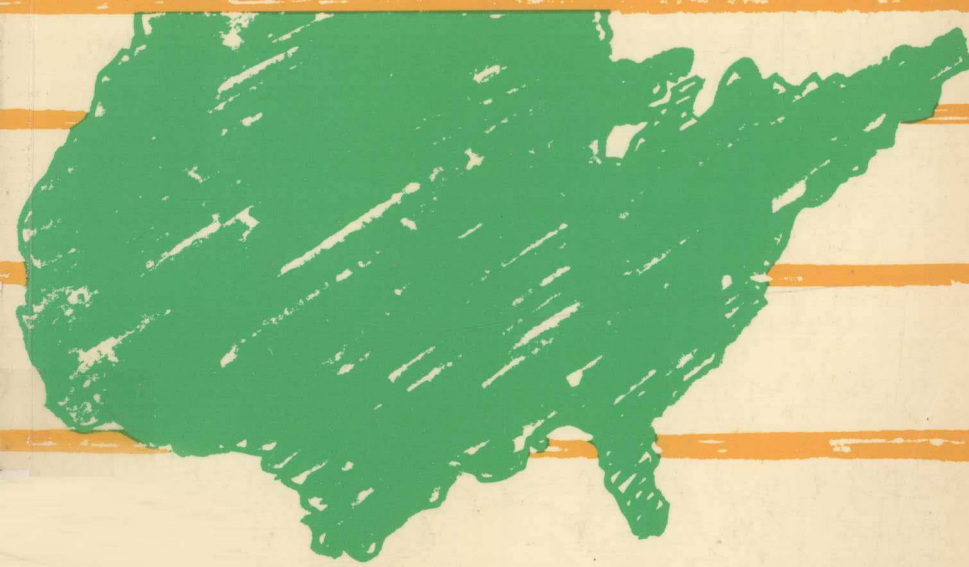
AMERICAN LITERATURE in CONTEXT II

1830-1865

Brian Harding



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General Editor's Preface

The object of the *American Literature in Context* series is to offer students of the literature and culture of the United States a coherent, consecutive and comprehensive sequence of interpretations of major American texts – fiction and non-fiction, poetry and drama.

Each chapter is prefaced by an extract from the chosen text which serves as a springboard for wider discussion and analysis. The intention of each analysis is to demonstrate how students can move into and then from the pages of literature in front of them to a consideration of the whole text from which the extract is taken, and thence to an understanding of the author's *oeuvre* and of the cultural moment in which he or she lived and wrote. The extract and its interpretation *ground* the wider interpretation: students need not just take the critic's overall view on trust, but can test it against the extract from the primary text.

The selection of texts is intended to represent the critic's choice from the variety, quality and interest of important American writing in the period. In these essays students can see how a literary and cultural critic responds to the page of writing before him or her, and how sustained critical response to particular passages can be linked to broader analyses of texts, authors, culture and society. With this integrated format, students can better see how background material relates to the text and *vice versa*. While the chapters are not precisely intended as models for students to imitate, those who are learning to write about literature are encouraged to treat extracts of their own choosing in a comparable manner, relating the particular response to wider matters.

Arnold Goldman

Contents

Introduction

The context of American literature in the quarter-century that preceded the Civil War is nothing less than the whole life of the nation in those years: the political, economic and social condition of the country, the major events that affected that condition, the attitudes and beliefs that had common currency among the population, and the ideas evolved by the uncommon minds which led the intellectual life of the nation. In the present study there has been no attempt to offer a comprehensive survey of so vast a field; rather the intention has been to relate the literature of the period to its context through detailed examination of a limited number of texts and the works of their authors. In addition to the great literary figures who are given prominence in all histories of American literature in the years of its first flowering, this volume includes analyses of the writings of a minister of the Unitarian Church (William Ellery Channing), an intellectual journalist who wrote on social, political, economic, philosophical and theological issues (Orestes Brownson), two historians (George Bancroft and Francis Parkman), and a professional politician (Abraham Lincoln). Sermons, historical studies and political oratory were all considered 'literature' in an age when that word had not yet been narrowed to apply mainly – or solely – to imaginative or creative writing, and the peculiar strengths of American literature were commonly held to lie in public speaking rather than poetry, drama or fiction.

