

2002

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## Recommended Citation

Oliver, John (2002) "Walter and Emma Malone: Friends of Sinners and the Poor," *Quaker Studies*: Vol. 6: Iss. 2, Article 5.  
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol6/iss2/5>

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WALTER AND EMMA MALONE:  
FRIENDS OF SINNERS AND THE POOR

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ABSTRACT

The Malones, leaders of Holiness Quakerism, were presented in *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends 1800–1907*, an otherwise excellent early work by historian Thomas Hamm, as leaders of a movement whose ‘dominant note... was opposition to any type of reform activity’.<sup>1</sup> If too strong,<sup>2</sup> it is fair to suggest that numbers of Holiness Friends, including the Malones, were relatively indifferent to political, economic and social reform. But seeing them in this light, or as mere obstructionists to ‘modern thought’, does not quite capture who they were or what they were about. This article contends the Malones had a positive social agenda that deserves to be understood and evaluated on its own terms. To enter their world, to see others from their angle of vision, may be enlightening to folk who seek a deeper understanding of the origin and early agenda of Evangelical Friends, who are now the largest group of Quakers in the world.

KEYWORDS

Walter and Emma Malone, Quaker, Holiness, Evangelical Friends, Dwight L. Moody, Dougan Clark

1. Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism. Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 163.

2. Carole D. Spencer. ‘Evangelicalism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the holiness Revival, *Quaker History*, 80.1 (1991), pp. 24–48 contends ‘one of the most consistent themes in 19th century Holiness was the ministry of women’. Spencer (pp. 30–31) says the Holiness *Christian Worker* owned by the Malones was more sympathetic to women than was the Philadelphia-based *Friends Review*. See also John Oliver, ‘J. Walter Malone: The *American Friend* and an Evangelical Quaker’s Social Agenda’, *Quaker History*, 80.2 (1991), pp. 63–84. Alice Malone Terrill, Walter’s sister, was Superintendent of the Sunday School Department of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Ohio.

### Obscure

Walter (1857–1935) and Emma (1860–1924) were two Evangelical Friends who, Thomas Hamm says, represent ‘a chapter in Quaker history that is largely obscured after nearly a century’.<sup>3</sup> Before doing what we can to reduce this obscurity—and suggest new categories for understanding their work—let’s consider why this chapter is little known in our time. There are at least two reasons.

1. Evangelical Friends, with few exceptions, have little interest in their own history. They focus on evangelism, which they do well, with little time or inclination to examine—or perhaps learn from—the past.<sup>4</sup>
2. Liberal Friends, at least in the early twentieth-century, focused on what is sometimes called the ‘Whiggish’ story of progress fathered by the Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment and ‘modern thought’, especially Quaker contributions to freedom, democracy and tolerance. Fundamentalist, or more precisely, Holiness Quakers like the Malones who believed in instant deliverance from all sin were, at best, a foil against which the triumph of modernist Friends could be understood and celebrated.

Historians in that era were progressives, a mindset that lingers in paradigms that present proponents of ‘modern thought’ as enlightened champions of academic freedom, and critics as simply ‘fundamentalists’ or obstructionists.<sup>5</sup> Progressives commonly believed the task of the historian is to chronicle and explain the intellectual, political, social and technological progress of humankind. The technologically—or religiously—unlearned were, in large part, irrelevant to this great story. Progressive history celebrated winners. Few scholars in that era offered a sympathetic understanding of persons who challenged core dogmas of ‘modern thought’.

The story of the Malones reminds us that obscure does not necessarily

3. Thomas Hamm, Introduction to ‘J. Walter Malone: The American Friend and an Evangelical Quaker’s Social Agenda,’ Pamphlet published by Malone College, 1993, a reprint of an article in *Quaker History* 80 (Fall 1991), pp. 63–84.

4. Walter R. Williams, *The Rich Heritage of Quakerism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962), is an early exception, as is the excellent work of Arthur Roberts. Paul Anderson is another happy exception.

5. See *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, pp. 160–73. See also Thomas Hamm, *Earlham College: A History, 1847–1997* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), especially pp. 105–108.

mean insignificant. Erroll Elliott, author of *Quaker Profiles from the American West*, told us in 1972 that Walter and Emma led a movement that ‘may have saved Friends Meetings in the West from near extinction’.<sup>6</sup> Their story informs us that Holiness was not always reactionary: Hamm reports that ‘at least before 1900, Walter’s and Emma’s views on ‘race, poverty, economics and imperialism were more progressive than those of many more theologically liberal Friends’.<sup>7</sup> It suggests that Holiness was not, as some suppose, mean-spirited, but mirrored the idealism or sentimentalism of the Victorian era. Elbert Russell, a modernist Friend who stayed overnight with the Malones, slept under a large hand-crafted plaque that read:

Sleep sweet within this quiet room, my guest, who’er thou art  
And let no mournful yesterdays disturb thy peaceful heart,  
Nor let to-morrow scare thy rest with dreams of coming ill,  
Thy maker is thy changeless Friend. His love surrounds thee still.  
Forget thyself and all the world.  
Put out each feverish light  
The stars are shining overhead  
Sleep sweet. Good night. Good night.

