

FIGURE 10

Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes: *Rollin Heber Neale*. Daguerreotype, whole plate, ca.1850.

George Eastman Museum, gift of Alden Scott Boyer, 1974.0193.0141

Art and Soul: Southworth & Hawes, Reconsidered in the (Heavenly) Light of New Documentary Evidence

By Jeanne Schinto

While researching in the Archives and Special Collections of Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, in a subject unrelated to photography — missionaries — I found what I believe to be a small but illuminating piece of new information about the personal life of Albert Sands Southworth (1811–1894). In that collection I noticed the famous name in a list of students in the handwritten logbook of a campus club called the Missionary Fraternity (Figure 1).¹ During the religious revivals of the early to mid 1830s, while Southworth was studying at Phillips Academy, “pious”² young men who were the club’s members professed their intention of bringing the gospel to the millions in foreign lands who were living “in heathen darkness.”³

Phillips Academy shared a campus with the Andover Theological Seminary, a “ministerial factory,”⁴ in the words of Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose husband, Calvin Ellis Stowe, graduated from the Seminary with the class of 1828 and taught there from 1852 to 1864 (Figure 2).⁵ Within three years of its founding in 1807 as the first institution in the United States dedicated solely to the training of clergy, the Seminary had become a *missionary* factory, too. For decades, Seminary-trained proselytizers were supported by a formidable organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. On Phillips Academy’s campus today there is the so-called Missionary Boulder. Dedicated in 1910 to commemorate the Board’s first century, it is a granite rock weighing several tons imbedded with a bronze tablet memorializing the seven seminarians whose promptings led to the organization’s formation. Until then, the United States had no formal body for sending missionaries abroad.

Southworth obviously didn’t follow through on his youthful ambition. Many are called ... just

as many, himself included, were called to the gold fields of California. Nonetheless, the discovery in the logbook prompted me to learn what I could about his experiences while a member of that club. I also looked into the life of Joseph Pennell (1811–1868)⁶, Southworth’s first business partner, who for two years was his Phillips Academy roommate and fellow member of the Missionary Fraternity (Figure 3). I dug a little into the spiritual life of Josiah Johnson Hawes (1808–1901), too, since he has been described as having a “deeply religious temperament.”⁷

Finally, that chance discovery of Southworth’s name in the logbook prompted me to reconsider certain Southworth & Hawes works themselves: images of brides wearing crucifixes, for example; an image of a crucifix itself; even cloud studies, which suddenly seemed more nuanced: more heavenly. The bare-chested portrait of Southworth (Figure 4), in which the subject is presented in the distinctly ethereal rays that shone down from the celebrated skylight, his eyes looking meditatively into the middle distance, likewise, begged for a second — or twenty-second — look. As Southworth himself said: “You want to make the picture so that every time that you take it up you will see new beauties in it.”⁸

I have concluded that the prevalent religious aspects of Southworth & Hawes’s work have to do not only with the life histories of the two men but also the influences of the minister-ridden⁹ time and place in which they lived.

Those influences could neither be escaped nor ignored. Revivals were a byproduct of America’s War for Independence after which, in liberty’s name, laws protecting religious institutions were abolished, giving people freedom to go to the church of their choice, or not at all. That left traditional, state-supported, Congregationalist ministers in a vulnerable

Names.	Residence
Timothy E. Peanney	Westminster VT
Daniel Gordon Estes	Malden Mass.
John Lewis	Walpole Mass.
Nathan W. Loomis	Newburyport (gone out) dismissed
William Lee	Manchester Mass
Albert S. Southworth	West Fairlee Vt
Horace Eaton	Sutton N.H.
Nyer Jones Phipps	Portsmouth, N.H.
Sherlock Bristol	Dorchester (gone out) dismissed
William B. Corbin	Wrentham N.Y.
Isaiah Mc Mahon	Philadelphia Pa
Almon D. Corbin	Haverhill N.Y.
James Holmes	Londonderry N.H.
Richard Smith	Dunsmuir Va.
A.B.C.F.	
Rufus W. Clark	Newburyport - Mass
George Pierce	Newburyport - Mass
Samuel T. Rogers	Woolboroough N.H.
Hugh S. Kennedy	Philadelphia, Pa.
John H. Bartlett	Portsmouth N.H.
John Webster	Hingham N.H.
Gerald F. Dale	Philadelphia Pa.
Mrs Barrows Jr.	Templeton Mass.
James D. Hill	Wardham N.H.
Robert Atkinson	Wardham N.H. Ireland
Ephraim Smith	Wayland Mass.
Simeon C. Bristol	Perinton N.Y.
Samuel Badger	Hingham N.H.

FIGURE 1

Page from the Records of the Missionary Fraternity, showing the name "Albert S. Southworth" and residence "West Fairlee Vt.," sixth from the top.

Phillips Academy, Archives & Special Collections, Andover, Massachusetts



FIGURE 2

Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Pendleton Lithography, 1826–1835. Lithograph on paper, 30 x 45 cm. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

position. For generations, their gloomy Calvinist theology, whose seed Puritans carried across the Atlantic, maintained that everyone was born morally corrupt — or “depraved,” as believers liked to express it — and “predestined” to heaven or hell. John Updike, whose fiction chronicled the mores of 20th-century America, once characterized the subject matter of Nathaniel Hawthorne as “the moral tyranny of the little Puritan theocracies of New England.”¹⁰ In competition with the Puritans now, however, were more hopeful theologies and denominations that emphasized good deeds and free will. As a result, old-time clergy were finding their pews looking emptier on the Sabbath and themselves bereft. Unitarian ministers in particular were gaining the parishioners the Congregationalists were losing. To counteract them,

especially those being trained at Harvard, Andover Theological Seminary was founded, and its orthodoxy permeated Phillips Academy.