All the writers included in this study have been selected for the intrinsic quality of their work as well as for their representative significance – there has been no attempt to include examples of merely 'popular literature' – but the method used is obviously open to the objection that other major writers have been omitted whose works would have illuminated the culture of the period. Certainly this volume would have been richer if it had been possible to include chapters on important women writers, particularly Margaret Fuller and Harriet

Beecher Stowe, but limitations of space made additional detailed studies impossible. The hope is that the themes emerging from the detailed analyses that have been made, and – even more – from the interrelationships between those analyses, will suggest perspectives that can usefully be extended to writers not given direct attention.

In the years covered here, expansion was one of the salient facts of American life. Between 1835 and 1860 the territory of the United States increased by 1,234,566 square miles. In the same period the population increased from fifteen million to just under thirty-one million. The impact of this vast territorial expansion on the life of the nation was magnified by the effects of the transportation revolution that began in the 1820s with the boom in canal building and continued in the following decades with the development of the railways. By 1836 the railways were already a force; by 1840 they were driving out the canal companies; by 1850 there were 9000 miles of track in the United States; by 1860 a further 20,000 miles of track had been laid.[1] As early as the 1830s, Americans were famous for their restless energy and their love of travel. Foreign observers – among them Charles Dickens – frequently commented on the haste of American life, while one French commentator was so impressed by the American passion for the locomotive engine and steamboat that he thought either would be a suitable emblem for the American people.[2] But if Americans travelled for the sake of travel, they also travelled for the sake of new land. Territorial expansion meant the westward movement of the people, and during this period the geographical centre of population shifted from western Virginia to Ohio.

Most of the vast increase in United States territory took place in the presidency of the Democrat James K. Polk, who took office in 1845, though an earlier form of expansion – Indian Removal – had already made a major impact on the nation while Andrew Jackson was in the White House (1829–37). The policies of both presidents can properly be called expansionist. In the case of Jackson, expansion took place at the expense of the Indian; in Polk's case, at the expense of the Mexicans. The movement that was to result in the acquisition of the future states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and California, all of which were the fruits of the war with Mexico that Polk initiated in 1846, can properly be said to have begun ten years earlier with Congressional recognition of the newly independent Republic of Texas that had just renounced

allegiance to Mexico. Once Texan independence was recognized, its annexation was a distinct prospect; and once Texas was annexed to the United States, a dispute over the border with Mexico was inevitable. Since Texas came into the Union as a slave state (in 1845), both annexation and the war that followed seemed to many Americans to be part of a movement to extend the area of slavery. Thus territorial expansion intensified sectional rivalry within the Union and contributed to the drift to Civil War. Yet the arguments used to defend that expansion commonly had freedom not slavery as their theme. An explanation of that paradox takes us at once from the facts to the ideology of American life in this period.

By 1845 John L. O'Sullivan, the editor of the *Democratic Review*, a periodical to which Orestes Brownson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman all contributed articles at various times, was acting as spokesman for a large section of the Democratic Party when he asserted that the American 'right' to Oregon lay in its 'manifest destiny to overspread and possess the whole continent which Providence has given us'. O'Sullivan's justification of expansionism in terms of his nation's divinely appointed mission was made in his *New York Morning News* On 27 December 1845. A few months earlier, he had contributed an editorial to the same paper stating that the national destiny would be fulfilled only when 'the whole boundless continent is ours'. The title of this frank piece was 'More! More! More!' Not all Democrats, and few Whigs, accepted the doctrine of the nation's 'Manifest Destiny' to encroach on the territory of other nations, yet O'Sullivan's arguments and the words in which he formulated them were exactly right for the dominant mood of the times.[3] In its public voice, at least, that mood was not cynically acquisitive but idealistic, as O'Sullivan's own statements make clear. To absorb the whole continent would be – he claimed – to 'give [it] to man' rather than to steal it from any rightful owner. In this, as in his conception of American destiny, he identified the future progress of the human race with the future of his own country. Beside O'Sullivan's assertions we must place the statements of Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic Congressman from Illinois who would be Lincoln's rival in the debates over slavery-extension in the 1850s. Speaking on the Oregon issue in Congress on 27 January 1845, Douglas expressed the wish to 'blot out the lines on the map which now marked our national boundaries on this continent, and make the area of liberty as broad as the continent itself'.[4] To believers in 'Manifest Destiny', other national boundaries had to give way to the extension of American 'liberty', but it is worth noting

that in 1847 Abraham Lincoln, then a new Whig Congressman from Illinois, challenged the legality of 'Polk's War' precisely on the ground that American troops provoked that war by encroaching on Mexican territory.