He remembered the Malones as ‘very gracious’, although he was not accustomed to shouts of ‘hallelujah’ and ‘praise the Lord’ at the dinner table.<sup>8</sup>

### Ohio Roots

To see the Malones on their ‘turf’ is to encounter them against the backdrop of three generations of Ohio Friends. The story begins in 1814, six years before the birth of Walter’s mother, when her parents, Levi and Mary Bye Pennington,<sup>9</sup> came from Bucks County north of Philadelphia by way of Center County, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore to New Garden in northeast Ohio, 25 miles east of Canton. Like many first-generation Ohio Friends, we may suppose they came not only for cheap land, but to establish a ‘guarded’ society

6. Erroll T. Elliott, *Quaker Profiles from the American West* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1972).

7. Hamm, ‘Introduction’ to ‘J. Walter Malone: The American Friend and an Evangelical Quaker’s Social Agenda,’ by John Oliver (Malone college pamphlet, 1992, reprint of an article from *Quaker History*).

8. Elbert Russell, *Elbert Russell, Quaker: An Autobiography* (Jackson, TN: Friendly Press, 1956), pp. 95–96.

9. Levi Pennington was descended from Paul and Ann Simpson Pennington, who worshiped with Margaret Fell and George Fox at Swarthmore Hall. The Simpsons donated land at Sunbreck for a cemetery for Friends, where Margaret Fell is buried.

on the frontier free from the worldliness infecting some eastern Friends. Levi was an Overseer at New Garden until Hicksites took the meeting house, then at an Orthodox meeting at Sandy Spring. Mary provided physical and spiritual assistance to a settlement of 200 former slaves in nearby Stark County.<sup>10</sup> Minutes from Center, Gunpowder in Baltimore, or New Garden and Sandy Spring in Ohio contain no charge that Levi or Mary ever broke a rule of the Friends. In short, they were faithful traditional Friends.

Walter's mother received a 'guarded' education. Her instructor at New Garden later represented the Pennsylvania Peace Society at the World's Peace Conference in London in 1851.<sup>11</sup> At Sandy Spring, where they moved when she was 14, her teacher was the father-in-law of three of her sisters and a co-founder of what is now Olney School in Barnesville. Most important of all, he was a student of Elisha Bates. Larry Ingle calls Bates 'the most accomplished theologian Orthodox Friends produced in the United States'.<sup>12</sup>

All nine Pennington children remained Orthodox Friends. Yet, like others in their generation, they were more apt to break rules than were their parents who came to Ohio to establish and preserve a spiritually pure community. Two of Mary Ann's sisters married without permission, but rejoined Orthodox Friends in Cincinnati. Mary Ann was 'condemned' in 1840 by the Women's Meeting: for being married by a Justice of the Peace to John Carl Malone, a Hicksite from Bucks County and her first cousin (their mothers, Mary Bye Pennington and Sarah Bye Malone, were sisters). She acknowledged her sin in marrying John. He acknowledged his sin in joining the Hicksites and became a member at Sandy Spring.

Four years later, the Malones, now with three children, settled on two acres 60 miles to the northeast near Brimfield, three to four miles south of where Kent State University is now located. John was listed in the census of 1850 as a farmer.<sup>13</sup> They kept only nominal ties with the Friends, joining an Orthodox meeting 15 miles from their home. Three more children were born in Brimfield.

10. Edward Thornton Heald, *The Stark County Story*, I (4 vols.; Canton, OH: Stark County Historical Society, 1949), pp. 154-55. See also the Minutes of Sandy Spring Monthly Meeting in the archives at Malone College.

11. Asahel H. Pettit, *The Pettit Family in America* (Portland, OR: James, 1906), pp. 55-59.

12. H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Nashville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), p. 27. For more on Bates see Douglas Graham Good, 'Elisha Bates: American Quaker Evangelical in the Nineteenth Century,' (PhD dissertation; Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1967).

13. *Deed Book*, 56, 'County Recorders office, Portage County, OH', pp. 55-56; *Deed Book*, 59, pp. 365-66, 437-38. When John Malone sold his land, he lost \$106.00.

After seven years away from a Quaker community, John Malone bought a 100-acre farm at Marathon in southwest Ohio, 25 miles east of Cincinnati. They were joined by four of Mary Ann's sisters with their families, plus her father and his second wife.<sup>14</sup> They created Clermont Preparative Meeting, overseen by Newberry Monthly Meeting. In addition, Mary Ann served as superintendent of a First Day Scripture School at a Preparative meeting at West Fork. In 1857 her seventh child, John Walter Malone, was born at Marathon. He became known as J. Walter Malone.