The appeal of Unitarianism notwithstanding, the faithful found it difficult to decide what to do. Predestination did make a kind of sense. If God was all knowing, of course he knew who would and wouldn’t be saved. Religious anxiety was rife. In 1842 Boston’s Mount Vernon Church was founded in reaction to the rise of Unitarianism. Lyman Beecher spoke when its cornerstone was laid. Both Hawes and his wife, Nancy Niles Southworth Hawes (1820–1895), Southworth’s sister, joined the church in 1855, followed by the Hawes’s three children.¹¹ But according to a pew book in the collection of the Wayland Historical Society in Wayland, Massachusetts, where Hawes grew

CATALOGUE. [1834.]			CATALOGUE. 9		
Names.	Residence.	Rooms.	Names.	Residence.	Rooms.
Caleb B. Metcalf	Lowell	3d A. H. No. 4. †	Richard Smith	Danvers	2nd A. H. No. 4. <i>labor</i>
Jonathan Morse	"	Mrs. E. Brown's.	James Smyth, Jr.	Philadelphia, Pa.	4th A. H. No. 3. †
Thomas G. Murphy	Newcastle Co. Del.	5th A. H. No. 1.	Albert S. Southworth	West Fairlee, Vt.	5th A. H. No. 3. †
Samuel Noyes	Chester, N. H.	Printing House.	Alden Southworth	"	P. H. No. 28. †
Benjamin H. Ordway	Salem	1st A. H. No. 1.	Charles J. Sparks	New York city	2nd A. H. No. 3.
Rodolpho Parker	Chelmsford	Esq. Farrar's Off.	Benjamin A. Spaulding	Billerica	4th A. H. No. 1. †
Joseph Pennell	Brunswick, Me.	5th A. H. No. 3. †	Leonard Spaulding	Lincoln	Mrs. E. Chandler's.
John B. Perkins	Leominster	Mrs. E. Chandler's.	Peter L. B. Stickney	Newbury	4th A. H. No. 5.
Frederic T. Perkins	Sanbornton, N. H.	3d A. H. No. 6. †	William Stutson	Sandwich	P. H. No. 12. <i>1737</i>
John N. Pike	Newburyport	Principal's.	David Thayer	Braintree	1st A. H. No. 4.
Josiah W. Pillsbury	Henniker, N. H.	Mr. M. Pettingell's.	Alexander W. Thayer	Natick	3d A. H. No. 2. †
Gilbert Pillsbury	"	"	William R. Thomas	West Brookfield	Mrs. Porter's.
Edward Phelps	Lancaster	3d A. H. No. 2.	George S. Towle	Meredith, N. H.	5th A. H. No. 4.
Charles H. Porter	Rye, N. H.	1st A. H. No. 5. †	Luther Townsend	Fitzwilliam, N. H.	1st A. H. No. 6.
William H. Porter	"	"	Charles B. Varnum	Dracut	Mrs. L. Brown's.
Henry Pollard	Harvard	1st A. H. No. 2.	Charles Warren	Lunenburg	Rev. Dr. Woods'. †
Thomas W. Pratt	Medford	Rev. A. Green's.	Charles H. Webb	Weymouth	1st A. H. No. 1.
Henry M. Proctor	Boston	Principal's.	John Webster	Kingston, N. H.	4th A. H. No. 4. †
Moses W. Putnam	Danvers	Miss M. Upton's.	Levi Wilder	Lancaster	Miss E. Blanchard's. †
Samuel O. Putnam	Portsmouth, N. H.	3d A. H. No. 1.	William J. White	Boylston	Capt. J. Holt's.
John N. Putnam	Andover	Mrs. E. Brown's.	Illinois Winter	West Boylston	Dea. Eaton's.
Joseph A. Ranney	Westminster, Vt.	1st A. H. No. 3.	Joseph Wetherbee	Ashburnham	Mrs. E. Chandler's. †
Timothy E. Ranney	"	"	William S. Withington	Newbury	Mrs. G. Abbott's. <i>1844</i>
Frederick Ray	Andover	Mr. A. H. Allen's. †	Bartholomew Wood	Newburyport	P. H. No. 7.
Nathan A. Reed	Littleton	Rev. Mr. Huckins'.	Ichabod H. Wood	Holliston	Mansion Hotel.
Jared Reid <i>jr. Yale</i>	Belchertown	Rev. Dr. Edwards'. <i>1844</i>			
Samuel T. Rogers	Moultonboro' N. H.	2nd A. H. No. 6.			
Peter P. Roots	Henrietta, N. Y.	4th A. H. No. 6.			
Richard S. Rust	Ipswich	Mrs. S. Griffin's.			
David C. Scobey	Lowell	5th A. H. No. 4. †			
Charles W. Scudder	Boston	Capt. T. West's.			
Cortland W. Shattuck	Groton	1st A. H. No. 4.			
Thomas H. Skinner	Andover	Principal's. †			

FIGURE 3
 Page from *The Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Phillips Academy* (1834), showing that Southworth and Pennell shared Room No. 3 on the 5th Floor of Academic Hall, later known as Latin Commons. Note: Alden Southworth (1809–1889) of West Fairlee, Vermont, whose name appears just below Albert's, was a first cousin who became pastor of a Congregationalist church in Thetford, Vermont. John M. Comstock, *Congregational Churches of Vermont and Their Ministry 1762–1914* (St. Johnsbury: The Caledonian Co., 1915).

up when the town was known as East Sudbury, some of Hawes's relatives, as well as Hawes himself, had earlier belonged to a Unitarian church.

In 1780 there had been "one Orthodox (Puritan) church" in East Sudbury.¹² By 1814, construction had begun on the First Parish Unitarian Church, ministered by the Rev. John Burt Wight. Records at the

Wayland Historical Society show that Hawes's maternal grandfather, Ebenezer Johnson (1742–1823), along with another Johnson, purchased a pew in the completed church on January 4, 1815 for \$233.¹³ The records also show that a pew was sold by Edward Hawes of nearby Framingham to Joseph Hawes of Providence, Rhode Island, for \$150 on April 3, 1815.¹⁴



FIGURE 4

Josiah Johnson Hawes: *Albert Sands Southworth*. Daguerreotype, half plate, ca. 1848.

George Eastman Museum, gift of Alden Scott Boyer, 1974.0193.1129

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In 1821, Hawes was baptized there as a thirteen-year-old.¹⁵

Not all ecclesiastical matters were settled there for long. In 1828, some parishioners disagreed with the Rev. Wight's teachings and removed themselves to found the anti-Unitarian Evangelical Society of East Sudbury (later known as the Evangelical Trinitarian Church).¹⁶ William Johnson (1775–1828), the leading organizer of that exodus and one of the new church's first deacons,¹⁷ was Hawes's maternal uncle.¹⁸ The new church had its first gathering at Johnson's house.¹⁹ Which of Hawes's relatives supported which church and which one Hawes himself sided with might be revealed by more research. Suffice it to say that, at twenty years old and still based in East Sudbury, Hawes would have been well aware of the sun-dering and subjected to any family discord it caused. The liberal and conservative theologies of the period were as polarizing as today's politics.