To understand the identification of freedom and the progress of mankind with the expansion of the United States, we have to know how Americans regarded their own history. To Americans of the middle period (roughly the period between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars) it seemed, as a modern American historian has put it, that political liberty had been established for the first time in human history on 4 July 1776, with the result that the United States had 'somehow appropriated the progress of liberty to itself'.[5] Since it was also considered axiomatic that human progress was dependent on freedom, the future progress of the whole human race became the 'sacred trust' of the American nation. In Puritan times, the New England colonists had considered themselves chosen by Providence to fulfil a special role in history by setting up a theocracy that would be a model for other nations. In the more secularized America of the early nineteenth century, the special mission had become the fostering of the spirit of liberty. When Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, in the first volume of his *Democracy in America* (1835), that Anglo-American civilization had been given its distinctive character by a combination of the '*spirit of religion*' and the '*spirit of liberty*' (his italics), few Americans would have disagreed with him.

Since the yoke of British rule had been cast off in the Revolution, the cause of freedom within the United States could no longer take the form of resistance to monarchy. By the 1830s it had become the staple of American political rhetoric that the cause of liberty was the progress of 'the people' in their struggle against aristocracy and privilege. Such rhetoric was first given currency by Andrew Jackson, who proclaimed himself the champion of the people and, in his presidential messages to Congress and to the nation, interpreted his own struggle for power as a contest between the interests of the 'real people' and the privileged few who exploited them. Associating republican virtue with occupations that demanded physical labour or immediate involvement with the production of goods, Jackson included mechanics, farmworkers and farmers in the category of 'the people' while the large-scale industrial and commercial capitalists and the financiers whose wealth depended upon speculation were classed with the 'privileged'. The struggle that figured in Jackson's political rhetoric was clearly not a *class* struggle (in the Marxian sense), for Jackson's 'real people' included small-scale land and property owners. Further, against the supposedly corrupting influences

of financial speculation Jackson set the virtue of slow and steady effort towards individual self-advancement, not class solidarity.[6] In any case, the realities of politics in the Jacksonian period may have had little to do with party rhetoric, for Jackson appointed rich and successful men to positions of eminence, while the development of the party system of politics effectively distanced the common people from political power just when political rhetoric most flattered them.[7] Moreover, as we shall see when we study Orestes Brownson's essay 'The Laboring Classes', the condition of the workers after the financial Panic of 1837 belied any easy optimism about social progress in the Jackson years. Yet when all the necessary reservations and qualifications have been made, it remains true that the Age of Jackson was the Age of the Common Man in the sense that labour was given a new dignity in the public statements of politicians of both parties. The Whigs won the presidential election of 1840 by stealing the fire of the Democrats and presenting their own candidates as men of the people. From the stump this may have been mere demagoguery, but the new respect for the common people filtered into all aspects of public life and may well have misled even acute observers like de Tocqueville into believing that America was a more egalitarian society than it actually was. Even Herman Melville, whose early fictions testify to his acute sense of social discrimination in America, invoked the Spirit of Equality and named Andrew Jackson as one of the 'selectest champions of the kingly commons' chosen by that spirit when, in Chapter 26 of *Moby-Dick*, he wished to justify his choice of a humble whaling captain as his tragic hero.

To such convinced Democrats as George Bancroft, the 'progress of the people' was an article of faith, and that progress was to be advanced by the party he served. To less politically engaged idealists such as William Ellery Channing, the elevation of the people could not be effected by political action but by moral and spiritual influences. Yet Channing too believed that in America the masses were 'rising from the dust' as nowhere else in the world. Though the visible fact of national prosperity was generally taken to be evidence of the progress in which the age believed, faith in that progress was certainly not confined to men who were materialists.

In 1841 Channing gave a lecture entitled 'The Present Age' in which he defined its most prominent characteristic as 'the tendency in all its movements to expansion, to diffusion, to universality'.[8] In past ages, he argued, the spirit of 'exclusiveness, restriction, narrowness, monopoly' had prevailed, but the age in which he lived tended towards 'expansion' because in it an increasing number of subjects were being opened up to

