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THE (COM)MOTION OF LOVE: THEOLOGICAL FORMATION IN JOHN WOOLMAN'S ITINERANT MINISTRY

JON KERSHNER

New Jersey Quaker tailor, minister and proto-abolitionist John Woolman (1720-1772) began a nine-day trek westward to speak with the Native Americans at Wyalusing in June of 1763.¹ En route, Woolman considered his motivations: "Love was the first motion, and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in..."² Woolman believed God's purposes and love intervened in historical time and human affairs for the transformation of society. The "motion" of God's love was not, for Woolman, an abstract concept of the divine, but the immediate revelation of God that inspired concrete action and made specific claims on society.

It is clear that expediency was not Woolman's motivation to journey into the Pennsylvania wilderness, because from that perspective his timing could not have been worse. By the middle of the 18th Century, war had arrived on the frontier borders of Quaker Pennsylvania. France and England, vying for control of the Ohio River Valley, turned their attention to the rivers, forts, settlers, and Native American peoples in this pivotal theater. Unpredictable international affairs precipitated a crisis of identity among many in the Philadelphia Quaker community which, in 1755, led to the resignation of several Quaker Pennsylvania Assemblymen in protest over the move to armed conflict.³

Tensions among Pennsylvania's residents were palpable as Scots-Irish immigrants, pushed to the westernmost frontier in search of land, increasingly viewed Philadelphia Quakers and Native Americans as united allies conspiring against their livelihoods and prospects.⁴ In October of 1763, just a couple months after Woolman's visit, frontier violence between White settlers and Native Americans incited a company of Scots-Irish frontiersmen known as the Paxton Boys to attempt an attack on Wyalusing.⁵ They turned back before

they arrived at Wyalusing, but tensions reached the boiling point in December, when the Paxton Boys massacred peaceful Conestoga Indians and then marched on Philadelphia with the purpose of attacking Quakers and Native Americans under their protection.⁶ The Paxton Boys returned home before ever reaching Philadelphia, thanks to the conciliatory intervention of Benjamin Franklin, but not before a significant minority of Philadelphia's Quaker population armed themselves to defend the city.⁷ The Quaker rush to arms confirmed those critics who viewed them as hypocrites, traitors, and political opportunists.⁸

These socio-political events surrounded Woolman's journey into the Pennsylvania wilderness and illumine the danger and "conflict of spirit" Woolman described as he prepared for his journey.⁹ "In this conflict of spirit," Woolman wrote, "there were great searchings of heart and strong cries to the Lord that no motion might be in the least degree attended to but that of the pure spirit of Truth."¹⁰ In other words, Woolman believed he could perfectly attend to the motions of God to such a degree that the very real political upheaval and physical danger of the journey were subjected to God's will in him. In the "motion of love" Woolman claimed priorities and motivations that subverted those of self-interest and prosperity. As he followed the movement of divine love, Woolman believed he embodied a radical dependence on the direct governance of Christ in human affairs, an ethic antithetical to that of empire and commerce.

I contend that the physical motion of itinerant ministry paralleled Woolman's "spiritual itinerary," which Woolman believed culminated in a state of union to divine love.¹¹ I argue that Woolman's desire to point colonial Americans and Britons toward his vision of a transformed society was not derived from a social optimism based on positive observations of human nature. Instead, Woolman understood the act of travel itself to be a counter-cultural embodiment of God's absolute rule over all human affairs. At times Woolman travelled on foot,¹² on poor roads,¹³ on the most inconvenient routes,¹⁴ and in dangerous situations.¹⁵ He did so because he desired to follow the dictates of the motion of love, desiring that all human affairs would be governed by God's revelatory presence. Woolman's writing indicates that the physical act of travel, on one hand, and divine revelation, on the other hand, were mutually reinforcing dynamics. In the physical space occasioned during times of travel, Woolman dwelled mystically in the direct inward revelation of Christ, addressed into social structures

and world occurrence. By mystical I mean that Woolman believed God's "principle" to be inwardly present in such a way that he could will what God willed;¹⁶ and that he believed he could dwell internally in God's activity in society, or "divine love," in such a way that the spiritual motion of God's love became the normative standard for the spatial motions of his physical body.¹⁷