There are ministers in Southworth's family tree, too (Figure 5). Among them were Nathaniel Niles (1741–1828), who founded the West Fairlee Center Congregational Church in 1809 in Southworth's hometown; and a brother, the Rev. Benjamin Niles Southworth (1818–1842), who was admitted to Dartmouth College ("but never entered"), and was "li-censed to preach," but instead became a teacher.²⁰

By the time Southworth got to Andover in 1833, religious turmoil had only increased. Boston, twenty-five miles south of the campus, was particularly fraught. In that city the Congregationalist Park Street Church had been established in 1804 on what was quickly dubbed "Brimstone Corner." In 1827, Nathaniel Willis (1780–1870), a vocal foe of Unitarianism, had established there what he brashly claimed to be the first religious newspaper in the world, the *Boston Recorder*.²¹ A few years earlier Willis had sent his fifteen-year-old son, Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867), to Phillips Academy. Of the choice, the younger Willis's biographer, Henry A. Beers, said: "Of the two great fitting-schools . . . at Andover and at Exeter, [Andover] remained an insoluble lump of Calvinism, a wedge of defiant Orthodoxy."²² But that's precisely why the father had wanted his son to go there.

In letters home Nathaniel Parker Willis described the revival atmosphere. On January 12, 1823, he wrote that after a prayer meeting for unconverted "brethren," he went into "Cutler's room, and Allen

and I stayed there till almost eleven o'clock," where with Andover Theological Seminary students, they prayed and sang "till it seemed a little heaven on earth." He wrote again to his father three days later, telling him he had gone to another meeting in Allen's room, where "Sobbing and weeping was heard all round."²³



FIGURE 5

Southworth Family Group. Boston, carte de visite, 1863. From right: Albert Sands Southworth, his sister, Nancy Niles Southworth, and two of his three younger brothers, Samuel Niles Southworth (1813/1814–1876) and Asa Southworth (1815–1889). Asa helped out at Southworth & Hawes for a time; later in life, he is said to have joined a police force.

Boston Athenaeum

Skeptical of the emotional display's authenticity, Beers wrote: "Anyone who has witnessed one of those

spiritual epidemics, called ‘revivals,’ in some school or college needs no description of the kind of pressure brought to bear.” They might be set in motion “by the death of a fellow student, by a general sickness, or the depression of gloomy weather in winter term.” As for the movement at Andover, he declared it “was taken in hand by the ‘Seminarians,’ with “the unregenerate” being “visited in their rooms by classmates who are already church members, and are prayed with and urged to attend the meetings and submit themselves to the outpourings of the Spirit.”²⁴ In those years, Phillips Academy students coexisted with the “Theologues” of the Seminary.²⁵ So their influence is indisputable. “Under this kind of stimulus,” Beers wrote, “there follows a great awakening.... Momentous choices are made in an instant and under the stress of contagious emotions.”²⁶

Students lived with faculty or in boarding houses in Nathaniel Parker Willis’s time at Phillips Academy. They had done so since the founding of the school in 1778. Then, in 1833, dormitories for scholarship students were completed, and that is where Southworth and Pennell roomed together. Called collectively Academic Hall, then later Latin Commons, the structures had been razed by 1988, but descriptions and photographs survive showing that they comprised a string of six, identical, three-story, clapboard buildings (Figure 6). “The available plumbing consisted of one pump outside each row of tenements and a brick privy,” according to a history of the campus by Robert A. Domingue. “The rooms were heated by stoves with each student responsible for providing his own fuel” — meaning they chopped their own wood. “The students also had to provide their own furniture and



FIGURE 6

Latin Commons, late 19th century, albumen print, 4.5" x 6.5".

Phillips Academy, Archives & Special Collections, Andover, Massachusetts

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after a few years of tenant-to-tenant transactions, the rooms resembled junk shops.²⁷ Adult supervision was nonexistent, and as a result, the residents “developed into a hardy, self-sufficient breed who had to learn how to run their own lives or perish. It was certainly no place for pampered weaklings.”²⁸

Fads and trends become contagious in dorms of any description, when, as Beers noted, “thoughtless but easily excited young consciences” are in play.²⁹ Latin Commons would have provided ideal conditions for waves of religious conversions. Yet, Phillips Academy students were not uniformly teenaged. On November 22, 1833, when Southworth joined the Missionary Fraternity within six weeks of its founding, he was already twenty-two. Pennell was about the same age when he joined a month later.³⁰ Article 2 of the Missionary Fraternity’s Constitution states the club’s purpose: “The object of this Society shall be to secure the personal labors of its members in the Foreign Mission Field, and to aid them for that important work.”³¹ As grown men, they must have signed that contract with serious intent.

George W. Hubbard, age twenty-five when he cofounded the club, did become a foreign missionary, assigned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Bombay, where he worked as a printer and school superintendent.³² Another club cofounder, Timothy E. Ranney, who went to Middlebury College after Phillips Academy, then to Andover Theological Seminary, became a “missionary among Indians,” according to a notation beside his name in the logbook.³³ Ranney was sent to the Pawnees in present-day Nebraska in 1844. When that mission collapsed two years later, due to hostilities between the Pawnees and the Sioux, he was sent to Oklahoma Territory to minister to the Cherokees.³⁴

Missionary Fraternity members undoubtedly were aware that, except for those assigned to Hawaii, 19th-century missionaries rarely did any better in the field than the 17th-century’s Bible translator, John Eliot, whose first attempt to preach in Algonquin, in part of present-day Boston, was by his own account a failure. They “gave no heed unto it, but were weary and despised what I said,” the Rev. Eliot wrote in 1647.³⁵ Many gave up. Very often, too, either they or their family members succumbed to disease in unaccustomed, unforgiving climates, and were forced to come home.