In 1858, the Malones moved to an eight-room brick house in Boston (now Owensville) Ohio. John became Noble Grand Master of the local lodge of the International Order of Odd Fellows (a secret society).<sup>15</sup> They lived across the street from the lodge and from a Methodist Church. For a second seven years they lived apart from the Friends. Mary Ann, however, was not content. She wanted her children to be raised as Friends, but in a home as fine as her home in Owensville. Two life-changing events were about to occur: (1) the family would soon acquire considerable money, and (2) Mary Ann was about to become a Holiness Friend.

Money first came from the oldest son, H.P. (Hezekiah Pennington) Malone. In 1865, with Walter eight-years-old, Mary Ann purchased a 109-acre farm 34 miles northeast of Owensville at New Vienna: 14 miles south of where Wilmington College is now located. John Malone's name is not on the deed. The money came from H.P., who worked for Joseph Hussey, a Cleveland industrialist. In 1865 H.P. married the daughter of the City Treasurer of Cleveland, whose William Hart and Company advertised as 'the best furniture manufacturing house in the country' and largest west of the Alleghenies. It was renamed Hart, Malone and Company.<sup>16</sup> The next year Hussey's company—second largest oil refining company in Cleveland (second only to Rockefeller and Andrews, which became Standard Oil) was likewise renamed—it became Malone, Pettit and Company.<sup>17</sup> H.P. Malone's partner

14. Jane Cooper Pennington was a descendent of Thomas and Margaret Fell. Two of Mary Ann's ancestors—Paul and Ann Simpson Pennington—had worshipped at Swarthmore Hall. Margaret Fell is buried on land donated by the Simpsons to be a cemetery for the Friends.

15. *History of Clermont County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1880), p. 535. In the 1850s members were disowned for joining the Odd Fellows. Grand Master Malone was not disowned.

16. *Cleveland Leader Annual City Directory for 1867-68* (Cleveland: Leader Publishing Company, 1865), pp. 135, 184. The company also appeared on the back cover of the City Directory.

17. Grace Groulder, *John D. Rockefeller: The Cleveland Years* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972), pp. 52-52. Rockefeller and Andrews began after Joseph Hussey

was a son of Hussey's sister, who was clerk of the Friends Meeting in Cleveland.

### Holiness Friends

The Holiness or Evangelical Quakerism the Malones encountered at New Vienna promised perfect purity through instant deliverance from all sin by a Spirit-filled baptism of love. Their farm abutted the property of John Henry Douglas, premier Quaker evangelist in the later nineteenth century. In 1868 Mary Ann invited Douglas to hold evening evangelistic meetings in a one-room school northeast of New Vienna where she ran the Mary Ann School for Children. In April 1869, 155 converts joined the Friends. Philadelphia's *Friends Review* called this 'perhaps the largest number of persons ever received into the Friends in one day'.<sup>18</sup> Walter—not quite 13 at this time—later wrote that as a boy 'I longed to be a preacher like my mother'.

To the south, the Malone farm bordered the land of John Hussey and his son-in-law Daniel Hill. Hill succeeded Douglas as Secretary of the Peace Association of Friends, and led the Association for almost three decades. In 1870 Hussey and Hill founded the *Messenger of Peace*, the premier Quaker peace publication in the later nineteenth century. In 1871 they started *The Christian Worker*, which was the most widely circulated Quaker publication in America in 1894 when Walter Malone merged *The Worker* with Rufus Jones's *Friends Review* to found *The American Friend*.<sup>19</sup> This center for Holiness Quakerism was a hotbed for evangelism, peace and publishing. This mother, this village and this faith in the availability of sinless holy living began to fashion the man we know as J. Walter Malone.

As a boy, Walter was taught by Allen Terrell who became a professor at Earlham. In 1874, after a semester at the Preparatory School at Earlham,<sup>20</sup> Walter went to Cincinnati to attend Chickering Scientific and Classical

attracted John D. Rockefeller to invest in oil. Hussey visited Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859 when oil was first discovered and paid \$20,000 for a quarter-share of the oil on two McElinney farms. See also letter from Emily J. Oakhill, Archivist at the Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, North Tarrytown, NY, 6 April, 1989, to John W. Oliver in the Malone College Archives.

18. *Friends Review*, 22.35 (1869), pp. 549-50.

19. See Diana Peterson, 'Rufus Jones and *The American Friend*: A Quest for Unity' *Quaker History*, 74 (1985), pp 41-48. See also John Oliver, 'The American Friend and an Evangelical Quaker's Social Agenda, Quaker History, 80 (Fall 1991) No. 2, pp. 63-84.

20. At Earlham Walter made only 'Passing' grades in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and Physical Geography. Walter's transcript is in the archives at Earlham College.