intellectual enquiry. He summed up the difference in a sentence containing a metaphor that was central to his lecture and to his whole system of beliefs: 'Thought frees the old bounds to which men used to confine themselves.' Thought is liberating, Channing believed, when it holds nothing too sacred to be investigated, when it is prepared to examine the foundations of the very things that seemed most settled. When they are free to explore all intellectual realms, he said, 'Men forget the limits of their powers.' Metaphors of bounds, of limits and of escape from them recur throughout Channing's lecture and are applied to various aspects of the life of his nation – to government, to social class, to science, to literature, to religion, to education, to commerce and even to public speaking. In political and social terms, the characteristic expansion of the age showed itself, he said, in the spread of power from the privileged few to the masses. In science, the same tendency led to a diffusion of interest through the whole population and to a bursting of the bounds of knowledge about nature and society. In literature, concern with the aristocratic few was replaced by interest in all mankind and in the features common to all men. In religion, the bounds of traditional authority were broken as men realized that the life of the spirit belonged to them rather than to the churches. Education was spreading among the masses as men came to feel that all had a right to it. No less significant, he believed, was the expansion that was taking place in commerce, for free trade – the levelling of all barriers to free exchange – was the duty of the human race. Even the widespread interest in public speaking in the United States was to Channing a valid example of 'expansion', for it testified to a growing popular enthusiasm for intellectual endeavour.

To the modern reader the most striking characteristic of Channing's lecture is likely to be its sheer daring, its bold readiness to generalize over a range of topics each of which nowadays constitutes a distinct intellectual discipline with its own specialized vocabulary and its own methodology. In fact, in its disregard for intellectual boundaries, the lecture illustrates the very freedom of which it talks. The assurance with which Channing moves from comments on religion to moral observations concerning commerce reveals as much about his outlook and world as any of his specific observations do. In its scope the lecture is representative of its time, for wide-ranging addresses under the heading 'The Age' or 'The Spirit of the Times' were much in vogue in the 1830s and 1840s. In content too the lecture expresses widely held assumptions about the age and about the American nation. For corroboration of Channing's metaphors we have only to turn to the first volume of

de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* to find the most astute foreign observer of the American experiment in democracy writing that Americans were removing, or had removed, the barriers that imprisoned society and were causing old opinions that had controlled the world for centuries to disappear. As a result, he said, 'a course almost without limits, a field without horizon, is revealed: the human spirit rushes forward and traverses it in every direction'.

Tocqueville considered the American experiment in democratic freedom of the greatest consequence for the rest of mankind, not only in terms of political institutions but also in terms of the individual man. In the second part of *Democracy in America* (1840), he used the term 'individualism' to describe the salient American characteristic. The term already had some currency before Tocqueville used it, but it was the Frenchman who gave the word a prominence that it has never lost in subsequent discussions of American thought.[9] To Channing too the age was the age of the individual, for all the varieties of expansion listed in his 1841 lecture were, in his view, manifestations of the one great feature of the age – its development of the 'grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man as man'. Channing was a 'liberal Christian' whose humanitarian idealism conditioned his view of American life. The freedom he prized so highly had value to him because it made possible the cultivation of the self – the development of the individual towards perfection. His beliefs have, obviously, most direct relevance to the writers who clearly shared his values and his optimism, and in particular to the men who, however briefly and tenuously, were associated with the movement known as Transcendentalism: Emerson, Thoreau, Bancroft, Brownson and Whitman. Yet the value of Channing's account of the tendency of the age does not depend upon its usefulness in an approach to the literary expression of New England idealism; rather it lies in the fact that *all* the writers to be discussed in this volume were vitally concerned with limits and bounds of the self, and the possibilities of escape from them. Whether, like Whitman, they exulted in the freedom of the imagination to roam over the vastnesses of the American continent or, like Edgar Allan Poe, they vividly evoked in their most powerful fictions a sense of psychological entrapment or imprisonment, the major writers of the period were urgently engaged with the problem of human freedom and the related problem of human development to full potential.

To some extent, of course, a concern with freedom and limitation is common to all literature in all periods and all cultures, for it is an inevitable part of a serious concern with the human condition. More pertinently for

this study, it became a dominant concern in the Romantic period in European literature, for the American writers with whom we are concerned were the heirs of the European Romantics. But ideas and attitudes that were part of the Romantic tradition were given a new and distinctive shape and emphasis by the American experience of expansion and the American conception of liberty. In a lecture series 'The Present Age', given in the winter of 1839–40, Ralph Waldo Emerson acknowledged that the 'Feeling of the Infinite' – the 'love of the Vast' – had been born in Germany, imported into France and had in England given a new spirit to the poetry of the age, before it had reached America. He added, however, that the feeling had found a 'most congenial climate' in American taste. He might have said with equal justification that, when American writers of his age used metaphors of expansion and infinitude for the human spirit, those metaphors seemed to relate closely to the facts of the national life.