Former missionaries sometimes spoke at Missionary Fraternity meetings after the praying and singing portion of the evening. The guest speaker on December 31, 1833, when Pennell became a member, was Horatio Bardwell (1788–1866), whose topic was “the duty of being a missionary.”³⁶ An Andover Theological Seminary graduate, Bardwell had been sent in 1815 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Bombay with his wife, the former Rachel Furbush of Andover.³⁷ They returned to the U.S. in 1821 due to Rachel’s poor health. Bardwell’s own “inflammation of the liver” is also mentioned in the organization’s records. In 1826, after the death of Gordon Hall, one of those whose names was inscribed on the Missionary Boulder, Bardwell was urged to return to Bombay. Various medical issues — “spasmodic cholera,” unspecified “fevers,” “consumption,” “bowel complaints” — had further thinned the ranks, but he declined.³⁸ Instead he compiled Hall’s memoir and worked as a “traveling agent” (i.e., a fundraiser) for the Board while based in Andover.³⁹

Henry Lyman and Samuel Munson, who graduated with Andover Theological Seminary’s class of 1834, met violent ends as missionaries. The two were killed by cannibals in Sumatra not long after their arrival. On February 1, 1835, in the campus chapel, the Rev. Leonard Woods, an Andover Theological Seminary faculty member, delivered their eulogy. “By this event, you are carried back to primitive times, when it was nothing uncommon for missionaries to suffer martyrdom,” he told the assembled crowd. To future missionaries, he advised: “Regard sacrifices and sufferings as constituting a substantial part, and not an unwelcome part, of [your] life.... Never think of enlisting in this holy warfare without a cordial readiness to endure affliction.” But the deaths should not discourage “the devoted friends of the missionary cause.”⁴⁰ Indeed, missionaries should go forward and seek out the most dangerous “heathen.” In fact, they should begin with them.

Seminarian Horace Southgate Jr. spoke to the Missionary Fraternity within a year of those deaths. Like the Rev. Woods’s eulogy, the talk was published, so we have the exact words that Southworth and Pennell heard or read or both. He stressed that for missionaries the entire world’s peoples were to be saved, no exceptions, and he enumerated them: “The Godless Hottentot — the superstitious Hindoo — the im-

age-worshipping Chinese — the savage cannibal of New-Zealand...” To those who doubted they weren’t pious enough to deal with the scope of the goal, not to mention its deadline, the millennium, Southgate had the answer: “Then you have not piety [enough] to be a Christian.”⁴¹

Did reports of disease and death deter would-be missionaries, and, in particular, Southworth? Or maybe it wasn’t fear of morbidity that steered him away from a missionary career. Maybe Southworth, like Nathaniel Parker Willis, was only temporarily zealous. When the younger Willis finished at Phillips Academy, his father sent him to Yale. Of the Harvard alternative, Beers wrote, the elder Willis “would almost as soon have sent his boy into the jaws of hell as into such a hot-bed of Unitarianism as the Cambridge college.” Nathaniel Parker Willis’s spirituality got diminished, then destroyed in New Haven anyway. In Beers’s words: “The religious impressions which had been stamped upon Willis’s mind by the Andover revival were gradually obliterated by the preoccupations of undergraduate life.”⁴²

Or it could have been that Southworth never was sufficiently committed after all. Yet, on August 8, 1834, “A.S. Southworth” was voted in as Librarian of the Missionary Fraternity, a leadership position, so he was more than a rank-and-file member.⁴³ His duties were “carefully preserv[ing] all books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., which may become the property of the Society.”⁴⁴ That doesn’t seem taxing, but on January 22, 1834, the club had voted to burn the Universalist Library they had been given, the Universalists being nearly as abhorrent to Congregationalists as Unitarians. The burning took place after the meeting ended. At the next meeting, they voted that “the President, Librarian, and Principal of the Academy be a standing committee to examine books presented to the Society and decide on the propriety of their admission.”⁴⁵

Phillips Academy’s “rigidly classical curriculum” was designed for three years, although a student with limited funds could secure permission to complete it in two.⁴⁶ That way, he saved money on room and board and joined the work force more quickly. Students were designated “Juniors” and “Seniors,” but a diploma was awarded whenever one passed all the exams and paid all the bills.⁴⁷ It is not known if Southworth ever got his diploma, but according to

The Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Phillips Academy, he spent five years at the school, finally leaving in 1837 at age twenty-six.⁴⁸

Records for students of that era are otherwise sparse. But in Joseph Pennell’s case I found what I believe to be a new fact about him. In longhand on his typewritten student-record sheet is the abbreviation “Un.T.Sem.” and “1842” in brackets. It is well documented by photo historians that Pennell went to New York following his graduation from Bowdoin College in his hometown of Brunswick, Maine; and that he became a chemist after engaging in the daguerreotypy business with Southworth, first in Cabotville (now Chicopee), Massachusetts, and then in Boston, before Hawes replaced him.⁴⁹ Nowhere, however, have I read about a university degree beyond his B.A. In his often reprinted 1870 lecture to the National Photographic Association, Southworth said Pennell “had gone to New York for the purpose of prosecuting a professional course of study,” without elaborating.⁵⁰ However, archivists at the Union Theological Seminary in New York — the presumed “Un.T.Sem” of his Phillips Academy record — confirm that there was an 1842 graduate by his name and with his birth and death dates.⁵¹

So Pennell was studying to be a minister, if not a missionary, when he began “assisting Professor [S. F. B.] Morse in the Professor’s own building on Nassau Street.”⁵² The new detail doesn’t tell us why he departed from that path, but it does explain why, after Pennell and Southworth established their partnership in Cabotville, it was an “unequal” one. From March 1, 1841, through November, Pennell’s debits were \$248.28 and his credits were \$98.77, while Southworth’s debts were \$2115 and his credits were \$2336.23.⁵³ But until now the discrepancy has not taken into account that Pennell must have been periodically away at Union Theological Seminary finishing his three-year divinity degree.

Like Southworth and Pennell, Finley Morse (as S. F. B. was known) went to Phillips Academy, arriving at age eight in 1799, at which time his father, Jedidiah Morse, delivered the orientation address.⁵⁴ (A typewritten narrative in Morse Family vertical files at the school says Finley was shortly homesick and returned home, reentering the school in 1802.) Pastor of a Congregationalist church in Charlestown (now part of Boston), the senior Morse was a pioneering

religious journalist, who helped found *The Panoplist*. The anti-Unitarian newspaper is acknowledged by scholars as “one of the most important conservative religious periodicals” of its day.⁵⁵ The whole Morse family was committed both to the cause of orthodoxy and to the educational institutions in Andover. After Finley went on to Yale in 1805, his younger brothers, Sidney and Richard, matriculated at Phillips Academy, then Yale, then Andover Theological Seminary.

In 1829, Sidney and Richard founded the *New-York Observer*, which had the same theological leanings as *The Panoplist*. When Finley wrote to his brothers from Paris about Daguerre’s invention, that letter was published in their *Observer*. As a result, on April 20, 1839, a religious newspaper, not a secular one, was the first to announce the discovery of daguerreotypy to Americans. Pennell, being in New York at Union Theological Seminary by then, may well have read it. Perhaps Pennell’s Phillips Academy connection, along with his piety, as demonstrated by his enrollment at Union Theological Seminary, secured his part-time job (and Southworth’s own, subsequent meeting) with Finley. It is clear that at many serendipitous points along the way to the eventual founding of Southworth & Hawes, the history of religion and the history of photography converged.

