Creating Meaningful Lives:

The Transition from Girlhood to Womanhood in

Mid-Nineteenth Century Philadelphia Quaker Communities

Abigail T. Corcoran
Haverford College Class of 2017
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who helped to make this thesis what it is today. First, I would like to thank my readers, Professor James Krippner and Professor Alexander Kitroeff, for their prompt feedback, and many helpful comments. I would also like to thank Professor Emma Lapsansky for encouraging my interest in Quaker history, and offering suggestions on my section about Quaker theology. Thanks also to Professor Anthony Whitley for his suggestions on God as the Whisperer. I am so thankful to Sarah Horowitz, Mary Crauderueff, and Krista Oldham in Quaker and Special Collections, who told me this sounded like an interesting thesis topic, and have made my time in Special Collections fun and interesting. Thank you to my friends, who listened patiently as I rambled about the minutiae of girls’ lives in the nineteenth-century. And finally, thank you to my sister, who was always ready to read drafts or help me figure out how to work Microsoft Word, and to my parents, who encouraged my childhood love of history by supplying me with countless Dear America books.
ABSTRACT

Sarah Wistar, Emma Jane Fussell, and Jane Gibbons Rhoads faced difficult transitions from girlhood to womanhood. As middle and upper-class girls in the mid-nineteenth century United States, their childhoods had been marked by considerable freedom to play. And as Quaker girls, they lived in communities which valued their spiritual autonomy and their education. However, once they left school, given the values of their communities, they had relatively few opportunities to create lives which felt meaningful to them.

Although girls spent relatively little time on housework as children, that changed when they became women. It was expected that women’s lives would be much taken up with housework, either as unmarried daughters or siblings, caring for family members, or as wives and mothers, creating new families. However, nineteenth-century ideology ignored housework’s economic value, and celebrated housework as something to which women were uniquely suited. This ideology made women doubt the value of the housework they did, despite the immense amount of labor they put into it. Therefore, girls like Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads worried about making their lives meaningful if all they did was housework.

There was also an expectation that women and girls, especially Quaker ones, try to make the world a better place through reform work, which was tied to a belief that women were more naturally kinder and more pious than men. This work often provided women with a sense of accomplishment and purpose unmet by housework, but the expectation that women engage in reform work also caused intense worry and guilt for women who did not or could not participate in it. This can be seen clearly through the contrast between Wistar’s agonized guilt over her lack of social reform activities, and Fussell’s relatively calm diary entries, written when she was engaged in abolition work. Ill girls, like Rhoads, could not live up to the expectations of reform work, and instead struggled to be virtuous invalids. Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ attempts to live out their Quaker desire to do good in the world map onto the sects of Quakerism to which they belonged. Wistar and Rhoads, the Orthodox Friends, turned inwards, while the Progressive Friend Fussell also turned outwards, towards reform work.

These young women’s writings illustrate how their transition from girlhood to womanhood was both typical of girls of their place and class, but also inflected by their Quaker upbringing and communities. Their struggles to create meaningful lives demonstrate that it was almost impossible for women to live up to the contradictory and confusing standards of mid-nineteenth-century American womanhood. In addition, Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ writings show how people both shape themselves with and push back against the expectations of their communities.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

- The Sources
- The Argument

## RELIGION AND COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS

- Quakerism in the Nineteenth Century
- Quakerism and Other Protestant Sects
- Faith as a Source of Strength and Guilt

## SCHOOL AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF USEFUL FUTURES

- Friends Select School
- Chester County Normal School

## HOUSEWORK AND ITS USES

- Girls and Housework
- The Pastoralization of Housework

## REFORM WORK, GUILT, AND A USEFUL FUTURE

- Family and Community Expectations
- Reform Work and Guilt
- Living Up to Community Expectations
- The Invalid and Reform Work