Significantly, one type of expansion that was *not* mentioned in Channing's lecture was territorial expansion. In an open letter to Henry Clay written in 1837, Channing had warned against precisely the sort of expansion into Texas that was to occur a few years later, and in doing so Channing had also warned against his nation's restless eagerness to spread itself over a wide space. 'Our people', he had written, 'throw themselves beyond the bounds of civilization . . . under the impulse of wild imagination.'[10] His 1841 lecture returned to this theme and gave it an even more profound application to American life in his time when he acknowledged that there was a relationship between its 'wild lawlessness' and the very freedoms he valued. One of the central themes of the writers to be discussed in this volume will be the 'the wild' and the boundaries between unrestricted liberty and wildness.

Rejecting all limits to human expansion in the cultivation of the self, Channing found a 'perilous tendency' in the intellectual freedom that led men to 'question the infinite, the unsearchable, with an audacious self-reliance' when they were freed from their old bounds. Audacious self-reliance had been demonstrated two months before Channing gave his lecture in the essay on that theme that Emerson had published in his *Essays: First Series*. In the imaginative literature of the following decade, the perils of self-reliance were most vividly evoked in the fictions of Herman Melville, not least in *Moby-Dick*, whose Captain Ahab achieved a tragic grandeur in his quest for truth because he defied all limits to his search and, in perceiving the whole world in terms of the self, became the ultimate lonely man voyaging on the oceans of inner space. Ahab is the archetypal Romantic quester whose search is for metaphysical

truths, and yet he is at the same time the archetypal American in an age of expansion.

In America during the period that led to the Civil War, the consequences of territorial expansion and the economic development it brought with it were that traditional American values were sacrificed to capitalistic enterprise.[11] The Jacksonian policies of Indian Removal, of westward expansion, and of the exploitation of the resources of the continent fostered the very spirit of speculation and acquisitiveness that the official morality of the age rejected. As a family-orientated economy gave way to a market economy when the produce of the western territories could reach the markets of the east, the 'esprit of a sacred society, a family brotherhood'[12] struggled to survive in a society dominated more and more by the values of the market. We can trace this shift in the changes in the meaning of the term 'enterprise', one of the hallowed words associated by Americans with the great Puritan endeavour or mission in the New World. In this period 'enterprise' lost its associations with society conceived as an organic whole in the fulfilment of its destiny and became transferred to private enterprise, then to business enterprise.[13] Among the freedoms prized by self-reliant Americans in this age was – as we saw with Channing – the freedom of the market. Economic freedom at its least restrained could involve the exploitation of other human beings, as Stephen Douglas's doctrine of 'popular sovereignty' was to show in the debate over the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska in the 1850s. If the question of slavery had been left to the free will of white American immigrants into those territories, as Douglas advocated, this would indeed have been a form of freedom. It took the moral vision of Abraham Lincoln, himself a believer in individual enterprise and self-advancement, to restrain one conception of American freedom by another and greater. Lincoln's faith was the noblest American faith of the age: faith in the right of all men to develop their humanity to the full.

Notes

1 E. Douglas Branch, *The Sentimental Years, 1830–1860*, New York: Appleton, 1934; repr. New York: Hill & Wang, 1965, pp. 10–13.
2 Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (1839), quoted in Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815–1860*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967, p. 84.
3 See Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History, A*

Reinterpretation, New York: Knopf, 1963, 1970, p. 24. The quotations from O'Sullivan are taken from Merk.

4 Quoted in Merk, p. 28.

5 See Rush Welter, *The Mind of America 1820–1860*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975, p. 7.

6 On Jackson's conception of 'the people' see Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion, Politics and Belief*, Stanford University Press, 1957, 1967, pp. 18–24 and Joseph L. Blau, ed., *Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy: Representative Writings of the Period 1825–1850*, New York: Hafner, 1947, p. xiv.

7 See Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America, Society, Personality, and Politics*, Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969, p. 56.

8 William Ellery Channing, 'The Present Age', *Works*, Boston: Munroe, 1841–3, VI.149–83. John Higham gives an illuminating commentary on Channing's lecture, endorsing his interpretation of the spirit of the age and adopting Channing's key metaphor, in his monograph *From Boundlessness to Consolidation: The Transformation of American Culture 1848–1860*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: William L. Clements Library, 1969.