WOOLMAN'S *JOURNAL*

Born in 1720 in Burlington County, New Jersey to Quaker parentage, Woolman recorded in his *Journal* that he felt longings for God at a young age.¹⁸ Later he wrote that in his teens, "I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his flock."¹⁹ Early convictions of prophetic commissioning would be honed and intensified in his travels. Both the descriptions of his childhood development and the records of his itinerant journeys are found in his *Journal*. As an adult, Woolman would travel as far south as North Carolina, north into Massachusetts, west into the Pennsylvania frontier, and east to England where he died in York in 1772. All in all, Woolman averaged a month per year away from home,²⁰ but almost 70% of the content of the *Journal* concerns his travels. The high concentration of itinerant ministry material in his *Journal* is not unique, as 18th Century Quaker journals tended toward greater fullness during periods of travel, but it does reinforce the importance of his travels in Woolman's theological formation.²¹

Woolman made more than thirty religious journeys as a Quaker minister.²² On these journeys he expressed a wide variety of critiques of 18th Century British North American culture, ranging from the use of silver dinnerware²³ to lotteries²⁴ to imperial expansion,²⁵ to slavery,²⁶ to the mistreatment of coach horses and post boys.²⁷ He developed a prophetic voice that called Quakers, and society as a whole, toward just dealings with the oppressed. However, these were not disparate concerns. All of these criticisms were united in Woolman's overarching belief that "Christ's government"²⁸ was being established directly on earth, and that humanity was called to faithfully partner with God in working toward the full establishment of God's rule.²⁹

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THE MOTION OF LOVE

With Woolman's theology of the "the motion of love" were four interrelated movements, which formed the framework of his spiritual itinerary. This itinerary was non-linear and iterative in nature, and therefore difficult to distinguish in individual movements. At times multiple aspect of the "motion of love" can be seen simultaneously, however the major components are as follows: First, the motion of love had a *conversionary* component in that it was a trustworthy guide for human living and demanded absolute obedience. Second, it was *apocalyptic* (Gk. *apokalypsis* = "revelation") in that it inhabited a spiritual space which corresponded to and made claims upon the physical world.³⁰ Third, the motion of love was *universal* in that it went beyond cultural boundaries and language, available to everyone, in everyplace. Finally, it was *transformational* in that attention to God's movements led to a state of union with God and a new vision for world affairs. These four aspects are explored in turn.

First, the inward motions of "divine love" were an absolute guide for human action. While travelling in North Carolina in 1757 Woolman described attention to God and God's will as a safe guide for teaching people how to live rightly in a way that did not require a subservient class in order to benefit the wealth of power-holders. "Thus lying in the wilderness and looking at the stars," Woolman was led to consider the simple lifestyle of Adam and Eve. Woolman utilized the primordial family as the progenitors and representatives of humanity, and therefore trans-temporal models of normative, faithful behavior.³¹ God, as their creator, knew what Adam and Eve required for happiness and provided for them "as they attended to the manifestations of his wisdom."³² On the other hand, Woolman argued that in his own day human "inventions" motivated out of "creaturely cunning and self-exaltation" had drawn people away from God.³³ He wrote that the corrupt "inventions of men" were

distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, as in the first motion it was evil so the effects of it have been, and are evil. That at this day it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friends or father but God only.³⁴

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For Woolman, union with the same motion of divine love that resulted in the creation event was a conversionary reality out of which society would learn to value possessions, and other people according to God's intent. Rather than focusing on any particular issue, Woolman claimed that humanity could be characterized by a state of consistency with the original beneficent motion of the creation event. On the other hand, an economic system, a material convenience, or a manner of human interaction that deviated from God's first "motion of love" was an apostate motion of evil and the fruits of all resulting motions would be derived from that original evil motion. Woolman believed God's providence toward Adam and Eve was a typology of God's care and provision down through the centuries. Those who "attended" to God's will were converted and preserved in "true wisdom" and came to know the rightful use of things and proper manner of living.³⁵

In this instance, we also see the second aspect of the "motion of love," the apocalyptic transformation of this-worldly reality in divine revelation. Having no shelter, and out of necessity sleeping in the open air, "led" Woolman to consider God's creative act and the primordial family.³⁶ The primitive outward conditions of the journey and the primitive inward idealism informed each other and revealed divine truths for human affairs. In a letter written while travelling in England Woolman declared: "The Truth as it is in Jesus was never more precious to me than I feel it in this my Sojourning, in which my mind is often deeply affected with that which is not of the Father but of the world."³⁷ On the same journey, Woolman wrote that while "walking over a plain" he "felt a degree of Divine love attend my mind, and therein an openness" to express a concern for the spiritual development of youth: "My mind was opened to behold the happiness, the safety and beauty of a life devoted to follow the heavenly Shepherd; and a care that the enticements of vain young people may not ensnare any of you. I cannot form a concern, but when a concern cometh, I endeavour to be obedient."³⁸