## CONCLUSION

## APPENDIX I: Quaker Organizational Structure

## APPENDIX II: Quaker Dates

## APPENDIX III: Brief Biographical Details

## WORKS CITED
INTRODUCTION

In September of 1858, nineteen-year-old Sallie Wistar wrote anxiously in her diary, “I do very little or nothing for the “general good” at home, and I am quite sure I do nothing for anyone but of the family circle…I hope all my life will not be as useless as it is now.” Wistar’s diary provides a window into the emotional life of an Orthodox Quaker girl as she finished her secondary schooling and worried about her future. Her diary, and the writings of Orthodox Quaker Jane Gibbons Rhoads and Progressive Quaker Emma Jane Fussell, illustrate the complicated process of transitioning from girlhood to womanhood, and creating a fulfilling adult life. Quaker girls often got relatively thorough educations, and nineteenth-century girls’ childhoods often involved a large amount of freedom. However, girls were then expected to shift to an adulthood in which they had much less freedom, and much more responsibility. They knew that they had responsibilities as women to do housework, and responsibilities to care for their families, but also moral responsibilities to be involved in reform work. They were not always clear on what their good educations were for, given these future responsibilities in life. Because of their different family cultures, and the different sects of Quakerism to which they belonged, Sallie Wistar, Jane Gibbons Rhoads, and Emma Jane Fussell provide examples of the different ways in which Quaker girls responded to this transition in their lives, illustrating both the similarities between Quaker culture and larger nineteenth-century culture, and the characteristics that were unique to Quaker culture and life.

1 Sarah Wistar, September 18, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
The Sources

The main primary sources in this paper consist of the diaries of Sallie Wistar and Emma Jane Fussell, as well as the letters of Emma Jane Fussell and Jane Gibbons Rhoads. Wistar and Fussell’s diaries illustrate their daily lives, or at least the parts of their lives that they felt should be written down. They also provide a picture of the girls’ inner lives, while they struggled to figure out what to do with the expectations which were placed on them. Although girls’ diaries were not always private documents—often family members, friends, or teachers read them—Sarah Wistar’s diary was private, because she often discussed her difficult relationship with her father in it, while Emma Jane Fussell’s was semi-public, as she started it for a school assignment.² It is important to remember that even private diaries were often written with a future audience in mind, meaning that they reflect what was significant to the author, but also what the author thought would be interesting to future readers, or was willing to write about for future readers.³ However, because of their semi-private nature, diaries often require supplementation with other sources in order to fill out their opaque references and provide social context.⁴

Emma Jane Fussell and Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ letters to friends and family present slightly different issues than Wistar and Fussell’s diaries do. The letters, like the diaries, show

---


⁴ For a masterly example of this, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich’s *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).
aspects of the girls’ daily lives. However, they also demonstrate how the girls talked about their futures with other people in their lives, as opposed to how they wrote about their futures for a future audience. Girls often expressed different hopes and fears about their futures to different correspondents. The information in both the letters and diaries of these girls is mediated by the archive. Not all of the letters written by Rhoads and Fussell during their lives are present in the collections available to historians at Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges, partly because of actions taken by the girls themselves to preserve or destroy writings, and partly because of decisions made in subsequent generations about what writings were valuable. The information available about Rhoads, Fussell, and Wistar is therefore limited by the form, content, and availability of their writings.

Studying the writings of Quaker girls like Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell corrects the overly rosy picture of Quaker women’s history that Quaker historians often paint. Most historians who study Quaker women have been interested in understanding why Quaker women were overrepresented in various reform movements, and they conclude that this overrepresentation has to do with Quakerism’s emphasis on gender equality. Although it is true that Quakerism’s emphasis on gender equality has created many formidable Quaker women reformers, focusing solely on Quaker women who were actively involved in reform movements paints a picture of Quaker exceptionalism, and obscures the lives of the many Quaker women who were not as

5 For example, see the contrast between Rhoads’ Third Month 22, 1858 letter to her friend Louise Oliver, and her Sixth Month 27, 1858 letter to her teacher Elizabeth Allen. Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

actively involved in reform work. Authors like Margaret Hope Bacon try not to overstate Quaker exceptionality—she notes that Meetings often shunned Quaker women who got too involved in reform movements. However, Quaker women’s history has continued to focus on the women who did extraordinary things, which can be seen in recent books like Jody L. Cross-Hansen’s *The Contribution of Quaker Women to the Political Struggle for Abolition, Women’s Rights and Peace.*

Looking at the lives of more average Quaker girls and women also combats Quaker exceptionalism by revealing that Quaker communities were not as separate from larger nineteenth-century culture as Quaker rhetoric often suggests. Indeed, books such as Jeanne Boydston’s landmark *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic,* which argues that women’s household labor, while essential to the economy, was obscured and left out of discussions of the economy, includes primary sources written by Quaker women in its analysis. Although Martha Tomhave Blauvelt does not consider Quaker girls in *The Work of the Heart: Young Women and Emotion, 1780-1830,* her argument about the undervalued emotional labor that girls and women did in creating and upholding family and social life, does fit with the experiences of Wistar, Rhoads, Fussell, and other Quaker girls.