9 See Jehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 194.

10 Channing, *Works*, II. 205.

11 Among the most cogent exponents of this thesis are Somkin, op. cit., and Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*, New York: Knopf, 1975.

12 Rogin, p. 251.

13 Welter, p. 156.

Further reading

Russell B. Nye, *Society and Culture in America: 1830–1860*, New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

G. Harrison Orians, 'The Rise of Romanticism, 1805–1855', in Harry Hayden Clark, ed., *Transitions in American Literary History*, Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1954, repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1975.

Larzer Ziff, *Literary Democracy: The Declaration of Cultural Independence in America*, New York: Viking Press, 1981.

I

William Ellery Channing (1780–1842)

That man has a kindred nature with God, and may bear most important and ennobling relations to him, seems to me to be established by a striking proof. This proof you will understand, by considering, for a moment, how we obtain our ideas of God. Whence come the conceptions which we include under that august name? Whence do we derive our knowledge of the attributes and perfections which constitute the Supreme Being? I answer, we derive them from our own souls. The divine attributes are first developed in ourselves, and thence transferred to our Creator. The idea of God, sublime and awful as it is, is the idea of our own spiritual nature, purified and enlarged to infinity. In ourselves are the elements of the Divinity. God, then, does not sustain a figurative resemblance to man. It is the resemblance of a parent to a child, the likeness of a kindred nature.

We call God a Mind. He has revealed himself as a Spirit. But what do we know of mind, but through the unfolding of this principle in our own breasts? That unbounded spiritual energy which we call God, is conceived by us only through consciousness, through the knowledge of ourselves. – We ascribe thought or intelligence to the Deity, as one of his most glorious attributes. And what means this language? These terms we have framed to express operations or faculties of our own souls. The Infinite Light would be for ever hidden from us, did not kindred rays dawn and brighten within us. God is another name for human intelligence raised above all error and imperfection, and extended to all possible truth.

The same is true of God's goodness. How do we understand this, but by the principle of love implanted in the human breast? Whence is it, that this divine attribute is so faintly comprehended, but from the feeble development of it in the multitude of men? Who can understand the strength, purity, fulness, and extent of divine philanthropy, but he in whom selfishness has been swallowed up in love? . . .*

* Unless otherwise stated, ellipses indicate omissions from the original text.

. . . I affirm, and trust that I do not speak too strongly, that there are traces of infinity in the human mind; and that, in this very respect, it bears a likeness to God. The very conception of infinity, is the mark of a nature to which no limit can be prescribed. This thought, indeed, comes to us, not so much from abroad, as from our own souls. We ascribe this attribute to God, because we possess capacities and wants, which only an unbounded being can fill, and because we are conscious of a tendency in spiritual faculties to unlimited expansion. We believe in the Divine infinity, through something congenial with it in our own breasts. I hope I speak clearly, and if not, I would ask those to whom I am obscure, to pause before they condemn. To me it seems, that the soul, in all its higher actions, in original thought, in the creations of genius, in the soarings of imagination, in its love of beauty and grandeur, in its aspirations after a pure and unknown joy, and especially in disinterestedness, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, and in enlightened devotion, has a character of infinity. There is often a depth in human love, which may be strictly called unfathomable. There is sometimes a lofty strength in moral principle, which all the power of the outward universe cannot overcome. There seems a might within, which can more than balance all might without. There is, too, a piety, which swells into a transport too vast for utterance, and into an immeasurable joy. I am speaking, indeed, of what is uncommon, but still of realities. We see, however, the tendency of the soul to the infinite, in more familiar and ordinary forms. Take, for example, the delight which we find in the vast scenes of nature, in prospects which spread around us without limits, in the immensity of the heavens and the ocean, and especially in the rush and roar of mighty winds, waves, and torrents, when, amidst our deep awe, a power within seems to respond to the omnipotence around us. The same principle is seen in the delight ministered to us by works of fiction or of imaginative art, in which our own nature is set before us in more than human beauty and power. In truth, the soul is always bursting its limits. It thirsts continually for wider knowledge. It rushes forward to untried happiness. It has deep wants, which nothing limited can appease. Its true element and end is an unbounded good. Thus, God's infinity has its image in the soul; and through the soul, much more than through the universe, we arrive at this conception of the Deity.

'Likeness to God' (1828), Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. F. A. Farley, Providence, Rhode Island[1]

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