analyzes the philosophical and legal aspect of Jean Valjean's history and draws attention to the description of the hero's dream, which he saw the night before his decision to voluntarily admit his real name in court (thus risking being arrested). A number of the motifs of this dream, according to Hoffheimer, brings it close to the description of John Woolman's vision in chapter XII of the *Journal*. This applies to the *figurative imagery* of both visions, and the key *motif* of "dying," as well as to further *reflection* of each hero over his vision. The similarity observed by the scholar does seem quite striking. The idea that Hugo might have read Woolman's text is supported by the fact that the French romanticist had connections with European abolitionists, who saw the *Journal* as a classic of abolitionist literature. Besides, it is noteworthy that in France of that epoch there were five translations of the *Journal*. Finally, in the context of Hoffheimer's hypothesis, a Quaker motif in the image of Jean Valjean seems very interesting: in chapter I of the Sixth Book his "Quaker linen" is mentioned (*Hugo, V.* Les Misérables / Transl. by Ch. E. Wilbou. – N.Y.: Bennett A. Cerf & Donald S. Klopfer; The Modern Library, 1902. P. 591). And yet the conclusion that Woolman's *Journal* was read by Hugo and could become one of the sources of inspiration to him would be premature. Those French translations of the *Journal* that have been checked as part of Hoffheimer's study are shortened, and Woolman's vision is missing there. However, it may well have been included in other translations or reproduced in some other texts circulating among abolitionists.

[261] Collected Letters of S. T. Coleridge / Ed. by E. L. Griggs. Vol. I. – L., 1956. P. 302. Qtd. in: Moulton, Ph. P. Introduction // Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 3. Letter spacing is ours – D.A.

It should be noted that the fact of this sanctification has already been established by researchers. For example, Plank writes about it in his monograph,[262] whereas Cady had used a different term, but suggested a similar idea, noting that "From the beginning John Woolman's reputation has suffered from sentimentalization."[263] The novelty of this work lies in the fact that it examines some publicistic texts about Woolman, written from the 1850s to the 1940s, which have not been explored by scholars yet; the thesis attempts to identify and categorize the hagiographic motifs[264] used in these texts.

The sanctification of Woolman's figure may be explained by specific historical reasons. It was, first of all, the dramatic confrontation between supporters and opponents of the slave system in the middle of the 19th century, which was followed by the Civil War of 1861–1865 and subsequent ideological conflicts in American society. The life of the "Society of Friends" in that epoch was also blighted by a split: due to long-brewing disagreements on theological issues, in 1827 American Quakers divided into two groups – Hicksite Friends, i.e. followers of the minister Elias Hicks (1748–1830), and rejecting his ideas Orthodox Quakers (historian H. Brinton interprets this division as a conflict between the mysticism and evangelism, respectively).[265] Woolman, however, was equally regarded by conflicting groups as a spiritual giant, and this deference was sagaciously used for the abolitionist cause by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892). The famous Quaker poet sought to unite his fellow believers in the campaign for the abolition of slavery; the image of Woolman as an "uncanonized saint" might have played an important role in this union.

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[262] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 2.
[263] Cady, E.H. John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint… P. 165.
[264] Touching upon sanctification, or hagiographization of Woolman's image, it is necessary to take into account that the term "hagiography" seems rather conditional when it comes to a Protestant denomination, lacking a cult of saints. In this case, the term is understood more broadly and includes various texts, focusing on the life of a pious individual, a person of extraordinary traits, a figure which is "exemplary" from the point of view of a religion or an ideology.
[265] Brinton, H.H. Friends for 350 years: The history and beliefs of the Society of Friends since George Fox started the Quaker Movement. – Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, 2002. P. 187-191.

Here a small digression should be made in order to answer the question: were there any other candidates besides Woolman for the role of the unifying symbol of Quaker abolitionism? The answer is certainly positive: among Woolman's contemporaries there were, for example, such extraordinary antislavery activists as Benjamin Lay and Anthony Benezet. Benjamin Lay (1682–1759) is well-known for his antislavery performances which sometimes took really dramatic forms. For example, one winter day he went to a Quaker meeting, but did not go into the worship house and stood outside without any outdoor clothes and shoes, in order to demonstrate his solidarity with slaves. He also once kidnapped a Quaker child for several hours, thus demonstrating the inhumanity of separating enslaved families.[266] Meanwhile, Woolman's friend Anthony Benezet (1713–1784), a descendant of French Huguenots, converted to Quakerism, founded one of the first antislavery societies, which was later transformed into the Pennsylvania Abolitionist Society, and established a school for black children.[267]

However, despite the significant role both Lay and Benezet, along with some other people, played in the development of Quaker abolitionism, none of them could assume the role of a uniting symbol. Lay's performances impressed his co-religionists, but they resented its radicalism and violence. In turn, Benezet, for all his practical achievements – which were perhaps the most remarkable – unlike Woolman, had left no autobiographical legacy.[268] Woolman proved to be the most suitable candidate for the role of the Quaker abolitionist symbol, largely because his fellow believers could hear his "voice," the voice of the *Journal*.[269] In the end, it was John Woolman, according to early Quaker scholar Luella Wright, who "exemplified the

[266] Soderlund, J.R. Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit. – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. P. 16.
[267] Vaux, R. Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet. – Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1817. 136 p.
[268] Plank, G. The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes and his Journal… P. 82.
[269] Ibidem.

Quaker stand against slavery in the eighteenth century," as John Greenleaf Whittier did in the next."[270]

Meanwhile, Whittier's own writings – several of his essays and a foreword to his 1871 edition of Woolman's *Journal* – established the tradition of portraying Woolman as a saint and a herald of abolitionism.[271] This observation was made by Plank and it is the basis for drawing the border between the first and second periods in the chronology proposed above (section 2.2). At the same time, it should be taken into account that some elements of Woolman's sanctification, as will be shown below, had manifested themselves before Whittier – in particular, in the reviews of Lamb and Robinson, as well as in poems dedicated to the minister (section 2.8). It is important to emphasize that hagiographic conventions play a significant role in the *Journal* itself. Living up to the ideals fundamental to the Quaker teachings, the *Journal*'s hero, like heroes of hagiographic literature, serves as an exemplary figure, a model for emulation.

Perhaps it is partly due to the subtlety of the self-portrait created by Woolman in his *Journal* ("self-portrait … done in quiet pastels"[272]), that this image has become an adaptable material for hagiographic transformations and adding some "vivid colors." The British critic and memoirist Henry Crabb Robinson (1775–1867) uttered quite an illustrative remark: "*Had he not been so very humble he would have written a still better book, for, fearing to indulge in vanity, he conceals the events in which he was a great actor*."[273]

Apparently, this line of thinking was followed by many readers and critics, and it promoted Woolman's sanctification. The texts selected for this section include essays, publicistic papers, introductions to the *Journal* editions, biographical sketches, and didactic tracts for youth. Despite the fact that many of these texts are,

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[270] Wright, L.M. The Literary Life of the Early Friends: 1650–1725. – N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1932. P. 123.
[271] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 2.
[272] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 278.
[273] Robinson, H.C. Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence. Vol. II / Ed. by T. Sadler. – N.Y., 1877. P. 2; qtd. in: Perkins, J. The European Reception of John Woolman's Journal // Quaker History, Vol. 69, No. 2, 1980. P. 100.

in fact, commented retellings of the *Journal*, references to this primary source, as will be shown below, in some cases are combined with some statements contradicting it.

Beginning to explore hagiographic motifs in these texts, it should be noted that experts on the genre point at an extremely developed system of its standard motifs: according to T.R. Rudi, hagiography is "one of the most formalized literary genres,"[274] vividly implementing the laws of prescriptive poetics. Among typical motifs of hagiography are the following: the saint's pious parents; the praise of his homeland; parents's promise that their child will serve God; the young saint's love for reading and indifference to childish sports; the saint's gift of prophecy and performing miracles, and many others.[275]

In a number of texts about Woolman, elements of sanctification can be observed at the paratextual level. They are visible, firstly, in the *(semi-)anonymity* of several essays.[276] The concealment/abbreviation of authors' names to a certain extent follows the medieval tradition of anonymous hagiographies, and can also be considered as the actualization of such a hagiographical motif as the author's self-abasement.[277] (This motif is also noticeable in the introduction to the *Journal* written by J. G. Whittier's, who says that he feels his inconsistency, "*delineating a character of such moral and spiritual symmetry*"[278]). Secondly, such titles as "Saint John Woolman"[279] draw

[274] Rudi, T.R. Russian Hagiographic Topoi (Questions of Typology) // Russian Hagiography: Studies. Publications. Polemics / Ed. by S.A. Semyachko and T.R. Rudi. – Saint Petersburg, 2005. P. 59. (In Russian.)

[275] Krasnova, N.A., Krasnov, A.G. Hagiographical Motifs as the Main Component of Hagiography as a Genre and This Genre Subdivisions // Bulletin of Samara Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Vol. 14, № 2 (3), 2012. P. 740-747. (In Russian.)

[276] Examples: L. "John Woolman" // Friends Review: A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal. 1852, Vol. 5, Iss. 31. P. 485; "Saint John Woolman" // The Eclectic Review. 1861, Vol. 5. P. 559-578; R.P.A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young: or, Evenings with John Woolman. – Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1865. 124 p.

[277] Krasnova, N.A., Krasnov, A.G. Hagiographical Motifs… P. 742.

[278] Whittier, J.G. Introduction // The Journal of John Woolman. – Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1871. P. 48-49.

[279] Examples: "Saint John Woolman" // The Eclectic Review. 1861, Vol. 5. P. 559-578; Dalglish D. An American Saint // Dalglish D. People Called Quakers. – N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1938. P. 57-83. Another example is the 1966 book by E. Cady "John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint" (N.Y.: Washington Square Press, Inc. 182 p.).

attention. John Woolman is sometimes called saint in the texts themselves, although they often use not the word "saint," but "saintly."

Many authors lament that Woolman's name is less celebrated than he deserves. "*Only rarely do such men appear upon earth, and surely no purer or sweeter soul has walked in this New World*."[280] In his turn, the English essayist and poet Ch. Lamb (1775–1834) notes that the figure of John Woolman is "*one of the finest*" he ever met with, and that the *Journal* is the only American book he ever read twice.[281] Appreciating Woolman's role in history, virtually all authors compare him to some famous people. Among them are, on the one hand, cultural figures, such as the autobiographer and religious mystic Jeanne-Marie Guyon (1648–1717), the archbishop and writer François de Fénelon (1651–1715)[282]; on the other hand, there are politicians, such as the British parliamentarian known for his campaign to abolish the slave trade, William Wilberforce (1759–1833).

Ancient predecessors of Woolman include such people as "Christian before Christ" Socrates[283] and "wise heathen" Marcus Aurelius; medieval ones include Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi,[284] Jan Huss, Catherine of Siena.[285] Comparisons with apostles[286] and crusaders[287] also seem common. Naturally, according to one of the essential motifs of the hagiographic literature, *imitatio Christi*, the minister is often compared to Jesus Christ: "*He was* […] *on of the few Christlike Christians*."[288] Of

[280] Newton, J.F. Wesley and Woolman: An Appraisal and Comparison. – N.Y., Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press, 1915. P. 44.
[281] Lucas E.V. The Life of Charles Lamb. Vols. I-II. – N.Y.: University of Michigan Library, 1905. P. 371; qtd. in: Perkins, J. The European Reception of John Woolman's Journal… P. 99.
[282] Interestingly, both Madame Guyon and Fénelon were Quietists, i.e. adherents of a Christian mystical doctrine of the 17th – 18th centuries, often compared to Quakerism.
[283] Trevelyan, G.M. Clio, a Muse, and Other Essays Literary and Pedestrian. – N.Y.: Longman, Green & Co., 1913. P. 136-137.
[284] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 34, 45, 4.
[285] Scudder, V.D. Introduction // The Journal with Other Writings of John Woolman. – L.: Dent & Sons, 1910. P. ix.
[286] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 43.
[287] Lask, J.S. John Woolman: Crusader for Freedom // Phylon. 1944, Vol. 5, No 1. P. 30-40.
[288] Teignmouth Shore, W. John Woolman: his Life and our Times… P. 1.

course, a special role in the texts about Woolman (as well as in the *Journal*) is played by the image of the prophet Moses, the liberator of the Jewish people from slavery.[289]

Almost every author focuses attention on Woolman's *prophetic and unique role* in history. Whittier writes: "*significance of [such a man's] life was scarcely understood by his contemporaries, and perhaps not even by himself*."[290] Woolman is often called the first abolitionist. An illustrative example of such line of thought can be seen in the didactic book *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman* (1865); one of its characters, Mary, remarks: "*It is wonderful* […] *that among all good men and women living in those days, none were found to stand forth as fellow-helpers of John Woolman; that there were none whose eyes were opened to see the iniquity of slavery, and who were ready to labor with him for the release of the oppressed* […]. *I wonder that he did not become discouraged at having to labor alone*."[291]

The author of an introduction to the *Journal*'s even compares the importance of Woolman's role in history with that of Napoleon.[292] Whittier, talking about Woolman's historic significance, writes that it "*has by no means been confined to the religious society of which he was a member*," but "*may be traced wherever a step in the direction of emancipation has been taken in this country or in Europe*."[293]

Following a chain of historical events, Whittier shows the influence of Woolman's ideas on the French *Société des Amis des Noirs*, the development and spread of anti-slavery ideas in various countries. A Frenchman converted to Quakerism, Stephen Grellet (1772–1855), promoted Woolman's ideas in Russia, meeting with Alexander I, which, as Whittier believes, played a role in the history of emancipation of the Russian serfs. John Lask, in his turn, notes that "*Woolman's efforts for the abolition of the slave trade are important not only because of their*

[289] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young: or, Evenings with John Woolman. – Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1865. P. 89, 106.
[290] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 1.
[291] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 88.
[292] Smellie A. Introduction / The Journal of John Woolman. London, 1902. P. XIV; see Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 3.
[293] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 31.

historical anteriority to other efforts in the same direction, but also because they demonstrated the enormous contribution which could be made by a single individual in a single lifetime."[294]

This evaluation of Woolman's role in the development of the American anti-slavery movement is certainly rather hyperbolized. Being a prominent early advocate for emancipation, however, Woolman can hardly be considered the leader or the founder of abolitionism. Most probably, such designations would have been surprising for Woolman himself, for actually first antislavery protests had taken place in the American colonies a century earlier, in the 1600s.[295] During Woolman's lifetime, this line of social thought was already well developed (and not only among Quakers[296]); as it was mentioned above, the minister had a number of associates within his immediate circle.[297] Some exaggeration of Woolman's role was, in Plank's view, deliberately promoted by Whittier, who considered it necessary to reinforce antislavery thought among Quakers.

Let us also consider some other motifs in Woolman's "hagiographical" image.

Such a traditional for hagiography motif as "**the saint's pious parents**" is present in the *Journal* itself and is regularly reproduced in the texts we examine. Woolman says about his parents that they always gave him "pious instructions."[298] Woolman had twelve siblings, but he only mentions one sister, Elizabeth, who lived "a self-denying, exemplary life."[299] Similarly, the anonymous author of *Sister Ruth's Stories* also focuses on the image of Elizabeth as a "*remarkably sedate, and thoughtful beyond her years*" lady, and finishes the story about her with a poem by the English poet Anna Laetitia Barbauld about virtue.[300]

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[294] Lask, J.S. John Woolman: Crusader for Freedom… P. 40.
[295] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 100.
[296] Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America. 1688–1788 / Ed. by R. Bruns. – N.Y.: Chelsea House Publishers, 1977. 551 p.; McElroy, F.L. Prophets of Universal Redemption: Evangelical Antislavery Literature…
[297] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 90; Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 4.
[298] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… C. 23.
[299] Ibid. C. 39.
[300] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 47, 50.

The next motif, noticeable in the texts we examine, is a version of "**celebration of the saint's homeland**." It is not an entire country or a town that is praised as a homeland, but, more specifically, Woolman's home and farm near Mount Holly, where he grew up, and a house with a garden nearby, where he lived as an adult. The minister's house appears in many texts as a miniature of Paradise, an oasis of peace. Joseph Newton notes: "*There [on Rancocas Creek in West Jersey], amid his apple trees which he planted and cultivated, he was most happy* […]. *It was an humble abode, but he was content.* […] *From his little farm he looked out with a mingled feeling of wonder and sorrow upon the fret and unrest of the world…*"[301].

The image of a far sight house on a hill can also be found in another text: Woolman lived in a "*plain building* […] *sheltered by trees which he loved and tended; situated upon the highest ground in the county, a mount rising some two hundred feet above the sea-level, from which was obtained a broad view of the rich plain around…*"[302] Whittier, in his turn, depicts the country's holly-trees, among which Woolman, "*no doubt* […] *often walked* […] *communing with nature and musing on the great themes of life…*"[303]

George DeCou, a local history expert, in his book remarkably titled "Woolman-Land: Historical Sketches of Rancocas and Neighboorhood,"[304] depicts Woolman's home area as follows: "*The spirit of John Woolman, the gifted and saintly Quaker who was born on the bank of the Rancocas not far from the village, seems to hover over the quiet and peaceful countryside. It is, above all, a friendly neighbourhood*."[305]

Interestingly, a similar image of a cozy, peaceful place appears in *Sister Ruth's Stories*; however, it no longer relates to Woolman's dwelling, but to the description of the house where children gather to hear about him: "*Again the same little group were gathered around their sister, waiting for her evening story. The rain was gently,*

[301] Newton, J.F. Wesley and Woolman: An Appraisal and Comparison… P. 48-49.
[302] Teignmouth Shore, W. John Woolman: his Life and our Times… P. 4.
[303] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 10.
[304] DeCou, G. Woolman-Land: Historical Sketches of Rancocas and Neighborhood. – Mount Holly, 1937. 23 p.
[305] DeCou, G. Woolman-Land… P. 5.

slowly falling, pattering with a low, melancholy sound upon the roof. But when the shutters were closed, and the lamps were lighted, these loving ones forgot the storm and the cold without, in the comfort that reigned within."[306]

The *Journal* is sometimes characterized as a spiritually "healing" book, and this fact apparently correlates with the motif of sainthood. A vivid example of this can be found in the essay of a 19th century Quaker poet Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. Chandler notes that many books – whether it be history, biography, philosophy, or poetry – often distress the reader, because history is but an endless drama of "human crime and misery"; biographies reveal weakness and ignorance of the wisest people; philosophy, in its turn, leads the reader to understand his own ignorance, and poetry sooner or later fatigues the reader with its "dazzling garishness." Meanwhile, Woolman is compared by Chandler to a man who comes to support a suffering friend, and heals him with a calming "pulse" of his quiet prose.[307]

Another common motif in Woolman's hagiographic portraits is his "poverty" and ascetic lifestyle. Henry Crabb Robinson was probably the first writer to use the cliché "**poor tailor**," which was to become fairly popular. As Joseph Newton notes, "*Only a humble tailor, as Jacob Behman was a cobbler, yet he was a man mighty in gentleness, and if some unseen hand were to write the history of his influence, what a testimony it would be!*"[308] Similarly, Whittier writes that Woolman "w*as a poor man, but he loved truth more than money*,"[309] and the famous British historian George M. Trevelyan emphasizes that being "*a man of but slender means*,"[310] Woolman was still doing his best to restrain himself, seeking, firstly, to live up to the Quaker ideal of "plain life," and, secondly, not to use the goods produced by slave labor.

Whereas Woolman's search for a simple, ascetic lifestyle is quite consistent with the biographical data (as well as with the *Journal*), his poverty is rather exaggerated.

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[306] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 29.
[307] Chandler, E.M. John Woolman // Essays, Philanthropic and Moral, by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America. – Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836. P. 25-26.
[308] Newton, J.F. Wesley and Woolman: An Appraisal and Comparison… P. 43.
[309] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 11.
[310] Trevelyan, G.M. Clio, a Muse, and Other Essays Literary and Pedestrian... P. 139.

It is also not quite accurate to always define him as a tailor, since tailoring was not the only occupation of Woolman: as it was mentioned above, he learned a number of trades. Woolman certainly did not belong to the richest strata of settlers, but he was by no means poor. A remark of one of *Sister Ruth's Stories*' young characters is more accurate: "*The more I become acquainted with the character of John Woolman,* […] *the more I am struck with its sublimity – with its dignified simplicity. With the capacity he exhibited for carrying on extensive business enterprises and amassing wealth; with the high mental endowments that he possessed* […] *to lend a deaf ear to the call of ambition, and to be willing to walk in the straight and narrow path, bespeak high moral courage, and a devoted love for the Master*."[311]

Indeed, Woolman, a third-generation Anglo-American, the eldest son of a family living in a prosperous economic community, had great prospects, a strong business network, and, moreover, interest in enterprise: in other words, as M. E. Stewart writes, "It was likely that he would become a wealthy man of power."[312] Deliberately restricting, due to his religious beliefs, his trading operations and other sources of income, Woolman still remained a materially secure man, and therefore the cliché "a poor tailor" is certainly an element of Woolman's hagiographic myth.

A typical visual motif in Woolman's image is his **homespun clothes** (this motif is a reference to the *Journal* itself, namely, Woolman's reasoning about the advantages of undyed clothing). Describing a Quaker meeting attended by Woolman, Whittier notes: "*John Woolman, of couse, was present, – a man humble and poor in outward appearance, his simple dress of undyed homespun cloth contrasting strongly with the plain but rich apparel of the representatives of the commerce of the city and of the large slave-stocked plantations of the country*."[313] A similar image is presented by Lask: "…*it is little wonder that the cause of human freedom was advanced*

[311] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 42-43.
[312] Stewart M.E. John Woolman's "Kindness beyond Expression": Collective Identity vs. Individualism and White Supremacy // Early American Literature, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1991. P. 253.
[313] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 17.

immesuarably by the conscientious service of a Quaker […] *and Truth* [...] *went forth not in shining armor, but in the rustic homespun of John Woolman*."[314]

Focusing on the minister's plain, rustic, "homespun" clothing, many authors develop yet another motif. It is not only the fabric of Woolman's clothes that is described as homemade, "homespun," but also, figuratively speaking, "the fabric" of the *Journal's* text. In almost all the texts we have examined, Woolman is shown to be a man of natural gifts – a person whose literary talent stems exclusively from his "inner," innate qualities, from his sense of divine inspiration, but in no way from education, reading or other "external" factors. Praising Woolman, Robinson uses the notion of "a beautiful soul," suggested by Rousseau, and later developed by Schiller ("a person whose moral duty and inclination coincide"[315]). The *Journal*, according to Robinson, is "*A perfect gem! His is a schöne Seele (beautiful soul). An illiterate tailor he writes in a style of the most exquisite purity and grace. His moral qualities are transferred to his writings.* […] *His religios is love. His whole existence and all his passions were Love! If one could venture to impute to his creed, and not to his personal character, the delightful frame of mind which he exhibited, one could not hesitate to be a convert. His Christianity is most inviting, – it is fascinating."*[316]

In his turn, Whittier notes: "*A far-reaching moral, social, and political revolution, undoing the evil work of centuries, unquestionably owes much of its original impulse to the life and labors of a poor, unlearned workingman of New Jersey*…"[317] Trevelyan characterizes Woolman as a "*poor Quaker clerk*," "*a Quaker Socrates*," who surpassed his "*Athenian prototype in love and patience* […] *as much as he fell below him in intellect*."[318]

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[314] Lask, J.S. John Woolman: Crusader for Freedom… P. 40.
[315] Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary / Ed. by L.F. Ilichev, P.N. Fedoseyev, S.M. Kovalyov, V.G. Panov. – Moscow: "Soviet Encyclopedia," 1983. P. 825. (In Russian.)
[316] Robinson, H.C. Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence… P. 2; qtd. in Perkins, J. The European Reception of John Woolman's Journal… P. 100.
[317] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 2.
[318] Trevelyan, G.M. Clio, a Muse, and Other Essays Literary and Pedestrian… P.142, 136-137.

Illiteracy of the saint, once replaced by instant knowledge of letters, is a common motif of Christian hagiography dating back to the early Middle Ages.[319] Interesingly, in Woolman's case supposedly "illiterate" man not only learns letters somehow (about this stage nothing is said), but, miraculously, creates an outstanding book. Quite common in the texts we examine, this motif is perhaps the most surprising, because the notion of an "illiterate author" is not only oxymoronic in itself, but also contradicts the text of the *Journal*, where Woolman often speaks about his reading, his essays, documents written by him, etc.

Sometimes the other extreme concerning Woolman's literacy can also be encountered: Woolman is represented as a book lover. There seems to be a romantic exaggeration in this representation, as well as in the image of illiterate author. "He was sophisticated enough to marshal ideas and control style to his ends – quite literate enough, in short, to have created in his *Journal* a work of literary art – without the intervention of any forces more miraculous than those of his own heart, mind, and imagination."[320] Livesay agrees with this, noting that Woolman was "neither an 'illiterate tailor' nor an insatiable scholar'."[321] In his turn, Proud also emphasizes that the minister was neither illiterate nor poor.[322]

Meanwhile, in *Sister Ruth's Stories* the sanctification of the topic of Woolman's education is rendered quite differently. Answering her young listeners' questions, "sister Ruth" says that Woolman was a "*patient, obedient, an industrious*" boy, who learned to read at an early age, knew the Bible by heart, and was a man rather well educated for those days.[323] Here one can notice a typical for hagiography motif, namely, "**the saint's infantile love for reading**." At the same time, this interpretation

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[319] Loparev, Ch.M. Byzantine Hagiography of the 8th – 9th Centuries // Byzantine Chronicle. 1910, vol. 17. P. 25. (In Russian.)
[320] Cady, E.H. John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint… P. 55.
[321] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 224-225.
[322] Proud, J. Preface // Proud, J. (Ed.). John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth. The Journalists Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera… P. VII-VIII. An expert on Woolman's genealogy and writings, James Proud is also a remote descendant of the minister (Proud, J. A Note on John Woolman's Paternal Ancestors… P. 28).
[323] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 12, 14, 23.

corresponds to the text of the *Journal* and seems to be fully confirmed by biographical scholarship.[324]

There is also another motif which should not be overlooked, and which is very often found in combination with the motif of Woolman's "illiteracy." This is the motif of his "**childlikeness**." Interpreting childhood as a period of natural, innate saintliness of man, many authors describe Woolman as a "child." For instance, the British poet and essayist Dora Greenwell writes: "…*it would be hard to give any idea of what this good man was, how calm, how strong, how child-like*…"[325] Whittier in his introduction to the *Journal* notes that the reader will sometimes "*smile over passages of childlike simplicity*."[326]

At the same time, in many of the texts about Woolman (and partly in the *Journal* itself), such a hagiographical motif as indifference to children's games is mentioned. In the first section of the *Journal* Woolman tells how one day, as a child, moving away from playing friends, he began to read the Scripture, and recalls the sense of enlightenment experienced by him. The motif of avoiding children's games is rendered by many authors. An interesting exception is, again, the *Sister Ruth's Stories*, in which the young listeners are told that Woolman, certainly, played as a child, but only at the appropriate time.[327]

To conclude this analysis of hagiographic motifs in the literature about Woolman, let us refer to a note in the Quaker magazine *Friends Review* (1852), where two anecdotes about Woolman's life were published, praising his absolute truthfulness. According to one anecdote, Woolman's reputation as that of an

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[324] Altman, W.F. John Woolman's Reading…

[325] Greenwell, D. John Woolman. – L.: F.B. Kitto, 1871. P. 8.

[326] Whittier, J.G. Introduction… P. 49. There is an insightful observation by Fazil A. Iskander (in his essay *The Soul and the Intellect*): "It is wonderful that the most poignant, the most fascinating images of people with a beautiful soul in the world literature are always intellectually disabled. […] It is these people, defenceless and helpless, as children […] who do the only thing they can: love, good. […] And if so, it was them who were the most sensible people – theirs was the heart's sense." (Iskander, F.A. Stories. A Short Novel. A Fable. A Dialogue. Essays. Poetry. – Yekaterinburg: U-Faktoriya, 1999. P. 634. (In Russian.) The translation is ours. – D.A.). Such an attribute of a soul as "childlikeness" is often opposed to an "adult" intellect, and this conventional opposition can be clearly seen in Woolman's non-fictional image.

[327] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 15.

impeccably truthful person was such that some young men once deliberately set up a situation in which they hoped to catch him on the inaccuracies of his statements; but they did not manage to. Avoiding any exaggeration and haste of judgement, the minister, according to the anonymous author of the note, was always very careful in his choice of words in order to say only what he could fully vouch for.[328]

Summarizing the hagiographic motifs in the publicistic texts reviewed, the image of John Woolman as an "American saint" can be described as follows. Most often, Woolman is portrayed as a man of scanty means; only one text focuses on his prospects for wealth, which he nonetheless abandoned. Of all the trades that Woolman learned during his lifetime, tailoring is most frequently mentioned. Contradicting the fact of the *Journal*'s existence and also the text itself, many authors characterize Woolman as a poorly educated or even completely illiterate person. On the other end of the spectrum one can find a didactic image of Woolman as a man who spent a lot of time reading from his very childhood.