Institute, a boy's school whose graduates commonly matriculated to Harvard and Yale.<sup>21</sup> Walter graduated in 1877 and became a bookkeeper at Martin Thieman, popularly known as Pearl Street Wholesale House. John H. Martin, the owner's son, was a member of Walter's graduating class at Chickering.<sup>22</sup>

In six years with Cincinnati's Orthodox Friends, Walter encountered wealth and religiously inspired social service. He worshipped with Joseph Taylor who endowed Bryn Mawr College, and Mordecai White, later president of the American Bankers Association. He met Levi Coffin, leader of the Underground Railroad, and Friends who, the Minutes say, worked in 'nearly all public benevolent institutions of Cincinnati and suburbs'.<sup>23</sup> One, the Cincinnati Children's Home had been led by Daniel Hill, the peace activist and editor Walter knew in New Vienna.<sup>24</sup> Another, the Foxwell Buxton Mission (named for Joseph Gurney's brother in law), met for two decades at the Cincinnati Law School to teach 'the truths of the Bible and...the way to salvation' to thousands of former slaves. It had been founded and was overseen by a cousin of John and Mary Ann Malone.<sup>25</sup>

In January 1880, now 22½ years old, Walter came to Cleveland to work as bookkeeper for his brothers, Harry and James, in their Malone Stone Company. His starting salary was \$15.00 a month. Thomas Quayle, Harry's wife's father, was the largest shipbuilder on the Great Lakes. While Harry and Carolyn Malone joined the Friends after Walter came to Cleveland, one of their daughters later became a cloistered nun in Mexico City.<sup>26</sup>

For five years—until his marriage—Walter lived with Harry and Carolyn in a grand mansion on Euclid Avenue (Walter in one wing, Harry, Carolyn and their children in the other) at the center of what was called 'the most beautiful street in the world'.<sup>27</sup> Neighbors included Jepaha White, founder of Western

21. *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 17 September, 1877. See also Henry A. Ford, *History of Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cincinnati: A. Williams Co., 1881), p. 178, *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (Cincinnati: S.B. Nelson and Co., 1894), pp. 129-31. See also *Catalogue of the Chickering Classical and Scientific Institute*, 1875, 1876, 1877 at the Cincinnati Historical Society.

22. Letter from Barbara J. Dawson, Assistant Librarian at the Cincinnati Historical Society, to John Oliver, 23 May, 1989, in the Malone College Archives.

23. 'Minutes of Cincinnati Monthly Meeting,' 19 June, 1879. The Minutes are at Wilmington College.

24. Thomas J. Kiphart, *One Hundred Fifty Years of Cincinnati Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1815-1965*, p. 17

25. *One Hundred Fifty Years of Cincinnati Monthly Meeting of Friends*, p. 31. The cousin was Hezekiah Bye Bailey.

26. For the descendants of Harry and Carolyn Malone see the papers of Lee Harrison Brown Malone in the Malone College Archives.

27. Ella Grant Wilson, *Famous Old Euclid Avenue in Cleveland: At One Time Called the Most*

Union and Director of eight Railroad Companies, Charles Brush (Brush Electric became General Electric), and John D. Rockefeller. In 1882, after Walter told his brothers that God had promised him a one-third interest in the stone business, Harry and James made Walter a partner in the company.<sup>28</sup> In Philadelphia, the Academy of Natural Sciences, Bourse Building (former stock exchange) on Independence Mall and Woman's Hospital were built with red sandstone from a Malone quarry near Lake Superior: to architect David Metzger the finest sandstone in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>29</sup> Malone marble from another quarry in Wingdale, New York, was used in the New York Stock Exchange, Tiffany's, and the House of Representatives Office Building in Washington. D.H. Newland says it 'enjoyed greater favor among architects than any other native marble'.<sup>30</sup> In 1892, the year Walter and Emma began their school in Cleveland, two Malone quarries near Cleveland and one near Lake Superior produced 1,050,000 cubic feet of stone.<sup>31</sup> After a few years in Cleveland, Walter was well positioned to identify with the rich, with whom he mingled at the city's Union Club.

At first, Walter attended a Congregational Church until his mother persuaded him in 1881 to visit the Friends Meeting that began in what the *Plain Dealer* called the 'grandest home' in Cleveland.<sup>32</sup> The meeting had declined, and now met in a meeting house on Cedar Avenue close to Euclid where on good days five or six elderly Friends came to worship. After three aged Friends accosted him with the same 'message from the Lord'—God wants you to worship with us—he acquiesced. He also agreed to teach a class for newsboys on Sunday afternoons. By 1885, with two cousins—Emma and Florence

*Beautiful Street in the World*, I (2 vols.; Cleveland, 1937). See also *Cleveland, Official Souvenir of the Thirty-Fifth National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Cleveland: Grand Army of the Republic, 1901), cited in James H. Stuckey, 'The Formation of Leadership Groups in a Frontier Town: Canton, Ohio, 1805–1855' (PhD dissertation; Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve University, 1976).

28. A lawsuit filed in Common Pleas Court, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, 26 August, 1882, lists Levi Harrison Malone, James Scott Malone, and J. Walter Malone as 'partners doing business in the State of Ohio under the firm name of Malone and Company.'