Missionaries were still going abroad in great numbers as well as into the American interior in 1839–1840, by which time the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had become a giant bureaucracy — “the country’s first multinational corporation,” by virtue of its having tasked itself “with creating, staffing, and supervising a transoceanic structure.”⁵⁶ Funds were coming in, as usual, from large bequests and in tiny amounts saved in children’s “mite” boxes. But the notion of converting the whole wide world in time for the millennium wasn’t being much mentioned anymore.

Phillips Academy’s Missionary Fraternity had undergone change, too. In 1839, it became known as the Society of Inquiry. The new name still designated it as a religious club, but one that would debate general topics as well as moral ones. From that point, too, its membership was opened to “any pious member of the Academy,” not just those who wanted to become foreign missionaries.⁵⁷ The name was generic. Andover Theological Seminary had its own Society of Inquiry; in the 1830s Henry Ward Beecher belonged to

one at Amherst, the college having been founded in 1821 as yet another “bulwark against the Unitarianism menace.”⁵⁸ At Phillips Academy, the new name heralded still bigger changes. While on February 24, 1834, members had discussed the “moral desolation” of the peoples of the earth, just half a dozen years later, on March 2, 1840, they debated whether it was “practicable for young men in the early part of their education to decide to become Foreign Missionaries.”⁵⁹ The vote was in the affirmative, but that they debated the question at all meant some were growing doubtful.

Meanwhile, about six weeks later, on April 18, 1840, in the *Springfield Republican*, published five miles south of Cabotville, in Springfield, Massachusetts, a firm calling itself Pennell & Southworth advertised its daguerreotypy studio with these words: “Those who wish for perfect views of their Buildings, or any specimens of this wonderful art, please apply immediately.” In the same issue it was reported that “Messrs. Pennell and Southworth” had conducted a daguerreotypy exhibition in the Springfield Mechanics’ Hall, showing images of local places as well as New York’s City Hall.

Why they chose Cabotville for establishing their business had to do with their sponsorship, i.e., “the sympathy and substantial assistance of the Messrs. Ames, Chase, Bemis, and other manufacturers and other mechanics and business men.”⁶⁰ James T. Ames, John Chase, and Robert Eddy Bemis are the full names of these owners of mills and waterworks in Cabotville. Despite the Panic of 1837, which precipitated one of the worst financial busts in 19th-century history, Cabotville’s economy survived the bank failures and factory closings brought on by the reckless speculation. But perhaps the region proved too confining for Southworth’s “powerful ambition to achieve wealth and fame.”⁶¹ By 1841, the twosome had moved to Boston; and by 1843, Pennell was gone and Hawes had become Southworth’s new partner.

Despite having married in 1842, Southworth joined the California Gold Rush that began when gold was discovered there in 1848. The wife he left behind was a fellow Vermonter, Louise Roxana Dwight (1818–1890). Was the sojourn more proof of his drive? Or was it mere wanderlust left over from his dreams of foreign missionary work? Maybe some of both. In any case, when he signed on with the Bunker Hill Mining and Trading Association, he joined a

group that included an Andover town resident, Abraham Jones Gould. A daguerreotypist by trade, he was the son of a printer of the same name who had a long and profitable association with both Andover Theological Seminary and Phillips Academy, producing literally millions of pages of sermons, tracts, theological treatises, and dictionaries in the languages that missionaries were trying to master.⁶²

Also in the crush of men trying to strike it rich was Daniel Bates Woods (1809–1892), son of the Andover Theological Seminary faculty member who had delivered the sermon about the cannibalized missionaries. The younger Woods had entered Phillips Academy at age nine. He stayed six years, after which he attended Amherst, Union College, then Andover Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1837.⁶³ So he and Southworth were in Andover simultaneously. Whether their paths crossed either there or in California is unknown. To Woods's surprise, he did run into an Andover acquaintance out West: "a Mr. C., a French gentleman, and who had formerly had the charge of the French class in my seminary." Woods and the unnamed Andover Theological Seminary professor, along with a Philadelphia dentist, prospected together for three weeks. (They each made \$2.)⁶⁴ If, in addition to gold, Southworth had been hoping to find in California an atmosphere conducive to religiosity, he would have been disappointed. In *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggers*, the book Woods published on his return home, he issued a warning. As he saw it, the problem for prospectors wasn't so much about the uncertainty of striking it rich as it was about the certainty of facing the place's moral perils: "The path of vices in California lies not, as elsewhere, through a long course. It lies rather on an inclined plane, and speedily runs down into despair and ruin."⁶⁵

Due to Southworth's absence from sometime shortly after March 4, 1849, when he signed an agreement with Hawes about profit-sharing, to January 1851, when he returned to Boston, it is assumed Hawes alone was responsible for images that can be dated. These include a group portrait of former missionary Gerritt Parmele Judd (1803–1873) and two Hawaiian princes, Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuaiwa, grandsons of King Kamehameha I, who reigned from 1782 to 1795. The sitting occurred during the threesome's year-long tour of the United States

and Europe, beginning shortly after August 1849. "I am so wicked that it seems impossible that I can ever be of use in the work of the Lord," Judd had written in his journal on November 21, 1827, en route to Hawaii as a young missionary who had trained as a physician.⁶⁶ He prophesied correctly. He left mission work in 1842 and became an advisor to the Hawaiian Royal Family; he later held various high government offices. Later still he bought acreage that became a sugarcane plantation. "The missionaries went to do good, and did very well," as the saying goes — and it does have its measure of truth in Judd's case.