Interestingly, there is also a set of motifs related to the concepts of childhood, home, and homeland. The family of Woolman is portrayed as very pious; he himself keeps childlike sincerity and innocence for all his life. Woolman's house and garden resemble a paradise, and it is contrasted to the tumultuous world around it. The minister himself, his innate (allegedly having no connection to education) wisdom, his "homespun clothes," his home area – all these appear in their hagiographical interpretation as a personification of the saintly, the righteous foundation of American history. Contrary to the famous biblical saying, for American antislavery journalism of the 1850s – 1940s Woolman became the "prophet in his own country," a moral authority and a kind of a national hero who had foreseen the inevitable abolition of slavery.

The authors of the reviewed texts use such stylistic devices as hyperbola (exaggeration of the character's role in history; idealization of his positive qualities), comparison (with sages and saints of the past, with famous contemporaries),

[328] L. "John Woolman"… P. 485.

metonymy (matching the qualities of the dress, the hero's dwelling with his own qualities), and focus primarily on shaping the figure of Woolman as a saint. It is also important that, while keeping close to the *Journal*'s plot in general, its commented retellings and essays about it present Woolman as no longer the first, but the third person, and this metamorphosis itself noticeably reinforces that element of hagiography, which may be found in the primary source. Whereas the story told by the minister himself can indeed be called, to some extent, a "selfless autobiography," the considered publicistic texts put the hagiographical image of Woolman in the very centre of narrative.

In the next section we will examine in more detail one of the above-mentioned texts – *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman*.

2.4. Reflections upon the *Journal* in the Literature of "Domestic Abolitionism": *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman* (1865)

The confrontation between the South and the North of the USA arose in the second third of the 19th century and ended with the Civil War of 1861–1865. It was a significant factor in the history of American literature. The answer to the question whether the slave system was to be preserved or abolished could influence the future of the whole country, and it was only natural that images of children – the personification of the national future – played a special role in antislavery (as well as proslavery) literature. At the same time, along with the child as a character, the child as the potential reader, the recipient of the text, was also essential. It is noteworthy that, for example, the famous *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life among the Lowly* (1852) by Harriet Beecher Stowe was published not only in the original, but also in juvenile versions.[329]

Juvenile abolitionist literature of the antebellum period is represented by a number of authors, and it is a special, though not fully appreciated so far,[330] part of

[329] De Rosa, D.C. Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature, 1830–1865. – N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2003. P. 11.
[330] De Rosa, D.C. Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature… P. 2-4.

American literature. In her *Slavery in American Children's Literature, 1790–2010*, Paula Connolly has observed that both abolitionists and advocates for slaveholding used literature, especially fiction and autobiography, as "'the most powerful weapon' in the battle to engender sympathy for one's position about slavery."[331] They attached great importance to persuasion of young readers and often used the same genres for this purpose. For instance, abolitionists published children's magazine *The Slave's Friend*,[332] while the southern authors published *The Rose Bud* (later *The Southern Rose*).[333] In the North, so-called antislavery alphabets were printed (among well-known examples are alphabets published by Quaker sisters Hannah and Mary Townsend[334] and by the Unitarian minister Thomas Abel[335]), while the slavery advocates initiated a series of "southern" schoolbooks, "free from all taint of abolitionism."[336]

Children's abolitionist literature is part of the phenomenon called "domestic abolitionism."[337] Abolitionists are known to have acted not only in the public sphere, but also in private, everyday life. This was particularly the case for women because "whenever they spoke publicly or published their concerns about slavery, they risked or received criticism,"[338] since politics was "perceived to be the domain of men only."[339] Under such pressure, those women who were not indifferent to the public agenda of the US often voiced their views through traditionally "female" genres,

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[331] Connolly, P.T. Slavery in American Children's Literature, 1790–2010. – Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2013. P. 1-2.
[332] Geist, Ch. D. The "Slave's Friend": An Abolitionist Magazine for Children // American Periodicals, 9, 1999. P. 27-35.
[333] Stiles, C.A. Windows into Antebellum Charleston: Gloria Gilman and *The Southern Rose* Magazine. – A diss. subm. to the University of South Carolina, 1994. 357 p.
[334] Townsend, H., Townsend, M. The Anti-Slavery Alphabet. – Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1847. 16 p.
[335] Abel, Th. C. The Gospel of Slavery: A Primer of Freedom. – N.Y.: T.W. Strong, 1864. 36 p.
[336] Connolly, P.T. Slavery in American Children's Literature… P. 4.
[337] De Rosa, D.C. Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature…
[338] De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes: An Anthology of Children's Abolitionist Literature. – Westport, Connecticut; London: Praeger, 2005. P. xv.
[339] Okker, P. Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Centure American Women Editors. – Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995. P. 16. Qtd. in: De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes… P. xv.

which included "domestic" novels, sentimental and children's literature (written in the form of alphabet books, as well as short stories, poems, conversations etc.).[340]

It should be emphasized that the development of children's antislavery literature was significantly promoted not only by the purely political, but also by the general intellectual atmosphere of the epoch. This epoch was marked by the flourishing of transcendental philosophy and pedagogical pursuits of such famous Transcendentalists as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, Bronson Alcott and the Peabody Sisters. Their views on pedagogy differed considerably, but the major principles were similar: 1) Transcendentalists cultivated an equal respect for each individual, 2) and the also sought, through the introduction of new educational methods, to build a society, based on fundamental humanistic values.[341] They focused on the necessity of moral education of the child, nurturing the good aspect of his or her nature; from Transcentalists' point of view, the most effective pedagogical method was the method dating back to the Ancient world: the dialogue of the teacher with the student.[342] An example of the practical implementation of this approach was the experimental school in Boston, founded in 1834 by Bronson Alcott. Alcott, together with his assistant Elizabeth Peabody, set himself as a mentor to cultivate two abilities in his students: imagination and the heart's sensitivity.[343]

Some versions of this method can also be found in the literature of "domestic abolitionism." The American scholar Deborah De Rosa, who studied the conventions of this kind of abolitionist literature using a large archive material, highlights a traditional triangle of images in such texts: two children – the victimized slave child and the white child, and also the abolitionist mother-historian (actually, not necessarily mother, but anyway, an elder relative of the child who listens to her).[344] The figure of the young slave usually remains an exclusively intratextual one. One

[340] De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes… P. xv.
[341] Bicknell, K. Brooks and Ditches: A Transcendental Look at Education // Independent School Magazine. 2008. No. 6 (1).
[342] Schertz, M. The Temple School: Transcendentalist Pedagogy and Moral Regulation in Antebellum America // Childhood and Philosophy. 2012. Vol. 8, No. 15. P. 183.
[343] Ibid. P. 186.
[344] De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes… P. xviii.

the one hand, the image of the enslaved peer was meant to arouse in the young reader sympathy and desire to free the child. On the other hand, it was rarely perceived as an independent individual – a potential reader of the book or a person, able to influence the future of the country.[345] Responsibility for this future was usually fully delegated to the young white abolitionist; interestingly, for a long time it was usually a boy, but after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) the image of an abolitionist girl also became popular.[346]

Meanwhile, the image of the mother-educator (or "mother-historian") dates back to the 18th century, and more precisely, to the times of American colonies' struggle for independence. The ideal of so-called Republican motherhood[347] was then considered the basis for the education of patriotic citizens and the formation of the young country's moral portrait. However, in abolitionist literature of the 1830s–1860s the image of the "mother-educator" underwent a remarkable transformation: now she offered not an apology, but a critical rethinking, a revision of American history. In modern politics, profit-seeking, dishonesty, deviation from democratic ideals were strongly denounced. At the same time, the perspective was still rather "domestic," "female": the emphasis was laid on the fact that the slavery system adversely affects children's souls, family ties, the ideals of democracy and patriotism.[348]

The main goal of the authors was to cause the young reader "a change of heart" and the question: "What can I do to end slavery?"[349]. Practical steps were proposed, such as writing petitions, participating in discussions, boycotting goods manufactured with the use of slave labour.[350] It should be mentioned that, attracting young readers, antislavery authors hoped not only to find future associates, but also to influence

[345] Connolly, P.T. Slavery in American Children's Literature… P. 5.
[346] De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes… P. xviii.
[347] Interestingly, in the 18th – 19th centuries this term was not yet used. It was only coined in 1976 by Iowa University Professor, specialist in intellectual history, Linda Kaufman Kerber (Kerber, L.K. The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment – An American Perspective // American Quarterly 28, no. 2, 1976. P. 187-205).
[348] De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes… P. xvi.
[349] De Rosa, D.C. Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature… P. 11.
[350] Connolly, P.T. Slavery in American Children's Literature… P. 4.

through them (by "the mouth of a babe"[351]) the generations of their elder relatives. This is how the Townsend sisters, authors of one of the abolitionist alphabets, explained to the children the purpose of their book: maybe adults will "*hearken what you say, / Though from us they turn away*."[352]

A book we have quoted in the previous section, *Sister Ruth's Stories, or, Evenings with John Woolman*, is among the most interesting, and at the same time very little explored examples of juvenile literature of "domestic abolitionism." This small 121-page edition was published in Philadelphia in the last year of the Civil War and is essentially a child-adapted version of John Woolman's story. The interest in Woolman's figure is perfectly explicable[353]: for many abolitionists, the moral message of the *Journal* was the best expression of their search for a non-violent but ceaseless struggle for the complete emancipation of slaves.

It is necessary to specify that, unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to establish the authorship of *Sister Ruth's stories*. On the cover of the book only the initials R.P.A. are printed, and neither the edition itself nor its bibliographic entries contain the author's full name. The initials do not match to any names published in the online lists of US abolitionist organizations' members.[354] It is only reasonable yet to believe that the author's first name was Ruth and that she belonged to the Society of Friends (this is indicated by some specifically Quaker vocabulary used in the text; in particular, it is marked by the regular use of the pronoun *thou*, which at that time prevailed among Quakers).

According to De Rosa, anonymity (as well as preferring children's genres) was often necessary for female abolitionist writers: they could more freely voice their views by hiding behind initials or socially approved "domestic" image of a

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[351] Characteristically, this idiom is used in the title of the antology compiled by Deborah De Rosa (De Rosa, D.C. Into the Mouths of Babes…).

[352] Townsend, H., Townsend, M. The Anti-Slavery Alphabet… P. 3.

[353] Interestingly, Woolman's image was also used as a didactical example for young readers two decades later, in 1885, in Thomas Green's book (Green, Th. John Woolman: A Study for Young Men. – Manchester, London, 1885. 132 p.). Juvenile audience is also the addressee of Chuck Fager's short story (Fager, Ch. John Woolman and the Slave Girl. – Kimopress, 1977. 28 p.).

[354] Website: http://www.americanabolitionists.com/abolitionists-and-anti-slavery-activists.html (Accessed: 31.05.2022).

"grandmother," "cousin Lizzie," "aunt Mary," etc. In addition, among these writers were African-American women or white southerners, and for them anonymity was imperative.[355] Sometimes, even those female authors who did not address political issues also preferred anonymity or pseudonyms, thus conforming to the gender rules of the era.[356]

It is important to add, however, that in the case of *Sister Ruth's Stories* anonymity preffered by the author can be interpreted from the point of view of hagiographical conventions already discussed in the previous section. Anonymity plays a substantial role for an author of a hagiographical text, because it conveys the idea of his "self-abasement," insignificance in comparison with his saintly hero.[357]

Sister Ruth's stories are composed as a series of nine evening conversations between a young lady named Ruth and her younger sisters Effie, Anna and Mary, as well as their little brother Willie. The first "evening" begans with a description of how the children gather in a cozy house and ask their sister to tell them the long-promised story. In its structure, the text resembles catechism lessons: Ruth's monologue is regularly interrupted by children's reflections and their dialogue with the narrator. Explaining the purpose of the book, the author of the foreword to the *Stories* (also an anonym with the initials A.W.M., and emphasizing by the signature "a Friend" his belonging to the Society of Friends[358]) notes that the original text of the *Journal* can hardly attract young readers, but some excerpts from it in a simplified form, supplemented by poems and dialogues, may really interest them.[359] At the same time, the main purpose of the book is not entertaining, but didactic in the first place: it is supposed to set for the younger generation a "fitting example" for imitation, an example of a truly "excellent man."[360]

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[355] De Rosa, D.C. Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature… P. 11.
[356] The Cambridge History of American Literature / Ed. by S. Bercovitch, C. R. K. Patell. Vol. 2: 1820–1865. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. P. 81-82.
[357] Krasnova, N.A., Krasnov, A.G. Hagiographical Motifs… P. 742.
[358] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. v.
[359] Ibid. P. v-vi.
[360] Ibid. P. v.

In fact, *Sister Ruth's stories* become not only child-adapted, but also a richly commented retelling of the *Journal*. The author of *Sister Ruth's Stories* scrupulously records the dates of Woolman's life events, thereby transferring to her text the documentary diary style of the original source. At the same time, trying to fill in the "gaps" in the the *Journal*'s text, the narrator adorns the storytelling with a number of scenes and dialogues lacking in the *Journal*: for example, a scene from his infancy, his wedding, etc.

Sister Ruth's listeners are children of different ages, and the author skillfully represents their many-voiced reactions. Little Willy does not understand everything, but it is in his simple-minded remarks that the needed "change of heart" becomes visible. For example, learning about Woolman's dialogue with a slave-owner, Willy says: "*I am so glad that John Woolman told the man that it was wrong to have slaves*."[361] All the children listen attentively to the stories about Woolman, but it is Willie who speaks as Ruth's most enthusiastic listener, the "baby," whose mouth speaks truth. In turn, one of the older girls, Anna, often delivers passionate and dramatic monologues, full of references to historical names and events, and acts as sister Ruth's more emotional alter ego. Meanwhile, the narrator herself, Ruth, preserves the flat intonation of the "historian" throughout the entire text, amiably pacifying his young listeners.

Interestingly, in the course of the story some melodramatic effects are used: for example, beginning to tell her siblings about a wonderful person, Ruth for some time carries on an intrigue, and only at the end of the first chapter (the first "evening") does reveal his name: "*So, dear Willie, John Woolman, for this was his honored name, even as a little boy, appears to have been* […] *very thoughtful*."[362]

Somewhat melodramatic is the construction of the entire first chapter. As it was already mentioned, in a scene the narrator introduces John Woolman as a baby born

[361] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 33.
[362] Ibid. P. 15.

in the bloom of August.[363] Numerous sisters and brothers[364] are eager to play with the newborn lying in the cradle; the mother next to him prays for the blessing of his life path. This sentimental scene (of course lacking in the *Journal*) contrasts sharply with the next episode of Woolman's adolescence, when a boy kills a bird near her nest. Realizing that the nestlings are doomed to starvation, he decides to kill them out of pity. The repentance for his mindless crime, which led to the sad choice between two evils, the "horror" with which his soul was overwhelmed, becomes the starting point for further reflection of the autobiographer.

As it was already noted in section 1.2, one of the first in the *Journal*, the episode with birds is interpreted by scholars as a key to the entire text, communicating the most important for Woolman idea of the inextricable connection of all creatures.[365] By juxtaposing in his narrative the two portraits of Woolman – Woolman as a beautiful baby and as a young offender – the author of *Sister Ruth's Stories* visibly dramatizes the story with the bird. Such a "fall" of their peer makes a painful impression on Ruth's listeners and encourages them to make their own moral conclusions.[366] Little Willie says: "*I shall always think of this, when I throw stones; and I will be very careful not to hurt the poor little birds, or even the little worms that are crawling about in the path, any more. I had never thought before that it is an easy matter to kill them, but that we cannot possibly bring them back to life again*."[367]

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[363] Actually, Woolman was born in October; the month is mistaken, though, in some texts of the 19th century due to a confusion in numbering of months.

[364] This is also a slight inaccuracy, since all John Woolman's brothers were younger than him.

[365] Stewart, M.E. Thinking about Death: The Companionship of John Woolman's *Journal*… P. 109-110.

[366] Touching upon the *Stories'* visual imagery, it is interesting to draw attention to some illustrations the book contains. The frontispiece depicts a house and a garden in which several children are playing. There seems to be no direct correspondence between this picture and the *Stories*, as there are seven children in the illustration – more than in the book itself, and their age is nearly the same, unlike Ruth's listeners' age. Apparently, this picture does not refer to the *Stories*' content, but suggests an image of the book's audience. The second illustration is the portrait of an Indian man, whose dignified figure is standing on the rocky mountain peak, a bow and arrows in his hands; behind him there is a lamentable image of a tree stump, left in place of once mighty, but now broken tree. This image is clearly corresponding to Ruth and her listeners' conversation about Indian peoples' history.

[367] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 18.

The formative influence of the *Stories* is also noticeable in of the older children's remarks – for example, having heard the story of young Woolman choice between religious life and fun in the company of friends, Anna says: "*And here, my dear sisters* […] *let me advise you to be careful, very careful, in your choice of companions*. […] *It is danderous to depend upon our own strength, and think we shall not be harmed by communion with those who delight in wrongdoing*…"[368]

Prose part of *Sister Ruth's Stories* is written in quite a simple, easy for children's perception spoken language: naturally, Willie says: "*It is much more interesting* […] *to listen to sister Ruth's stories, than it is to read the same in a book*."[369] At the same time, an important feature of the *Stories* is the abundance of poetic reminiscences and quotations. They make up about a tenth of the text. Almost none of the quotes is attributed; most of them are commented only by the words "As the poet said...". Among the frequently quoted poets are the authors of religious masterpieces of the 17th century, such as John Milton and John Benyan, as well as such poets as Mark Aikenside (1721–1770), Philip James Bailey (1816–1902), Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819–1881), and, of course, the most famous Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier. One of Whittier's poems, *To Caroline Neagus: With a Copy of Woolman's Journal* (1842), is quoted in the epigraph. In the *Stories*, poetry plays a structure-forming role: beginning with the epigraph from Whittier, the book ends with a poem called *Lines on the Death of John Woolman* (written, apparently, by the author of the *Stories*). Besides, four of the nine chapters – "evenings" are finished with poetic quotations.

Similar to Woolman's *Journal* itself, *Sister Ruth's Stories* are permeated with biblical allusions. Ruth, as well as her older listeners, parallels each episode of Woolman's biography with the Holy Scripture. The story of Woolman's life and American history in general appear to them as new adaptations of timeless stories. At the same time, it should be mentioned how "mother-historian" Sister Ruth avoids "black and white" interpretations, striving to achieve a balanced approach to the sore subjects of the national past. So, speaking to the children about slavery, Ruth notices:

[368] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 25.
[369] Ibid. P. 17.

"*No doubt, strong affection often existed between the family of the master and the slave* […]. *Yet, notwithstanding the kindness and consideration, that many of them who had good, kind-hearted masters, received* […] *yet there was room for a great deal of unkindness and oppression*."[370]

Unlike Woolman himself and other authors who proved the unchristian nature of slavery by numerous references to the Bible, the author of *Sister Ruth's Stories*, adapting the book to her young audience, just reminds of the Golden Rule of ethics: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them" (Luke 6:31).[371]

Discussing with her listeners Woolman's journey to Wyalusing and commenting on his reflections about the indigenous people of the continent,[372] the narrator also obviously seeks for an unbiased, peaceful revision of history. Ruth says that during and some time after William Penn's rule, in his domain "*the white people and the Indians both observed the treaty made by Penn; peace and harmony were preserved unbroken*,"[373] the peoples trusted each other. Indians called Penn father Onas ("Papa Bird Feather"). However, the local colonists were unable to continue Penn's wise peace-loving policy, which led to years of bitter conflict and suffering on both sides. The journey of Woolman, who sought to restore at least some of the lost trust between the nations, leads the children to sad reflections. The episode of *Sister Ruth's Stories* dedicated to the Indians ends with one of the girls, Effie's, singing *"The Indian's Lament."*[374]

As one can see, to a large extent, the stories from an individual life, life of John Woolman, are used by the narrator as the starting point for thinking about American and global history in general. At the same time, Woolman, from her point of view, remains an exemplary peacemaker and reformer, acting not by force, but (according to Heller's terminology) by a "soft persuasion": "*Too many of the great reformers of*

[370] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 34-35.
[371] Ibidem.
[372] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 122.
[373] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 83.
[374] Ibid. P. 85-88.

all ages […] *have gone forth bearing, as it were, Truth and Right in one hand, and fire and sword in the other, threatening to consume and destroy all who would not enlist under their banner, and come up to the help of what they considered the Right*. […] *But John Woolman, following in the footsteps of the Great Teacher, learned of him to be meek and lowly – learned of him that Divine love which overcometh evil, and which enabled him to accomplish so great a work.*"[375]

It should be mentioned that when talking about "a great work," the author of the *Stories* follows the tradition of a romantic exaggeration of Woolman's role in history and presents him as the "first abolitionist." The reasoning already quoted earlier (section 2.3) from *Sister Ruth's Stories* ("*It is wonderful* […] *that among all the good men and women living in those days, none were found to stand forth as fellow-helpers of John Woolman*"[376]) seems to be a homage to the romanticist myth about Woolman.

Sister Ruth completes her *Stories* with an emotional monologue that once again brings to mind the motif of "author's self-abasement," characteristic of hagiography: "*As I look back* [upon John Woolman's life], *and see how he went on with unfaltering purpose, in weakness of body, in discouragement, through trials and difficulties apparently insurmountable, how ashamed I feel of my lukewarmness*,[377] *of my feeble efforts in behalf of the Right and True; allowing myself to stumble at every little obstacle…*"[378]

Recounting Woolman's story, Sister Ruth feels an increasing desire to follow his Christian example, while her little listeners are undergoing that change ("a change of heart" – or, if we recall Coleridge's words – "amelioration of heart"), for which children's literature of "domestic abolitionism" was designed. Meanwhile, Woolman's *Journal* itself is also the story of the hero's "changes of heart," beginning with the most far-reaching one, when the Quaker faith becomes more important to

[375] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 59.
[376] Ibid. P. 88.
[377] The word *lukewarmness* refers to the Bible: "So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." (KJV, ASV); "Thus because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I am about to spew thee out of my Mouth." (1764 Purver Bible).
[378] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 119.

him than the vanity of his pursuits (Chapter I), and continuing with further regular changes: when Woolman refuses to take any part in the slavery system, decides to take a dangerous trip to Wyalusing, etc. Thus, for Ruth and her listeners the figure of Woolman appears as not a fixed, unattainable ideal, but rather as a kind of a moral guide, who had himself once walked a long road of inner transformation.

To sum up, it should be noted that *Sister Ruth's Stories* generally correspond to the conventions of abolitionist literature for children as described by Deborah De Rosa, but at the same time they seem quite peculiar in terms of composition. Revision of history is undoubtedly important for Ruth, but it would not be quite accurate to characterize this revision as harshly critical or philippic. The author manages, on the one hand, to clearly and convincingly express her socio-political views, and on the other hand, to avoid biases in her portrayal of the past. As for the classic triangle of "mother-historian" / "young slave" / "young abolitionist," in *Sister Ruth's Stories* this triangle appears markedly different. Instead of the image of a young slave, the triangle is completed by a figure of a morally exemplary historical figure, a man whose status is even higher than that of the "mother-historian."

When considering *Sister Ruth's Stories* in the context of abolitionism, it is also necessary to mention the following feature. Written, as mentioned earlier, after the emancipation of slaves, the *Stories* can be read not as an appeal to youth to fight for abolition of slavery, but rather as a somewhat melancholic "afterword" to the era of this struggle. It is especially noteworthy that this book was created in wartime, in 1864–65, but, strange as it may seem, there is not a single mention of the Civil War in the book. It can be assumed that, to some extent, in *Sister Ruth's Stories* the war raging in the country acquires the effect of "the meaningful absence." Every evening, Sister Ruth closes the shutters, turns on the lights, and asks the curious kids to sit, while the "fierce spirit"[379] of warfare, as well as the storm, battering outdoors (see the exposition, opening the Chapter III[380]), fall silent somewhere behind the walls of the cozy house. Meanwhile, young listeners, personifying the future of the country, are

[379] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 126.
[380] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 29.

told a wise tale from the time of this country's birth. In the words of Sister Ruth, Woolman appears not so much as an advocate for abolitionism than as a patient peacekeeper.

In the following sections we will turn to examples of biographical prose about Woolman, all of which, as well as *Sister Ruth's Stories*, address to children and youth.

2.5. Chuck Fager's Short Story *John Woolman and the Slave Girl* (1977)

Chuck Fager (b. 1942) is an American writer and social activist from Kansas, known for his active citizenship, and the author of many Quaker-themed works. According to his own website,[381] he was born into a large Catholic family. His father was a military officer, serving the air force. Chuck Fager himself also planned to enter the military, and even made considerable progress in preparing for it. However, he opted for humanities at the University of Colorado, graduating in 1967. While still studying, in the fall of 1964, Fager became a member of the SCLC – Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by Martin Luther King. Participating in the Civil Rights Movement, Fager was arrested three times, and on one occasion his cellmate was Dr. King himself. This story is told by Fager in his book *Selma 1965: The March That Changed the South*, and also his memoir *Eating Dr. King's Dinner*.[382]

In 1965, Fager submitted an official application for conscientious objection to military service because of his pacifist beliefs. However, these beliefs were not yet connected to religion. Soon after that a life-changing event occurred: Fager met some students and employees from the Quaker College in New York City, who introduced him to their faith. For the next two years Fager worked at the college; he became, in his own words, a "convinced Friend," and published his first book. In 1968, Fager entered the Harvard Divinity School, at the same time writing new books, creating reports for the alternative press, actively participating in anti-war rallies.

[381] Website: https://afriendlyletter.com/chuck-fager/ (Accessed: 15.01.2023).
[382] Ibidem.

Over time, he opened his own publishing house “Kimo Press,” established the magazine *A Friendly Letter*, and in 1985, in addition to writing and journalism, entered the postal service. However, Quaker culture and worldview remain Fager’s lifelong interest. In some periods, he worked at the Quaker Pendle Hill Center, taught the course “The History and Evolution of American Liberal Quakerism,” participated in the creation of a Quaker Art Gallery (*The Lemonade Art Gallery*), and published the magazine *Quaker Theology*. In 2003, Fager published an essay entitled *A Quaker Declaration of War*, criticizing militarism and encouraging believers to distance themselves from media culture and devote more time to studying Quaker history, foreign languages, and working for intercultural dialogue.

Many of Fager’s works are written for young audience: as the writer admits, he created them primarily for his children and grandchildren. The short story about Woolman, *John Woolman and the Slave Girl* (1977), is also addressed to youth. This is a fictional narrative, a story that might well have occurred in the life of the itinerant minister, who spent the summer of 1757 in the southern colonies.

The **story’s plot** is relatively simple. It is set in 1757, Virginia, in the estate of a Quaker slaveowner named Richard Barton. A 14-year-old slave girl named Ruth is ordered to dig potatoes. While doing the errand, she sees her young neighbours prancing on their horses. Young Ruth is increasingly afflicted by the hopelessness of a slave life. She has two dreams to support her: learning to read and getting free. However, while the first dream seems easy to fulfill (her uncle Jacob promised to teach her to read when she turns fifteen), the second dream seems unattainable.

One day Ruth sees that her master is visited by a guest, a man she has never met before. This person makes her curious and arouses unconscious sympathy in her. However, the girl’s mother is alarmed by the guest’s arrival and asks her daughter to avoid him: she is afraid that he is a slave-trader. Despite her mother’s apprehension, Ruth approaches the house and overhears the master’s conversation with his guest. Realizing that the guest is not a slave-trader, but, on the contrary, an advocate for abolition of slavery, she finds an opportunity and speaks to this man. It turns out that he is John Woolman, a Quaker minister from Philadelphia. She learns that he came to

see her master to persuade him to free his slaves. Richard Barton, being a soft-hearted man, understands Woolman's cause, but is slow to make any decision. Thus, Woolman says goodbye to Ruth and leaves the house without successfully convincing her master.