---

7 For example, see the abolitionist and early feminist Lucretia Mott. Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism,* 102.


9 Quakers often use the Christian phrase “in the world, but not of it” to illustrate this rhetorical separation between Quakers and non-Quakers.


too, does Jane Hunter’s description of the life of middle-class girls in How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood.¹²

The Argument

The first section of my argument concerns Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s religious lives. Although Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell did not write frequently about religion, it nevertheless provided the framework in which they understood how they were supposed to live their lives, and religious guilt influenced their thoughts and fears about the future. By the 1850s, Quakerism had undergone several schisms, the major one being the 1827 Hicksite-Orthodox schism, and was increasingly influenced by other Protestant sects.¹³ Wistar and Rhoads were Orthodox Quakers, while Fussell was a Progressive Quaker, which was a liberal offshoot of the Hicksites.¹⁴ The differences between these sects of Quakerism influenced how Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads lived their lives. Quakerism shaped the girls’ places in the world, as they lived their lives in mostly Quaker communities. Wistar’s guilt and religious reflection was a product of her Orthodox upbringing, and Rhoads’ Orthodox beliefs brought her comfort while she struggled with her health. Fussell’s relative lack of written religious introspection reflected her place within Progressive Quaker activist circles. Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell illustrate different ways

---

of dealing with the spiritual mandates of Quakerism—Wistar and Rhoads turned toward inward reflection, and Fussell turned outward, towards reform work.

The second section of my argument concerns Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s school careers. School embodied the confusing expectations placed on girls, as it provided them with both a moral and an academic education, but also demonstrated the lack of a concrete purpose for that education. Wistar and Rhoads both attended Friends Select School in Philadelphia, which gave them a guarded, Quaker education. It is unclear where Fussell started her school career, but she later went to a normal school as preparation for becoming a teacher. This would have been a very different—and less Quaker—experience than the one Wistar and Rhoads had at Friends Select School. School provided these girls with different experiences and views of the future. Wistar struggled to find a purpose for her education, especially as she saw her academic lessons come into conflict with her moral development.\(^{15}\) Rhoads also wondered about the purpose of her education, as she saw graduates of Friends Select School not using their academic educations. However, she still saw her education as a way of working towards a productive future for herself.\(^ {16}\) Unlike Wistar and Rhoads’ education at Friends Select School, Fussell’s education at a normal school had an overt and specific connection with her future career, as normal schools were teacher training schools. Fussell’s education, and the future it gave her, reflected the norms of her family and community—her mother and many of her friends were

\(^{15}\) Sarah Wistar, Ninth Month 30, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\(^{16}\) Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
Family culture affected Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ experiences at school, and affected how those experiences shaped the girls’ imagined futures for themselves.

The third section of my argument examines housework’s part in Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s lives, highlighting their similarities to other nineteenth-century girls. In the mid-nineteenth-century there was considerable cultural anxiety about the amount of housework girls did, with many cultural commentators bemoaning how little girls knew about housework. While Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell were wealthy enough to be spared much of the hard labor required to run their households, housework was still something that figured into their lives in a way that was similar to those of other middle and upper-class nineteenth-century women. For example, Wistar expected that her future would consist of running her father’s household, and Fussell returned to helping at home when she lost her teaching job. Housework figured largely in Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ futures, but often seemed unimportant because mid-nineteenth century discourse imagined housework as existing outside of the economy. Women knew that they were doing much important labor in their homes, but were also frustrated with their own uselessness, because their culture did not value their labor as work. Although Wistar, Fussell,

---

18 Boydston, Home & Work, 110-112.
19 Sarah Wistar, August 14, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; Emma Jane Fussell, January 30, 1860, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, RG5/087, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
20 The current feminist writer Rebecca Solnit articulates the ways in which this paradoxical narrative works: “on the one hand,…women never worked, and, on the other,…bearing and raising children was such overwhelming work that women were housebound.” Rebecca Solnit, The Mother of All Questions: Further Reports From the Feminist Revolutions (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017), 119-120.
and Rhoads saw housework as part of their futures, its frustrating uselessness meant that they did not want it to be the only part of their futures. Housework alone was not enough to create a meaningful life.