Given their backgrounds and the religious tenor of their times, both Southworth and Hawes must have wanted to do good as well as be good. In 1903, an anonymous author wrote in *Photo Era*, a magazine for amateur photographers: "We have long believed and still hold the opinion that next to religion, Picture-making is one of the most powerful factors to help make people good." Learning to use a camera "cultivated a love for nature and for the beautiful."⁶⁷ But at the start, photography, "a mere *mechanical* process," was hardly considered a moral endeavor.⁶⁸

Southworth understood that something beyond technical mastery — and science — was required of a true artist. "The artist is conscious of something besides the mere physical," he told his audience in 1870. That essential ingredient was "the life, the feeling, the mind, the soul of the subject itself."⁶⁹ This idea, however, wasn't widely accepted. Some theologians of the period insisted that intellectual reasoning and spirituality were antagonistic. So did some scientists, including John William Draper (1811–1882), a colleague of Finley Morse. The philosopher-photographer published *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science* in 1874, in which he insisted that the two disciplines were antithetical.⁷⁰

Edwards Amasa Park (1808–1900) believed in the separation utterly. An 1831 Andover Theological Seminary graduate, he became the Seminary's professor of sacred rhetoric in 1836, so Southworth's time at Phillips Academy coincided with his. When Park sat for his portrait in the Southworth & Hawes studio in the early 1850s, he was at the height of his reputation and influence as a preacher. Emily Dickinson wrote of the sermon he delivered at Amherst's First Congregational Church on November 20, 1853: "I never heard anything like it, and don't expect to again, til we stand

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at the great white throne.... And when it was all over, ...people stared at each other, and looked as wan and wild, as if they had seen a spirit."⁷¹ His 1850 sermon, published as *The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings*, argued unapologetically for the split. He never gave up on orthodoxy, either, long after its time had passed.⁷²

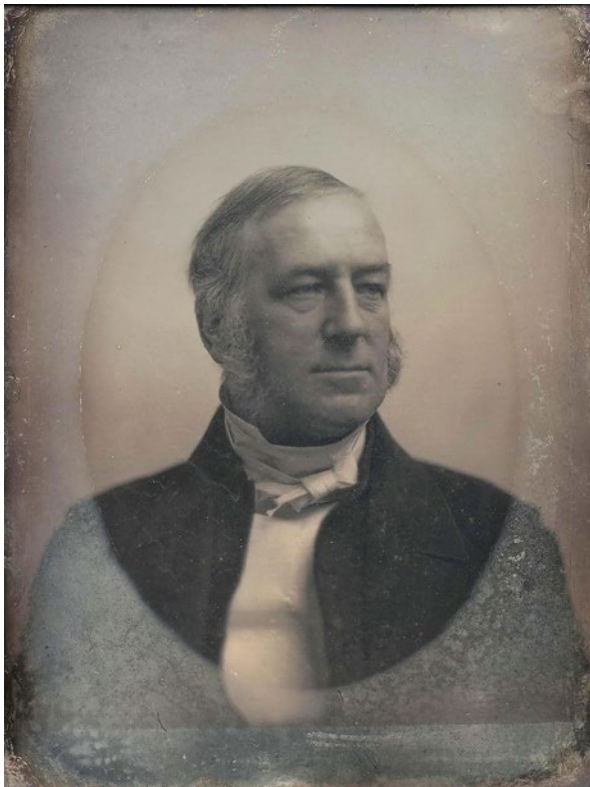


FIGURE 7

Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes: Dr. Edward Norris Kirk, First Pastor of Mount Vernon Congregational Church. Daguerreotype, whole plate, ca. 1850.

MFA Boston, Gift of Edward Southworth Hawes in memory of his father Josiah Johnson Hawes (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Neither did Mount Vernon Church's founding minister, Edward Norris Kirk (1802–1874), who sat for his portrait in the period 1850–1855 (Figure 7). In an 1844 sermon, he avowed his church's "full belief in the moral degeneracy of the human race."⁷³ Decades later, Hawes's elder daughter, Alice Mary Hawes (1850–1938), recalled in a talk to young Mount Vernon parishioners that she and her father happened to

witness one of Kirk's tent revivals on Boston Common.⁷⁴ They didn't stay long: "My father probably thought it was too exiting and terrible for a child and we moved on."⁷⁵ Kirk presided over that church for thirty-two years, until Samuel Edward Herrick (1841–1904) arrived in 1871 to become his assistant, then, at age thirty-three, the late minister's replacement. "With vision, wisdom and respect for the compatibility of science and religion, [he] led his church from the old Calvinistic belief towards the new belief based on scientific discoveries," wrote Pauline Holmes, whose history of the church was published in 1942.⁷⁶

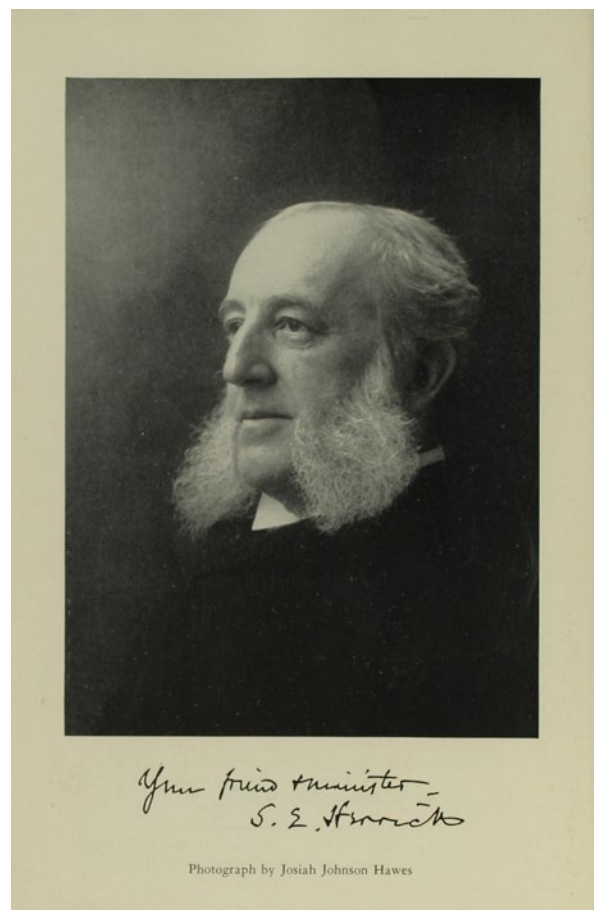


FIGURE 8

Josiah Johnson Hawes: Samuel Edward Herrick. The metal plate used to publish the ca. 1896 image in Pauline Holmes's book, *One Hundred Years of Mount Vernon Church*, is in the Mount Vernon Congregational Church of Boston Records, 1841–1969, RG0026, Photos, Box 14.

Congregational Library & Archives, Boston



FIGURE 9

Josiah Johnson Hawes: Carte de visite, undated. Signed on back: “J.J. Hawes, Photographer, 19 Tremont Row, Boston.” Mount Vernon Congregational Church of Boston Records, 1841–1969, RG0026, Photos, Box 14.