Then young Ruth decides to do an audacious thing: without telling anyone, she follows Woolman and catches up with him in the woods near a river crossing. Asking the traveller to stop for a while, the girl begs him to take her with him to Philadelphia, "*where free Negroes owned their own property and could learn to read*."[383] Ruth hopes that she will thus gain the long-awaited freedom and then help her family to also become free. In her dreams she sees herself as a literate, independent girl, earning a living for her family and having her own horse. But the new conversation with Woolman, whose kindness had inspired her so much the previous time, now only bitterly disappoints her: the minister refuses to help her escape, explaining that he still hopes for the good will of her master, but is unwilling to deceive him. The sadness with which Woolman utters these words seems insincere to the girl, and she says goodbye to him in a frustrated way, exclaiming: "*And save they tears for some Friend's parlor, where thee can speak comfortably of the will of God for others between tea and supper. I can cry for myself when the time comes. And it will!..*"[384].`

The girl manages to return home unnoticed, so that only her uncle Jacob learns of her attempted escape. Seeing the despair of his niece, he cheers her up, saying that it is no longer necessary to wait for her fifteenth birthday: he would start teaching her to read and write this evening. At that moment, Ruth's soul is once again filled with hope, and she even finds the strength to smile, asking her uncle: "*Can we start with the story of Moses and the Children of Israel in Egypt*."[385]

In this story, it is easy to notice several motifs typical of African-American literary discourse. First of all, it is, of course, the traditional motif of **acquiring**

[383] Fager, Ch. John Woolman and the Slave Girl… P. 14.
[384] Ibid. P. 24.
[385] Ibid. P. 27.

literacy as acquiring freedom[386]: "*There were lots of books in Richard Barton's house. Reading had something to do, she now realized, with being free.*"[387]

In the end of the story, it is the anticipation of learning to read that gives some new strength to the desperate Ruth.

The story provides interesting material for analysis from **gender** perspectives as well. As mentioned above, the story begins with the following scene: on the hot afternoon sun, Ruth works in a field, while boys from a nearby farm ride horses. The image of these boys is remembered by Ruth and later revived in her imagination when she hears the word "freedom": "*...she heard the visitor tell her master that he believed it was the will of God that he should set his slaves free. Free!* […] *The word made her see the Hudnutt boys racing their horses along the road. Was that freedom? Was that what this John Woolman was telling her master she deserved?*"[388]

Later, while trying to persuade Woolman to take her to Philadelphia, Ruth suggests that he claim her to be his slave boy: if he had bought her men's clothes she, disguised as a boy, would not have aroused suspicion among potential chasers. She believes that important symbols of her future free status would be *literacy* and *her own horses* – things that seem to be accessible only to men in her circle (only uncle Jacob can read except for the masters; only male masters have their horses).

In Fager's story, one can also notice some **allusions to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin***, especially to the storyline of young Eliza. The owner of the estate, Mr. Barton – similar to Mr. Shelby in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* – is a kind-hearted but weak-willed, indecisive man. Ruth's story, like that of Eliza, begins with the arrival of a guest to the owner, but whereas in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* this guest is a slave-trader, in *John Woolman and the Slave Girl* he is, quite the opposite, an antislavery activist. In both cases, the young heroine overhears a conversation between the host and the guest, whereupon she decides to flee, and the climax of her escape happens at the river.

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[386] Panova, O.Y. Black American Letters of the 18th – early 20th Centuries… P. 235.
[387] Fager, Ch. John Woolman and the Slave Girl… P. 10.
[388] Ibid. P. 7.

In mythological terms, the image of the river dates back to ancient times and is richly symbolical. One of the symbolical meanings of the river is (passing) time.[389] The heroine of the story, Ruth, is only fourteen years old, but her very youth seems a sad contrast to the bondage to which she is destined. At such an early age this, basically, lively girl sometimes experiences a fatigue not typical for a teenager – her fatigue seems to be not physical, but psychological one (an example of which can be found in the opening scene when Ruth looks at the riders). She feels that time runs too fast, and rushes to break free: *"Am I to wait patiently until God changes Richard Barton's heart?"*, *"And if it is a crime to help me escape slavery, what kind of a crime is it to leave me in it? Isn't he stealing my labor, even my life, day by day?"*[390].

It should be mentioned that in the context of abolitionist literature, the motif of escaping across the river is certainly associated with the biblical image of the parting waters of the Red Sea. The scene from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* where Eliza and the child miraculously get rid of the persecution,[391] managing to cross the river directly across the ice-drift is one of the most famous in the novel. In Fager's story, however, there was no escape across the river. The river remains a boundary for Ruth that she is not supposed to cross (at least within the narrative).

Speaking of allusions to the Beecher Stowe's novel, it is also interesting to look at Ruth's uncle. Uncle Jacob resembles the iconic image of Uncle Tom: an elderly wise man, endowed with extraordinary generosity, compassion and an ability to encourage his neighbours.

The figure of Woolman himself is very much in keeping with the tradition of portraying the minister which had been established by that time. In particular, it is indicative that, following many authors, Fager uses the motif of *homespun clothes*[392] in creating the visual portrait of Woolman.

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[389] Tresidder, J. Dictionary of Symbols: An Illustrated Guide to Traditional Images, Icons, and Emblems. – San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998. P. 170.
[390] Fager, Ch. John Woolman and the Slave Girl… P. 23.
[391] Beecher Stowe, H.E. Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly. – N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1998. P. 67-68.
[392] Fager, Ch. John Woolman and the Slave Girl… P. 3.

In its turn, Ruth's image is notable as a possible intertextual reference to the narrator of *Sister Ruth's Stories*. An expert on Quaker literature and collector of Friends' texts, Fager may well have been already familiar with this work at the time of writing. The Fager's character and the narrator of the *Stories* are close both in age and in their abolitionist views. It is noteworthy that their Old Testament name has acquired new shades of meaning in English-speaking culture. The first of these is related to the history of the biblical Ruth, which, like the Puritans who came to the American continent, once left her homeland; this association contributed to the popularity of the name among immigrants.[393] The second shade is created by the homonymy of the name with the English word "ruth," meaning "compassion; regret."[394] The original biblical meaning of the name is often translated as a "companion," or, most interestingly in the Quaker context – "friend."[395]

Speaking of the **"Quaker" specificity** of the story, it is important to mention that Fager carefully recreates the Quaker speech with its characteristic vocabulary (in particular, Quakers' usage of the pronoun *thou*). But more essential, of course, is the integration of Quaker specificity into the content of the story. The moral dilemma facing John Woolman is the choice between two essential Quaker ideals: the ideal of compassion (especially to the oppressed) and the ideal of truthfulness (i.e. Testimony for Truth / Integrity). Of all the religious communities in America, Quakers are perhaps the least responsible for centuries of slavery; it was Friends who were among the first abolitionists, including Woolman.

And yet, in Fager's story Woolman plays the role of a man who has failed to help a girl excape slavery, and who has not found a convincing justification for his decision. Ruth's bitter accusations against Woolman as a representative of the nation that had subjugated her people, seem hardly unfounded. But the story's ending is open, and the reader who is familiar with the history of Quakerism will undoubtedly know, with the benefit of hindsight, that Ruth and her family probably got their

[393] Dunkling, L., Gosling, W. The Facts on File: Dictionary of First Names. – N. Y., 1983. P. 246.
[394] Website: Merriam Webster Dictionary Online. (Accessed: 14.02.2023.)
[395] Kolatch, A.J. The Jonathan David Dictionary of First Names. – N.Y., 1980. P. 464.

freedom no later than 1776, when Quakers finally gave up slavery[396]; but they had to wait for nineteen years.

John Woolman and the Slave Girl is certainly a story of great interest as an example of a fictional experiment carried out on the biography of a real historical figure, and as a text that has accumulated a number of key topoi of the abolitionist and African-American literary discourses. Besides, one of the key issues of the story is *historical memory*. A committed Quaker, having dedicated his life and work to the Society of Friends, Fager, however, seems far from sentimentalizing Quaker history in his text.[397] In this respect, he may be called a successor of the great romancicist Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose interest in the Puritan past of America, fuelled by personal kinship with this past and a sense of responsibility for it, encouraged the writer to deeply compassionate, but at the same time sober, rethinking his family and national history. Chuck Fager seems to seek a similar rethinking of the dramatic pages of the national past, and he encourages the reader to do the same, using a specific lens, which allows the reader to almost equally identify with both main characters of the story.

Having examined a biographical short story about Woolman, let us now turn to the larger forms – namely, a novelized biography and a biographical novel.

2.6. John Woolman as the Hero of a Novelized Biography and a Biographical Novel

It appears that there are two texts about John Woolman's life, which can be designated as biographies combining fiction and non-fiction, or, more specifically, a novelized biography and a biographical novel. The first of these was published in

[396] Osmond, W.S. The Influence of John Woolman on the Quakers' Antislavery Position… P. 8.
[397] It seems natural that Quakerism as well, with its focus on tolerance, equal rights, internationalism is often sentimentalized. One can find a telling example in the book written by the American columnist David Yount *How the Quakers Invented America* (Yount D. How the Quakers Invented America. – Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007. 192 p.), in which, as a reviewer notes, all that is good with America is identified "as being the legacy of Friends" and all that is bad "as coming from somewhere else" (Frost, J.W. How the Quakers Invented America (review) // Quaker History. 2008, Vol. 97, No. 1. P. 68).

1942; it was a book by Janet Whitney called *John Woolman; American Quaker*.[398] The second came out in 1954 and its author was Catherine Owens Peare. Its title is *John Woolman; Child of Light*.[399] Both books are the fruits of meticulous historical research performed by the authors, and yet their basic structure, in the same way as earlier stories about Woolman (such as the *Sister Ruth's Stories*), is still based primarily on the *Journal* itself. Therefore, it seems reasonable to study them as part of Woolman's reception.

Later on, looking at the books written by Whitney and Peare, we will offer some arguments for the above-mentioned genre identification. However, before examining these texts, it is necessary to dwell on some characteristics of the novelized biography, biographical novel and related genres in general. In Russian, there are several approximante equivalents to various English terms, such as *novelized biography*, *biographical novel, biofiction* (besides, Russian criticism also employs such terms as, translating literally, artistic biography, documentary and artistic biography). The nuances of the meaning each term conveys remain a subject of discussion, but taken together, these genres can be described as having some distinctive features. It is well established that the major difference between this kind of biographies and nonfictional (academic, popular, etc.) biographies is a greater degree of the author's subjectivity, a more biased interpretation of the facts presented.[400]

An accelerated development of these genres has been going on for about a century, and they have gone a long way both in terms of aesthetic quality and in terms of literary status: once condemned for their "bastardness," a supposedly futile attempt to combine fact with fiction, today they are valued precisely for their aesthetic "hybridity." The evolution of these genres is carefully traced in *Truthful Fictions: Conversations with American Biographical Novelists* (2014), and *The American*

[398] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker. – L.: George G. Harrap & Co. ltd., 1942. 432 p.
[399] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light; The Story of John Woolman and the Friends. – N.Y.: The Vanguard Press, 1954. 256 p.
[400] Sobolevskaya, O.V. Biography // Literary Encyclopedia of Terms and Concepts / Ed. by A.N. Nikolyukin. – Moscow: NPK "Intelvak," 2001. C. 91. (In Russian.)

Biographical Novel (2016) by Michael Lackey, one of the leading scholars in the field.

Lackey highlights a paradox that the genre of biographical novel began to rapidly gain popularity in the 1930s but then was subjected to a resolute "deligitimization" in the eyes of the literary establishment.[401] Many authors pointed to the impossibility of a plausible combination of fact and fiction (for example, Virginia Woolf believed that someone's story is either narrated truthfully, and then it is a biography, or the writer portrays a living, "breathing" hero, but then it is a novel[402]). Literary critics reflected on the aesthetic limitations of the genre, which inevitably exaggerates the biographical aspect at the expense of the historical one (György Lukács[403]).

Whereas biography is an act of *representation*, fiction is an act of *creation*,[404] and it is really difficult to successfully combine them. The discussion between critics continued in the following decades. Many literary scholars and critics have blamed the borderline "documentary fiction" for its propensity for "formula," as well as for its very popularity, seen as a symptom of the crisis of writers' creative imagination.[405] At the same time, it was argued in defense of the biographical novel that it is in no way inferior to the historical novel (Irving Stone, 1957).[406] Yet, despite a significant improvement of the status of these genres (which took place in the 1960s – 1990s), they remained marginalized for a long time. Their "legalization" occurred only at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries due to critical acknowledgement of postmodernist ideas and, consequently, rejection of a rigid separation between fact and fiction, biography and novel, historical figure and literary character.[407] Each character and each story, according to the postmodernist approach, is somehow based on the

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[401] Lackey, M. The American Biographical Novel. – N.Y.: Bloomsbury, 2016. P. 1.
[402] Woolf, V. The Death of the Moth and Other Essays. – L.: The Hogarth Press, 1942; see: Lackey, M. (ed.) The American Biographical Novel... P. 6.
[403] Lukács, G. The Historical Novel. – Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962; see: Lackey, M. The American Biographical Novel… P. 2.
[404] Lackey, M. The American Biographical Novel… P. 22.
[405] Ibid. P. 26.
[406] Lackey, M. (Ed.). Truthful Fictions: Conversations with American Biographical Novelists. – N.Y.: Bloomsbury, 2014. P. 10.
[407] Ibid. P. 25.

author's real experience, and therefore they can not be considered absolutely fictional.[408]

Turning to the problem of distinguishing between fictional (novelized) biographies and biographical novels, Lackey points to such factors[409]: in the novelized biographies the author's main purpose is to reflect the whole life, or some aspect of life, of a real historical figure as truthfully (from the point of the biographer's view) as possible. Meanwhile, the biographical novelists do not strive for such a goal: their aim is to show their own perspective on life, the world and the character, using the material of the character's biography.

Among some philosophical questions facing the author of the novelized biography / biographical novel are the following ones: what is more important – the literal truth of historical fact or the dramatic truth about the character's soul?[410] And, as the author of *All the King's Men* Robert Penn Warren asks, when it comes to the character's soul – can a biographer claim to know the inner world of his character, their "undocumentable inside"?[411] These issues remain subjects of discussion, and we will revisit them in the future.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the book of the Anglo-American Quaker writer **Janet Payne Whitney** ***John Woolman, American Quaker*** (1942) seems in large measure to be an encyclopedia of Woolman's era. Tracing her character's path, Whitney finds and masterfully highlights countless threads linking Woolman's life experiences with those of his contemporaries around the world, and weaving his time into the context of world history. Whitney appears to be a conscientious, meticulous historian and an imaginative novelist at the same time. This combination can be explained by her own biography.

The future writer (1894–1974) was born in the Great Britain. She admitted that from a very early age she had been interested not only in reading but also in writing,

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[408] Lackey, M. The American Biographical Novel… P. 31-32.
[409] Ibid. P. 20.
[410] Ibid. P. 7.
[411] Lackey, M. (Ed.). Truthful Fictions… P. 3.

constantly making up and recording some stories for family and friends. Fiction was her passionate interest in her first twenty years. However, in 1914, with the beginning of the World War I, her interest in fictional worlds receded into the background, giving way to her new fascination with history. The change was also triggered by her marrying and moving overseas to the United States. According to Whitney herself, history became for her a "soberer mature interest […], and from that to biography was a natural step."[412]

Novelized biographies dominate Whitney's writings. Among her historical heroes one can meet the famous Quaker activist Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845), who made a huge contribution to the reform of the British penitentiary system (*Elizabeth Fry: Quaker Heroine*, 1937), her fellow Quaker (1864–1941) *Geraldine S. Cadbury* (1948), the First Lady of the United States from 1797 to 1801 *Abigail Adams* (1947). John Woolman became Whitney's chronologically second Quaker hero, and the book about him was first published in 1942.

In Woolman's case, Whitney was performing a demanding task. On the one hand, she had a priceless source of information – the character's autobiography; on the other hand, when it comes to the details necessary for a narrative's novelization – first of all, details of personal, family, domestic life – Woolman's text looks rather minimalistic. Naturally, a critic complained back in 1914: "Our only quarrel with Woolman is that, owing to his complete other-worldliness, he disdains to tell us facts about himself and about his time that we would gladly hear."[413] Livesay writes about the same "impatient curiosity" of the reader: "Just what clashes of human personalities and conflicting motives, for instance, lay behind Woolman's humble thanks to God for the strength?.. […] What did … Quaker gentlemen think or say when […] Woolman gently preached them?.. […] He never tells of a fight with his wife […] or whether he argued with the Committee that edited his writings."[414]

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[412] Whitney, J. Abigail Adams. – Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1947. 358 p. The cited biographical sketch is printed on the back of the book's jacket cover.
[413] Thayer, William Roscoe. Biography / Lectures on The Harvard Classics // Ed. by W. A. Neilson. – N.Y.: P.F. Collier & Son Corporation, 1914. P. 174.
[414] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 3.

Whitney herself mentions Woolman's "impersonality" in his writing about family members.[415] Meanwhile, noting the fact that in the *Journal* too much space is occupied by mundane details of trips at the expense of pictures of everyday life and the epoch, a modern reader admits: "Perhaps a biography of Woolman would be better suited to my taste."[416]

In an effort to fill these gaps, Whitney made it her mission to remain faithful to the primary source, while at the same time broadening the range of vision, which had been established by the conventions of Quaker spiritual autobiography. She found it essential to show the protagonist, a person of lofty spirit, in the fullness of his human experience, to overcome the hagiographic "narrowness" of the established portrayal. (Interestingly, Theodore Dreiser was working on a similar literary task at the same period (section 2.7).)

According to such critics as experts on Quaker history, G. Cadbury and F. Tolles, Whitney successfully achieved her goal. Cadbury notes: "A delicately sensitive conscience like his can have justice done to it only by a biographer nor less delicately sensitive. Mrs. Whitney is not wanting in this necessary qualification. Her task was evidently done *con amore*."[417] At the same time, Cadbury emphasizes that Whitney manages to avoid the sentimentalization of Woolman's image. So, for example, the writer is not silent about "singularity" of her character, "his scruples […] particularly prominent at the end of his life" (such as a complete rejection of dyed clothing, sugar, etc.). She does not minimize them, neither does she exaggerate them.[418] In Cadbury's view, Whitney's book is twice as much precious because of her in-depth, insider's knowledge of Quakerism (both British and American). Indeed, *American Quaker* still remains a valuable source of information about Woolman's life and era; however,

[415] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… 36.
[416] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/review/show/639701617?book_show_action=true&from_review_page=1 (Accessed: 15.01.2023).
[417] Cadbury, H.J. John Woolman: American Quaker, by J. Whitney // Book Reviews… P. 485.
[418] Ibidem.

there are some factual mistakes in the historical background Whitney presents,[419] and therefore, it would be unreasonable to fully rely on the historical accuracy of the text.

Whitney's book consists of forty-four chapters. The story of Woolman's own life is preceded by two chapters in which Whitney recounts the arrival of European settlers on the American continent, as well as the protagonist's genealogy. The story of Woolman ends with an epilogue. The **composition** of the book as a whole is reproduced in most chapters' composition: opening with a wide-angle picture – a description of historical background, some historical trends – the narrative then passes to a close-up picture, relating the events of both the external and the internal, emotional life of Woolman.

The main text is preceded by an epigraph from the famous *Four Quartets* by Thomas Stearns Eliot, or, more precisely, from the third poem called *The Dry Salvages*, first published just a year prior to Whitney's book[420]: *"...to apprehend / The point of intersection of the timeless / With time, is an occupation for the saint."*[421]

The motif of Woolman as a saint is thus actualized in the very epigraph of Whitney's book. However, it should be emphasized once again that although this motif appears in both the epigraph and the narration itself, it would be inaccurate, in our view, to speak about any further sanctification of Woolman's image by Whitney. On the contrary, the writer rather sought to make her character somewhat rounder, focusing not only on his lofty ideas, but on his worldly features as well. The very publication of the book in 1942, to a certain degree, marked the close of the sentimental, "hagiographic" era in Woolman's reception and foreshadowed a future surge of interest in his figure and legacy as seen from academic perspectives.

The epigraph chosen by Whitney certainly cannot be reduced to the motif of saintliness, but communicates a deeper meaning, especially if one refers to the Eliot's lines not quoted by Whitney: *No occupation either, but something given / And taken,*

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[419] Pickett, R.H. A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger… P. 91.
[420] Tolmachev, V.M. Thomas Stearns Eliot // History of Literature of the United States. Volume VI. Book 2. Literature Between the Two World Wars. – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 2013. P. 56. (In Russian.)
[421] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 2.

in a lifetime's death in love, / Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender.[422] These lines look as if they refer to the text of the *Journal*. However, a thorough analysis of the interaction between the epigraph from Eliot's poem, Whitney's text and the text of Woolman himself ought to be the subject of a separate study. According to Eliot scholars, *Four Quartets* are one of the most sophisticated poetical works of the great modernist poet.[423] Let us therefore limit ourselves for the time being to two small observations.

First, the figure of Eliot as the author of the epigraph to a book about Woolman seems to be not accidental, because there are certain parallels in their biographies: both were deeply religious people, who were born in the New World, and died in Britain. Second, it is noteworthy that the theme of time, introduced in the epigraph, is immensely important to Whitney's text. Time in *American Quaker* is 1) the individual lifetime of John Woolman, events of his epoch, names of his famous contemporaries, and 2) historical Time, beginning with "time immemorial"[424] of pre-Columbian America and stretching to the present, where the ancient Indian trails are covered by shining rails bearing "cushioned travellers."[425] Quoting the same lines from Eliot's *Dry Salvages*, the contemporary American scholar Benjamin Lockerd writes about a Christian sense of history inherent to Eliot – a sense that due to the event of Christ's incarnation "any time and place acquires deep meaning, becoming '*The point of intersection of the timeless* / *With time…*'".[426] This sense of history permeates Whitney's text as well.

Time in the *American Quaker*, on the one hand, unfolds successively, but on the other hand, it is contemplated in its entirety by Whitney as a third-person omniscient narrator. The text seems to merge the whole era of Woolman, and the ages before and

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[422] Eliot, T.S. The Dry Salvages / Website: https://stuff.mit.edu/people/dpolicar/writing/poetry/poems/fareForward.html (Accessed: 21.10.2023).
[423] Kobakhidze, T.D. Myth and Melos in *Four Quartets* by T.S. Eliot // Literature of the Americas. № 13, 2022. P. 179. (In Russian.)
[424] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 22, 29, 303.
[425] Ibid. P. 281.
[426] Lockerd, B. T.S. Eliot and the Sense of History // Literature of the Americas. 2022. № 13. (Transl. by T.A. Pirusskaia.) P. 147. (In Russian.)

after his life. Using Gérard Genette's terminology, one can say that the text is replete with prolepses. For example, the story of Woolman's earliest years states: *Second-generation American, son of the rich open spaces, the unwalled forests, and unexplored hinterland of a continent, he had never seen a walled city nor ever hoped to see one; yet it was in a walled city that he was to die*.[427] (Woolman died in York, England.)

By mentioning the circumstances of Woolman's death in the description of his early days, Whitney creates a broadest perspective on his life from the very beginning. Woolman's happy childhood in a natural world free of man-made boundaries are contrasted to his final days in a fortress city, and this contrast may be interpreted as a metaphor for life of John Woolman as a man who, in the course of time, was increasinly distressed by the bondage and enslavement permeating the social fabric.

Prolepses are used by Whitney in the further narrative as well. Thus, telling about Woolman's early adulthood and his meetings with his sister, Whitney writes: "*Sitting at tea with Elizabeth* […] *John Woolman might visualize the sort of well-bred simplicity, removed as far from the rough of the crude as from the luxurious, which his own married home might present in time to come*."[428]

There are also analepses that refer unexpectedly to past events – for example, commenting on Woolman's reflections about slavery in Virginia, Whitney notes: *A lot of water had flowed down the James river since that hot, moist day in August 1620 when a Dutch man-o'-war, curiously nosing up to the new settlement, had made a handsome profit, offering to exhausted English gentry a batch of twenty Negro slaves for sale.*[429] A reverse timeleap can also be found in the chapter where Woolman recalls the events which had occurred five years before: how he helped to arrange a Quaker wedding of his younger friends William and Dido – people born as slaves but subsequently liberated.[430]

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[427] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 28.
[428] Ibid. P. 88.
[429] Ibid. P. 118.
[430] Ibid. P. 331-333.

Describing the Indian village visited by Woolman, Wyalusing, Whitney for a moment glances backwards, at the Quaker botanist John Battram who had arrived in the same village twenty years prior to Woolman; and then, as mentioned above, she transfers her perspective to the 1940s when the ancient trail leading to the village became the railway on which the high-speed trains ran.[431] Referring to Woolman's visit to Birmingham, she notes that two years later this city became a center of steam engine production.[432] These and some similar remarks reinforce a **"cross-temporal"** perspective inherent in the narrative.

Along with the "cross-temporal" perspective, a **"cross-cultural"** perspective is often found in the text. Thus, describing Woolman's social views, Whitney makes interesting comparisons with Voltaire, Rousseau and Franklin.[433] "*Voltaire, the great Frenchman, dominant thinker of the world in the eighteenth century, more powerful than any other, spoke much of liberty in the abstract. Woolman, possessing most of the freedoms of which Voltaire spoke, was consumed with a passion for liberty in a concrete sense, the freeing of his fellow-Americans, both white and black, both owners and owned, from the burden of slavery*."[434]

Cadbury praises Whitney for portraying the local and the "temporal" colors: "Neither local nor general history is forgotten by her, and these references are particularly valuable in supplementing the somewhat introspective charater of his own journal."[435] Indeed, the story narrated in the *Journal* is complemented by Whitney with what many readers need (see section 2.9) – a vivid, multicoloured context of Woolman's era, some parallels from the world history.

It appears almost as a mythological analysis of the *Journal* when Whitney writes that, "*Just as children in ancient Persia pondered on fairy-tales of jewelled trees in subterranean countries, and as children in ancient Greece heard legends of the Garden of the Hesperides, so the little American John Woolman dreamed of the*

[431] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 281.
[432] Ibid. P. 379.
[433] Ibid. P. 171, 279, 328.
[434] Ibid. P. 171.
[435] Cadbury, H.J. John Woolman: American Quaker, by J. Whitney… P. 486.

gardens of Paradise…"[436] Describing some methods of dealing with the scourge of the age, smallpox, Whitney again looks far beyond the New World: for example, the writer tells about inoculation, the procedure which was undergone by the Russian Empress Catherine II. Along with Catherine the Great, *American Quaker* regularly introduces some other statesmen of different countries: Friedrich the Great, George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Charles II, Minister of Louis XV Choiseul, Queen Victoria. The events of the lives of historical figures are juxtaposed with mentions of Woolman's age: "*Benjamin Franklin, when Woolman was three years old…*"[437]; "*Perhaps [14-year-old George Washington] and [25-year-old] John Woolman passed each other one rare June day with a word or two of greetings…*"[438]

The constellation of famous names appearing on the pages of *American Quaker* includes the great French thinker Blaise Pascal and many of his compatriots – the Quietist theologian, already mentioned earlier (section 2.3), François Fénelon, the famous Enlightenment thinkers Diderot, Gelvecius, Montesquieu, and finally, Woolman's associate Anthony Benezet. The English-speaking world is represented by numerous references to Shakespeare, Milton, Richardson, Shelley, Wordsworth, as well as names of Andrew Carnegie and other prominent businessmen and philanthropists of the 19th and 20th centuries.[439]

The kaleidoscope of historical images enhances the cross-cultural perspective, and, moreover, the **documentary** aspect of the text, in which numerous quotations from various sources (letters, memoirs, documentary works of writers of the era[440]; finally, the *Journal* itself) are cited. Whitney quotes, among other things, *A Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania; and of the West-New-Jersey in America* written by the famous Quaker author Gabriel Thomas. She also presents some interesting facts about Quakers, their customs, norms of

[436] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 27.
[437] Ibid. P. 68.
[438] Ibid. P. 106.
[439] Ibid. P. 163.
[440] For example, from Daniel Defoe's *Tour of the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 368).

behavior, culture-bound phenomena.[441] The text is replete with footnotes and commentaries. According to the observation of modern researcher Y.Z. Bobkova, in a novelized biography quotations from various documents, letters, diaries are "a leading linguistic means, which serves as a guarantee of the truthfulness of the described," the authenticity of the image the writer presents.[442] Such quotations enable the reader to "hear" the voice of the prototype.[443]

The voice of the prototype, along with the voice of the third-person omniscient narrator, does play an essential role in Whitney's text. This is facilitated not only by regular quoting of the *Journal*, be it short phrases or whole sections, but also by abundance of Woolman's free indirect speech ("*As he frequently told himself…*" etc.). Meanwhile, such reflections on behalf of Woolman are sometimes spectacularly juxtaposed with a characteristically academic, sometimes fairly impersonal, "encyclopedic" intonation of *American Quaker*: "*On July 17 he was at Birmingham* […]. *Birmingham was the centre of the metal trade of England and of Europe. Iron pots and pans, pitchforks, ploughshares, sickles, hinges, nails, and the like; and chains for slaves*."[444]

Composition and style of *American Quaker* reflects the composition and style of the *Journal* to a large degree: extensive documentary passages, which abound in the book, are combined with beautiful poetical sketches. One of them appears in the description of Woolman's journey to Wyalusing, which he made in the company of his friend Benjamin Parvin: "*In the inner content created by the consciousness of acting according to that precept the two friends, having said good-bye to William, set off with their three Indian guides in the misty freshness of the morning, both being of the temperament which accepted to the full the good of the passing hour, and did not*

[441] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 31, 46, 55.
[442] Bobkova, Y.Z. On the Nature of Subject-Object Interaction in Novelized Biography // Bulletin of I. Kant Russian State University. 2009. Iss. 2. P. 46, 49. (In Russian.)
[443] Ibid. P. 47.
[444] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 379. Letter spacing is ours – D.A.

allow the 'still, sad music of humanity' to quench the joy of sunrise, the pearly reflections in the river, the singing birds, the dew."[445]

Recalling her first steps in literature – the serial stories written for childhood friends – Whitney said that she was careful "to leave off at a crisis," ending each chapter at an intriguing moment.[446] Interesingly, however, in Woolman's biography she makes little use of the technique: her storytelling is hasteless and rather predictable. Almost every chapter closes with a quotation from the *Journal*: the greatest trust seems to be placed on the voice of Woolman himself, and his is the "last word."