The fourth section of my argument concerns the prominence of reform work in Quaker women’s lives. Although not all Quaker women and girls engaged in reform work, it was nevertheless a large presence in their communities, and the expectation that they would participate in reform work caused much guilt and anxiety for Quaker girls. Wistar, for example, agonized over her lack of involvement in reform work, despite her family’s work in the abolition movement.21 Fussell’s family was also involved in reform work—they were staunch abolitionists involved with the Underground Railroad—and in contrast to Wistar, Fussell lived out her family and community’s expectations of reform, although she did not write about it very much in her diary.22 Rhoads, because of her ill-health, was unable to participate actively in reform work. Instead, she bettered her community by fulfilling the image of the virtuous invalid, and acting as an example of patient resignation to the will of God. Her letters and other writings document the emotional labor it took to transform herself from an ambitious girl into a cheerful and resigned

21 For example, in a 1845 letter, the abolitionist poet John Greenleaf Whittier wrote to Caspar Wistar about the prospect of petitioning Congress to keep Texas from entering the United States as a slave state. “Wistar Family Member Donates Important Abolitionist Letter,” The Wistar Institute, last modified February 8, 2013, https://www.wistar.org/wistar-today/wistar-wire/2013-02-08/wistar-family-member-donates-important-abolitionist-letter; Sarah Wistar, September 18, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

22 Fussell’s most notable foray into activism occurred when she had vitriol, or sulfuric acid, thrown on her at the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Convention. R.C. Smedley, History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005), 187-189.
Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s different responses to the expectations of their communities illustrate the difficulties and dangers of reform work, as well as the differing levels of engagement with reform work among Quaker girls and women.

Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s writings demonstrate the complicated process of growing from girlhood to womanhood, which involved curtailing their own expectations to fit the examples of womanhood they saw in their communities. In many ways, the process these Quaker girls followed was similar to that of other, non-Quaker girls during the same time period. Therefore, my thesis corrects an exceptionalist view of Quaker women’s lives in the nineteenth century, although there were aspects of the girls’ experiences which were uniquely influenced by their Quaker faith. In addition, my thesis shows that not all Quakers were actively involved in reform movements, and illustrates how difficult and dangerous it could be to be active in reform work. Most of all, my thesis illustrates the difficulty many girls had in imagining and creating futures for themselves which felt meaningful and morally useful. This difficulty matters because it illustrates how impossible it could be for women to live up to nineteenth-century constructions of womanhood.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS IN GIRLS’ LIVES

Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s Quakerism provided the framework in which they understood how they were supposed to live their lives, despite the fact that they did not write all that frequently about religion. Religious guilt influenced their thoughts and fears about the

23 See Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Elizabeth Allen, Sixth Month 27, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
future, and offered comfort, as it did for many girls. In addition, Quakerism shaped most of the girls’ relationships, meaning that it was an important part of the way they understood their place in the world. By the 1850s, Quakerism had undergone several schisms, the major one being the 1827 Hicksite-Orthodox schism. Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell were on opposite sides of this schism—Wistar and Rhoads were Orthodox Quakers, while Fussell was a Progressive Quaker, which was a liberal offshoot of Hicksite Quakers.24 The differences between these sects of Quakerism influenced how these girls lived their lives.