Congregational Library & Archives, Boston

Hawes and his family took the leap of faith with Herrick. Holmes’s book includes a Hawes photograph of Herrick signed in the plate “Your friend and minister” (Figure 8). The image was probably made in 1896, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Herrick’s pastorship. On the occasion, a line drawing based on the portrait photograph ran in a Boston newspaper, along with Hawes’s photographs of the church’s original building on Beacon Hill and its new building in Back Bay. Hawes had also photographed the first

church about 1860 during Kirk’s time as pastor.⁷⁷ Among Mount Vernon’s papers at the Congregational Library & Archives in Boston is an undated carte de visite showing an unnamed woman, book in hand, seated alongside the organ in the original church (Figure 9).⁷⁸ Since the photograph was signed by only Hawes, it must date to sometime after his partnership with Southworth ended in the early 1860s. The unidentified woman could have been a member of Kirk’s congregation, or like the Hawes family, continued on as a parishioner in Herrick’s church.



FIGURE 10

Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes: *Rollin Heber Neale*. Daguerreotype, whole plate, ca. 1850.

George Eastman Museum, gift of Alden Scott Boyer, 1974.0193.0141

Of the 2,500 surviving Southworth & Hawes daguerreotypes known, the vast majority, some 2,000, are, like the woman seated by the organ, of unidentified subjects. But there are plenty of named men of the cloth in the pair’s oeuvre. In addition to Kirk and both Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Beecher, the

list includes Edward Everett, William Jenks, Thomas Starr King, Daniel Sharp, Jared Sparks, Rufus Ellis, Erastus Hopkins, and Rollin Heber Neale — all of varying denominations. Southworth & Hawes’s portrait of Neale (1808–1878) graces the cover of Brian Wallis and Grant B. Romer’s book *Young America* (Figure 10). Pastor of Boston’s First Baptist Church for forty years, Neale was a colorful and controversial figure, a bonafide ministerial celebrity. But the choice for the cover did not have anything to do with Neale’s professional credentials. As Wallis recalled recently: “I believe ... that the selection of his portrait for the book cover and other promotional materials was based on strictly aesthetic criteria. Who could resist that hair? And that swagger!”⁷⁹ And who other than Southworth & Hawes could so successfully have brought out that swagger? Neale’s portrait and their other masterworks should make us all thankful that Southworth eschewed his missionary aspirations and instead engaged with Hawes in the mysterious process of making art.

ENDNOTES

1. Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, Archives and Special Collections, Student Life and Activities, Constitution and Records of the Missionary Fraternity (Society of Inquiry) 1833–1933, The Records of the Missionary Fraternity, Vol. I, November 1833–August 1850, unpaginated.
2. “Pious” in the 19th century meant merely “religious,” without today’s pejorative connotations.
3. Leonard Woods, *A Sermon Delivered in the Chapel of the Theological Seminary, Andover, February 1, 1835, on the Death of Henry Lyman & Samuel Munson, Missionaries* (Andover, MA: Gould and Newman, 1835), 28.
4. Harriet Beecher Stowe, “Letter from Andover,” *Andover Advertiser*, October 21, 1854. Reprinted from the *New York Independent*.
5. *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1808–1908* (Boston: Thomas Todd, Printer, 1908), 100.
6. A few sources give his birthdate as 1812.
7. *American Daguerreotypes From the Matthew R. Isenburg Collection*, prepared by Richard S. Field and Robin Jaffee Frank (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989), 110.
8. Albert S. Southworth, “The Uses of the Camera,” *The Philadelphia Photographer*, September 1873, 438.
9. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), James Joyce calls the Irish an “unfortunate priest-ridden Godforsaken race.”
10. John Updike, *Due Considerations: Essays and Criticism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 28.
11. Pauline Holmes, *One Hundred Years of Mount Vernon Church, 1842–1942* (Boston: Mount Vernon Church of Boston, 1942), Appendix S, “Church Members, 1842–1942.”
12. Helen Fitch Emery, *The Puritan Village Evolves* (Wayland, MA: Wayland Historical Commission, 1981), 101.
13. Email to the author regarding pew book records from Katherine Gardner-Westcott, curator, Grout-Heard House Museum, Wayland Historical Society, Wayland, Massachusetts, March 14, 2023.
14. Ibid.
15. *Vital Records of Wayland Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1910).
16. It is now the Trinitarian Congregationalist Church. See <https://www.tccwayland.org/history>. See also the *Massachusetts Historical Commission Report for Wayland*.
17. Emery, 160.
18. See *Massachusetts, Town Clerk, Vital and Town Records, 1626–2001*; and *Vital Records of Wayland*.
19. Emery, 160.
20. Samuel Gilbert Webber, *A Genealogy of the Southworths (Southards)* (Boston: Fort Hill Press, 1905); *The General Catalogue and a Brief History of Kimball Union Academy* (Claremont, NH: The Claremont Mfg. Co., 1880).
21. Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885), 9.
22. Ibid., 18.
23. Ibid., 27. Listed in *The Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Phillips Academy* (Andover, MA: Flagg and Gould, 1822), along with Nathaniel Parker Willis, are a Joseph E. Cutler of Boston and an Aldis S. Allen of Medway, Massachusetts.
24. Beers, 28.
25. Susan J. Montgomery and Roger G. Reed, *The Campus Guide, Phillips Academy, Andover: An Architectural Tour* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000), 4.
26. Beers, 22–23.
27. Robert A. Domingue, *Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts: An Illustrated History of the Property* (Wilmington, MA: The Hampshire Press, 1990). <http://www.pa59ers.com/library/Domingue/paTC.html>
28. Frederick S. Allis Jr., *Youth From Every Quarter: A Bicentennial History of Phillips Academy, Andover* (Andover, MA: Phillips Academy, 1979), 179.
29. Beers, 22.
30. Records of the Missionary Fraternity.
31. *The Society of Inquiry, 1833–1908. In Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Society of Inquiry of Phillips Academy* (Andover, MA: Phillips Academy, 1908), 6.