The material circumstances of the physical act of pilgrimage revealed the spiritual reality of God's providence and direction. Woolman claimed he could not "form a concern" on his own, but responded to transcendent revelation. The act of journey "opened" Woolman to the revelatory act which he felt commissioned to materialize in concrete form. The relationship between Woolman's perception of divine revelation and the way his surroundings informed the content of those revelations is often blurred in his writings. Did

a sleepless night under the stars, pestered by mosquitoes, prompt an awareness of divine revelation and new learnings about God's intent for human affairs, or did his surroundings reinforce and deepen an already nascent primitivism that would have led him to the same conclusions?³⁹ Woolman was not bothered by this blurring, though, because for him dwelling *in* God assured him that the motion and ambiance of his travel were *of* God. The revelatory "motion of love" was apocalyptic because Woolman believed it to be directed into specific times and places.

Third, Woolman's travel also demonstrated a universalizing component. At Wyalusing Woolman was inspired to speak to a gathering of Native Americans.⁴⁰ However, the available interpreters were not sufficient to the task, and so Woolman instructed them to leave off translating as he believed "the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification, where all the words were not understood."⁴¹ Cultural and linguistic barriers did not deter Woolman from speaking because he understood the spiritual motion, what he here called the "current of love,"⁴² to speak to a reality beyond words, customs and time. The "divine love" Woolman experienced, which he credited as the inspiration for his actions, was more than a feeling but a place to be, a current, a motion, an *inward* reality that changed the way the *outward* happened.⁴³ In the current of "divine love," Woolman understood himself to be beyond the confines of language and culture and place and simultaneously responding to them. Traditionally, Quakers believed that God's presence was neither confined to the four walls of a church building, nor to the presence of ordained clergy.⁴⁴ Thus, within Quaker theology was an understanding that a spiritual pilgrimage was at the same time an everywhere-pilgrimage and an anywhere-pilgrimage. The particularity of divine revelation directed into time and place was universalized according to Woolman's many different destinations and journeys. Woolman believed the power of the "motion of love" not to be in his ability to put words to it, but in the mystical act of attentiveness itself. Language was superseded when speaking from a state within God's revelation since God's revelation was universal in scope.

A final distinctive of the "motion of love" was the transforming power of love. In 1772, just before Woolman left the ship and crew which had taken him from Philadelphia to London, he held a meeting for the sailors and "express[ed] in the hearing of my poor shipmates the sailors" the perfecting effects of "divine love operating on our

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minds” that “preserves from sin.”⁴⁵ Attention to God and union with “divine love,” Woolman said, was redemptive and preserved one from sin and fear of death.⁴⁶ Likewise, while he travelled in Virginia he recorded two examples where the physical motion and spiritual space of journey changed a person’s understanding of God’s will for them. In the first occasion, a “solitary journey” of 250 miles was the impetus of an “exercise” to improve the condition of “Negroes.”⁴⁷ Immediately following this example Woolman described another “Friend of some note” who “on a lonesome journey” was convicted “that he believed that he saw a time coming when divine providence would alter the circumstance of these people respecting their condition as slaves.”⁴⁸ In these two examples Woolman drew attention to the way the act of travel itself led to new understanding of God’s will. Previous conceptions of social norms were subverted and transformed in the interplay between physical and spiritual motion. On the journey, Woolman believed, a new vision of social organization and divine priorities was revealed. Earlier on this journey Woolman preached about “the spreading influence of divine love” that could transform the Church and all of society.⁴⁹ In the transformation of these two Quakers, Woolman implied that the perfecting and transforming influence of “divine love” was evident.

The “motion of love” was for Woolman God’s direct work on earth. He credited it for inspiration to undertake a journey, as well as for providing strength and wisdom for the moment to moment decisions and event along the way.⁵⁰ In the physical motion of pilgrimage Woolman’s “spiritual itinerary” materialized in particular political and social events. He believed that it converted social priorities, revealed God’s priorities, transcended religious, linguistic and cultural barriers, and transformed human affairs into consistency with God’s intent for human organization.