Woolman's voice in Whitney's book manifests itself in three aspects: 1) as it has been already observed, the *Journal* itself is regularly quoted; 2) building upon the *Journal*, Whitney tries to reproduce the course of Woolman' "unspoken thoughts"; 3) touching upon the deeper layers of the psyche, the unconscious of her character, Whitney approaches a psychoanalytic interpretation.[447] She suggests what is behind some phrases of the *Journal*,[448] reconstructs Woolman's motivation (for example, why he did not become a farmer[449]), reveals some things "dismissed," "understated"[450] or masked by the journalist (for example, "…*his homesickness breathes in the metaphor*"[451]).

Describing Whitney's style in *American Quaker*, one can say that the main **method** she uses is an "unfolding" of the *Journal*, dramatizing it and supplementing it with commentary.[452] In this respect, she follows in the footsteps of the anonymous author of the *Sister Ruth Stories*. As Cadbury accurately points out, "Certainly Mrs.

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[445] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 279.
[446] Whitney, J. Abigail Adams… (The author's biography on the back of the book's jacket cover.)
[447] Tamarchenko, N.D. Psychological Introspection // Poetics. Dictionary of Modern Terms and Concepts. – Moscow: Kulagina Publishing House, Intrada, 2008. P. 83-84. (In Russian.)
[448] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 53.
[449] Ibid. P. 65.
[450] Ibid. P. 54, 122.
[451] Ibid. P. 385.
[452] Ibid. P. 26.

Whitney makes effective use of the smallest hints to reconstruct the intimate and less significant facts of the life of Woolman."[453]

For example, describing her character's young years, Whitney suggests that Woolman then often visited his friend, the owner of an excellent library, read *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Utopia* by Thomas More and *Paradise Lost* by John Milton.[454] Tolles in his review pays particular attention to this point as to a highly questionable assumption[455] that Whitney makes, in the reviewer's opinion, imprudently equating her character's lifestyle with that of his friends and failing to take into account the specificity of his personality and the Woolman family.

According to Tolles, Whitney sought to "humanize" Woolman, to make his image somewhat more worldly, filling in the "shadowy outlines" given in the *Journal* with "solid, homely facts" of his everyday life. But did she manage to show the reader the authentic image of Woolman himself? Tolles asks.[456] From his point of view, in such episodes as reading secular (rejected by early Quakerism) literature, Whitney overdramatizes Woolman's inner struggles between the secular and spiritual aspects of life, in an effort to give her character some more "human" features which are missing in his hagiographic portraiture.[457] It seems natural in this context that Whitney sometimes draws comparisons of Woolman with such dramatic heroes of world literature as Hamlet.[458]

Tolles justly points at the dramatic element inherent in Whitney's book. However, this dramatization and "humanization" are not reduced to highlighting Woolman's internal conflicts; they also manifest themselves in some other aspects. For example, Whitney regularly writes that Woolman, despite his constant inner turmoil prompted by social problems, was personally quite a joyful man. The opening sentence of the *Journal*, according to Whitney, is "*the full statement of a happy*

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[453] Cadbury, H.J. John Woolman: American Quaker, by J. Whitney… P. 486.
[454] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 45.
[455] Tolles, F.B. John Woolman: American Quaker, by J. Whitney // American Literature. Vol. 15, No. 1. 1943. P. 74.
[456] Ibid. P. 73.
[457] Ibid. P. 74.
[458] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 255.

man."[459] Whitney warmly describes Woolman's family life, the time he spent with his daughter Mary. Diligently seeking to fill in the gaps in the *Journal*, Whitney "completes" some of the episodes in it, and also quotes some historical anecdotes from documentary sources. This allows her to portray Woolman in an unusual light, as a person who was by no means lacking a sense of humor,[460] and sometimes even slightly sarcastic.[461]

Making her character somewhat closer to the reader, Whitney's kindly observes that Woolman's manuscripts reveal some difficulties he experienced with the spelling of the word *business* – "*like many of us*."[462] This addition to Woolman's portrait in the text of *American Quaker* seems no longer to be a trait of a "poor tailor," whose supposed illiteracy only emphasizes his superiority over educated, yet not gifted people. For Whitney, the reference to spelling errors is, by contrast, a way to show the "worldly," human nature of her venerable character.

From the point of view of Woolman's later biographers, Whitney's approach to creating a more "worldly" image of the minister seems perfectly justified. Thus, Livesay notes that although Woolman can easily be portrayed as a joyless ascetic, one cannot ignore the moments in the *Journal* where he says about "sweetness of life"[463] – about nature, sun, warmth of the hearth, trees in the garden, birds, sheep, friendly attachment and "real beauty"[464] of people's faces. An observant reader will certainly feel the minister's love for language, for the construction of clear and beautiful phrases. Woolman's spiritual development, as Livesay points out, does not entail

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[459] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 23, 25.
[460] Ibid. P. 313.
[461] Ibid. P. 226, 250.
[462] Ibid. P. 86. The fact Whitney noticed (that it was difficult for Woolman to correctly spell the word *business*) is interesting from a psychological point of view: it contributes to the idea that, despite some of his own statements in the *Journal*, Woolman does not seem to be a dedicated entrepreneur, an inborn businessman.
[463] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 31-32. Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 179.
[464] Woolman, J. The Journal… P. 29.

contempt for the physical world, but rather suggests "a sweetness and satisfaction in the right use of the good gifts in the visible creation."[465]

Interestingly, one of the artistic techniques regularly used by Whitney is **defamiliarization** (**ostranenie**). In *American Quaker*, the etymology of the term proposed by Viktor B. Shklovsky is sometimes justified literally by the use of the word *strange* and its derivatives in certain episodes. Elements of defamiliarization can be seen in unexpected shifts of perspective – when some facts suddenly appear, for example, through the eyes of a child, or Woolman's wife Sarah, or Indians, Woolman's friends, people he met by chance (for example, in a story about Woolman's travelling in England, it is said that "*Many a tale came to the ear of this casual stranger whose unaffected manners made him so easy to talk to*…"[466]).

A spectacular example of defamiliarization can be seen in the scene of Woolman's first appearance at the London Annual Quaker Meeting in 1772. Being late, due to a travel delay, Woolman's arrived suddenly; his unusual (made of undyed clothes) outfit caused confusion. The cold reception by fellow Quakers was deeply discouraging to the minister who had come so far, but the *Journal* contains only some subtle hints about the scene. Whitney paints the scene in dramatic colours. According to *American Quaker* (based on Whittier's data[467]), having offered his greetings, Woolman heard in reply that the Friends of London appreciated his coming and considered his religious mission accomplished, which meant he might go back to America. "*The stunning humiliation of that blow sank home in a silence that could be felt. Such a sharp public rejection of any visitor, unheard, was without precedent. The man in white started as if unable to believe his ears, and then sat with his face covered*."[468] Interestingly, according to Whittier's story, Woolman was addressed at

[465] Woolman, J. On Loving Our Neighbours as Ourselves // The Journal and Essays of John Woolman / Ed. by A.M. Gummere. – N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1922. P. 493.
[466] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 382.
[467] Myles, A.G. "Stranger Friend"… P. 56.
[468] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 371.

the time using an oxymoron combination "the stranger Friend."[469] Whitney's addition of the words "man in white," in turn, enhances the defamiliarization effect.

Whitney shows that over the years Woolman appears to many people increasingly "strange," but no less "strange" is the world Woolman sees around himself: "…*he had that peculiarity of genius, the disconcerting faculty of seeing things fresh. He might have fallen from Mars, so clear and unbiased was the eye that he turned on the community, and so surprising – to the community – the conclusions that he drew*."[470] Even his own ancestral homeland, the ancient land of Britain, appears as *terra incognita* to the eyes of the itinerant Quaker: "*He felt in the English countryside almost the same sensations of being an explorer as Daniel Boone had felt two years before when he broke into the vast grassy savannahs of Kentucky*."[471]

If we refer to the hagiographic motifs examined in section 2.3, which are specific to Woolman's portraiture, it may be noted that some of them are also present in Whitney's book. The motif of saintliness itself, as noted earlier, is actualized in the epigraph, and then it is also found in the text. Woolman's house is presented as a version of Paradise,[472] and once it is explicitly compared to Eden,[473] which is a variation of the hagiographic motif of "celebration of the saint's homeland." In turn, the home life of colonial America is depicted by Whitney using the epithet *homespun*.[474] Whitney sometimes compares Woolman with Francis of Assisi (less often with Saint Augustine). Meanwhile, such components of Woolman's hagiographic myth as "illiteracy," as well as "poverty," are decisively debunked by Whitney.[475]

Summing up, let us conclude, that Whitney's *American Quaker* has a sense of proportion. Sympathizing with her character, empathyzing with his character and destiny, the biographer nevertheless refrains from sentimentalization, and while

[469] Myles, A.G. "Stranger Friend"… P. 56.
[470] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 78.
[471] Ibid. P. 378.
[472] Ibid. P. 124, 150.
[473] Ibid. P. 352-353.
[474] Ibid. P. 24.
[475] Ibid. P. 178, 135, 335-336.

presenting vivid details does not fall into fantasy. The writer notes that Woolman "*would gladly retreat, as a person, behind the universal aspects of his experience; and he equally respects the reserve and the privacy of others*."[476] According to cultural linguists, *privacy* is one of the most important concepts for English-speaking culture.[477] This concept is very important to Woolman as well. The biographer's sensitivity to other people's privacy explains Woolman's apparent desire to mention as few names as possible in his text.[478] Departing from this extreme and revealing the names hidden by the *Journal*'s author, Whitney, however, preserves Woolman's somewhat cautious tone, avoiding too strong statements (naturally, she frequently uses such words as *perhaps*[479]).

Finally, let us return to the issue of Whitney's book genre. In our view, the text can be best characterized as a *novelized biography*. Janet Whitney can be compared to André Maurois, whose books are "a synthesis of academic research and artistic creativity,"[480] and Whitney's priority seems to be historical research. Appendices to the book include such documents as Woolman's letters to family and friends, various marriage certificates, etc., and a chronology of the minister's journeys. If one borrows cinema vocabulary, Whitney's book should be likened to a documentary film, in which a number of fictional scenes are incorporated. In its turn, Catherine Peare's book resembles a largely fictional biographical picture.

Published in 1954, twelve years after *American Quaker*, **Catherine Owens Peare's book *John Woolman, the Child of Light*** is not a biography with novelistic elements, but rather a novel based on Woolman's biography. Introducing this book, let us describe Peare's career in general.

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[476] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 50.
[477] Larina, T.V. 'Privacy,' or Personal Autonomy, as an Essential Concept of English Culture…
[478] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 50.
[479] Ibid. P. 90.
[480] Popova, A.V. The Conception of Biographical Genre in André Maurois's Writings // Bulletin of Orenburg State University. 2006, № 11. P. 233. (In Russian.)

Catherine Owens Peare (only her year of birth is known: 1911) was an American writer, Woolman's fellow New Jerseyan. Teacher by training, in college Peare practiced journalism, published poetry and plays,[481] but then she started working in a completely different field – Wall Street finance.[482] Fifteen years later, Peare decided to make a significant change and devoted herself to literature, choosing the genre of biographical novels for young readers.

She authored at least twenty-four biographical novels for which she studied archive materials, traveled to the places where her characters lived. Peare's professional interest was attracted by statesmen (Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt, Mahatma Gandhi), men of letters (Irving, Keats, Longfellow, Dickens, Jules Verne, Stevenson, Twain), artists (Rosa Bonheur, Charles Wilson Peel) and scientists (Albert Einstein), and of course her fellow Quakers, including John Woolman, as well as William Penn, the 31st President of the USA Herbert Hoover, and also a famous activist and writer, blind, deaf and mute Helen Keller.

Catherine Peare herself described her books as addressed to teenagers; she noted that the hero of each of them is "the most outstanding personality of a particular people," and in a letter to the famous African-American thinker William Dubois emphasized, that the theme of race tolerance runs throughout her series.[483]

The Child of Light is addressed to teenagers and is permeated with a somewhat subtle, and yet quite obvious pedagogical message, clearly promoted by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s. Accordingly, its publishing presentation is made. For example, the blurb to *The Child of Light* reads: "*This is the inspiring story of a courageous man. Early in his life, John Woolman, the great Quaker leader, declared, 'I believe that liberty is the natural right of all men equally.*'"[484]

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[481] The Continuum Encyclopedia of Children's Literature / Ed. by Bernice E. Cullinan, D. Goetz Person. – N.Y., L.: Continuum, 2005. P. 617.

[482] Peare, C.O. The Lost Lakes: A Story of the Texas Rangers Peare. – Philadelphia, Toronto: The John C. Winston Company, 1953. 178 p. (The author's biography is printed on the back of the book's jacket cover.)

[483] Letter from Catherine Owens Peare to W. E. B. Du Bois, August 12, 1950. Online Resource: https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b129-i256 (Accessed 14.03.2023.)

[484] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light; The Story of John Woolman and the Friends. – N.Y.: The Vanguard Press, 1954. 256 p.

Janet Whitney, who wrote a review on Peare's book, highlights the **pedagogical** significance of the novel: "We [i.e. Quakers. – D.A.] need to nourish our children on these lives and engage their imaginations with them, as the psychologically expert Roman Church feeds its members on the lives of the Saints."[485] (Interestingly in this context, although Whitney's book is apparently addressed to the adult audience, she dedicated it to her son William[486].)

The volume of *Child of Light* is half that of Whitney's *American Quaker*. The text includes 24 chapters. Unlike Whitney's book, *Child of Light* opens not with a historical background, but with a scene from the life of 8-years-old Woolman, similar to one of the first scenes of the *Journal* (a child sits alone and meditates in silence). The construction of the further narrative is influenced by Peare's experience as an amateur playwright: almost the entire text is a series of scenes, dialogues, and also (internal) monologues of the protagonist, designed to resemble the manner of Woolman's own diction. Most scenes and dialogues are based on some episodes of the *Journal* itself, but the autobiographical text is transformed by Peare in a dramatic action. The dialogues perform an educational function: they briefly outline historical and cultural facts unfamiliar to the reader, especially the young one (in Whitney's book a similar function is usually performed by footnotes and commentaries).

Peare attaches a considerable significance to the **visual** component of the novel: it is full of scenes and landscapes, and although this feature of the text clearly distinguishes it from the *Journal*, in some of the pictures created by the writer one can see an extension of Woolman's metaphors. One of such metaphors is water (in the *Journal* negative symbolism of contained water is clearly traced; flowing water, on the contrary, has an extremely positive meaning[487]). Peare opens the text, depicting a river landscape with a boat in which a Delaware Indian sits; the whole scene is

[485] Whitney, J. John Woolman, Child of Light. By C.O. Peare; The Prisoner's Friend: The Story of Elizabeth Fry. By P. Pringle (review) // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. Vol. 43, No. 2. 1954. P. 120.
[486] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 4.
[487] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 250-252.

viewed by eight-years-old Woolman.[488] The silence of a Quaker meeting is compared by Peare with the "deep green sea" into which a praying man immerses.[489]

Similar to Whitney, Peare often includes free indirect speeches of Woolman as well as of other characters. For example, the description of a difficult journey ends with the following passage: "*Weariness? Dangers of travel? Rough forest trails? Choppy boat crossings? What were they in the face of all he had accomplished? This was the most fruitful religious journey he had ever undertaken!*"[490] Free indirect speech is also used in the episode of Woolman's visit to the Indians, which occurred during an escalation of the conflict: "*The Indian village bristled when the white men rode in. War news had been coming in to them, borne by one runner after another.* […] *Did the white men not understand that this was a time of war against the English? Did they have no more sense that to rise brazenly into Wyoming?*"[491] One of the characters in the book, a client of Woolman, who was refused writing a will containing a line on the inheritance of a slave, said to himself that "*this Woolman was becoming positively eccentric!*"[492] This and similar episodes unlock the potential inherent in the genres of the biographical novel and the novelized biography: namely, dramatization of (auto)biographical material. Thus, the story about selling a slave told by Woolman himself in the *Journal*, in Peare's book is supplemented by a fictional episode which might have occurred some years later.

Peare's novel is also full of psychological **introspection**, revealing Woolman's inner world and way of thinking. The writer tries to show the course of his thought using a metaphor. "*Every single heart was the thought Woolman took back to Mount Holly with him and turned over and over in his mind as he sewed. A coat was not made at once, but by every single stitch, one following another in reasonable*

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[488] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 14.
[489] Ibid. P. 17.
[490] Ibid. P. 186-187. Interestingly, free indirect speech is quite often indicated by exclamation marks (Kravchenko, E.YA. Free Indirect Speech // Poetics. Dictionary of Modern Terms and Concepts / Chief editor N.D. Tamarchenko. – Moscow: Kulagina Publishing House; Intrada, 2008. P. 144. (In Russian.)).
[491] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 204.
[492] Ibid. P. 109.

order, until at last, […] *the whole garment emerged*."[493] The thoughts and feelings of the hero are reflected in his physical sensations: thus, having decided to do everything in his power to abolish slavery, the novelistic Woolman "*felt taller and stronger than he had ever felt in his life before*."[494] Entering his parents' house, Woolman, already a grown-up man, "*felt rather biggish; the place and the room seemed smaller than it had when he was a boy*."[495]

Peare follows in Whitney's tradition of artistic dramatization of Woolman's image. *The Child of Light* focuses on "*the conflict between the natural boy and the saint, or deeply religious person*."[496] The narrative also shows an internal conflict between John Woolman the minister and John Woolman the prosperous citizen.[497] Analyzing Woolman's spiritual formation, the writer notes that at first he was dominated by an individualistic desire for personal righteousness, but then he reached a higher level, the level of a fully developed minister.[498]

The dramatization is facilitated by the fact that Peare's novel is replete with scenes from Woolman's personal, family life, scenes from his travels and meetings with people. Like in Whitney's text, such scenes, with all the necessary reservations about their historical accuracy, play an essential role in filling the "lacunae" of the autobiographical source, reinforcing the storyline which was somewhat sidelined in the *Journal* – in other words, creating a riveting plot on the basis of the *Journal*. Peare puts more emphasis on such scenes than Whitney, and it seems entirely justifiable, for *The Child of Light* is addressed to the young audience. Her description of Woolman's childhood and youth, his inner conflicts and romantic dreams is vivid and fascinating. Among openly "**novelistic,**" romantic episodes of the book is the episode of the first, very brief, meeting Woolman with his future wife Sarah Ellis,[499] episodes of their further interactions and their confession of love.

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[493] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 81.
[494] Ibid. P. 63.
[495] Ibid. P. 105.
[496] Ibid. P. 29.
[497] Ibid. P. 110-111.
[498] Ibid. P. 182.
[499] Ibid. P. 46.

It should be mentioned that although such scenes as Woolman's first meeting with his future wife can hardly be reconstructed in detail by documentary sources, they certainly must have occurred in one way or another, and therefore cannot be considered completely fictional. The situation seems more complicated with scenes of other kind. To provide an illustration, it is necessary to give a long quote. In the chapter dedicated to the period of Woolman's life when he, after long hesitations, made the difficult decision to abandon dyed clothing for ethical reasons (thus violating the Quaker custom of not being singular), there is such a scene. Woolman visits his elderly mother Elizabeth, and she asks him for advice.

A twinkle of mischief lighted her eyes as she said, "Thou canst advise me on a moral question, my son."

[…]

"Is it perhaps about the property?" he asked.

"No," said she primly. "I said this is a moral question," and turning to her daughter she added, "Bring it to me, Rachel."

Rachel looked a little afraid.

"John will disapprove, Mother," she protested.

"I told thee to bring it to me, Rachel."

Rachel obeyed and laid the mysterious item in her mother's lap. John Woolman recognized it as something he had seen in the New England cities he had just visited. It was a bonnet, a fashion note from Paris, the wickedest city in the world, where the infamy and chicanery of Madame Pompadour and her circle had helped to precipitate the Seven Years' War. The bonnet in Elizabeth Woolman's lap was a plain replica of the ornate original. Quaker women in England had already been wearing the bonnet for some time in spite of the severe disapproval of their meetings.

[…]

With hands upon which the skin hung loose and wrinkled she picked up the bonnet, placed it snugly on her head, and tied it under her chin, waiting as pertly as a coquette for his comment.

The righteous man who had just made such a harrowing decision about his own costume nodded in the affirmative and said:

"I think it becomes thee, Mother. I really do."[500]

There is no such scene in the *Journal*, nor in other available descriptions of Woolman life: apparently it should be attributed as an absolutely fictional episode of Peare's book. However, it is truly remarkable because it adds a bright and distinctive touch to the portrait of Woolman, who was remembered by his contemporaries for his lack of dogmatism, moderation and softness in communication with other people.[501] Looking at a similar example from a biographical novel about Marilyn Monroe, Lackey has observed: "The story may not be true in a literal sense, but it rings true insofar as it functions to illuminate the truth of the character's complexity."[502] Such scenes do not show the literal truth of events, but they do show the underlying, deep truth of the character's soul, and therefore many creators of fictional biographies / biographical fiction unanimously agree that "it is permissible to alter historical fact, so long as the writer remains faithful to more important symbolic truths."[503]

As mentioned earlier, Woolman himself sometimes violates the factual accuracy of his story. Noticing inconsistencies in some dates and sequences of events (for example, in describing professional choice), Janet Whitney[504] draws the conclusion that Woolman "*uses the material of his life with artistic freedom, and is more concerned with truth than facts. Why he chose tailoring is important to his story, and he explains it clearly; when is unimportant, within a year or two, as he glances backward*."[505]

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[500] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 192-193.
[501] Moulton, Ph. P. John Woolman's Approach to Social Action… P. 410; Rosenblatt, P. John Woolman… P. 36; Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 207; O'Reilley, M.R. John Woolman: The Unconstructed Self… P. 138; Lutz, B.A. John Woolman: More Than Just a Journal. The Capacity of One Individual to Make a Difference // Univ. of Wisconsin. History 489. 2009. P. 19.
[502] Lackey, M. (Ed.) Truthful Fictions… P. 16.
[503] Lackey, M. American Biographical Novel… P. 13.
[504] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 99, 106.
[505] Ibid. P. 99.

A similar literary task, in our view, may justify Whitney's "egregious error,"[506] detected by Ralph Pickett. Telling story of the Indian chief Papunehang and his community, Whitney writes that in 1782 they fell victims of a horrific attack carried out by white settlers.[507] This does not correspond to historical data: Papunehang died of natural causes in 1775. Pickett believes that the writer commited the mistake after she had read about a massacre in a Christian Indian village carried out by colonists; but it was a different village. Whitney may have made this factual error inadvertently; but another explanation seems also possible. By distorting the historical facts and transferring the real tragedy to her book, to the lives of Woolman's Indian friends, Whitney showed "a more important symbolic truth" (Lackey). Had she placed a historically accurate account of what happened in the commentaries – which would have been more correct academically – many readers might have simply overlooked the story.

The same motives of "novelization" may explain another factual inaccuracy of Whitney, to which the critics point – her bold hypothesis regarding the books read by Woolman. It seems unlikely that Woolman really read *Don Quixote*, *Utopia* or *Paradise Lost*; however, the biographical Woolman's interest in these books allows the writers (Whitney, and then Peare) to show the direction of his further thinking. (Here it will be worth mentioning that in academic literature there are also comparisons of Woolman's moral message with the Quixotic one[508].)

Let us return to the text of Peare. Novelizing the *Journal* plot, Peare, at the same time, preserves in Woolman's portraiture a number of typically "**hagiographic**" motifs. She often emphasizes that the clothes of Woolman and his relatives are "homespun," the carpets and baskets used at home are woven with their own hands[509]; Woolman himself, on his journey across the Atlantic, appears as "*the homespun*

[506] Pickett, R.H. A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger… P. 91.
[507] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 305.
[508] Cady, E.H. John Woolman: The Mind of the Quaker Saint… P. 116; Higgins, E.F.D. Narrative and values in the Quaker journals of Thomas Chalkley, Elizabeth Ashbridge and John Woolman… P. 201.
[509] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 20, 27.

minister, headed for the sophisticated capital of Quakerism."[510] The trust other people had in Woolman, as Peare mentions, was a fruit of his "*absolute honesty*."[511] In this way, the writer retains some traits of Woolman's portraiture established in the period from the 1850s to the 1940s: his innate, natural capacity, symbolized by the motif of "homespunness," as well as honesty, absolute inability to lie.

Interestingly, unlike Whitney, Peare depicts Woolman as the "first abolitionist." Whitney, as her reviewer Cadbury observes, shows this feature "as it was, the by-product of a sensitive soul rather than as the burning crusade of a would-be reformer."[512] Peare, meanwhile, points out that Woolman's personality as a proto-abolitionist "*was the focal point at which the diverse rays of thinking came together and then radiated out over America*."[513] Peare's return to a romantic and exaggerated appreciation of Woolman's personal role in history is, apparently, connected with the book's appeal to the young audience. It should be mentioned, however, that Peare also pays attention to Woolman's like-minded men – such as Lay and Benezet, for example – thus paying tribute to their role in the antislavery movement.

One of the questions to which Woolman's admirers do not have a definitive answer is the question of the minister's **appearance**. Although many editions reproduce a famous portrait in profile, there seems to be no solid evidence regarding Woolman's physical appearance (see section 2.10 for details). Still more interesting it is to compare Whitney's and Peare's approaches to recreating Woolman's appearance. Whitney highlights that there is no credible portrait left, and does not attempt to "draw" it. At the same time, the writer argues from a psychological point of view: "…*his attractiveness is spoken for by his popularity*," i.e. the ease with which he made friends, the desire expressed by many people to see him in their company.[514] In her turn, Peare does not give any reasons for the portrait she creates, according to which Woolman had "*a large frame*," was a "*big and strong*" person, his voice being

[510] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 229.
[511] Ibid. P. 50.
[512] Cadbury, H.J. John Woolman: American Quaker, by J. Whitney… P. 485-486.
[513] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 171.
[514] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 44.

"*strong*" as well.[515] In our view, the difference between Whitney and Peare's approaches brilliantly illustrates their books' belonging, respectively, to the genres of novelized biography and biographical novel.

The analysis has shown that Peare, who published her novel 12 years after Whitney's book, followed her predecessor to a large degree, but brought her own perspective on Woolman's life. *American Quaker* by Whitney still has a value today as a historically well-grounded and compelling narrative focused on adult readers. *The Child of Light* by Peare performs a similar task; however, being addressed to teenagers, it contains a more explicit pedagogical message, similar to that of *Sister Ruth's Stories*. Apparently, both writers successfully overcome somewhat documentary fragmentedness, inherent in the *Journal*, with the help of artistic techniques transforming life events mentioned by Woolman into a continuous narrative.

The next work to which we turn belongs to a purely fictional area.