29. John W. Oliver (ed.), *J. Walter Malone, The Autobiography of an Evangelical Quaker* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 15, 35. Metzger, who restored and renovated the Burlington Public Library in the 1990s, with sandstone from the former Dubuque (Iowa) High School reported 'treating this sandstone like gold.'

30. D.H. Newland, 'The Quarry Materials of New York—Granite, Gneiss, Trap and Marble,' *New York State Museum Bulletin*, 181 (1 January, 1916), pp. 195, 198.

31. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 14 July, 1892, p. 30.

32. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 25 March, 1900.

Brown—assisting, this class of 500 boys and girls from a poor part of town met in a rented skating rink.

Emma Brown first came to the meeting in 1882 after the Friends acquiesced to Walter's request to invite Esther Frame to speak. Frame, a convinced Friend touted by the *Plain Dealer* as a 'peerless evangelist'<sup>33</sup> and a second cousin of President Grant, had left the Methodists after a minister told her 'it is all nonsense to think a woman called to preach'. Frame filled the meeting house. More than 100 professed a religious conversion. Few joined the Friends, but three who did join were Emma, Florence and Emma's mother.

The Browns were another old Quaker family. One ancestor had been imprisoned in 1660 for refusing to take an oath. Emma's great uncle, Nicholas Brown, had been an ally of Elias Hicks.<sup>34</sup> Her father, Charles, who ran a small grocery, taught her to reject the deity of Christ and the atonement. Her mother, Margaret Haight, was from an Orthodox Quaker family. In 1879 Emma experienced an evangelical conversion during Dwight L. Moody's 'Crusade Against Sin' in Cleveland.<sup>35</sup> However—in spite of her religious roots—she showed no interest in Quakers until 1882 when Frame came to preach.

After Frame, Walter and Emma learned theology from Dougan Clark, who sojourned in Cleveland from the fall of 1882 to January 1884, when he left to head the theology department at Earlham. Clark authored five books, all of which—Hamm says, 'focused on sanctification' (i.e. holiness)<sup>36</sup> He was

33. *Reminiscences of Nathan T. and Esther G. Frame* (Cleveland: Britton, 1907), pp. 303–304.

34. Emma's grandfather, Ira, was a younger brother of Nicholas. Ira was disowned by Pickering (Canada) in 1828 for siding with Elias Hicks. See Minutes of Pickering Preparative Meeting, 11/9/1828. For Nicholas Brown and the division of New York Yearly Meeting in 1828 see Martha Paxson Grundy, 'The Quaker Background of Emma Brown Malone,' in David Johns (ed.), *Hope and a Future: The Malone College Story* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1993), pp. 19–47.

35. The crusade, featuring black and white ministers, was extensively covered in the *Plain Dealer*. Moody attacked atheism, deism, pantheism, blasphemers, 'fashionable society, both political parties, church fairs, liquor and shipping opium to China. On the night of Emma's conversion, he preached on 'The Precious Blood'. His words 'Any religion that is not based on the atonement... is not acceptable to God... I tell you here isn't a more precious doctrine [than the Atonement] in the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation' were perhaps decisive for Emma, who had been unsure what to think about this doctrine.

36. Thomas Hamm, 'The Quaker Tradition of Young Walter Malone', in David L. Johns (ed.), *Hope and a Future: The Malone College Story* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1993), p. 12.

acclaimed at Earlham for bringing to life 'all the poetry in the poets, all the philosophy of life in the historians, all the eloquence in the orators'.<sup>37</sup> Under Clark, Walter and Emma experienced what Walter called 'a baptism of love and power and pain, real birth pain that would bring souls into the kingdom'. He was overcome by 'Divine Love of melting tenderness, a love not known heretofore; a love for everyone and a longing for every minister and Christian to receive this fullness of the blessing of the Gospel'.<sup>38</sup>

After Clark, another sojourner, Caroline Talbot, a minister dressed in old-fashioned Quaker garb, taught Walter and Emma how to do rescue work.<sup>39</sup> The *British Friend* called Talbot 'one of the most remarkable figures in Quaker history'.<sup>40</sup> After Talbot, Emma became a traveling companion to Lida Romick, another minister who like Talbot gave special attention to the poor. The English Quaker Walter Robson called Romick 'almost...the last of the great ministers'.<sup>41</sup> John T. Dorland, a respected Canadian Friend who spent the 'best and most privileged years of my life' (1886–87) in Cleveland spoke of this ongoing rescue work as 'excursions into dark territories'.<sup>42</sup>

In 1886 Emma married Walter. For Walter, the 'love of melting tenderness' he experienced under Clark certainly embraced Emma. His tenderness toward her appears in a note wrote to her two months before their wedding: 'Oh how my heart longs to see thee this morning...the little press of thy loved hand last night...sent a thrill of love through me... It seems 'wine and oil' to my heart just to hold thy hand a moment'. Their love endured. In later years, clusters of students gathered by the door at the school to see them enter arm in arm. One called it 'the most beautiful sight I have ever seen'.