PROPHETIC COMMOTION

Attention to the movements of divine love inspired physical motion during Woolman’s journeys, but it also caused commotion and agitation among his co-religionists and members of society at large. In fact, motivated by his first journey into the South, Woolman wrote *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*,⁵¹ a crucial but controversial document in the Quaker movement toward abolishing slavery from their midst.⁵² Woolman believed God’s revelation made

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claims about the way society should operate, and he felt commissioned to proclaim this message. Thus, others encountered Woolman as a challenging person, difficult to understand and interpret.⁵³ Woolman was aware of this “singularity” and considered the task “unpleasant,” but was convinced God’s motions required obedience.⁵⁴ Anne Myles argues that the emotional anguish Woolman felt as he travelled among Friends and confronted apostasy was akin to the imprisonment and persecution of 17th Century Quakers.⁵⁵ She contends that a dissenting prophetic identity was for Woolman a “banishment in the wilderness,” which was both a “place and a spiritual state” that taught Woolman how to identify with the dispossessed and be completely reliant on God.⁵⁶

Woolman’s itinerant ministry journeys demonstrate the tension between the motion of divine love Woolman felt inspired him to action and enlivened his ministry, but simultaneously created conflict and uncomfortable commotion among his fellow colonists. For example, in 1757 Woolman began the practice of paying for hospitality received while travelling if his hosts owned slaves so that he would not participate in the “gain of oppression.”⁵⁷ This was a controversial practice as it often meant confronting wealthy Quakers about the unjust source of their wealth:⁵⁸ “my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the True Shepherd and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.”⁵⁹ For Woolman, God’s revelation made claims upon individual morality and social structures. Woolman embodied and disseminated these claims each time he offered a slave-owner payment for hospitality. The revelation of “the voice of the True Shepherd,” Woolman believed, upended the priorities and greed-based values of 18th Century society and formed the basis for bold prophetic commotion.

At times, the motion of his travel delivered him into intense situations. In 1758 Woolman wrote about “sharp conflicts” while visiting slave-owners: “...and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded.”⁶⁰ Woolman did not dwell on the commotion his prophetic witness caused. In fact, in some instances the only reason we know that Woolman was viewed as a controversial figure is because of the writings of others who described Woolman’s “unacceptance” in some places and the “much flocking to meetings” in other places.⁶¹

Not only was Woolman’s message controversial, but the aesthetics of his travel became increasingly so. In the early 1760s, Woolman

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began wearing undyed clothing as a sign against excess and waste, and the oppression that arose from it.⁶² On journeys to Maryland in 1766 and 1767, as well as while travelling in England in 1772, Woolman felt God lead him to travel by foot. The act of walking not only provided solitude for contemplation, he also believed “that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of temptation to unprofitable familiarities.”⁶³ Woolman claimed that walking as a mode of travel intensified his prophetic experience while travelling. As he matured and his itinerant ministry expanded geographically, Woolman also insinuated that the revelation of Christ expanded and made new demands on his life, dress, and manner of travel.

The spiritual “sorrow and heaviness” Woolman felt when he encountered slavery and greed on a 1767 journey in Maryland corresponded with the physical fatigue of travelling on foot: “Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet thus travelling was agreeable to the state of my mind.”⁶⁴ The act of walking alone and the self-humiliation of contradicting Quaker norms by wearing undyed clothing arose from Woolman’s obedience to “divine love,” but also intensified his embodiment of “divine love” in colonial society as he became more distinctive in appearance. Woolman’s critique of slavery and luxury consumption cut to the heart of the burgeoning trans-Atlantic marketplace which thrived off of the labor of slaves and affluence of the merchant class.⁶⁵ Dwelling in the “motion of love,” Woolman inhabited a place in his spiritual itinerary and theological space within salvation history that understood God to be breaking into world occurrence, “that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail amongst mankind.”⁶⁶

Months before he died, Woolman sailed to England in steerage, living and sleeping with the sailors, and observed a general spiritual corruption among them.⁶⁷ The time of reflection during the long passage gave Woolman opportunity to observe immorality in commercial sailing and space to dwell in the motion of God’s love so as to speak as God’s prophet: “And I, being much amongst the seamen, have from a motion of love sundry times taken opportunities with one alone and in a free conversation laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord...”⁶⁸ Woolman did not stop with immediate observations of sailors, but connected their depravity to the greed of ship owners and the degeneracy of an economic system.⁶⁹

Dwelling in the “love of God,” Woolman thought, was the antidote to the corruptions of society, “that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God and therein act uprightly, and by seeking less for gain and looking carefully to their ways may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen.”⁷⁰ From the position of one operating out of the “motion of love” Woolman experienced the depravity of the sailing economy “opened” to him as a revelation from God.⁷¹ Woolman believed that God had commissioned him to respond to these “openings” as an agent of God. In his concrete prophetic acts, Woolman materialized “divine love” and his spiritual itinerary into the physical world.