2.7. Motifs of the *Journal* in Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark* (1946)

Although the *Journal* was addressed mainly to Woolman's fellow Quakers, the text became famous beyond the Quaker community and, starting with the first edition of 1774, the *Journal* attracted new generations of readers admiring American confessional prose. In 1939, Theodore Dreiser joined Woolman's admirers; reading the *Journal* the novelist significantly modified the idea of a novel he had already started by that time, *The Bulwark*.[516]

The Bulwark tells about three generations of a Quaker family in Pennsylvania at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The novel addresses sharp conflicts of a "traditional" faith and new trends, conservatism and modernity, fathers and children. The protagonist called Solon Barnes is a Quaker from a farming family, a man of the highest ethical standards, an exemplary banker, and a fine family man. There is only

[515] Peare, C.O. John Woolman: Child of Light… P. 157, 161, 169.
[516] Dreiser, T. The Bulwark. – N.Y.: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1946. 338 p.

one thing such a kind, honest and hard-working man seems to be lacking: namely, breadth of vision. His reading is limited to devotional literature; the only exceptions are some newspapers he watches by force of duty. Solon decries all sorts of fine arts, and though he knows, for example, that "*the was a literature: such things as stories, poems, plays, essays, histories*", nevertheless, from Quaker edifying literature he once learned that *"romances or novels were pernicious, and as such not rightfully printed, sold, or loaned; they were evil*."[517]

Solon Barnes's house, Thornbrough, is an embodiment of the Quaker ideal of pious simplicity in which the only decoration of the walls are biblical sayings. The wife of Solon, Benecia, also brought up in a religious family, almost entirely shares her husband's views. The first of the three parts of the novel, devoted to the childhood and youth of Solon and Benecia and the birth of their love, is imbued with an idyllic spirit.

The second and third parts, however, chronicle a series of disappointments in the principal character's life. True to the Quaker ideal of absolute honesty, Solon grows painfully aware that many of his co-religionists are ready to slightly, and sometimes even quite significantly, compromise their morals for the sake of profit. Early 20th-century Quakers are becoming less and less zealous about their fathers' precepts, furnishing their homes with luxury and adopting secular culture. But Solon's biggest disappointment comes from his youngest children, Etta and Stewart, who openly rebel against their parents' way of life. Etta, who has always dreamed of art as a child, runs away from home to become a writer. Stuart struggles with the idea of business career his father is planning for him, and, fascinated by the temptations of a big city, begins to live a double life. Stuart's fate turns out to be tragic: he becomes an accomplice to a serious crime and, although the young man can be called "perhaps the least guilty of all Dreiser's criminals,"[518] he does not stand the turmoil of guilt and commits suicide. These sad events constitute the main theme of the *The Bulwark*'s third part.

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[517] Dreiser, T. The Bulwark… P. 30.
[518] St. Jeane, Sh. Mythology, Religion, and Intertextuality in Theodore Dreiser's The Bulwark // Christianity and Literature. 1999, 48 (3). P. 284.

The traumatic experience plunges Solon into a profound spiritual crisis. At the end of the novel he rethinks some of his views and comes to a new understanding of faith. A kind of spiritual rebirth is also experienced by Etta, who makes peace with her father.

Prior to considering Woolman's influence on Dreiser, the book's "strange and tangled"[519] story must be taken into account. The author began to work on it in the autumn of 1914, and completed the book in May 1945.[520] The idea behind *The Bulwark* was first produced by a family history, which Dreiser heard in 1912 from his reader Ann Tatum. The lady's father was reported to have been "a singularly devout and gentle Quaker whose nobility of character, rather than bringing him happiness, plunged him and his family into deepest tragedy."[521] It is quite well known that the theme of a conflict between fathers' and children's worldviews was fundamental for Dreiser and, due to the circumstances of his own biography, very personal as well. The first drafts of the novel were made between 1914 and 1920. They reveal that originally the character of Solon Barnes, while created somewhat empathically, was first and foremost satirical (as well as the title of the novel),[522] and the novel was supposed to be an "attack on moralists."[523] Solon resembled some characters of other Dreiser's novels – opinionated people who, being powerless to "force [their] moral code"[524] upon the world, become dictators in their families. The action in the first version was limited to the mature years of Solon and ended with a complete collapse of the "Barnes's world."

For a number of reasons, in 1920 Dreiser suspended the work on *The Bulwark* and in some measure lost interest in this idea. The pause was to a large extent caused by the complexity of the task: to draw a portrait of "*a church-going, happy husband*

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[519] Salzman, J. The Curious History of Dreiser's The Bulwark // Proof: The Yearbook of American Bibliographical and Textual Studies. 1973, 3. P. 21.
[520] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser: A Critical Study. – Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976. P. 299.
[521] Salzman, J. The Curious History of Dreiser's The Bulwark… P. 22.
[522] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser… P. 305, 321; Lingeman, R. Theodore Dreiser: An American Journey. 1908–1945. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1990. P. 162.
[523] Lingeman, R. Theodore Dreiser: An American Journey… P. 176.
[524] Kovalyov, Y.V. The Finale / Dreiser, Th. Stoic. The Bulwark. – Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1989. P. 667. (In Russian.)

[…] *a grey-suited banker*", a man, personifying "*bland blend of wisdom and dullness*," and do this "*without boring himself and his readers*," but, on the contrary, to create a vivid and believable character.[525] Sometimes trying to restart the work, the writer admitted that a feeling of failure was haunting him.[526] His niece, Vera, explained this by the fact that Dreiser identified Solon Barnes with his father and, partly, with himself.[527] Some degree of self-identification with the protagonists had been characteristic of Dreiser before, but in the case of *The Bulwark* it disrupted the creative process: the novelist did not consider himself a religious man and was still rather skeptical of religion; however, he could no longer look at his Quaker character from the initial ironic distance.[528]

Meanwhile, the period of 1920–1930s changed a lot in Dreiser's worldview. It was a time of his intense searchings in politics, philosophy and religion, and of extensive reading: first of all, of scientific literature ("from Democritus to Einstein"[529]). The writer was constantly collecting new materials which, as he hoped, could be synthesized in a book *The Formula Called Life*. The result of this large-scale but unfinished work amounted to thirty-six cases of manuscripts, only some of which were published.[530] Yet, the very title of the book reflects the evolution of Dreiser's views over the years. As in earlier periods, Dreiser the naturalist was eager to explore some laws, formulas, and mechanisms, hidden "behind the scenes" of individual and social life. However, while previously these formulas had seemed to be haphazard and destructive, now Dreiser began to see intelligence, beauty and creativity inherent in them.[531]

In the late 1930s, while preparing a book for *The Living Thoughts Series*,[532] Dreiser carefully read Henry David Thoreau, the Transcendentalist philosopher, who

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[525] Lydon, M. Theodore Dreiser, Anna Tatum, and The Bulwark: The Making of a Masterpiece. – N.Y.: Franklin Street Press, 2017. P. 53.
[526] Lingeman, R. Theodore Dreiser: An American Journey… P. 440.
[527] Dreiser, V. My Uncle Theodore. New York: Nash Publishing, 1976. P. 208.
[528] Lingeman, R. Theodore Dreiser: An American Journey… P. 440.
[529] Dreiser, Th. The Living Thoughts of Thoreau. – N. Y.: David McKay Co., Inc. 1963. P. 17.
[530] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser… P. 295-296.
[531] Ibid. P. 294.
[532] Dreiser, Th. The Living Thoughts of Thoreau…

became one of the most important authors for him. Summarizing the philosophical ideas of Thoreau, Dreiser felt strengthened in the course of thought in which he had been going for the last few years: behind the external toughness of natural laws, according to Thoreau, a great creative and artistic genius is hidden; people can grasp the goodness and beauty of this divine genius, by patiently studying nature.

Another event that powerfully influenced Dreiser coincided with his fascination with Thoreau's philosophy: in 1938 he met the eminent Quaker historian Rufus Jones (1863–1948). Following Jones's advice, Dreiser began reading books about Quakerism, which helped him see the religion in a new perspective. The writer was very impressed with the Friends' philosophy, as well as their ability to combine tireless social work with religiosity, "free of dogma."[533] He praised *The Journal* of the famous founder of Quakerism, George Fox (1624–1691), as well as Jones's own autobiographical trilogy, including the following books: *Finding the Trail of Life* (1926), *The Trail of Life in College* (1929), *The Trail of Life in the Middle Years* (1934). It is known that Quakerism enormously influenced Transcendentalism,[534] and so it is not surprising that in Quaker books Dreiser found a lot of similarities with the ideas of Thoreau and himself.[535]

In January 1939, Dreiser first read the *Journal* of John Woolman. This text attracted particular attention of the novelist: almost half of the pages in his copy of the *Journal* show Dreiser's pensil markings or marginal annotations.[536] Woolman's philosophical ideas were also consistent with the worldview which the writer had developed over the years. According to Woolman, harmony is at the heart of the creation, and though it was lost by human beings, humanity can regain it. The way to

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[533] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser… P. 305.
[534] Jolliff, W. The Economy of the Inward Life: John Woolman and Henry Thoreau // The Concord Saunterer. 2007, 15. P. 91-111. P. 92.
[535] There are such words in Rufus Jones's autobiography: "I was convinced that this inner spirit of simplicity springs out of a unique fellowship with God." Having read this, Dreiser circled the word "God" and wrote "Nature" in the margin (Jones, R. The Trail of Life in the Middle Years. – N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1934. P. 129; qtd. in: Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser… P. 306).
[536] Friedrich, G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's *Journal* // American Quarterly. 1955, 7 (4). P. 388.

this global harmony lies through the subjugation of the human will to the divine will, the consent of each person to follow the leadings[537] of the Inward Light and to play the "party" assigned to them in the world "symphony."[538] Similarly, Dreiser, in his unfinished philosophical study of those years, sought to show "both the insignificance of man and the wonder and beauty of the process of which he was a part." Another reason why Woolman's writings appealed to Dreiser, of course, was purely social one, namely, the message about defence of the rights of the oppressed: enslaved people, the poor, Native Americans.

The novelist's sympathy was aroused not only by Woolman's views, but also by the minister's personality. Dreiser saw the *Journal*'s Woolman as a person of strong moral integrity, unusually free from any conceit and opinionatedness. The writer put Woolman in line with such great spiritual names as Diogenes, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis, John Huss, John Benyan.[539] Assessing the literary merits of the *Journal*, Dreiser included Woolman, along with George Fox and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, among creators of the most beautiful autobiographies in the history of literature.[540]

The impression Woolman's personality left on Dreiser helped the novelist complete the portraying of the *Bulwark*'s protagonist. The following fact is indicative. While reading about Woolman in a book by Rufus Jones, Dreiser highlighted this passage: "Woolman expresses, both in spirit and in deed, better than any other single individual does, the ideal of Quaker mysticism. He carried farther than most have done the refining process which […] leaves the spirit pure and unalloyed, utterly humble, and utterly freed from selfishness."[541] Underlining these words, Dreiser wrote on the margins: "*Solon*."[542]

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[537] *Leading* – a religious term, often used by Quakers.
[538] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 95.
[539] Dreiser, Th. The Living Thoughts of Thoreau… P. 16-17.
[540] Lingeman, R. Theodore Dreiser: An American Journey… P. 440.
[541] Jones, R. The Trail of Life in the Middle Years… P. 201; qtd. in: Friedrich, G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal… P. 388.
[542] Friedrich, G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal… P. 388.

Apparently, it was Dreiser's acquaintance with the Quaker classic that became the key factor in modifying the idea of *The Bulwark*: the novel virtually lost its satirical focus: "While his previous works had ignored or taken religion as an object of derision, his late novel honestly grapples with the value of faith."[543] The American scholar G. Friedrich has drawn attention to a pensil-marked passage in the Dreiser copy of the *Journal*, suggesting that the minister's book reinvigorated even the very title of the novel (already established at that time). Dreiser highlighted the following sentence: "*Deep humility is a strong bulwark, and as we enter into it we find safety and true exaltation*."[544] Probably, not only the modification of the idea, but, in fact, the renewal of Dreiser's interest in the novel as well were both effects of author's fascination with some new texts, especially Woolman's *Journal*.

Addressing the history of Woolman's reception in Dreiser's novel, it is necessary to make a small digression and say that generally, the critical interest in *The Bulwark* has been rather unstable. First published in 1946, *The Bulwark* (the last of Dreiser's completed novels), on the one hand, immediately aroused great interest of readers and critics, but on the other hand, it received rather mixed reviews. The review of F.O.Matthiessen seems strongly indicative: "just a religious novel about Solon's rediscovery of Christian love."[545] As Donald Pizer has observed, the novel was often called one of Dreiser's "weakest novels."[546] A review written by Quaker critic C. T. Brown, published in 1946, deserves special attention. Recognizing the relevance of the theme (the position of "traditional" religiosity in the world of increasing secularization), Brown, at the same time, harshly criticizes the novel for its stylistical clumsiness, as well as for inaccuracies in the description of Quaker customs, specific

[543] St. Jeane, Sh. Mythology, Religion, and Intertextuality… P. 275.
[544] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 57.
[545] Matthiessen, F.O. God, Mammon and Mr. Dreiser; A Posthumous Novel of Man's Search for Meaning in a World without Faith // The New York Times Book Review. 1946, March 24. P. 43; qtd. in: Tsuchiya Y. Urban Pastoralism in Theodore Dreiser's Works. – Diss. subm. to Nagoya University, 2014. P. 153.
[546] Pizer, D. Dreiser and his Fiction: A Twentieth-Century Quest by Lawrence E. Hussman Jr. (review) // Studies in American Fiction. 1984, 12 (2). P. 235.

vocabulary, etiquette.[547] Thus, the early reviews on *The Bulwark* did not seem enthusiastic.

Nevertheless, in the 1950s the critical attitude to this novel became more balanced: literary scholars point at the special place of *The Bulwark* in Dreiser's writing career, its belonging to the later, fourth phase of his naturalism.[548] Meanwhile, in a book published five years after the review which was cited above Matthiessen argues that "it is far more a symbolical than a naturalistic novel, basically as bare as a parable."[549] J. Salzman in 1973 wrote that this is Dreiser's most mystical novel.[550] The trend towards a more positive reception of the novel by critics was reflected in the fact that in 1983 Hussman called *The Bulwark* "the most undervalued" of Dreiser's book, and this opinion was supported by Sh. St. Jean,[551] and M. Lydon in a recent work described the book as a "masterpiece."[552] However, the total number of works dedicated to *The Bulwark* still is far below the variety of studies dedicated to earlier Dreiser's novels, and the novel itself is reprinted much less often than the rest of the writer's works. It can be assumed that it is due to a relatively low critical interest in *The Bulwark* as a whole, that the question about its connection with the the *Journal* of Woolman has not received enough attention so far.

The very fact of influence of the *Journal* on the *Bulwark* has been noted in literary studies several times: thus, in 1962 Sidney Richman wrote about it, associating the name of the famous Quaker with Transcendentalism. *The Bulwark*, as Richman notes, is a novel "which in content and tone sits squarely in the transcendental tradition – owing nothing at all to Herbert Spencer and everything to

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[547] Brown, C.T. Dreiser's *Bulwark* and Philadelphia Quakerism // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. 1946, 35 (2). P. 52-61.
[548] Walcutt, Ch. Ch. American Literary Naturalism: A Divided Stream. – Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. P. 221.
[549] Matthiessen, F.O. Theodore Dreiser. – N. Y.: William Sloane Associates, 1951. P. 243.
[550] Salzman, J. The Curious History of Dreiser's *The Bulwark*… P. 21.
[551] Hussman, L.E., Jr. Dreiser and His Fiction: A Twentieth-Century Quest. – Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983. P. 153; St. Jeane, Sh. Mythology, Religion, and Intertextuality in Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark*… P. 275.
[552] Lydon, M. Theodore Dreiser, Anna Tatum, and The Bulwark: The Making of a Masterpiece…

Thoreau and John Woolman."[553] However, pointing to this continuity, the researcher does not dwell on this point in more detail. Another scholar who touched upon this problem was the author of a 1968 monograph about Woolman Paul Rosenblatt. In general, Rosenblatt considers Dreiser's novel to be a failure, and therefore does not pay much attention to it, recognizing, however, a noticeable influence Woolman's philosophy and style exerted on it.[554] In some more detail the relationship between the two works was examined in 1976 by Donald Pizer, a famous specialist in American naturalism. He focused mainly on the significance of the *Journal* in the life of the heroes of *The Bulwark*.[555] In the following years, scholars hardly returned to the problem; the *Journal*'s influence seems to be out of view even in St. Jeane's paper focused on intertextuality of *The Bulwark*.[556]

The only study we know in which the problem "Woolman and Dreiser" is examined in some detail is Friedrich's paper, published in 1955. Pointing at some plot analogies in the *Journal* and the *Bulwark*, the scholar notes: "It is curious that, of all American authors, Theodore Dreiser should have come most strongly under the spell of John Woolman's pen."[557] Friedrich describes Dreiser's succession to Woolman not only as a direct reception, but as a "chain" of influences: Woolman – Whittier – Rufus Jones – Dreiser. In a subsequent article[558] the scholar shifts his focus to R. Jones' figure and his autobiography. Friedrich's comparisons convincingly show that *The Bulwark* is indeed full of allusions to Jones's book as well. However, the scholar's conclusion that this particular work had the most serious, major impact on the final version of the novel,[559] seems rather controversial. The research vector outlined by Friedrich in the first paper does not seem to be developed enough and deserves more attention.

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[553] Richman, S. Theodore Dreiser's The Bulwark: A Final Resolution // American Literature. 1962, 34 (2). P. 229.
[554] Rosenblatt, P. John Woolman… P. 125.
[555] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser…
[556] St. Jeane, Sh. Mythology, Religion, and Intertextuality in Theodore Dreiser's The Bulwark…
[557] Friedrich, G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's Journal… P. 385.
[558] Friedrich, G. A Major Influence on Theodore Dreiser's The Bulwark // American Literature. 1957, 29 (2). P. 180-193.
[559] Friedrich, G. A Major Influence on Theodore Dreiser's The Bulwark… P. 193.

Drawing from Friedrich's and Pizer's ideas and developing them, we can conclude that there are at least two levels of reception of the *Journal* in *The Bulwark*. On the one hand, the *Journal* appears as a book which plays a crucial role in Quaker culture and is particularly valued by the protagonist; on the other hand, there are distinct parallels between Woolman's autobiographical image and that of Solon Barnes. The task of this section is a more detailed consideration of the designated reception on both levels; the novelty of the research is in pointing to some allusions not previously recorded by literary critics.

Woolman's Book in the Life of Dreiser's Heroes. Let us examine the references to Woolman in the novel. He is first mentioned in the episode of Solon Barnes's introduction to his bride's family. Having heard the girl's steps, loving Solon approaches the shelf with books and, to hide his excitement, pretends to read Woolman's *Journal*.[560] Even while reading so inattentively, the character becomes interested in the book, and as a result, "*A little later, Solon, having seen the Journal of John Woolman in Wallin's bookcase the time of his visit there, and having glanced at it, the while he was awaiting Benecia, decided that he would also like to add this book to those in his office, and sent to a Philadelphia bookshop for it. This he found interesting to read, since it contained the story of an extraordinary man's life* […]. *And besides, he felt, Benecia had read this book, and he was anxious to read it before seeing her again*."[561]

Woolman's ideas are close to the young Solon. Describing his worldview, Dreiser to some extent describes the views of Woolman as well: "*Life, to Solon – he could not have reasoned it out exactly – was a series of law-governed details, each one of which had the import of being directly connected with divine will.* […] *He saw no value in the creeds and sacraments of other religious faiths, though he had a sympathetic regard for all churches as opposed to heathenism. To him the religion of George Fox and John Woolman was the solution of all earthly ills.*"[562]

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[560] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 52.
[561] Ibid. P. 58.
[562] Ibid. P. 90.

Over time, however, the hero's beliefs become increasingly intolerant. Thus, in the house of Solon, now the head of a large family, there is no room for secular literature: having learnt that his daughter Etta secretly reads Balzac, Flaubert and Daudet, Solon strongly condemns them as "immoral" authors and destroys books (Chapter XLIV). He respects only Quaker books. The father's rigorism causes children, especially Etta and Stewart, to react negatively: "*Stewart bowed his head humbly. He felt there was something in what his father was saying, and yet it irritated him.* […] *He was sick and tired of hearing about the Inner Light. Its impact, as far as he was concerned, was purely imaginary. And as for George Fox and John Woolman's Journal, quoted to him so often, he wasn't interested in them. They had nothing to do with real life.*"[563]

The penultimate chapter of the novel is dedicated entirely to the *Journal*. Back home, Etta tends to dying Solon, thinking how to brighten his final days: "*However, there was little that interested him, and she was hard put to it to think of things to read. One day, having encountered among the few books in the living room the Journal of John Woolman, she brought this to his room, saying:*

"Father, I found this books, which I know thee used to read when we were children. Would thee like me to read it to thee now?" He looked at her, a slow but pleased smile overspreading his usually wearied countenance.

"Indeed, daughter," he replied, taking it in his hand, "this is a precious volume. It would please me greatly if thee would."[564]

For Solon, his renewed acquaintance with Woolman signifies the rejection of dogmatism, of the "narrow morality"[565] and a return to the "intuitive" faith of his childhood.[566] At the same time, Etta is deeply impressed by reading her father's favorite book. The *Journal* makes the young lady reflect on her past – her youthful dreams, relationships with parents, escape from home, falling in love with the artist Willard Kane: "*She had not forgotten Kane or the love for him which was still*

[563] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 195.
[564] Ibid. P. 327.
[565] Ibid. P. 328.
[566] Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser… P. 305.

engaging her heart. But now John Woolman and her father were helping her to understand something beyond human passion and its selfish desires and ambitions – the love and peace involved in the consideration of others – her father first and foremost. […] *Now she felt it moving through her, too, and she was ready to receive it*."[567]

Direct references to the *Journal* thus represent different attitudes to the classical text. For Solon it is a most precious book, which he rediscovers at the end of his life. For his children, the name of Woolman is long associated with tedious moralising. The third attitude, presented in the final, is the attitude of an older Etta, who resorted to the *Journal* for the first time and, unexpectedly for herself, found a spiritual support in it.

Etta compares her father to Woolman,[568] and this comparison reveals the second level of reception of the *Journal* in *The Bulwark*. The biography and portrait of Solon Barnes largely mirrors the story and image of John Woolman.

Episodes of the childhood and adolescence of John Woolman and Solon Barnes. The similarity can be found in the origin of both characters (who were born in farming families), as well as in the motif of pious parents, which refers to the hagiographic tradition. It is noteworthy, however, that Dreiser's novel emphasizes a special role of the protagonist's mother, Hanna Barnes, which connects *The Bulwark* with a tradition dating back to *The Confessions* of Saint Augustine, rather than with the text of Woolman, which did not focus on anyone of the parents.

As Friedrich[569] and Rosenblatt[570] rightly point out, an obvious allusion to the first chapter of the *Journal* is the episode of Solon's childhood, when he, playing with a friend, kills a bird flying over her nest. The cruel act leaves the boy with a feeling of deep remorse; he remembers the episode, as well as Woolman, for all his life, and this plays a fundamental role in the formation of his personality.

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[567] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 331.
[568] Ibid. C. 330.
[569] Friedrich, G. Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's *Journal*… P. 389.
[570] Rosenblatt, P. John Woolman… P. 124.

Another allusion to the *Journal* is, as Friedrich has observed, the story of young Solon's serious illness and miraculous recovery. Hannah says to him: "*Do not cry, Solon, my son…* […] *This is not the end for thee – it is but the beginning. God is going to make thy coming days thy best. Thee will live to serve Him in love and truth*."[571] In a similar manner, speaking of the most acute phase of his childhood illness, Woolman writes: "*...in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him*."[572]

Similarities in the characters' worldview. Quite a few parallels with Woolman can be found in Solon's worldview. For example, Solon heartily welcomes the idea of a "plain life." Let us compare the two fragments from Woolman and Dreiser. Trying to persuade someone of the necessity of abolition, the autobiographical John Woolman speaks about a great difference "*betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves, the former in my view being the most happy life.*"[573]

In a like manner, "…*wherever a farmer was to be seen plowing or cutting grain, or a blacksmith, working entirely alone, re-tiring a wheel or reshoeing a horse,* […] *Solon was, without being intellectually conscious of it, sympathetically interested. It was so pleasing apparently to work so singly and thoughtfully at some one thing, without any hope af anything more than a modest living for oneself and one's family.*"[574]

Occupying a senior position in the bank, Solon obeys the leadings of his soul (or the Inward Light), and seeks to help the "unprofitable" clientele – namely, ordinary deposit holders, small businessmen: "*It hurt him to see the expression on a man's face when he was refused further aid and ordered to pay. Sometimes he would have the*

[571] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 20.
[572] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 26.
[573] Ibid. P. 61.
[574] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 29.

poor fellow bring his balance sheet and a statement of his resources to his Dukla home to see if he could help him solve his problems."[575]

Such moments evoke associations with the philanthropic theme of the *Journal*: the desire of the autobiographical character to help people in need. Solon's decision to quit the job, motivated by dishonesty of the bank operations, and Woolman's restriction of his business, are also comparable. Addressing his colleagues, Solon says: "*As you know, I am a Friend, and our religious faith is opposed to this craze for the accumulation of wealth which seems to influence so many people.* […] *Perhaps there is little that one individual can do, but as for me, at least I can withdraw from a situation which I consider demoralizing and destructive*."[576] These words seem to be in line with the well-known phrase from Woolman's *Journal* related to his pacifist decision not to pay the war tax: "*To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid was exceeding disagreeable, but to do a thing contrary to my conscience appeared yet more dreadful.*"[577]

The following similarities between Dreiser's protagonist and Woolman's autobiographical character seem also significant. The *Journal* conveys a rather idealized image of the past, and its character seeks "to emulate the best of his predecessors"[578]: "*From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been in past ages people who walked in uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew.*"[579] In a similar way, Solon Barnes, a man of the 19th and 20th centuries, is presented in *The Bulwark* as a conservative, old-fashioned person, prone to idealization of the past, and assessing the present rather critically. As a modern Japanese scholar justly points out, the very walls of Solon's house, Thornbrough, become in a certain sense the "border" between the mythologized past, the "golden

[575] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 136.
[576] Ibid. P. 304.
[577] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 77.
[578] Plank, G. John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom… P. 16.
[579] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 24.

age" of morality, the spirit of which Solon seeks to retain, and the present he interprets as a time of decline.[580]

Motif of "intuitive" communication. One of the least obvious, and yet very interesting allusions to Woolman in *The Bulwark* can be found in its "garden" episode (Chapter LXIV). Communing with nature, the elderly Solon Barnes is overwhelmed with a sense of invisible connectedness of all things. He is profoundly impressed by his "conversation" with a snake: "*Daughter … I have learned more about life and God that I ever knew before. I saw a puff adder, which I know to be harmless, but that startled me…* […] *However, I decided to speak to it and did so, telling it that I knew that it was harmless and that it could go its way without harm or interruption from me. At which, it reduced its swelling neck to normal, lowered its head* […]. *I mean that good intent is of itself a universal language, and if our intention is good, all creatures in their particular way understand, and so it was that this puff adder understood me just as I understood it*."[581]

The motif of intuitive understanding achieved without a shared language resembles the Indian episode of the *Journal*, where similar communication occurs between people of different ethnicities: "*Our pilots took us to the house of a very ancient man, and soon after* […] *there came a man from another Indian house some distance off. And I, perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk wrapped under his match-coat out of sight, as I approached him he took it in his hand. I, however, went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English.* […] *…then he, going into the house with us and talking with our pilots, soon appeared friendly and sat down and smoked his pipe."*[582]

In one of the last chapters of *The Bulwark* there is a remarkable episode, when the diseased Solon Barnes semi-consciously speaks **about himself in the third person**: "*Daughter, what has become of that poor old man?..*"[583]. This remark can be

[580] Tsuchiya, Y. Urban Pastoralism in Theodore Dreiser's Works… P. 168.
[581] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 318-319.
[582] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 129-130.
[583] Dreiser, Th. The Bulwark… P. 332.

related to Woolman's account of an amazing vision he saw during a severe illness (Chapter XII): in this vision he felt the "death of his own will." Recalling his thoughts that accompanied the vision, the autobiographer also looks at himself as if from the outside: "*I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman…*"[584]

Significantly, this episode from the *Journal* is almost entirely included by Dreiser in the text of *The Bulwark* (Chapter LXVI). When interpreting Woolman's line, it is necessary to keep in mind the following feature of the *Journal*. Designed to promote, above all, the Quaker values,[585] this text gradually diminishes the role of the central figure: the "exemplary" autobiographical Woolman inevitably "unconstructs" his ego, "illusory" part of himself,[586] and his task, ultimately, is to communicate his spiritual experience to the readers. It seems reasonable to suggest that, in the same way, Solon Barnes in *The Bulwark* also acts as a character, at the end of the story experiencing a sense of an isolated human "ego" as an illusionary concept. At the same time, Solon Barnes the central character transforms into Solon Barnes "a compassionate spectator" of the plot which has just unfolded in front of him; to a certain extent, he becomes the story's interpreter, conveying its spiritual meaning to others.