32. Records of the Missionary Fraternity; and Term Report Book for the Secretary of Inquiry, unpaginated, Records 1889–1893, Vol I., Phillips Academy Society of Inquiry. See also Rufus Anderson, *History the Missions of the American Board for Foreign Missions in India* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1874), 79; and *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, MA: Spooner & Howland, 1840), 227.
33. Records of the Missionary Fraternity; and Term Report Book.
34. Ibid.; and Richard E. Jensen, *The Pawnee Mission Letters, 1834–1851* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), xxx; and *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary*, 195.
35. Letter of John Eliot to T.S., September 24, 1647, in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 3rd series, IV, 50.
36. Records of the Missionary Fraternity.
37. *Abbot Courant* (Andover, MA: Abbot Academy), Vol. XVI, No. 1, January 1890.
38. *The Society of Inquiry*, 142.
39. See Horatio Bardwell, *Memoir of Reverend Gordon Hall* (Andover, MA: Flagg, Gould and Newman, 1834), v.
40. Woods, 16–18, 27.
41. Horace Southgate Jr., *Address Delivered to the Missionary Fraternity* (Andover, MA: Gould and Newman, 1834), 9, 25.
42. Ibid., 17, 58. Nathaniel Parker Willis went on to become an author, poet, and editor accomplished enough and still famous enough by the mid-20th century to merit a chapter in one of literary critic Van Wyck Brooks's volumes, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1944).
43. Records of the Missionary Fraternity.
44. *The Society of Inquiry*, 9.
45. Ibid., 7.
46. Allis, 184. The emphasis was on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in connection with Bible studies. Students would have read Cicero, Virgil, Homer, and Plutarch; they would have done recitations and participated in debates, like those of the Missionary Fraternity. They also had teachers of sacred music and of penmanship.
47. Ibid., 157.
48. *The Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Phillips Academy* (Andover, MA: Gould and Newman, 1837).
49. These details are confirmed by many sources, among them the Pennell obituary published in the *Christian Mirror* of Portland, Maine, on September 22, 1868. Did Pennell remain faithful? And if so, did he remain orthodox? Unanswerable questions. Given the name of his newspaper, we do know that Charles Austin Lord, the Congregationalist *Christian Mirror's* editor and proprietor, did. We also know he had an Andover connection. Having entered Phillips Academy in 1818 at age twelve, he boarded with the Rev. Woods, and graduated with the class of 1822.
50. Southworth, "An Address to the National Photographic Association," *Philadelphia Photographer*, 8:94 (October 1871), 316.
51. *The Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York Alumni Directory, 1836–1958* (New York: The Alumni Office, 1958), 2. Could a different individual with the same name and identical lifespan have been the Union Theological Seminary graduate? Highly unlikely. What is more, there is this from his brother Lewis Pennell (1803–1883), a graduate of Bowdoin College, then Andover Theological Seminary, who became a home missionary in Maine, then a pastor in Massachusetts and Connecticut: "I suppose that I am the first graduate in any American college by the name of Pennell, and indeed, so far as I know, of any college anywhere." Assuming B.A. degrees for Pennells were at least rare rather than nonexistent before Lewis earned one, it makes stronger the case for the Joseph Pennell with the divinity degree being the subject of our interest: Union Theological Seminary, like the pioneering Andover Theological Seminary before it, designed its curriculum for those with baccalaureates. *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary*, 131; letter from Lewis Pennell to Mr. Cleaveland Esq., May 5, 1858, Box 8, Folder 46, Guide to the Office of Development Services Records, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine.
52. Southworth noted in his 1870 address to the National Photographic Association that Pennell was led to Morse "for the purpose of procuring pecuniary assistant by some employment of his leisure hours." As a Union Theological Seminary student, in other words, he had been in need of a paid part-time position. Southworth, "An Address," 316.
53. Sheila J. Foster, "Coming to Light Unexpectedly in a Warehouse: The Business of Being Southworth & Hawes," *Young America: The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, edited by Grant B. Romer and Brian Wallis (New York: Steidl; George Eastman House; International Center of Photography, 2005), 495.
54. *An Address to the Students of Phillips Academy in Andover, July 9, 1799* (Charlestown, MA: Samuel Etheridge, 1799).
55. Ibid.
56. James A. Field Jr., "Near East Notes and Far East Queries," John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 39. His source is Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World* (Cambridge: Harvard University, East Asian Research Center, 1969), 240–242.
57. *The Society of Inquiry*, 8.
58. Debby Applegate, *The Most Famous Man in America: The Biography of Henry Ward Beecher* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 73, 81.
59. Records of the Missionary Fraternity.
60. Southworth, "An Address," 317.
61. *American Daguerreotypes*, 107.

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62. Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840–1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).
63. *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary*, 160.
64. Daniel Bates Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1852), 60.
65. *Ibid.*, vii.
66. Quoted in Charles William Miller, “The Voyage of the Parthian: Life and Religion Aboard a 19th-century Ship Bound for Hawai’i,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 40 (2006), 240, from *Fragments III: Family Record, House of Judd* (Honolulu: Privately printed, 1928).
67. “Photography and Religion,” *Photo Era*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1903), 126.
68. Marcus Aurelius Root, *The Camera and the Pencil* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1864), 25.
69. Southworth, “An Address,” 321.
70. The general idea is still being debated today. See, for example, Nicholas Spencer’s *Magisteria: The Entangled Histories of Science and Religion* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2023), in which the writer, who describes himself as a “Christian Humanist,” argues that a melding of the binary, not a mutual hostility, is the way to wisdom.
71. Quoted in *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Jay Layuda (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), Vol. 1, 287.
72. In the late 1880s, the “Andover Heresy Trials,” protracted court proceedings, took place in Boston. The cause célèbre was sparked by progressive Andover Theological Seminary faculty who refused to sign the Seminary’s orthodox founding creed. The disputes, both legal and theological, resulted in a disillusioned, then decimated student body. In 1908, Andover Theological Seminary was forced to leave Andover and merge with, of all places, its former enemy, Harvard.
73. Edward Norris Kirk, *The Unrivalled Glory of the Cross* (Boston: Tappan & Dennet, 1844), 25.
74. The talk, delivered on December 30, 1923, was published as *Glimpses of the Old Mount Vernon Church* (Boston: Mount Vernon Church, 1924), 3.
75. *Ibid.*, 8.
76. Holmes, 9.
77. Rachel Johnson Homer, *The Legacy of Josiah Johnson Hawes: 19th Century Photographs of Boston* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishers), 24.
78. Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, Mount Vernon Congregational Church of Boston Records, 1841–1969, RG0026, Photos, Box 14. The image is housed in an envelope inscribed, “Organ in the old Mount Vernon Church in Ashburton Place.”
79. Email to the author from Brian Wallis, March 14, 2023.

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Jeanne Schinto has been an independent writer since 1973. The author of three books, including *Huddle Fever: Living in the Immigrant City* (Knopf, 1995), she is currently working on a long-term project about the 19th-century Christian missionary movement that originated in part with the theologians, Bible scholars, preachers, teachers, translators, printers, and ordinary townspeople of Andover, Massachusetts, where she lives.