In his itinerant ministry, Woolman embodied “divine love” by method of travel, dress, and attention to the “movings of [the] Holy Spirit.”⁷² Over time and continued attention to the divine motion, Woolman’s spiritual itinerary intensified in its challenge to society, as did his vision of the implications of God’s power uniting the world to God’s Self: “I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past may go forward and spread amongst the nations....”⁷³ As Woolman became more and more familiar with the “motion of love” he identified more and more places of rebellion to God’s motion in the world around him and caused commotion on more and more fronts, as evidenced by the number of issue-specific, travel-originated essays he penned in the later years of his life.⁷⁴ While he travelled, Woolman was simultaneously transported to another physical location, but also to a new location within God’s plan of redemption for society

...that in losing our life for Christ’s sake the understanding is quickened and enlarged in the knowledge of the work of Redemption. The natural mind is active about the things of this life but this activity must cease before we stand perfect and compleat [*sic*] in the will of God. When the mind is wholly turned to seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, then we learn to employ our time and our strength rightly.⁷⁵

The physical motions of travel deepened Woolman’s sensitivity to the revelation of the Kingdom of God. The ascetic method of travel allowed Woolman to identify with the oppressed and opened Woolman’s vision for a future under God’s governance—a message subversive to the economic interests of the 18th Century trans-Atlantic marketplace. In pilgrimage, Woolman’s vision for society on earth was enlarged to proclaim a time when society would exist in a

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new state of intimacy and “stand perfect and compleat [*sic*] in the will of God,” united to God’s intent for world affairs.

CONCLUSION

Woolman’s fellow citizens struggled to understand the preacher who dressed in white, walked hundreds of miles, entered hostile lands, and sailed in steerage when he could have had his own cabin. Woolman’s presence was a stinging rebuke to the prosperity of the colonial ruling class. The aesthetics of Woolman’s itinerant ministry, though, begin to come into focus when one considers Woolman’s spiritual itinerary in which the divine “motion of love” revealed God’s will for human affairs. Perfection was possible to the extent that one obeyed the workings of “divine love.” The redeemed society was to come about as faithful men and women looked to the inward Teacher, who would re-create the world according to God’s Kingdom. Travelling miles and miles of road- and sea-ventures, Woolman gave attention to the interplay between spiritual space and physical space. Sometimes attention to the “motion of love” entailed a critique of the physical world around him, and sometimes the physical world clarified the workings of the Spirit.

Sailing to England in 1772, on a long journey after many long journeys, Woolman anticipated the transformation of society because in union with God’s love, he felt himself to be transformed: “...we can say that Jesus is the Lord, and the reformation in our souls, manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new and all things are of God.”⁷⁶ The radicalization of theological vision paralleled the radical austerity of the journey, itself. The prophetic embodiment of this theological vision created tensions and commotion. Woolman’s example indicates that the intensity of the journey—whether spiritual, physical, or emotional—affects the experience of the journey. Moreover, Woolman’s dedication to the vocation of itinerant minister offers a glimpse into the way creating spiritual space in the solitude of travel, and pursuing exposure to “the other,” facilitated an integrated theological vision in the eye of the traveler. This analysis suggests that observers can learn much about the experience of travelers by taking into account the traveler’s theology and spiritual connectedness to God and the surrounding environment. Likewise, examining Woolman from the perspective of theological formation reveals new insight into colonial Quaker understandings of God’s work within history and illumines Quaker visions of the transformed society.

ENDNOTES

- 1 John Woolman. "Journal." In *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (Richmond Ind.: Friends United Press, 1971), 124.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 127.
- 3 Patricia Bonomi. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 169. Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984) xii, 143-144, 184. Frederick Tolles. *Meeting House and Counting House; the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 235.
- 4 Judith Ridner, *A Town in-Between: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Early Mid-Atlantic Interior* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 104.
- 5 Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 126.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 136-140, 149-150.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 154, 162-163.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 154-155.
- 9 Woolman, "Journal," 124.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 I am grateful to Elaine Pryce for this term: Elaine Pryce, "The Tradition of Quietism in Early Quakerism" (presented at the Quaker Studies Research Association, Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, UK, 2010), 9.
- 12 Woolman, "Journal," 145.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 14 John Woolman, "Manuscript of John Woolman's Sea Journal", 1772, Luke Howard Manuscripts, Friends House Library.
- 15 Woolman, "Journal," 107, 130.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 124.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 21 Henry Cadbury, *John Woolman in England a Documentary Supplement* ([London]: Friends Historical Society, 1971), 1.
- 22 Phillips Moulton, "Introduction," in *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1971), 4.
- 23 John Woolman, "Statement on the Use of Silver Vessels," A.D.S. Laminated, n.d., Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library.
- 24 Woolman, "Journal," 110.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 183.