The analysis made it possible to discover four direct references to Woolman's *Journal* as a work playing an essential role in the life of novel's characters, as well as nine allusions to Woolman in the plot of the novel and the image of the protagonist. Summarizing the results of the comparison, it is possible to conclude that *The Bulwark* is to a large extent an artistic revision of *The Journal*, and the figure of the principal character created by Dreiser, as well as this character's storyline, are in many respects based on the model of the famous Quaker minister's story.

It is important to emphasize that, certainly, the image of Solon Barnes is by no means limited to allusions to Woolman. The portrait of *The Bulwark*'s hero, as it was mentioned above, incorporates some features of another famous Quaker – Dreiser's

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[584] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 186.
[585] Higgins, E.F.D. John Woolman's Journal: Narrative as Quaker Values Transmission…
[586] O'Reilley, M.R. John Woolman: The Unconstructed Self // The Tendering Presence… P. 146.

friend Rufus Jones. Furthermore, initially his prototypes were the fathers of Anna Tatum and the novelist himself. To some extent, the image of Solon Barnes for Dreiser was autobiographical. Biblical and Shakespearean allusions are also fairly noticeable, as well as associations with some characters from Dreiser's other novels.[587] For twenty-five years, beginning in 1914, the portrait of Solon Barnes was gradually assuming a definite shape in the author's imagination, combining the features of several real personalities and fictional characters. However, the idea remained unfulfilled, mainly because placing the "saint," morally perfect hero in the center of a narrative was a difficult artistic task even for such an experienced novelist as Dreiser. The author's acquaintance with the story of life of a real Quaker "saint," John Woolman, which happened in 1939, helped him not only to complement Solon's image, but also to rethink the very idea of his spiritual path. In the novel's finale, Solon Barnes becomes, like Woolman, "a quintessential Quaker,"[588] a true bulwark of his faith.

In his paper devoted to the novel, Yuri V. Kovalev writes that "the artistic research of Dreiser is multifaceted, multidimensional, and its results cannot be reduced to just one statement."[589] It seems that further study of the *The Bulwark* can illustrate the multifacetedness of such an issue as reception in this text of Quaker literary heritage, including *The Journal* of John Woolman. The analysis of this problem can be continued and expanded, in particular, at the level of comparison of the religious, philosophical, and stylistic aspects of *The Bulwark* with the corresponding aspects of Quaker autobiographical literature.

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[587] St. Jeane, Sh. Mythology, Religion, and Intertextuality…; Pizer, D. The Novels of Theodore Dreiser…

[588] The phrase "quintessential Quaker" in relation to Woolman has been borrowed from David Sox's book title (Sox, D. John Woolman: Quintessential Quaker. 1720 to 1772. – Richmond: Friends United Press, 1999. 148 p.).

[589] Kovalyov, Y.V. The Finale… P. 667.

Having examined the examples of documentary and fictional prose inspired by the *Journal*, in the next section we will turn to the poetic reception of Woolman's image in the 18th–21st centuries.

2.8. Poetical Reception of John Woolman's Image

The first poem dedicated to Woolman was published by his admirer with an initial "D.," as early as in 1772, the year of Woolman's death. Since then, there have been several more poetical tributes to the famous Quaker. Among the best known are the 19th-century poets Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and John Greenleaf Whittier. In the same period an anonymous poem about Woolman was included in the text of *Sister Ruth's Stories* (1865). As for the 20th–21st centuries, this period, according to the information available to us, has not been rich in terms of Woolman's poetic reception. The only exception is a small poem by Blake Jerome Everitt, published in 2018. Let us examine the reception of Woolman's image and the *Journal*'s motifs in all the poems.

Speaking about ***the poem by a british poet with an initial D.*** (1772),[590] it should immediately be specified that it cannot not be regarded as an example of the *Journal*'s reception, since it appeared before the publication of Woolman's text. However, this poem is of great interest as arguably the first literary work dedicated to Woolman, and inspired not by the *Journal*, but by the reputation the minister had garnered during his lifetime, and perhaps by the poet's impressions of personal communication with him.

The poem is written in the form of a heroic verse. It is preceded by a Latin epigraph from *Metamorphosis* by Ovid (an English translation): "…no man / Should ever be called happy before burial."[591] Opening the poem, the poet laments that Muse often celebrates *kings and heroes*, i.e. people who distinguished themselves on the

[590] The poem has been printed in the article: *Drake, Th. E.* A Poetical Tribute to John Woolman // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. Vol. 43, No. 2, 1954. P. 100-101.
[591] Ovid. Metamorphoses / Transl. by R. Humphries. – Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968. P. 61.

martial field. Then follows a rhetorical question to Woolman himself (the pronoun *thou* is used): will a man like him remain unsung and his writings forgotten? By the middle of the poem – in the fifth stanza – classicistic antique imagery (*Muse*, *Olympus*, *laurels*, *triumphant car*, *Cypress*) begins to be replaced by Christian imagery (*hallow'd shrine*, *God*, *Redeemer*, *Christian toil*, *Christian patience*). Poets of *battlefields*, who celebrate kings' and heroes' victories and splendor of weapons, should give place to singers of humble people of faith, working for the benefit of the world. Such a devotee was Woolman – a native of a *pleasing country*, who was led by *unbounded love*, embracing *all sects, all nations*. The voice of the poet who originally called himself *a Bard sublime* in the last verse transforms into a "choir" of the voices of Woolman's admirers: "*...we trust he's, blest*."

As one can see, this anonymous poem contains several hagiographic motifs, the most notable of which is the motif of the "*saint's beautiful homeland*"; and the fact that the poet chooses to remain anonymous, refers to such a motif as "*self-abasement of the author*" of a hagiography.

The next poem was published in the abolitionist newspaper *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in June 1832, also unattributed: there was only the pseudonym Gertrude.[592] However, later the author's real name became known: it was the Quaker poet ***Elizabeth Margaret Chandler***. Chandler died very early (1807–1834), but left a rich poetic legacy, gaining a reputation as a prominent abolitionist poet. Together with her brothers, she was raised by their Quaker relatives, attended a Quaker school, and, according to friends, from a very early age she was concerned with social problems.[593] The titles of many of Chandler's poems speak for themselves: *The Afric's Dream*, *The Kneeling Slave*, *Think of the Slave*, *What is a Slave, Mother?*, *The Slave-Ship*, *Anthony Benezet*, *Emancipation*.

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[592] Gertrude (pseudonym). John Woolman // Lundy, B. (ed.). The Genius of Universal Emancipation, June 1832. P. 182.

[593] Mason, M.J.H. Introduction // Remember the Distance that Divides Us: The Family Letters of Philadelphia Quaker Abolitionist and Michigan Pioneer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1830–1842 / Ed. by M.J.H. Mason. – Michigan State University Press, 2004. P. XX.

The poem dedicated to Woolman consists of six verses, each containing six ABABCC rhymes. It opens with an appeal to Woolman himself and the familiar image of his childishness: *Meek, humble, sinless as a very child, / Such wert thou…*[594]. In Woolman's visual portrait, the poet highlights his *features mild* and *that kind eye*, *that knew not how to shed / A glance of aught save love*, *on any human head*.

Woolman appears to be *Servant of Jesus! Christian!*, as he follows Christ's *self-denying precepts*. The minister is filled with great compassion towards *all the human kind* as well as *the unreasoning brute*, but especially to *the slave*. In the fourth stanza, there is a noticeable reference to the vision from the *Journal*'s final chapter: offering a helping hand (the Bible symbol of mercy[595]) to the enslaved people, Woolman once understands that his life is no more separate from their's (*thou* [...] *couldst hold no more / A separate life from them…*).

In the next, fifth stanza, one can see a reference to an often-quoted image from the *Journal* – slavery as "*a dark gloominess hanging over the land.*" Chandler calls slavery a *vile offence*, "*so unbeseeming of our country's worth*," she compares it to *the threatening cloud*, *o'erhanging* the country. Woolman's figure is seen as an exemplar of ethics: "…*we bless thee yet,* / *For the example fair thou hast before us set*."

Eleven years after Chandler's lines, ***a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier*** was published. One of the most influential Quakers of his era, the famous Brahmin poet, Whittier belonged to the Boston School of Poetry[596] and played a substantial role in the history of American romanticist nativism.[597] In the lyrics of Whittier the

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[594] The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: With a Memoir of Her Life and Character / Ed. by B. Lundy. – Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836. P. 51.

[595] Albedil, M.F. "You hold the world in your outstretched hand": the symbolism of hands // Theory of Fashion. № 27, 2013. P. 156-172. Website: https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/teoriya_mody/27_tm_1_2013/article/10352/] [Accessed: 15.01.2023]. (In Russian.)

[596] Venediktova, T.D. The Boston School of Poetry // History of Literature of the United States. T. III. Middle 19th Century Literature (Late Romanticism). – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 2000. P. 222-223. (In Russian.)

[597] Khanzhina, E.P. John Greenleaf Whittier // History of Literature of the United States. Vol. III. Middle 19th Century literature (Late Romanticism). – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 2000. P. 254. (In Russian.)

fundamental role was played by the themes of nature (the poet gained the glory of "an American Burns"[598]), Quaker faith, abolitionism. Whittier was actively engaged in editorial activities, and, as mentioned earlier, in 1871 a new edition of Woolman's *Journal* was published under his supervision. Whittier's poetic interest in Woolman, however, was born much earlier, and the Quaker minister became the character of poems and essays written by the Brahmin poet early in his career. Woolman appears in a number of Whittier's major poems, including: *Pennsylvania Hall*[599] (1838), *The Panorama*[600] (1856), *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*[601] (1872).

However, it was in the 1843 poem where Woolman became the principal character. The poem was published under the title *To — , with a Copy of Woolman's Journal*. The addressee of this text remained unknown for a long time, but in 1941 scholars established that it was Caroline Neagus (1814–1867), a Boston artist who was close to the circle of Transcendentalists.[602]

Containing 40 stanzas, it is the largest of the poems dedicated to Woolman. Its form is mostly a ballad stanza. The main text is preceded by an epigraph from the collection of essays by the British poet Charles Lamb *Essays of Elia* (1823), calling for the study of the texts of John Woolman *by heart*.

The poem's addressee is a *Maiden*, characterized by the poet as a thinking, reflective personality, *With an early introversion* looking from *outward things … for the subtle essence / And the hidden springs*. In her spiritual pursuits she addresses the same eternal questions which troubled such great thinkers of the past as Plato, Zenon, Zarathustra. One of the chief among these questions is – *What and where is Truth?* The many-voiced answers given by Nature are inferior in importance to the answer that comes from within (*More that Nature's many voices* / *May be heard within*).

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[598] Khanzhina, E.P. John Greenleaf Whittier… P. 250-251.
[599] The Complete Poetical Works of Whittier. – Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1892. P. 279-281.
[600] Ibid. P. 323-330.
[601] Ibid. P. 103-112.
[602] Later Ms. Neagus married historian and writer Richard Hildreth, the author of *Archy Moore, the White Slave; Or, Memoirs of a Fugitive* (1836). См. Emerson, D.E. Whittier, Woolman's Journal, and Caroline Neagus // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. Vol. 30, No. 2, 1941. P. 74-79.

Light and wisdom as from Heaven can be felt by those who seek only in deep silence; they surpass the knowledge of the scientist, the vision of the poet, the thought of the sage. The answer that is found in silence leads men from *aimless quiet to works of love and duty* / *As our being's end*. It was this inner voice, the "Inward Light" which led Woolman, and …*how passing lovely / Is the track of Woolman's feet!*

As with many of the Woolman texts, Whittier's poem features a constellation of famous names, such as Madame Guyon, Pascal, Goethe, Shelley. Their spiritual quest is compared to that of Woolman. It is also noteworthy that some familiar hagiographic motifs appear in the poem: Woolman is shown as a poor man; a figure of a saint with a nimbus is clearly drawn (…*Living warmth and starry brightness* / *Round that poor man's head*). The lines he wrote have healing powers (*Take the good man's book and ponder* / *What its pages say to thee;* / *Blessed as the hand of healing* / *May it lesson be*). Woolman appears as a sunlit angel (…*Angel* / *Standing in the sun!*), and also …*an Angel holy* / *In a Pilgrim's guise*.

Interestingly, the theme of pilgrimage, key for the *Journal*, is also actualized in the poems about Woolman. Woolman the Pilgrim, especially in the context of his journey to England, is quite a characteristic image, given the fact that the London Meeting has a truly sacred meaning for Quakers, which can be compared to the significance of Mecca for Muslims.[603] It is a pilgrimage that becomes the central metaphor of the poem, entitled ***Lines on the Death of John Woolman***, placed at the end of *Sister Ruth's Stories*.[604]

The motifs of travel, loneliness, hard work (*thy pilgrimage … toilsome was the journey … oft through the lonely deserts*) clearly correspond to the motifs of the *Journal* itself. Similar to John Whittier, the author of the poem preferred the ballad stanza (ABCB). As Viktor M. Zhirmunsky noted in his paper on the English folk ballad, an essential role in the ballad is played by refrain.[605] This is characteristic of this ballad: its opening lines (*His pilgrim-staff is broken / His sandals laid aside: /*

[603] Hedges, W.L. John Woolman and the Quaker Utopian Vision… P. 93.
[604] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young… P. 120-121.
[605] Zhirmunsky, V.M. The English Folk Ballad // English and Scottish Ballads. – Moscow: Science, 1973. P. 98. (In Russian.)

And full of joy and triumph, / He's crossed the swelling tide) are repeated in the penultimate (9th) stanza. Thus, the refrain creates a kind of ring composition in the ballad; it is only the last, 10th stanza, which goes beyond this "ring," framing the topic of pilgrimage and the difficulties of the way; the last stanza creates an image of a heavenly award granted to the pilgrim.

There are also some remarkable lines of this poem, where Woolman appears speaking on behalf of the "dumb" (*his mission* […] *for the dumb to speak*). This motif refers to the well-known problem of silencing in the African-American voice.[606]

Addressing the fifth poem, we make a giant time leap, since it was published in 2018. Its author is ***Blake Jerome Everitt*** (born 1989) – a Quaker poet, playwright, philologist, born in England. Everitt's poems have been printed in several collections, and some of them have been published on a blog written under the pseudonym of "Quaker Hesychast."[607] The theme of his poems is Christianity, history, personalities of famous philosophers and theologians, as well as problems of the modern civilization.

The poem *For John Woolman* was published in the author's collection called *Lightgnawn* (2018).[608] Its form is vers libre. In this small poem there is a number of author occasional words (*tranquilicide*, *Christspawned*, *Truth-baptised*, *greyen*, *griefsnake*). Everitt's images are disturbing, mysterious, apocalyptic: "*cloven history*," "*aswarm with clay*," "*greyens Godward*." Similar to Jon Kershner, who in his research, according to Michael Birkel (see section 2.1), has presented an "apocalyptic" reading of the *Journal* (an alternative to "liberal" readings), Blake

[606] Panova, O.Y. Black American Letters of the 18th – early 20th Centuries… P. 140.
[607] Hesychasm is an old spiritual practice, "a way of Christian devotion, aimed at overcoming one's desires and finding, with the help of tacit prayers, a peace of soul, which enables one to freely and lovingly gravitate towards God" (Prokhorov, G.M. Hesychasm // Great Russian Encyclopedia. Online Resource: https://old.bigenc.ru/religious_studies/text/2022047 (Accessed: 25.01.2023).
[608] Everitt, B.J. Lightgnawn. – CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018. 92 p. The title of the book is quite interesting, because the Inward Light's influence is interpreted by many Quakers as being sometimes painful. When a person finds their soul "naked and bare before the Lord God" (as Margaret Fell, a founder of Quakerism, put it), it may be difficult to accept, but, if the person is brave enough to let the Light to show them their sins, it will mean a very positive spiritual transformation (Ambler, R. The Light to Live By: An Exploration in Quaker Spirituality…).

Everitt, in a poem about Woolman, also evokes an intense dramatic imagery and eschatological motifs.

In his review of Everitt's collection, the famous Quaker historian Ben Dandelion has observed that his poems prompt the reader "to feel the faith rather than think about it."[609] In his turn, the Quaker poet Philip Gross says that "To read these poems is to be plunged into an almost physically painful paradox: language compressed and wrought to breaking point in the effort to reach beyond it […]. It is a challenge, too, for the reader who associates Quakerism with peace and quiet and calm. This writing steps deep into the words and world view of the earliest Quakers, their struggle and fervor conveyed in imagery of an intensity akin to violence as they lived through their seemingly apocalyptic times."[610]

Summarizing observations about the poems examined, let us highlight some of their similarities. All of them were probably written by Quakers (a reservation is necessary for two anonymous authors whose religious affiliation can only be assumed). Quaker and, more generally, Christian religious images ("the Inner Light," "the Inner Teacher," "the Truth," Jesus Christ, pilgrimage) play a dominant role in them. A global historical perspective, in which History is considered both from a purely Christian point of view (Blake Everitt), and from a point of view which includes pre-Christian era (see the ancient motifs the anonymous author of the 1772 poem and Whittier use), is significant. Woolman is presented in these poems as an ethical model, and his portrait assumes hagiographic motifs.

The poetic reception of Woolman certainly deserves an in-depth study, but even with such a brief review, some characteristics revealed in the poems make it possible to supplement the general multi-genre reception picture of Woolman's image and the text of his *Journal*.

[609] Dandelion, B. Review / Everitt, B.J. Lightgnawn… (The book's cover).
[610] Gross, Ph. Review / Everitt, B.J. Lightgnawn… (The book's cover).

2.9. The *Journal* in Readers' Reviews (2000s–2020s)

Having considered the milestones of Woolman's reception by "professional readers" (i.e. critics, fiction writers, non-fiction writers), in this section we will address reception of the *Journal* by present-day wide readership. Analyzing this theme, a scholar is provided with very rich material. It is, first of all, readers' reviews published on the websites of such book clubs and bookstores as GoodReads.com, Amazon.com, Renovaré.com, and also in various blogs. In total, we have analyzed 129 readers' reviews. It should be noted that, as in the preceding sections, we refer mainly to the reception taking place within the English-speaking culture; Woolman's reception by readers from other countries is not addressed due to the lack of published material.

By analogy with the term "naive reader" (Wolf Schmid, Umberto Eko), one of the modern scholars studying the readers' reception of classical literature as reflected in Internet reviews, Anna Gerasimova has coined the term "naive reviewer." The naive reviewer is a reader, "who in one way or another speaks publicly about the text they have read, and whose speaking is not inspired by something from outside, i.e. made voluntarily."[611] Most of the readers' reviews collected in this work correspond to the definition; only the reviews published on the Renovaré Club website differ somewhat, as they were published as part of an online course on spiritual literature.[612]

Reviews on the *Journal* are extremely diverse. 13 reviews are negative; 83 reviews are clearly positive; 33 reviews can be called neutral, or mixed. Examining the reviews' content, let us highlight a few key points that are addressed by most readers: 1) the *Journal*'s language and genre; 2) edicational value of the text; 3) comparison of Woolman with Franklin and other authors; 4) evaluation of the

[611] Gerasimova, A. "I Did Not Recommend Anything to Gogol": About a Research Approach to the Naïve Reviewer // Russian Philology. Vol. 28. Tartu, 2017. P. 242. (In Russian.)

[612] John Woolman's *Journal* was part of the reading list for a course, taught by a group of scholars in the Online club Renovaré in 2021-2022. The course was attended by 6,000 listeners. The lectures about Woolman were presented by Jon Kershner. There were several webinars within the course. The participants regularly discussed the *Journal*'s chapters they had just read, and in the end of the course they were offered to write their own reviews in the form of personal "letters" to John Woolman.

relevance of Woolman's ideas for modern readers; 5) answers to questions "Why do I love the *Journal*?", "Why read Woolman?"; 6) thinking about Woolman as a hero of the *Journal* and as a historical person. To one more separate category can be attributed an interesting attempt made by a reader, who has enveavored to transform the didactic message of the *Journal* into the form of short points.

The *Journal*'s language frequently comes under intense criticism. It is the stylistic features of the text that all negative reviews focus on; thirty-three of mixed reviews also mention them. In most cases, Woolman's language is characterized as archaic, difficult to read, grammatically cumbersome. Many readers complain that the *Journal* is replete with long sentences[613]; some reviews are quite scathing in this respect: "*If you enjoy reading sermons that are directed towards believers in Christianity and are long, boring and repetitive you will enjoy this book*"[614] (Brian). Apparently, some of the *Journal*'s readers were not ready for such a significant degree of the text's religiosity. There are many complaints that it contains material not quite relevant for the reader. A reviewer notes that there is too much information about "*which Daily, Weekly, Monthly, or Yearly meeting [Woolman] has attended. I am no better off knowing that he attended the Sasquanaa Weekly*" (Earl Grey Tea). Some reviewers parody Woolman's style[615] (Eric), and this is quite revealing, if we recall that, as the American literary scholar A. Millar Jr. has observed, the *Journal* since its appearance has received not only critical acclaim, but also some derision.[616]

At the same time, some reviewers highlight that though Woolman's style may seem very specific to the modern reader, it should not prevent the reader from enjoying the book as a whole. For example, Sharon B. Wilfong agrees that Woolman's language sounds "*old-fashioned*" and can be easily parodied, but

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[613] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.) As far as many links are shared by several reviews, in order to give more precise information about each review the authors' names or nicknames are indicated in the brackets.

[614] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/12762547-john-woolman-s-journal (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[615] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/12762547-john-woolman-s-journal (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[616] Millar, A.E., Jr. Spiritual Autobiography in Selected Writings… P. 172.

emphasizes that it is necessary "*to focus on the substance and meaning of [his] writing rather than its quaint form…*"[617]. "*His various comings and goings are a bit tedious, but Woolman himself is an interesting character*,"[618] – says a reader called Danielle, while Nola Tillman adds: "*Woolman is not eloquent with a phrase, but the words he pens are from the heart*."[619]

Many readers suppose that the *Journal* would benefit from some reduction, or even publication in the form of selected quotes (Weathervane, Earl Grey Tea). Some reviewers suggest that publishers shorten the elements of travelogue (Tom),[620] focusing on the philosophical component and famous quotes. Interestingly, such an idea is not new: the *Journal* and its translations have been published in a short form repeatedly, especially in the 19th century; for example, it concerns French translations. To some extent, *Sister Ruth's Stories*, Janet Whitney's and Catherine Peare's books may be seen as such adapted publications: each of these texts is constructed around memorable quotes from the *Journal*, whereas the "mundane," documentary component of the Woolman's text becomes more vivid thanks to novelization.

In this connection, it is also interesting to mention that, discussing the problem of readers' reception of the diary as a genre, Kagle emphasizes that reading diaries is labour-intensive work: in the researcher's opinion, diaries can be compared with plays, with the difference that in the diary "playwright" does not draw a line between the main action and the remark – accordingly, the reader has "mentally to divide the work into primary and secondary material," and this requires a certain skill.[621]

Meanwhile, the readers' acquaintance with the **specificity of the diary as a genre** reconciles them with a great share of "mundane," factual component of the text: "*It's a journal, so not every day is filled with gems*"[622] (Jennifer Griffith). Preliminary

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[617] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[618] Ibidem.
[619] Ibidem.
[620] Ibidem.
[621] Kagle, S.E. American Diary Literature… P. 18.
[622] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

understanding of the genre's specificity is clearly advantageous for proper perception: "*It's a journal and reads as such, but that adds to its charm. It is a window into another world*"[623] (Mumma Flashroy).

Many readers appreciate the *Journal*'s educational value: first of all, it concerns history. Sharon Wilfong believes that Woolman's readers will not "*forget true history and [will be] able to be informed enough to reject the fashionable revisionist history that is popular today*."[624] Brent Winslow describes the *Journal* as "*a very interesting first-person account of Colonial times and factors that led to the Revolutionary war. including the quartering of British soldiers*."[625] "*Simple and beautiful*," Dennis R. Klein adds. – "This *is a must read for all students of history. A chance to see how the Friends' ideals of Freedom and Liberty helped shape this country*."[626] A reader called Josiah also appreciates the *Journal*'s educational value: "*Imagine you have just discovered a time capsule into the past. But the contents aren't just from anyone, but they are from somebody who was a great writer and someone who also has an endearing character*."[627]

Several reviewers write that the *Journal* is also valueable as a sourse of information about local history: "…*for someone like me who chooses to make their home in New Jersey, the most overdeveloped state in the U.S., reading about NJ, where Woolman made his home, when it was only dirt roads and farms, was also*

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[623] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B002G1YVIS/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[624] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[625] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/21264884-the-journal-of-john-woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[626] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman/product-reviews/1434496473/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[627] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

interesting."[628] (Theresa Leone Davidson). There are also some readers who look for genealogical information in the text[629] (Barbara).

Woolman's comparisons to Franklin are perhaps one of the most popular topics in readers' reviews. This can be easily explained, because *Autobiography* and other Franklin's works have long been part of the classic literary pantheon in the New World; Franklin is one of the major names associated with the 18th-century American culture. Readers' desire to compare the two authors is also facilitated by the fact that their texts are published together in the first volume of *The Harvard Classics* series.[630]

Many readers believe that Franklin is a much more modern author than Woolman. Thus, one of the readers, criticizing the language and religious tone of the *Journal*, says: "*Lest you think that this affected writing is just an artifact of its time, compare and contrast it to Franklin's autobiography*"[631] (Eric). Others point to the *Autobiography* as a more compelling story than the *Journal*: "*Pale after finishing Franklin. Sorry, John!*" (Molly)[632].

A reader called Brian Miller believes that the *Journal*'s character is painfully hesitant in openly expressing his views, which unfavourably distinguishes him from Franklin, "*who also had moral convictions, but knew his purpose, set goals, and got things done for the betterment of all men. He clearly claimed the victory*…" (Brian Miller). He is largely echoed by Donald Luther, who notes that Franklin is a man of his time, of the Enlightenment, while Woolman "*would have been much more comfortable in the 17th century*."[633]

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[628] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[629] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman/product-reviews/1434496473/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[630] Reviews by Josiah, Matt, Sharon Barrow Wilfong, Justin Murphy (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman), Brent Winslow (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/21264884-the-journal-of-john-woolman), Jeff (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/6616777-the-journal-of-john-woolman-quaker). (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[631] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[632] Ibidem.
[633] Ibidem.

By contrast, when comparing Woolman to Franklin, it is Woolman who is regarded as a man of more progressive views by some readers; they particularly mention his attitude to Native Americans[634] (Eline). Thus, comparisons often lead to the idea of one author being superior over another.

At the same time, some less biased attempts to compare the two authors can be found in a number of reviews. So, a reader called Matt writes: "*John Woolman was an early American contemporary of Ben Franklin's, but whereas Franklin (simplistically) credited industry/hard work with a person's success in the world, Woolman credits God-given balance in life for a person's success.* […] *Quite a contrast from Franklin*" (Matt).[635] Similar comparisons are performed in some other reviews. Readers pay tribute to both authors as people of exceptional religious tolerance (as a reader notes, Woolman espoused the same sort of tolerance as Franklin, "*though from a far more spiritual viewpoint*" (Nymith))[636].

Woolman is often compared to **other authors** as well. One of them is the famous 19th-century African-American orator and autobiographer Frederick Douglas. Comparing the *Journal* with Douglas's texts, a reader notes that although Woolman is undoubtedly a unique personality, "*readers hoping for meditations on the institution of slavery in the tradition of Frederick Douglass are likely to be disappointed*," because in the *Journal* abolitionist discourse is too tied to religion "*to be of general interest*"[637] (Phil). In another review, Woolman is compared to Thoreau, also in favor of the latter: "*Yet another painful 'classic' that bored me to tears.* […] *Read the much shorter 'Civil Disobedience' by Thoreau*" (Jason).[638] Finally, the fourth author compared to Woolman is Jonathan Edwards: Kevin Wolz writes that, despite the "laborious" grammar, the *Journal* is a book, "*that more American Christians need to read*. […] *If he had been a more prolific author I think we would*

[634] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.).
[635] Ibidem.
[636] Website: https://pseudointellectualreviews.wordpress.com/2013/04/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[637] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[638] Ibidem.

look to Woolman, and not Jonathan Edwards, as the most significant American theologian of the 18th century."[639]

Woolman's very **personality** prompts quite contradictory responses from readers. Some are clearly negative, and it seems that this is due to the fact that many perceive Woolman as a moralist. So, one of the readers writes about his unpleasant impression of the episode where Woolman describes his visit to a tavern: "*This was a man who entered a public house one evening and, after securing the owner's permission, would accost all who entered because they were about to have an evening's entertainment by a juggler, seeing this as an usuitable pastime. He reminds me of the street-corner proselytizer, declaring all who are moving about their daily lives are somehow sinners and bound for damnation*"[640] (Donald Luther). Another reviewer shares a similar impression: "*...remember that stony-faced, annoyingly sober Bible basher who shows up in films now and then?* […] *sad to say Woolman appears to have been that sort himself*."[641] Perhaps such negative reactions of some readers are caused by the influence of cultural clichés; imagining Woolman's figure, they tend to stereotype it as a familiar literary and cinema image of an "insufferably good Quaker" (or Puritan) – a "caricature" image, resembling the one which was discussed in the first drafts of Dreiser's *The Bulwark*. Apparently, Woolman's image as painted by these reviews is caricatured and exaggerated, given, for example, the fact that in Quakerism, since the very dawn of this denomination, the question about the salvation has not been so acute as to speak of an eternal punishment.[642] The same applies to proselytism: Quakers, as was mentioned earlier, seldom preach outside the Society of Friends.