As a leader, Emma was equal to Walter. At the second National Conference of Friends in 1892, Emma—only 32 at the time—was appointed Clerk of the 1997 meeting. This later became Five-Year's Meeting, which created Friends United Meeting (FUM). In 1891 after John Henry Douglas, Benjamin

37. Richard Eugene Wood, 'Evangelical Quakers in the Mississippi Valley, 1854–1895,' (PhD dissertation; Duluth, MN: University of Minneosta, 1969), pp. 163–64.

38. *Evangelical Friend* (2 June, 1910), p. 1.

39. For a story of Talbot's rescue work see 'The Triumph of Faith: A True Incident in the Life of Caroline Talbot,' *Evangelical Friend*, 1.14 (1905), pp. 212–15. This saga, more than any other I know, reflects the simple faith and idealism of these rescue ministries.

40. *British Friend* (Third Month, 1894), p. 81. See especially 'The Triumph of Faith: A True Incident in the Life of Caroline Talbot,' *Evangelical Friend*, 1.14 (1905) pp. 212–15.

41. Edwin B. Bronner (ed.), *An English View of American Quakerism: The Journal of Walter Robson (1842–1929) Written During the Fall of 1877, While Traveling among American Friends* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970), p. 4.

42. William King Baker, *John T. Dorland* (London: Headley, 1898), pp. 51–61.

Trueblood and others invited Walter—but not Emma—to serve as president of a national Biblical Institute for Friends, to be established in Chicago's Park Home Hotel. Instead, they opened the Christian Workers Training School for Bible Study and Practical Methods of Work in 1892 in a rented house in Cleveland. Emma taught the Old Testament, Walter the New. Romick, who Emma had served as a traveling companion, taught rescue work. Four of the first five teachers were women.<sup>43</sup>

Eleven men from the first year became ministers. The *Oberlin* [College] *Review* called one of these, Willis Hotchkiss (who took Quakerism to Kenya) 'more sought after by colleges and universities than any other missionary in our land today'. In 1904, after Hotchkiss addressed 1,000 people at Oberlin, 80 students signed up for Mission Study, doubling enrollment from the previous year.<sup>44</sup> By 1923, while students from 252 colleges and universities had served with the American Board of Foreign Missions and the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, 1/6th of all these missionaries had come from Oberlin.<sup>45</sup>

### Friends of the Poor

In doing rescue work, Cleveland's Friends focused on a district with 400 saloons, 40 houses of prostitution, opium dens, and most of the 'gambling resorts and wholesale liquor stores', all within a half-mile radius of Cleveland's Public Square—Dorland's 'dark territories' or what the minister of the Old Stone Presbyterian Church called 'the Devil's Throne'.<sup>46</sup> Ironically, this was located at the west end of 'the most beautiful street in the world'. In the school's first year, the Malones provided 10,000 free meals to the urban poor.<sup>47</sup> Their mission was to 'save sinners', which required embracing sexual

43. For 25 years Emma served as co-president of the school. This was 75 years before a woman headed a major co-educational college or university. The first class at the Malones school produced at least 13 women ministers: more than twice the number in any mainline Protestant denomination. Two women from this class began a mission with a hospital and orphanage in India. By 1907 the school had trained at least 68 women ministers—which is more than any other school in the nation. For more on the role of women see John Oliver, 'Emma Brown Malone: A Mother of Feminism?', *Quaker History* 88.1 (1990), pp. 4–21.

44. *Oberlin Review*, XXXII (Thursday, 27 October, 1904), 4, pp. 60–61. The number Hotchkiss recruited equaled the number enrolled in mission study in 1903. This, plus students already enrolled, doubled enrollment in 1904.

45. Henry Churchill King, *A History of Honor. What Oberlin Has Meant and Now Means to American Life* (Oberlin: n.p., 1923), pp. 7–10.

46. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 30 January, 1893, p. 8; also 27 February, 1893, p. 3.

47. *Minutes of the Eighty-First Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, Held at Mt. Pleasant,*

purity as well as abstinence from theaters, dancing, alcohol, tobacco or any other addictive substance.

In its first eight years, workers from the school founded or served in at least five orphanages, 20 shelter homes and 29 rescue missions.<sup>48</sup> Cleveland's Director of Charity cited one of Emma's homes for unwed mothers as a model of 'practical Christianity'.<sup>49</sup> Saving individual unborn children, serving spiritual and physical needs of individual mothers—if not a 'reform activity'—is nevertheless an example of the agenda of these early Evangelical Friends.