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- 28 *Ibid.*, 154.
- 29 John Woolman, "Examples of Perfection': Religious Writing Fragment," n.d., Woolman Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In this essay Woolman contends that the story of the disciples rowing across the Sea of Galilee and then miraculously delivered from the storm by Jesus in Mark 6 is a "type" of the spiritual journey colonists were engaged in. He argued that the appearance of Christ to transport the boat across the sea was dependent on the disciples' dedication to continue the work of rowing no matter how tumultuous the sea became. This inter-connectivity between human effort and divine intervention is integral to Woolman's theology and understanding of ministry.
- 30 See: Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen Stein, eds., *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism* (New York: Continuum, 2003), ix.
- 31 Woolman, "Journal," 72.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 73.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 37 John Woolman, "John Woolman to 'Beloved Cousins'", September 9, 1772, Woolman Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 38 John Woolman, "John Woolman's Letter to the Children of Stephen Comfort, of Bucks County. 16th of 9th Month, 1772," in *Friends Miscellany: Being a Collection of Essays and Fragments, Biographical, Religious, Epistolary, Narrative, and Historical ...*, ed. John Comly and Isaac Comly, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Printed for the editors by J. Richards, 1834), 9–10.
- 39 Woolman, "Journal," 72-73.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21–22.
- 45 Woolman, "Manuscript of John Woolman's Sea Journal," 6 mos, 7 day.
- 46 Similarly, attention to the motion of God "is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation." John Woolman, "Journal," in *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed., Phillips P. Moulton (Richmond Ind.: Friends United Press, 1971), 170–171.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 70–71.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 106; John Woolman, "Concerning the Ministry," in *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed., Amelia M. Gummere (New York: Macmillan company, 1922), 314.
- 51 Woolman, "Journal," 44.
- 52 Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 26.

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- 53 Geoffrey Plank, "The First Person in Antislavery Literature: John Woolman, his Clothes and his Journal," *Slavery and Abolition* 30:1 (March 2009): 69.
- 54 Woolman, "Journal," 108.
- 55 Anne Myles, "'Stranger Friend': John Woolman and Quaker Dissent," in *The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman*, ed., Mike Heller (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003), 49.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 Woolman, "Journal," 59. The phrase "the faces of men" is an allusion to Jeremiah 1:4-10.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 60-61.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 59. The phrase "the faces of men" is an allusion to Jeremiah 1:4-10.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 96.
- 61 For example: "Samuel Emlen, Jr. to Sarah Emlen," London 5 of 9mo., 1772. In Cadbury, *Woolman in England*, 18. And, "Samuel Emlen, Jr. to Sarah Emlen," London 15 of 9mo., 1772. In Cadbury, *Woolman in England*, 18.
- 62 Woolman, "Journal," 120-121.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 145.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 150.
- 65 For an excellent analysis of Quaker involvement in the mid-Atlantic economy see: Frederick Barnes Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948).
- 66 Woolman, "Journal," 174.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 166.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*, 168.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 *Ibid.*, 173.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 188.
- 74 See: John Woolman, "On a Sailor's Life;" "Statement on the Use of Silver Vessels;" "A Plea for the Poor, or A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich;" "An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends;" "Concerning the Ministry;" "Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy; on Labour; on Schools; and on the Right use of the Lord's Outward Gifts;" "Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind and How it is to be Maintained;" "Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind and How it may be Promoted;" "On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves;" "On Silent Worship;" "On the Slave Trade;" "On Trading in Superfluities;" Woolman's concern for the condition and development of youth also increased in the 1760s, and he spent considerable time as a tutor. He even wrote his own primer: John Woolman, *A First Book for Children: Much Useful Reading Being Sullied and Torn by Children in Schools Before They Can Read, This Book Is Intended to Save Unnecessary Expence*, The third edition enlarged (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank, in Second-Street; and by Benjamin Ferris, Stationer and bookbinder in Wilmington, 1774).
- 75 John Woolman, "Manuscript of John Woolman's Sea Journal", 1772, Luke Howard Manuscripts, Friends House Library.
- 76 Woolman, "Journal," 177.