It is also interesting to point at the contrast of readers' responses in the following question. The genres of autobiography and diary can inspire the reader's somewhat

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[639] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.).
[640] Ibidem.
[641] Website: https://pseudointellectualreviews.wordpress.com/2013/04/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[642] Barclay, R. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers. – Providence: Knowles and Vose, 1840. P. 125.

naive expectation of knowing the author "personally," a close acquaintance with his personality. In Woolman's case, many readers write about the spiritual kinship they feel. Sometimes (especially in reviews on the Renovaré website) Woolman is addressed in the second person (*Dear John…*). (It is noteworthy, that similar experiences are shared by some Woolman's scholars. For example, Livesay mentions that "The reader […] comes away feeling that he truly knows Woolman,"[643] and Birkel calles Woolman his friend.[644])

On the contrary, a number of readers note that Woolman remains a mystery for them. The author of one of the most interesting reviews believes that "*On the face of it, John Woolman appears a caricature but when looked at closely one realizes he was quite an enigma. A gentle mystic or an insufferably respectable Quaker – which was it? His own Journal offers only elusive glimpses of his character, such that I do not feel I know who the man really was, only that, whether or not he qualifies for canonization (as saint or literature), his kind was and remains a rare breed*"[645] (Nymith).

Perhaps the main thing that readers appreciate in the *Journal* is the **relevance of Woolman's ideas**, the timeless significance of his social philosophy. A reader called Joshua (curiously attributing the *Journal* to the category of "hippie literature") writes: "*Woolman strikes me as a man ahead of his time*"[646] (Joshua). It is Woolman's being ahead of his time that most reviewers admire most; interestingly, in this respect the minister is given credit to even by negative reviewers. For many readers, Woolman was "*a pioneer in the Civil Rights movement almost two hundred years before it was a banner issue*"[647] (Mark Valentine). Woolman has preceded even coinage of the relevant terms: he "*was an extraordinary individual – an antiracist at a time when no one knew what that was. His journal and essays are not only important historical*

[643] Livesay, E.K. John Woolman: Persona and Person… P. 3.
[644] Birkel, M.L. A Near Sympathy… P. XIII.
[645] Website: https://pseudointellectualreviews.wordpress.com/2013/04/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[646] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[647] Ibidem.

resources, they are edifying literature relevant to many problems in our own society, such as racism and consumerism"[648] (S. Garrett). Another reviewer says: "*I have never read a book more relevant to our cultural moment – The life of John Woolman reverberates to us in the midst of our current racial issues, and unwillingness to face them with integrity and honesty*"[649] (Joshua). The *Journal* is also highly acclaimed as a text celebrating "the plain life," – an alternative to "*the works of the modern age* […] *soaked in America's built-up hedonism*"[650] (Weathervane).

Readers' answers to the questions: "Why read Woolman?", "Why do I love the *Journal*?". Negative and neutral reviewers often mention that they have undertaken reading the *Journal* because it is a classic of American literature, included in the first volume of the Harvard Classics; disappointed in the book, they question the established literary canon. In turn, the authors of positive reviews usually explain their desire to read the *Journal* not by the criterion of its literary prestige, but by the desire to learn from it life lessons: "*Read it to find how to live courageously too*"[651] (Mark Valentine), "*John Woolman records his journey in the Light as a Quaker seeking truth. This is a great inspiration to me as I too seek knowledge*."[652] (Kindle Customer), "*The combination of private spiritual discipline with a passionate concern for social justice makes this book worth reading*"[653] (Sam Berg), "*I am very glad to*

[648] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B002G1YVIS/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[649] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B018PLANOI/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[650] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[651] Ibidem.
[652] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B002G1YVIS/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[653] Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman/product-reviews/1434496473/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

have peered into the heart of this man through his own eloquent hand. I hope I have learned from him"[654] (Kirt).

Answering the question "Why do I love the *Journal*?" many Woolman's admirers also point at the spiritual helpfulness of the text: "I *first read Woolman's journal over 30 years ago. His writings have inspired my own Christian life since then*"[655] (Tkgates), "*One of my favourite books. A have given it as gift many times. 18th-century Quaker who walked all over eastern US speaking to slave owning Quakers, asking them to free their slaves. By the end of the 18th century, no Quakers owned slaves*"[656] (Annette Hill), "*His journal is a classic among Quakers and something of a guide to living as well*. […] *I've had a 'hard copy' (paperback print book) around for years but this copy I can take anywhere. Love it*"[657] (Lynn J. Magnuson).

A case of a **reader's transformation** of the *Journal* text deserves special attention within this section, referring again to the problem of genre expectations. A reader called Shawn has compiled a list of thematic "commandments" according to the text of the *Journal*. It seems that in this manner he adapted it to the tradition of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin, who had created lists entitled *The Seventy Resolutions* and *The Thirteen Virtues*. According to M.M. Koreneva, "formed on the basis of Protestantism, [such sets of rules] reflected the need to formalize the *inner* urges of the person experiencing the urgent need for objectification, *externalization* of their spiritual aspirations as norms of personal conduct."[658]

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654 Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/9168192-the-journal-of-john-woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

655 Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B002G1YVIS/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

656 Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1225611.The_Journal_of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

657 Website: https://www.amazon.com/-/es/John-Woolman-ebook/product-reviews/B002G1YVIS/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_show_all_btm?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

658 Koreneva, M.M. Jonathan Edwards // The History of Literature of the United States. T. I: Literature of the 17th and 18th centuries (Colonial Period and the Epoch of the American Revolution). – Moscow: The Gorky Institute of World Literature, Heritage, 1997. P. 368. (In Russian.)

Let us quote some points from the epitome offered by the reader. "*HOW TO BE. Love God in all his manifestations in the visible world.* […] *Do not act to the Standard of others, but make the Standard of Truth manifest to others. HAVE COMPASSION.* […] *Have a desire for the everlasting welfare of your fellow creatures. Exhibit the affectionate care of a good man for his brother in affliction. ON THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHERS. Do not exploit those who labor for you.* […] *Labor in accordance with the gifts bestowed upon you by God*."[659]

Woolman did not create such a list, but the reader managed to "extract" it for from the text of the *Journal*, and put it in the form typical for Woolman's contemporaries. Thus, he "added" to the text a "missing" part of the text which could be expected by analogy with the texts of that era.

Summarizing the observations which we have made, let us address some principles of evaluation of art by the general reader. According to an approach, these principles include 1) the principle of accessibility, "comprehensibility"; 2) the principle of entertainment; 3) the principle of stability (conservatism) of the form; 4) the principle of "beauty" of the work of art; 5) the principle of "contemporary relevance."[660] Interestingly, the *Journal* often receives negative evaluations when it comes to the first four principles. However, the reader's assessment from the point of view of the fifth principle – the principle of "contemporary relevance" – as a rule, turns out to be very high. In the *Journal* readers find a combination of an "old-fashioned" form and a vital, relevant content.

Let us add that readers' reception of the *Journal* depends to a large extent on the readers' level of preparation to the specifics of the 18th-century English, and (most importantly in Woolman's case) on their background knowledge about the Quaker religion, as well as the genres of spiritual autobiography and journal. The lack of prior

[659] Website: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1426266.The_Journal_Of_John_Woolman (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[660] Saleyev, V.A. Art and Its Evaluation. – Minsk: Belarusian State University Publishing House, 1977. P. 77. (In Russian.) Qtd. in: Dobrenko, E.A. The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature. – Saint Petersburg: Academic Project, 1994. P. 100. (In Russian.)

knowledge of these issues often causes readers' frustration with the text, and consequently their doubts about the legitimacy of the established canon of classics. At the same time, those readers who at the time of their first acquaintance with the *Journal* had some knowledge of the genre, as well as the specificity of Quaker culture, are more likely to appreciate Woolman's book. This can be confirmed by the fact that all reviews about the *Journal* published on the website of the book club Renovaré are exceptionally positive: they are written by participants of an online course, who read the *Journal* alongside with listening to lectures by professor Jon Kershner. It can be assumed that in this case the lectures of one of the most prominent experts on Woolman turned out to be a kind of a "bridge," facilitating the acquaintance of modern readers with the autobiographical classic of the 18th century.

2.10. Current Trends in John Woolman's Reception: Interdisciplinary Aspects

In the previous sections we have considered the features of *productive* and *reproductive* reception of John Woolman's *Journal* in non-fictional, fictional, and semi-fictional literature, as well as in readers' reviews. This section goes somewhat beyond the purely literary perspective and touches upon a number of other manifestations of Woolman's reception, namely, illustrations to the editions of the *Journal*, its translations into other languages, various forms of commemoration of Woolman's story, and, in addition, an example of the impact of Woolman's ideas on an academic study. Of course, each of these areas deserves a separate analysis that goes beyond the scope of this work. Combining these questions in this section is an attempt to offer at least a brief outline of these aspects as possible topics for further interdisciplinary research, as well as to add additional touches to the understanding of the *Journal*'s reception.

Illustrations to the *Journal*; question about Woolman's portrait. As noted earlier, the *Journal* is one of the oldest American books still in print. Interestingly, different publishing houses follow a certain tradition, due to which one can hardly

find an intratext illustration in any edition of the *Journal*; as a rule, only the covers of the book are illustrated. The traditional elements of these illustrations are the probable portrait of Woolman, as well as writing materials (pen, paper, etc.). These elements can also be found in the design of the Russian edition, and they perfectly reflect the idea of "the most impersonal autobiography ever written" (Gummere): whereas the front flyleaf shows Woolman sitting at an empty desk and looking thoughtfully through the window, the same entourage is repeated on the back flyleaf, but the autobiographer's figure is missing: the viewer's gaze is now attracted only by his pen and recordings (see Appendix 3).

Meanwhile, the cover of the Russian edition reproduces the travel motif (Appendix 3). Another interesting example is the design of the Italian edition, using a painting by Quaker artist Edward Hicks (cousin of the founder of the Hicksite branch of Quakerism, Elias Hicks; see section 2.3) *The Peaceable Kingdom* (1834) (see Appendix 3). Among the most original design solutions is one of the American editions, which contains a photo of the slaves on the plantation (Appendix 3). The very use of such a modern (compared to the year of release of the *Journal*) media form, as a photograph, serves the impression of the *Journal*'s relevance.

Some interesting material for an intermedia study may also be provided by the design of Janet Whitney's book, which is again influenced by her semi-fictional, semi-documentary style. The edition contains several photographs of the houses associated with Woolman's life in one way or another, as well as a number of graphic illustrations by the author's husband, the American artist George Gillette Whitney (Appendix 3). The illustration for the last chapter ("York") is particularly interesting. The huge brilliant sun rising above a distant city seems to actualize the metaphor of "Heavenly Jerusalem" Whitney writes about, and probably the metaphor of the "Inward Light" as well.

Perhaps, the most interesting illustration for the reader of any (auto)biography is the portrait of the central character. Many editions of the *Journal* are accompanied by the well-known portrait of Woolman (Appendix 3) in profile. However, examination of the circumstances in which this portrait was first found raises doubts over its

authenticity. Whitney argues that the man at the portrait looks old; meanwhile, Woolman died relatively young. Whitney supposes that it may be a portrait of Anthony Benezet, and does not use it in the book.[661] Instead, the illustrator George Whitney created his drawings looking at the authentic silhouette of John Woolman's brother Uriah.

It seems symbolic that the only evidence for the idea that the famous portrait depicts Woolman, is the inscription on the back: "John Woolman?". Even in his only portrait, Woolman remains, if one uses the expression of a reader, an "enigma," which leaves the viewer to ponder: maybe it is John Woolman himself, or Anthony Benezet, or an ordinary, unknown Quaker of the time. Here one can recall an observation made by G. Th. Couser (in his book *American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mood*), that it was natural for Woolman that he finished his *Journal*, speaking not about himself, but about one of his friends. In this manner he again gave up autobiographical "selfishness," shifting the focus of attention from himself to another person.[662] A similar shift of focus seems to occur with Woolman's visual image.[663]

The *Journal* in anthologies and chrestomathies. The abiding interest in Woolman is evidenced by regular reprints of the full text of the *Journal*, as well as excerpts from it. From the first edition of 1774 to this day, the *Journal* has never been out of print. In 1909, the *Journal*, along with the *Autobiography* by Benjamin Franklin and *The Fruits of Solitude* by William Penn, was included in the first volume of the Harvard Classics. In addition, Woolman is an author who is always included in various Quaker anthologies, such as, for example, *The Spirit of the Quakers*[664] (2010).

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[661] Whitney, J. John Woolman: American Quaker… P. 420.
[662] Couser, Th. G. American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mode… P. 40.
[663] Sterling Olmsted presents an interesting fact that Woolman is also portrayed in two stained glass windows: in Muelder Chapel of Boston University School of Theology, and also in Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. In the chapel Woolman appears near such mystics as John of Damascus, Catherine of Siena, Teresa of Avila, William Law. In the cathedral he is depicted among "reformers and prophets": Amos, Jeremiah, St. Paul, William Wilberforce, Walter Rauschenbusch (see Olmsted, S. Motions of Love: Woolman as Mystic and Activist. – Philadelphia: Pendle Hill Publications, 1993. P. 5).
[664] The Spirit of the Quakers / Selected and introduced by G. Durham. – New Haven, L.: Yale University Press, 2010. 244 p.

At the same time, the *Journal* is also part of anthologies of other kind. Selected quotes from it are included in the following books: *The Literatures of Colonial America: An Anthology*[665]; *They Saw It Happen: An Anthology of Eyewitness's Accounts of Events in British History, 1689–1897*[666]; *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History*.[667] Woolman is very popular with anthologists representing the spiritual experience of people of different religions: *The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion Autobiography*,[668] *American Personal Religious Accounts: 1600–1980: Toward an Inner History of America's Faiths*,[669] *Spiritual Awakening: Classic Writings of the 18th Century to Inspire the 20th Century Reader*.[670] There is also an anthology entitled *Spiritual Classics: The Thinking Person's Guide to Great Spiritual Books*[671] (2009), which notably includes Woolman's story, alongside with the stories of George Fox, Leo N. Tolstoy, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Thomas Merton, in the category "*Lives of Inspiration*."

Various forms of commemoration of Woolman's legacy. The *Journal*'s plot sometimes comes to life in theatrical performances. For example, as part of World Quaker Day celebration, a Quaker organization in the USA staged a performance with "some Friends of the Past who have traveled through time" to share their ideas with their descendants.[672] These Friends were the prominent Quakers of three centuries: the 17th, George Fox (1624–1691), the 18th, John Woolman, and the 19th, Lucretia Mott (1793–1880). Interestingly, whereas "George Fox" and "Lucretia Mott" during

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[665] The Literatures of Colonial America: An Anthology // Ed. by S. Castillo and I. Schweitzer. – California, 2001. 602 p.
[666] They Saw It Happen: An Anthology of Eyewitness's Accounts of Events in British History, 1689–1897 // Compiled by T. Charles-Edwards and B. Richardson. – Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958. 312 p.
[667] Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History / Ed. by S. Lynd. – Indianapolis, N.Y.: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1966. 540 p.
[668] Holte, J.C. The Conversion Experience in America: A Sourcebook on Religious Conversion Autobiography. – N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1992. 230 p.
[669] American Personal Religious Accounts: 1600–1980: Toward an Inner History of America's Faiths / Jon Alexander, O.P. – New York and Toronto: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1983. 506 p.
[670] Spiritual Awakening: Classic Writings of the 18th Century to Inspire the 20th Century Reader // Ed. by Sherwood Eliot Wirt. – Westchester: Crossway Books, 1986. 264 p.
[671] Spiritual Classics: The Thinking Person's Guide to Great Spiritual Books // Ed. by James M. Russell. – L.: Magpie Books, 2009. 244 p.
[672] Website: http://worldquakerday.org/2015/americas.html

this action were dressed in traditional colors, "Woolman" appeared in a pure white – "undyed" – costume (Appendix 3).

Another example of the theatrical adaptation of the *Journal* can be found in a letter to fellow believers sent from the Quaker center in Ramallah (Palestine): "*We were moved in Meeting for Worship to see young Friends enact an episode from the life of John Woolman, in which Woolman, though thirsty, hungry and tired refuses to take drink, eat food or sleep in a bed prepared by a slave*."[673] Meanwhile, in a film about the history of the Quakers movement (*Quakers: The Quiet Revolutionaries*, 2018, dir. by Janet P. Gardner[674]) some scenes of Woolman's conversations with slaveholders are recreated (Appendix 3).

The commemoration of Woolman's legacy touches not only the social but also the environmental aspect of the *Journal* message. Thus, on October 2022, a Quaker meeting was held in London to commemorate the 250th anniversary of Woolman's death. The organizers explained the task as follows: "*We wanted to commemorate Woolman's spiritually inspired defence of our planet against the consequences of human greed and aggression, and to link this to the present-day environmental crisis*."[675]

John Woolman Memorial Association in Mount Holly organizes "Woolman Wyalusing Walks" on regular basis, in memory of his journey to the Indian village of Wyalusing (Annex 3) and recreating the minister's route. Its participants write: "*It is very fitting that to commemorate this journey,* […] *three speakers will provide a deeper understanding of the Indians here in the Wyalusing area in Woolman's day and today. The purpose of the 2013 journey is also to connect to people and place on a spiritual level."*[676]

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[673] Epistle from the Friends International Center in Ramallah. 2010. Эл. ресурс: https://thefriend.org/article/epistle-from-the-friends-international-center-in-ramallah (Accessed: 14.02.2023.)

[674] Website: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7488388/ (Accessed: 31.01.2023.)

[675] Website: https://www.quaker.org.uk/our-work/our-stories/remembering-john-woolman-outside-vanguard (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[676] Walz, C. John Woolman's Journey to Wyalusing. Website: http://woolmancentral.com/wyalusingwalk.html (Accessed: 14.02.2023.)

Thus, the contemporary commemoration of John Woolman's legacy is represented by a wide variety of cultural projects.

Let us now turn to another aspect of Woolman's reception, which could be a subject of a separate study within the history of humanities. It is **the influence of Woolman's ideas on Marshall Hodgson's research**. Marshall Goodwin Simms Hodgson (1922–1968) was a historian of the Middle East from the University of Chicago, Quaker by religion, author of a large three-volume *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*[677] (publ. in 1974). Colleagues regard Hodgson's name alongside with the names of the most eminent historians, and one of his most remarkable achievement was that he was ahead of his time, having abandoned europocentric perspectives on history even before the advent of postcolonialism.[678]

Roots of Hodgson's approach to world history, rather unique for the 1960s, can be found in the influence exerted on him by a number of scholars and philosophers. As a Moroccan scholar A. Cheddadi has observed, among Hodgson's major influences was the founder of the cultural-historical school Wilhelm Dilthey, with his principle of understanding (*verstehen*), and Carl Gustav Jung.[679] Meanwhile, one of Hodgson's most significant ideological influences, according to his legacy expert Edmund Burke, was John Woolman.[680] Hodgson chose the following quotation from Woolman as the epigraph to his largest work: "*To consider mankind otherwise that brethren, to think favors are peculiar to one nation and exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding*."[681]

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[677] Hodgson, M.G.S. The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization. Vol. 1: The Classical Age of Islam. – Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974. P. ii.
[678] Tamari, S. The Venture of Marshall Hodgson: Visionary Historian of Islam and the World // New Global Studies. No. 9 (1), 2015. P. 74.
[679] Cheddadi, A. Cheddadi, A. Islamic History and World History: The Double Enterprise of Marshall G.S. Hodgson // Islam and World History / Ed. by E. Burke and R. H. Mankin. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. P. 16-24.
[680] Burke, III, E. Islamic History as World History: Marshall Hodgson, 'The Venture of Islam' // International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. Vol. 10, No. 2, 1979. P. 243.
[681] (See the essay *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*.)

The epigraph is part of a work's "frame," and, according to A.V. Lamzina, "as a rule, the lines taken 'on the epigraph' (the expression of Boris L. Pasternak) perform a predictive function. Even before the reader gets acquainted with the text, they inform about the main theme or idea of the work..."[682]. This is the role epigraph from Woolman plays in Hodgson's book, predicting the scholar's approach to the study of religious history. Woolman's sense of egalitarianism and universal connectedness was congenial to Hodgson,[683] and he deeply appreciated such values in the Muslim tradition as well.[684] Hodgson's Russian colleagues write about him as a scholar who laid the foundation for "the equal treatment of non-European in general and Islamic history in particular, which is becoming increasingly characteristic of a genuine academic research."[685]

It appears that the modern Quaker historian Michael Birkel continues this tradition. Along with the book aforecited in this work "A Near Sympathy: The Timelss Quaker Wisdom of John Woolman" (2003),[686] he has also authored "Quran in Conversation" (2014).[687] There seem to be no direct references to the *Journal* or another Woolman's text in this book. However, given that Birkel acknowledges Woolman's strong influence on him,[688] one cannot ignore the author's presentation of the book. In a video dedicated to it Birkel says: "…our coming to know one another across religious boundaries is a sacred task […]. So I travelled among Muslims…"[689]. These words echo both the famous episode of Woolman's journey to Wyalusing and an often quoted phrase from a Woolman essay: "*There is a principle which is pure,*

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[682] Lamzina, A.V. The Frame of Literary Work // Literary Encyclopedia of Terms and Concepts / Ed. by A.N. Nikolyukin. – Moscow: NPK "Intelvak," 2001. P. 850. (In Russian.)
[683] Tamari, S. The Venture of Marshall Hodgson… P. 86.
[684] Schubel, V.J. Islam and World History: The Ventures of Marshall Hodgson, by E. Burke III and R.J. Mankin (eds.) (Review) // American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. No. 36 (4), 2019. P. 101.
[685] Gordienko, A.N., Ibraghim, T.K. Introduction to the Russian Edition // Hodgson, M.G.S. The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization / Transl. by A.N. Gordienko, I.V. Matveyev, N.V. Shevchenko. – Moscow: Eksmo, 2013. (In Russian.)
[686] Birkel, M.L. A Near Sympathy…
[687] Birkel, M.L. Quran in Conversation. – Baylor University Press, 2014. 282 p.
[688] Birkel, M.L. A Near Sympathy… P. XIII.
[689] Website: https://quakerspeak.com/video/reading-the-quran-as-a-quaker/ (Accessed: 15.01.2023.)

placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages has had different names. It is, however, pure and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no form of religion nor excluded from any, where the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren in the best sense of the expression."[690]

The ideas of Woolman and pedagogy. The ideological influence of John Woolman can be seen in a number of educational projects. Thus, since 1963 in California there is the John Woolman School (Appendix 3). It offers such courses for teenagers and adults as, for example, "Global Issues," "Peace Studies," "Environmental Studies," "Non-violent Communication," and also a number of courses in art.[691] There is also "John Woolman College of Active Peace"[692]; in 1986 Woolman Peacemaking Forum was established at George Fox University.[693]

Woolman's reception abroad. A separate question is the history of the *Journal*'s translations. As early as in the 19th century there were five of his French translations (in a number of which one can see "domestication" – the name John was transformed into Jean[694]). German, Italian and Russian versions have been also published. The Italian translator of the *Journal* is Laura Koltelli – a specialist in American studies, particularly in literature of Native Americans.[695] The Russian edition (1995) was prepared by a renowned scholar, specialist in British history, professor of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who had converted to Quakerism,[696]

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[690] Woolman, J. Considerations on Keeping Negroes // John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth: The Journalist's Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera / Ed. by J. Proud. – San Francisco, California: Inner Light Books, 2010. P. 60.

[691] Website: https://woolman.org/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[692] Khasandi-Telewa, V., Wakoko, M., Mugo, J., Mahero, E., Ndegwa, F. "What an Old Man Sees While Sitting a Young Man Cannot See While Standing": Utilizing Senior Citizens to Achieve Peace // International Journal of Research in Social Sciences. 2013. Vol. 2, No. 2. P. 44-49.

[693] Website: https://www.georgefox.edu/offices/peace_justice/woolman-forum.html (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

[694] Mémoires de Jean Woolman: Extraits Principalement d'un Journal de Sa Vie et de Ses Voyages. – Paris: Typographie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1838. 36 p.

[695] Woolman, J. Giornale: Vita di un quacchero / Introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Laura Coltelli. – Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1978. 261 p.

[696] Shalimov, O.A. Seeking the Inward Light: Tatiana Alexandrovna Pavlova (1937–2002) // Understanding the Ideal: Studies of Peacemaking and Intelligentsia History. In Memory of T.A. Pavlova. – Moscow: The Institure of World History, RAS, 2005. P. 24. (In Russian.)

Tatiana A. Pavlova (1937–2002). In the foreword to the *Journal* T.A. Pavlova reflects upon the specificity of the Woolman's style and the difficulties she had faced while translating.[697] The specificity of translators' reception of the *Journal* could be the subject of a separate study at the intersection of literature and linguistics.

Generally, Woolman's reception abroad does not seem rich; still more valuable are the cases when his name appears in non-English-speaking media sources. Here are two examples. In 2014 a brief radio program, prepared by an "Ecumenical Community," was released in Sweden. This is what it tells about Woolman[698]: "Living simply, following the leading of conscience and serving your neighbour – these are the touchstones of his life. Above all, he shared his experience of God's love and His great kindness."[699] Woolman is also recommended as an author, mandatory to read, by a popular blogger of Persian origin Houshang Noormohamadi, who conducts online courses on the basics of English and English-speaking culture.[700]

Summarizing the observations made in this section, let us return to the modern intracultural reception of John Woolman. Among the latest articles about Woolman published on Quaker sites, two articles stand out. One of them is called "*We Are Not John Woolman*"[701]; its author, Gabriel James, says that modern Quakers are not as bold in championing their causes as Woolman and other prominent Quakers were. The name of Woolman is used by James almost as a generic name, a symbol of the best Quaker qualities. The author of the second article, called "*Three Leadership Lessons from John Woolman*," highlights that it is Woolman who can become an "inspiring and instructive" person for this time of crisis.[702] Woolman is also one of the main heroes in a video series called "Anti-Racism"; there is an interesting

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[697] Pavlova, T.A. To the Russian Reader // Woolman, J. The Journal. A Plea for the Poor. – Moscow: Astreia, 1995. P. 24-27. (In Russian.)
[698] Website: https://www.sondaghelaveckan.se/?m=11325
[699] Translated from Swedish by M.A. Morkina.
[700] Website: https://roqemedia.com/speaker/houshang-noormohamadi/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)
[701] James, G. We Are Not John Woolman // Friends Journal. 2019. Website: https://www.friendsjournal.org/john-woolman-colin-kaepernick/ (Accessed: 14.02.2023.)
[702] Benefiel, M. Three Leadership Lessons from John Woolman. 2022. Website: https://executivesoulblog.wordpress.com/2022/07/28/3-leadership-lessons-from-john-woolman-2/ (Accessed: 25.01.2023.)

comment from one of its viewers, who writes: "John Woolman is my 8th Grandpa. I certainly hope I am following his beliefs."[703]

These latest examples confirm once again that John Woolman is still received by the audience – first and foremost by the Quaker audience, but also by non-Quaker one – as a moral standard, an ethical model.

Chapter 2 Conclusions

The academic study of the work of John Woolman has been most active since the 1950s, especially in English-speaking countries, and now it includes a number of major themes. Chronologically, the literary reception of the *Journal* can be divided into three major periods: 1) a "preamble" to active reception; 2) the hagiographic period; 3) the period of increasing academic interest in Woolman and rethinking of the hagiographic portrait. In genre terms, the literary reception of the *Journal* is characterized by a considerable variety; it is represented by documentary and fictional texts.