Doing rescue work, the men dressed in black suits while Walter sported his customary black Prince Albert coat and white tie. Women workers wore Quaker garb: Walter asked Rufus Jones to secure Quaker bonnets for the work in Cleveland. In 1897 two graduates who worked in Brooklyn were described in the *British Friend* as 'dressed in ancient Quaker garb and wholly in black', looking like 'Salvation Army lasses' except for the 'cut of the bonnet'. After noting that they, like others at this school, do 'missionary work, street preaching or slum visiting', the reporter lamented that they 'spend their day in Bible study under their leader'. This, he said, 'must cramp their minds'.<sup>50</sup>

If some were ambivalent, concern for wayward sons could foster alliances. Walter told of 'a letter from a dear Philadelphia Quaker, one of the strongest and straightest men, who would not like to take very much part in our meeting...because we sing. "The dear man", he said, "wrote to us that his boy was coming [to Cleveland], and asked, "Won't you get your arms around him and get him into your meeting?"'.<sup>51</sup>

### Competing Visions

Finally, to compare the vision of the Malones with the agenda of the young Rufus Jones, a liberal Friend at the turn of the 20th century, and ask why the difference. Jones, an intellectual and a progressive, focused on the larger picture—the good of humanity or human kind. The Malones, with a Holiness belief in sexual and spiritual purity, focused on rescue work and soul-winning.

For American intellectuals, the good of humanity commonly included safeguarding American values, doing what is best for America. Jones warned in

*Ohio, 1893* (Columbus, Ohio: Nitschke, 1893), p. 31.

48. John Oliver, J. Walter Malone: *The American Friend* and an Evangelical Quaker's Social Agenda, *Quaker History*, 80.2 (1991), pp. 70-71, 80.

49. *Soul-Winner*, 2.27 (2 July, 1903), p. 203.

50. *British Friend*, 6 (1897), p. 33. The correspondent was John W. Graham.

51. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America*, pp. 331-33.

1894 that America's 'cities are being over-populated with material that cannot be assimilated to our free institutions', complained that people with 'foreign and unpronounceable names' fuel riots, and called for immigration laws to exclude undesirables, including 'physically or mentally incapacitated' persons.<sup>52</sup> In part Jones was influenced by the Social Darwinian component in 'modern thought', and perhaps by anti-Catholicism (the latter shared by the Malones, even though their focus on rescuing individuals left little room for social ideology, or made it irrelevant to their agenda.)

For progressives, who commonly believed with Darwin that a key to improving the species was the survival of the fittest, a similar logic fit African-Americans. Jones thought the Spanish-American War ill-advised, because '[i]f the natives throw off the yoke of Spain there is too good reason to fear they will be incompetent to conduct an efficient administration. They are negroes and mixed races, without general education and self control'.<sup>53</sup> They are 'of a hot and fiery disposition and entirely unsuited to govern themselves'.<sup>54</sup> Given their perceived limitations, he wrote in 1898, '...it is now clear that the education of the negro must be industrial'.<sup>55</sup>

Holiness Friends opposed 'modern thought', in part because of a dubious understanding of science, but also because of a prescient understanding of the dehumanizing character of secularism. African-Americans attended the Cleveland school by at least 1901. Haverford admitted its first black student in 1926 and Bryn Mawr in 1927. Swarthmore was not integrated until 1943 when the U.S. Navy brought blacks to campus. The co-educational character of Swarthmore was perhaps one reason why integration was slow to take place on the campus which, Mary Ellen Chijioke tells me, was popularly called the 'little Quaker match box'. The Malones also differed with Jones on limiting blacks to industrial education: in 1904 the *Soul-Winner* praised an article by W.E.B. DuBois entitled 'What Intellectual Education is Doing for the Negroes'.<sup>56</sup>

The Malones appear to have taken the stronger stance against violence, at least into the early 20th century.<sup>57</sup> Jones supported military force against

52. Rufus Jones, 'Influence upon Legislation,' *American Friend*, 2 (1894), p. 101.

53. Jones, 'War for the Liberation of Cuba,' *American Friend*, 5 (1898), p. 269.

54. Jones, 'The Finished Treaty,' *American Friend*, 5 (1898), p. 1152.

55. Jones, 'Our Duties to the Colored Race,' *American Friend*, 5 (1898), pp. 508-509.

56. *Soul-Winner*, 3 (1904), p. 522.

57. Some time ago I discovered a notice in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of a sermon by Walter Malone during the Spanish-American War on warriors in the Old Testament at the Friends Church in Cleveland, sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic. This may give us cause to wonder if his personal commitment to non-violence as deeply rooted as some essays in the *Soul-*

the Boxers in China.<sup>58</sup> The *Soul-Winner* urged Chinese Christians to refuse indemnities and 'take joyfully' the destruction of mission properties'.<sup>59</sup> It charged 'army and navy men' who claim to be led by God with 'delusion', and called them to '*Get Out. Get Out.*'<sup>60</sup> It called suicide 'self-murder',<sup>61</sup> capital punishment 'willful murder',<sup>62</sup> and abortion 'pre-natal infanticide'. It blamed the call to legalize abortion on elitists, the 'cultured and refined class' who fail to see the life of the humblest is sacred, and on selfish men who 'exploit women for their own gratification'.<sup>63</sup>