In the 19th–20th centuries, the hagiographic image of John Woolman was formed. A powerful impulse to this tradition, the beginnings of which manifested themselves at the turn of the 18th–19th centuries, was given by the work of J. G. Whittier. The figure of John Woolman was central in such works as *Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman*; Chuck Fager's short story *John Woolman and the Slave Girl*; Janet Whitney's *John Woolman, American Quaker* and Catherine O. Peare's *John Woolman: Child of Light*. Furthermore, Woolman was one of the prototypes for Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark*. Several poems are dedicated to Woolman (two anonymous poems, and also poems by E. M. Chandler, J. G. Whittier, and B. J. Everitt). The texts are very different in form, but at the level of contents, a number of common historical and religious motifs can be identified.

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[703] Kaniyon, M. Against Racism: Lessons from John Woolman. Website: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YeCPnh9VjEY (Accessed: 14.02.2023.)

The large number of readers' reviews about the *Journal* indicates that this work still is thought-provoking for a wide English-speaking audience. In turn, Woolman's legacy commemoration confirms that the *Journal* has gained the status of a Quaker classic; the publishing and translation practice, meanwhile, shows that the *Journal* is of interest beyond the religious culture as well.

CONCLUSION

The study has made it possible to identify the key features of the poetics and the social philosophy of John Woolman's *Journal*, as well as to shed light on such a little-explored problem as the specifics of his literary reception. The article offers chronological and genre categorization of various texts influenced by the *Journal*. It is shown that the *Journal* has inspired numerous essays, poetic texts, a juvenile book of domestic abolitionism, a novelized biography, a biographical novel, a biographical story, as well as a purely fictional novel. In addition, the key features of the hagiographic image of Woolman, formed in journalism of the mid-19th–20th centuries, have been analyzed. Among the qualities associated with the hagiographic tradition, the texts about Woolman include: 1) (semi-)anonymity of a number of compositions; 2) frequent use of the adjective "saint"; 3) hyperbolization of the minister's role in history and comparisons with famous saints; 4) motifs of "pious parents" and of "glorification of the saint's homeland"; 5) depicting Woolman as a poor and illiterate person; 6) emphasis on such qualities of his character as "childlikeness" and "absolute truthfulness." It may be concluded that sanctification of the figure of Woolman was facilitated by the historical situation in the USA of the 19th – the first half of the 20th century, as well as by the features of the the *Journal*, a certain share of "adaptability" inherent in his autobiographical self-portrait.

Summarizing the observations on the reception of the *Journal*, one can notice that its characteristic feature is the fact that a significant part of the texts influenced by him is written by Woolman's co-religionists – Quakers; however, it is also remarkable that some adherents of other religious and philosophical traditions are also among the authors. In addition, it is noteworthy that a number of texts influenced by the *Journal* (*Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young, or, Evenings with John Woolman*; *John Woolman: A Study for Young Men* by Th. Green, C. O. Peare's *John Woolman: Child of Light*, Ch. Fager's *John Woolman and the Slave Girl*) are addressed to the younger generation and communicate a clear pedagogical message. Meanwhile, the study of modern reader reviews about the *Journal*, as well as the commemoration of

Woolman's legacy, leads to the conclusion that the minister's autobiographical text, largely due to the relevance of ethical and social issues, is still a matter of interest to readers, Quakers and non-Quakers alike.

Readers of *Woolman*'s Russian translation can see the following statement on the back cover of the 1995 edition: "If you do not read this book, your idea of America will be incomplete."[704] Of course, it is not only John Woolman's work that deserves such an advertisement; and yet, in his case, it seems particularly appropriate. Woolman's autobiographical portrait may prompt the reader to revisit some of the stereotypical ideas about American culture. Interestingly, Michael Heller has characterized the *Journal* as a work created by "the Quaker idealistic cast of mind and ascetic discipline that has been an undercurrent in American thought."[705]

Woolman himself is often described as a paradoxical figure. A dreaming pilgrim – and a busy enterpreneur, "a quintessential Quaker" – and a violator of Quaker etiquette, an introspective mystic – and a man with a rare gift of communication, an old-fashioned author – and a thinker ahead of his time, an "illiterate tailor" – and a child of the Enlightenment; finally, "the quitest radical in history,"[706] – all these conflicting characteristics fit into Woolman's two-and-a-half-century multifaceted cultural portrait.

For all these years, the *Journal*'s author was compared with dozens of famous personalities of different times and countries. And here it should be highlighted that the very abundance of such comparisons creates an ambiguous impression. On the one hand, they make Woolman seem more familiar to the general reader, depicting him as follows: "Woolman is a Quaker Socrates," or "Woolman is an American Francis of Assisi," "Henry David Thoreau of the 18th century," etc. On the other hand, they also make Woolman more "distant" from the reader: behind the kaleidoscope of so bright, famous names the image of the minister seems to be partly fading away. As in the case with his visual portrait, Woolman's literary portrait seems partly

[704] Woolman, J. The Journal. A Plea for the Poor / Transl. by T.A. Pavlova… (In Russian.)
[705] Heller, M.A. Soft Persuasion… P. 224.
[706] Tolles, F.B. Introduction // The Journal of John Woolman and A Plea for the Poor. – N.Y.: A Citadel Press Book, 1961. P. vii.

constructed from other people's portraits. And this, in turn, cannot but remind the story of his famous vision (Chapter XII), sometimes called the culmination of the *Journal*: a vision in which the autobiographical Woolman realizes that he has ceased to perceive himself as "a distinct or separate being."[707]

As was the case with the famous contemporary of Woolman, Benjamin Franklin, the portrait of an individual historical figure in the collective memory was partially obscured: it was replaced, using the expression of T.D. Venediktova she applied to Franklin, by a "personified social symbol."[708] Woolman's name is sometimes used almost as a generic name, and his voice as the author has become a sort of a collective Quaker voice. Meanwhile, the original source of this voice, the *Journal*, like many autobiographical works (even those which seem most open-hearted), can hardly confirm whether the reader's idea "*Now I know this person*" is reasonable or illusory: Woolman, as a historical figure, remains in many ways an enigma, inspiring readers, critics, and writers to revisit his main text over and over again.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that, in addition to the topics already mentioned earlier, which can deepen the understanding of the *Journal*'s reception, there are reasons to continue searching for fictional texts about Woolman that have not yet been known by scholars. This is especially the case concerning literature which deals with Quakerism. An invaluable role in studying such a theme could be played by a bibliography compiled by Quakeress Anna B. Coulfield *Quakers in Fiction*, including 625 titles.[709] A fruitful theme of further research may also be a comparison of Woolman's reception with that of his contemporaries – first of all, of course, with the famous *Autobiography* of Benjamin Franklin.

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[707] Woolman, J. The Journal and Major Essays… P. 185.
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APPENDIX 1

A Chronology of John Woolman's Writings[710]

<table>
<tr><td>1746 (publ. in 1754)</td><td colspan="3">Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes</td></tr>
<tr><td>1755</td><td>An Epistle of Tender Love and Caution</td><td rowspan="9">1755/56 – 1772 (publ. in 1774)</td><td rowspan="9">A Journal of the Life, Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences, of that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Woolman</td></tr>
<tr><td>1761 (publ. in 1762)</td><td>Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Part Second</td></tr>
<tr><td>1763-64 (publ. in 1793)</td><td>A Plea for the Poor</td></tr>
<tr><td>1768</td><td>Considerations on Pure Wisdom, and Human Policy; on Schools; and on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts</td></tr>
<tr><td>1769 (publ. in 1922)</td><td>Serious Considerations on Trade</td></tr>
<tr><td>1769</td><td>A First Book for Children</td></tr>
<tr><td>1770</td><td>Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind & How It is To Be Maintained</td></tr>
<tr><td>1772 (publ. in 1837)</td><td>Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind & How It May Be Promoted</td></tr>
<tr><td>1772</td><td>On Loving Our Neighbors As Ourselves
On the Slave Trade
On Trading in Superfluities
On a Sailor's Life
On Silent Worship</td></tr>
</table>

[710] This abridged chronology is based on the following book: John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth: The Journalist's Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera / Ed. by J. Proud. – San Francisco, California: Inner Light Books, 2010. 312 p.

APPENDIX 2

Poetical Tributes to John Woolman

An Anonymous Poem on the death of John Woolman (1772)[711]

dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet
Ovid

How oft the Muse, smit by Ambition's blaze,
Loads kings and heroes with unworthy praise;
Who, while victorious in the martial field,
To sordid vice and lawless passions yield!

How oft the soars above Olympus far,
And crowns with laurels their triumphant car,
Which should in sable ever be array'd,
And solemn roll beneath the Cypress shade!

Then, shalt thou, Woolman, want a Bard sublime,
To snatch thy labours from devouring time?
Shalt thou, inurn'd, lie on Brittania's plains,
Unwept and inregarded for thy pains?

Shalt thou, remote from wife, from children dear,
Thy pleasing country,* and thy friends sincere,
Die in oblivion, on a foreign shore,
And be remembered when thou art no more?

Forbid it, Muse! And let some pen divine
Be the protectress of his hallow'd shrine.
While here below, to virtue he adher'd,
And naught but God and his Redeemer fear'd.

Unbounded love his humble actions grac'd,
Whereby all sects, all nations were embrac'd.
His doctrine flow'd pure as the morning dew,
Free to the whole, and not confin'd to few;

Thousands can witness, when they judge it meet,
His words were powerful, and divinely sweet.
In boundless love he left his native plain

[711] The poem is printed in the paper: *Drake, Th. E.* A Poetical Tribute to John Woolman // Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. Vol. 43, No. 2, 1954. P. 100-101.

To stem the billows of th' Atlantic main,

And landed here**, begirt with Christian toil,
To probe the heart, or pour the healing oil.
But, ah! that God, who sleeps not night or day,
Who careful watch'd him o'er the rolling sea,

Thought fit to intercept his safe return,
And leave his consort and his friends to mourn.
Yet hopeless weep not, when our tragic lays
Echo from hence into your distant*** place;

The shocking news with Christian patience bear,
And kiss the hand that seems to be severe:
So may you on a sure foundation rest,
And be hereafter, as we trust he's, blest.

*America

**England

***America

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. John Woolman[712] **(1832)**

Meek, humble, sinless as a very child,
Such wert thou, — and, though unbeheld, I seem
Oft-times to gaze upon thy features mild,
Thy grave, yet gentle lip, and the soft beam
Of that kind eye, that knew not how to shed
A glance of aught save love, on any human head.

Servant of Jesus! Christian! not alone
In name and creed, with practice differing wide,
Thou didst not in thy conduct fear to own
His self-denying precepts for thy guide.
Stern only to thyself, all others felt
Thy strong rebuke was love, not meant to crush, but melt.

Thou, who didst pour o'er all the human kind
The gushing fervour of thy sympathy!
E'en the unreasoning brute, fail'd not to find
A pleader for his happiness in thee.
Thy heart was moved for every breathing thing,
By careless man exposed to needless suffering.

But most the wrongs and sufferings of the slave,
Stirr'd the deep fountain of thy pitying heart;
And still thy hand was stretch'd to aid and save,
Until it seem'd that thou hadst taken a part
In their existence, and couldst hold no more
A separate life from them, as thou hadst done before.

How the sweet pathos of thy eloquence,
Beautiful in its simplicity, went forth
Entreating for them! that this vile offence,
So unbeseeming of our country's worth,
Might be removed before the threatening cloud,
Thou saw'st o'erhanging it, should burst in storm and blood.

So may thy name be reverenced, — thou wert one
Of those whose virtues link us to our kind,
By our best sympathies; thy day is done,
But its twilight lingers still behind,
In thy pure memory; and we bless thee yet,
For the example fair thou hast before us set.

---

[712] The poem is printed in the book: The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: With a Memoir of Her Life and Character / Ed. by B. Lundy. – Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836. P. 51.

John Greeleaf Whittier. To — [Caroline Neagus] With a Copy of Woolman's Journal[713] (1843)

"Get the writings of John Woolman by heart." – Essays of Elia.

MAIDEN! with the fair brown tresses
Shading o'er thy dreamy eye,
Floating on thy thoughtful forehead
Cloud wreaths of its sky.

Youthful years and maiden beauty,
Joy with them should still abide, –
Instinct take the place of Duty,
Love, not Reason, guide.

Even in the New rejoicing,
Kindly beckoning back the Old,
Turning, with the gift of Midas,
All things into gold.

And the passing shades of sadness
Wearing even a welcome guise,
As, when some bright lake lies open
To the sunny skies,

Every wing of bird above it,
Every light cloud floating on,
Glitters like that flashing mirror
In the self-same sun.

But upon thy youthful forehead
Something like a shadow lies;
And a serious soul is looking
From thy earnest eyes.

With an early introversion,
Through the forms of outward things,
Seeking for the subtle essence,
And the hidden springs.

Deeper that the gilded surface

[713] The poem is printed in the book: The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier. – Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904. P. 213-215.

Hath thy wakeful vision seen,
Farther than the narrow present
Have thy journeyings been.

Thou hast midst Life's empty noises
Heard the solemn steps of Time,
And the low mysterious voices
Of another clime.

All the mystery of Being
Hath upon thy spirit pressed, –
Thoughts which, like the Deluge wanderer,
Find no place of rest:

That which mystic Plato pondered,
That which Zeno heard with awe,
And the star-rapt Zoroaster
In his night watch saw.

From the doubt and darkness springing
Of the dim, uncertain Past,
Moving to the dark still shadows
O'er the Future cast,

Early hath Life's mighty question
Thrilled within thy heart of youth,
With a deep and strong beseeching;
What and where is Truth?

Hollow creed and ceremonial,
Whence the ancient life hath fled,
Idle faith unknown to action,
Dull and cold and dead,

Oracles, whose wire-worked meanings
Only wake a quiet scorn, –
Not from these thy seeking spirit
Hath its answer drawn.

But, like some tired child at even,
On thy mother Nature's breast,
Thou, methinks, art vainly seeking
Truth, and peace, and rest.

O'er that mother's rugged features
Thou art throwing Fancy's veil,
Light and soft as woven moonbeams,
Beautiful and frail!

O'er the rough chart of Existence,
Rocks of sin and wastes of woe,
Soft airs breathe, and green leaves tremble,
And cool fountains flow.

And to thee an answer cometh
From the earth and from the sky,
And to thee the hills and waters
And the stars reply.

But a soul-sufficing answer
Hath no outward origin;
More that Nature's many voices
May be heard within.

Even as the great Augustine
Questioned earth and sea and sky,
And the dusty tomes of learning
And old poesy.

But the earnest spirit needed
More than outward Nature taught;
More than blest the poet's vision
Or the sage's thought.

Only in the gathered silence
Of a calm and waiting frame,
Light and wisdom as from Heaven
To the seeker came.

Not to ease and aimless quiet
Doth that inward answer tend,
But to works of love and duty
As our being's end;

Not to idle frames and trances
Length of face, and solemn tone,
But to Faith, in daily striving
And performance shown.

Earnest toil, and strong endeavor
Of a spirit which within
Wrestles with familiar evil
And besetting sin.

And without, with tireless vigor,
Steady heart, and weapon strong,
In the power of truth assailing
Every form of wrong.

Guided thus, how passing lovely
Is the track of Woolman's feet!
And his brief and simple record
How serenely sweet!

O'er Life's humblest duties throwing
Light the earthling never knew,
Freshening all its dark waste places
As with Hermon's dew.

All which glows in Pascal's pages –
All which sainted Guion sought,
And the blue-eyed German Rahel
Half-unconscious taught:

Beauty, such as Goethe pictured –
Such as Shelley dreamed of, shed
Living warmth and starry brightness
Round that poor man's head.

Not a vain and cold Ideal –
Not a Poet's dream alone,
But a presence warm and real,
Seen and felt and known.

When the red right-hand of slaughter
Moulders with the steel it swung,
When the name of seer and poet
Dies on Memory's tongue,

All bright thoughts and pure shall gather
Round that meek and suffering one –
Glorious – like the Seer-seen Angel

Standing in the sun!

Take the good man's book and ponder
What its pages say to thee;
Blessed as the hand of healing
May its lesson be.

If it only serves to strengthen
Yearnings for a higher good –
For the fount of living waters
And diviner food,

If the pride of Human Reason
Feels its meek and still rebuke,
Quailing like the eye of Peter
From the Just One's look,

If with readier ear thou heedest
What the Inward Teacher saith,
Listening with a willing spirit,
And a child-like faith, –

Thou mayst live to thank the giver
Who, himself but frail and weak,
Would at least the highest welfare
Of all others seek;

And his gift, though poor and lowly
It may seem to other eyes,
It may prove an Angel holy
In a Pilgrim's guise.

A Poem from "Sister Ruth's Stories" (1865)[714]

LINES ON THE DEATH OF JOHN WOOLMAN

His pilgrim-staff is broken,
His sandals laid aside:
And full of joy and triumph,
He's crossed the swelling tide.

For though to him, the summons
Came ere the evening time –
Before his head was covered
With Autumn's hoary rime;

Yet glad, he heard the message,
"Come to the Blessed Shore,
Thy work is now accomplished,
Thy pilgrimage is o'er."

For toilsome was the journey –
A rough and devious way;
Oft through the lonely deserts.
And o'er the hills, it lay.

And onward he went weeping,
With others' griefs bowed low;
From morn till even, pleading,
"Oh! let the captive go!"

For in his ears was ringing,
The cry from Afric's land;
And sounds of bitter wailing
Were heard on every hand.

To plead for these, his mission,
The suffering and the weak;
To visit those in prison –
And for the dumb to speak.

And in the field appointed,
He labored long and well –
The conflict ne'er gave o'er,

[714] R. P. A. Sister Ruth's Stories for the Young: or, Evenings with John Woolman. – Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1865. P. 120-121.

Till at his post he fell.

His pilgrim-staff is broken,
His sandals laid aside –
And full of joy and triumph,
He's crossed the swelling tide

And done with toil forever,
He's entered on his rest, –
The heavenly "rest" remaining,
For those the Lord hath blest!

Blake Jerome Everitt (The Quaker Hesychast)
***For John Woolman*[715] (2018)**

Dark liturgies
of tranquilicide reign

as red the Christspawned Mother
deepens the flow of absence

until One enters
Truth-baptised

to tell

as cloven history, aswarm with clay,
greyens Godward

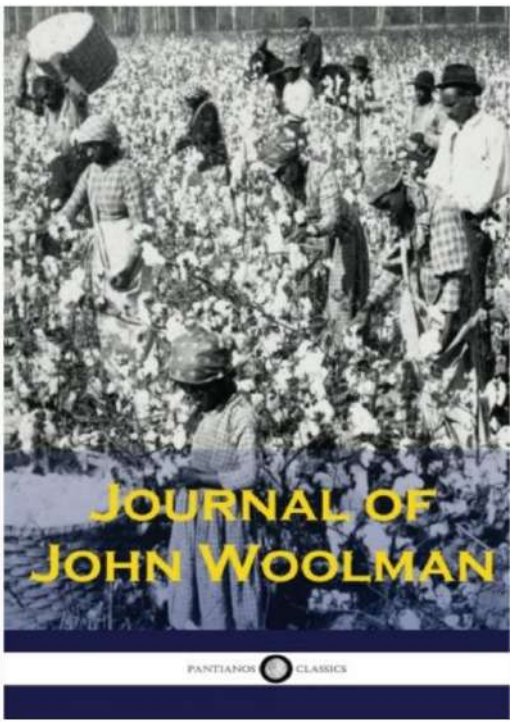
and griefsnakes rattle in mercy.

[715] The poem is published on the website: https://quakerhesychast.wordpress.com/page/2/

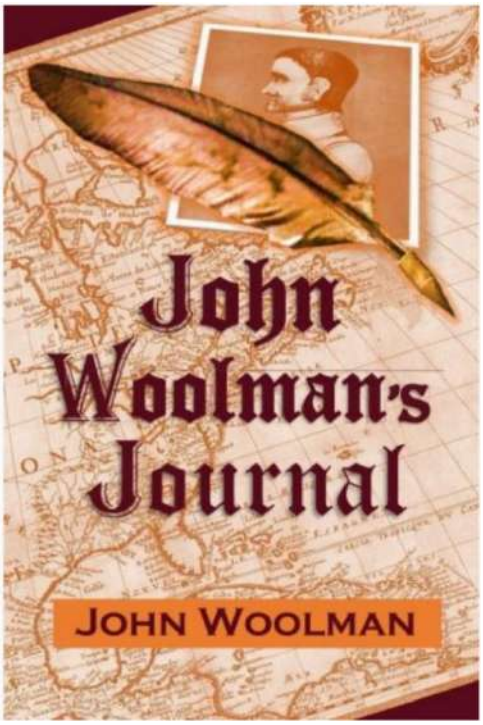
APPENDIX 3

Illustrations

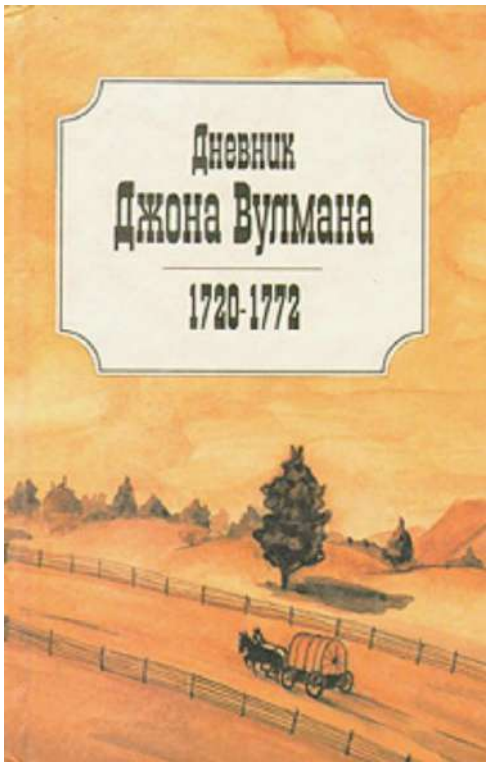
The design of some editions



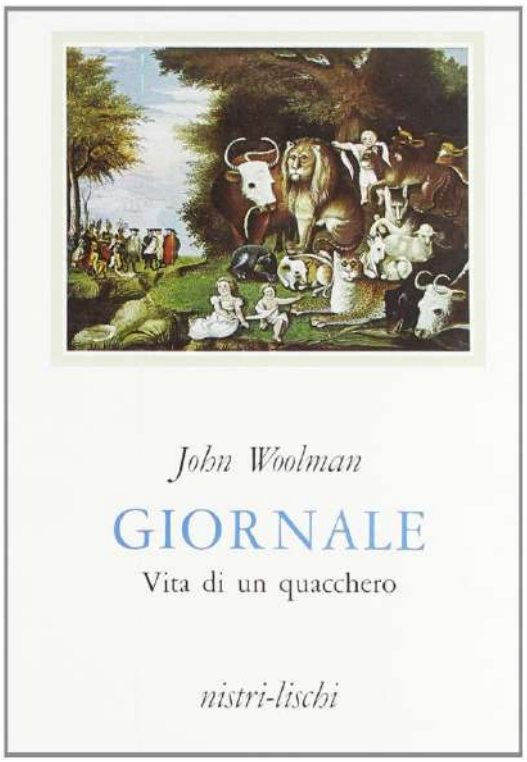
Ill. 1. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016.



Ill. 2. Adventure Journeys Publishing, 2022.

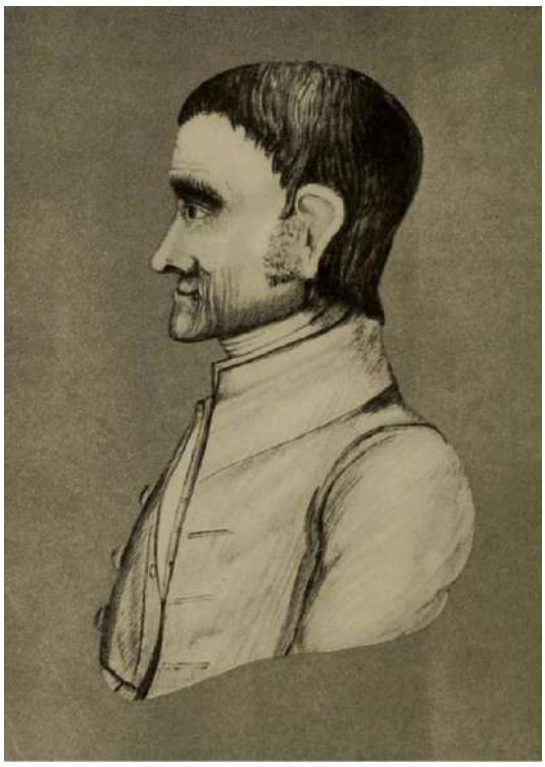


Ill. 3. "Astreia" Publishing, 1995.



Ill. 4. Nistri-Lischi, 1978.

John Woolman's portraits



Ill. 5. The most widely known alleged portrait (an unknown artist).

Ill. 6. A portrait from Janet Whitney's book (drawn by G.G. Whitney).

Ill. 7. A portrait[716] by Leonard Baskin based on a drawing made from memory by Robert Smith III.

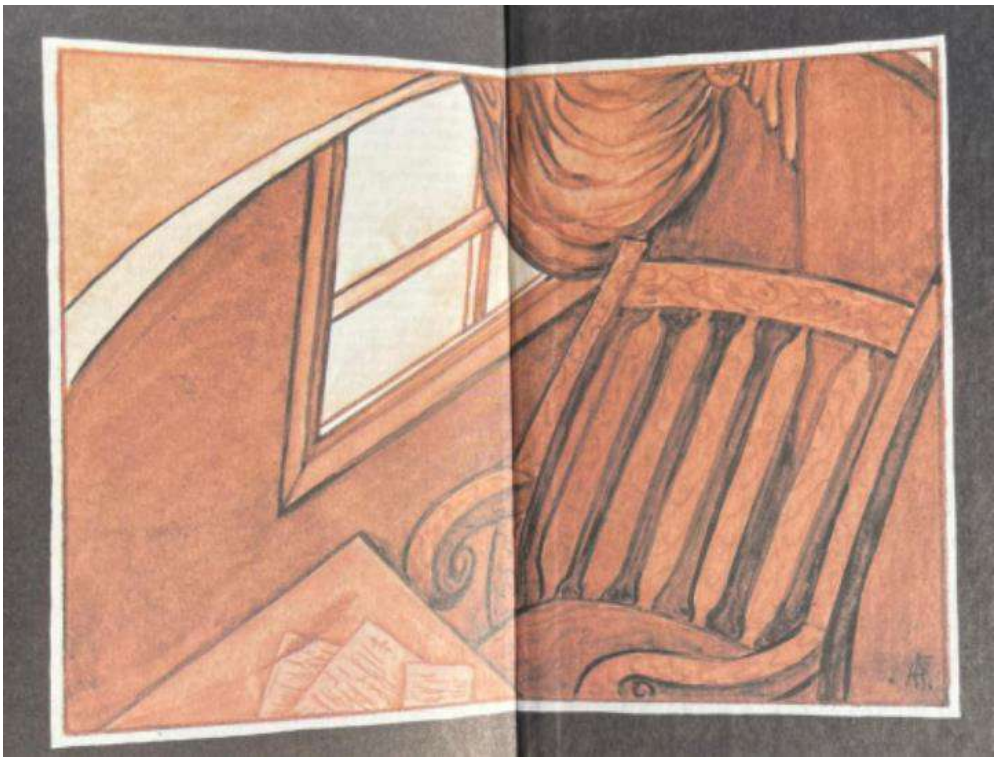
Ill. 8. A modern portrait (an unknown artist).[717]

[716] Published in the edition: Woolman, J. Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes (1754). Considerations on Keeping Negroes (1762). – N.Y.: The Viking Press, 1976. 96 p.

[717] Website: https://cakesandale.org/2020/10/08/peaceful-john-woolman/ (Accessed: 18.09.2023).

The design of the Russian edition's flyleaves (Astreia, 1995)

Ill. 9. The 1st flyleaf.



Ill. 10. The 2nd flyleaf.

Some illustrations to Janet Whitney's book "John Woolman, American Quaker" (1942). Drawn by George Gillett Whitney

Ill. 11. The illustration to the Chapter XII "The Tailor."

Ill. 12. The illustration to the Chapter XLIII "York."

Some forms of commemoration of Woolman's heritage

Ill. 13. John Woolman School in California.

Ill. 14. The photo's description: "Celebrating World Quaker Day at First Friends and hearing some early Friends who've done some time travel to be here today. From left to right: John Woolman, George Fox, and Lucretia Mott."[718]

[718] Website: http://worldquakerday.org/2015/americas.html (Accessed: 14.02.2023)

Ill. 15. "Walk, Friend: Woolman Walk from NJ to Wyalusing, PA. The 250th Anniversary" (Pennsylvania, 2013).

Ill. 16. Doug Thomas as a slaveowner and Rich Swingle as John Woolman. (Both illustrations are photos from the documentary directed by Janet P. Gardner *Quakers: The Quiet Revolutionaries* (2018))