Why such different visions? On one side, Jones was schooled in 'modern thought'. On the other, the Malones had no formal education beyond high school. But more important, or so I believe, was a difference in focus. I know of no evidence to suggest the Malones differed with Jones on immigration laws. I think it more likely that they simply gave little thought to such things. It was irrelevant to their agenda. Walter and Emma were obsessed with the vision of bringing people into the Kingdom of God—with the assumption that, in God's eyes, the bodies and souls of those Walter called 'the poor and despised' were as important as those of millionaires on Euclid Avenue. They sought out 'sinners' and the poor because they assumed each life is precious as it is, in contrast to the 'modern' view that the value of a life can be judged by what it contributes to the progress of humanity.

Walter set forth his vision at the second National Conference of Friends of America in 1892 when he challenged Quakers 'to come down and take in the poor people and go out after the outcasts...with the expectation that we will be a poor, despised people'.<sup>64</sup> His urban strategy was 'to build up our city meeting at the bottom and go up'.<sup>65</sup> He was criticized by others who called Friends to focus on those 'at the top', the 'rich', 'educated', 'cultivated', those with 'large capital and large resources' and 'intellectual culture',<sup>66</sup> not 'the poor and igno-

*Winner* appear to suggest, and his early years in New Vienna might encourage us to believe. If he wavered, it may be in part due to a clash of commitments to non-violence and Protestant Christianity—as Friends in the Civil War era had to choose between non-violence and abolition.

58. Jones, 'The Chinese Problem,' *American Friend*, 8 (1902), p. 588.

59. *Soul-Winner*, 1 (1902), p. 32.

60. *Soul-Winner*, 2 (1903), pp. 2-3.

61. *Soul-Winner*, 3 (1904), p. 82.

62. *Soul-Winner*, 3 (1904), p. 273.

63. *Soul-Winner*, 1 (1902), pp. 209, 410-11; Vol. 2 (1903), pp. 2-3, 424, 566-67.

64. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America, Held in Indianapolis, Indiana, 1892.* (Richmond, IN: Nicholson Manufacturing Company, 1892), pp. 330-33.

65. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America*, p. 331-34.

66. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America*, pp. 327-28, 336-39.

rant and uneducated, and those who are willing to accept anything and everything'.<sup>67</sup> Walter replied 'I have seen it [focusing on the rich] tried. It is fatal...'.<sup>68</sup>

In short, the Malones embodied an apocalyptic vision. Their radical supernaturalism<sup>69</sup> and selective reading of history persuaded them that the fullness of Christianity was being restored by sixteenth-century Reformers, seventeenth-century Quakers, eighteenth-century Wesleyans, and nineteenth-century Holiness, to which they were heirs. With this worldview, to identify with a secular elite that has no sense of the preciousness of every immortal soul or holiness of all human life would be, to repeat Walter's word, 'fatal'. The greater the sin, the more compelling the call to 'throw out the lifeline'.

For Walter, this radical supernaturalism survived until the moment of death, an account of which was given by his grandson Byron Lindley (Lin) Osborne, Jr, who was 14 years old at the time. In 2001, at the age of 79, Osborne continues to serve as professor of world religions at Brevard Community College in Florida.

It was an old-fashioned deathbed scene. His family had been called, and we were all around his bed just before he died. He had been in a coma when suddenly his face lit up as it had on so many occasions when I had seen him read his Bible and pray.

My father bent over him and using the reverent language of the Quakers asked him, 'Father, what does thee see?' After he had been roused and brought back to waking consciousness, he tried with great difficulty to speak. He was trying to tell us that he had had a vision.

This is my recollection of his words: 'I have seen a great multitude', he said, 'gathered around a throne'. And after struggling so hard to speak, he lapsed back into his coma. But my father pressed him again to share with us one more time. And rallying, he came back and with great difficulty spoke his last words. He recalled what he had just said: 'I have seen a great multitude gathered around a throne'. Then, as if gazing at them, he added: 'And they are clothed in white!' And finally, as if joining them, he whispered: 'and I know a great many of them!' And he was gone.<sup>70</sup>

His money was also gone, lost in the Great Depression, or given away to education, mission work, and the poor. In Walter's last days, his son-in-law, Byron Osborne, Sr., was making the payments on their modest home.

67. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America*, p. 337.

68. *Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America*, pp. 331-33.

69. Walter had a terrifying vision of Satan, a dragon he overcame by repeating the name 'Jesus'. Both Malones reported seeing demons while conducting exorcisms. See *J. Walter Malone*, pp. 55-57.

70. *J. Walter Malone*, pp. 97-98.

In the last analysis, the Malones were not mere obstructionists who resisted modern thought. If their vision was incomplete, which it was, it is worthy of being understood and evaluated by what it did to encourage holy living, not simply by what it did not do to champion political, economic or social reform.

#### AUTHOR DETAILS

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