**Quakerism in the Nineteenth Century**

By the early nineteenth century, Quakerism was experiencing a decline in numbers and energy. Quakers engaged in numerous disputes about the causes of this decline, and possible solutions to it. In the 1820s, this conflict came to a head around the figure of the Long Island farmer and minister Elias Hicks. Hicks argued for the importance of the Inward Light and continuing revelation in Quakerism, claiming that because of continuing revelation, any person could theoretically be a child of God in the same way that Jesus was.25 These beliefs alarmed some Friends, who thought them heretical. These Friends, who came to be known as Orthodox, stressed the importance of Biblical teachings and of preserving the purity of Quaker communities.26 In 1827, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting split, beginning the separation of Quakers into Hicksite Quakers, who followed Elias Hicks, and Orthodox Quakers, who pushed...
Quakerism towards mainstream Protestantism. In Philadelphia, the Quakers who became Orthodox Friends were often influential in both the Quaker and the business world, whereas the Quakers who became Hicksites were often rural, and less powerful, both economically and socially. Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s families fit this broad pattern. The Hicksite-Orthodox schism split families and friends apart, and caused much anguish in the Quaker community, as both sides felt that they were upholding the true spirit of Quakerism.

As the nineteenth century moved forward, Quakerism continued to fracture in other, smaller schisms. One such schism in the 1840s created the Progressive Friends, a liberal offshoot of Hicksite Quakerism. Progressive Friends reflected the conflict within Hicksite circles about the importance of Quaker abolitionism. Many Hicksite Friends felt that personally refusing to own slaves was enough of an expression of abolitionism, and did not approve of more radical Friends using Meetinghouses for abolitionist meetings, or giving messages about abolitionism during Meeting for Worship. By the late 1840s, these more cautious Hicksite Friends had disowned many influential Hicksite abolitionists, and other abolitionists had themselves left Quakerism out of frustration with their more politically-conservative peers. The first group of Progressive Friends was created from the abolitionist Michigan Quarterly Meeting in 1848. This group, which became the Michigan Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Universal Progress, was a


28 This pattern does not necessarily hold true for Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers in other parts of the country, and is a broad generalization. Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 16, 39.

29 See, for example, Abby Kelley, Angelina and Sarah Grimke, and Elizabeth Buffum Chase. Fager, *Remaking Friends*, 34-5.
space for these more radical abolitionist Quakers. Progressive Friends came to Pennsylvania in 1853, when they held a meeting in Kennett Square, Chester County. This group of Progressive Friends, which included Emma Jane Fussell’s family, lasted much longer than other Progressive groups, continuing into the twentieth century. Progressive Friends were one attempt at a solution to an enduring problem for Quakers—is it better to retreat into trying to create perfect Quaker communities, or to engage with the wider world, trying to repair it?

Sallie Wistar, Jane Gibbons Rhoads, and Emma Jane Fussell’s lives were all deeply based in their Quaker communities: their families and most of their friends were Quaker, and Quakerism was an important factor in the way that they thought about themselves. Sallie Wistar and Jane Gibbons Rhoads were part of a circle of influential Orthodox Quaker families in Philadelphia. They attended Friends Select School, a well-regarded Quaker school. Both Wistar and Rhoads’ brothers attended Haverford College. In addition, Sallie Wistar’s father was a member of the influential Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for Sufferings. These family and social ties ensured that Wistar and Rhoads were immersed in Orthodox Quaker culture. Similarly, Emma Jane Fussell was involved in Progressive Quaker circles. Although she may not have attended Quaker school, her mother was deeply involved in the organization of the Pennsylvania

31 Ibid., 43.
32 Ibid., 45.
33 Of course, this problem is not unique to Quakerism.
35 John Greenleaf Whittier to Caspar Wistar, Seventh Month 5, 1844, Box 18, American Friends Letters Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, and her extended family was involved in various Quaker organizations.\textsuperscript{36} The connections her mother made in the Yearly Meeting, as well as her family’s abolitionist ties, ensured that Fussell too was part of a Quaker network, although one that differed from the network in which the Wistar and Rhoads families participated.

\textit{Quakerism and Other Protestant Sects}

There were similarities between these different sects of Quakerism. Although all three girls were part of tight-knit Quaker networks, Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads could not escape the increasing connections between Quakerism and other Protestant sects. Wistar’s often-melancholic diary entries about religion and sin reflect the tension caused by Orthodox Quakerism’s growing similarities with evangelical Protestantism. Although Wistar wrote about her struggle to work towards virtuousness, which points to a traditionally Quaker view of the nature of sanctification, her religious guilt also came from a new worry: “I know that before I can look forward to entering the kingdom of Heaven I must be born again.”\textsuperscript{37} Wistar’s guilt about her lack of moral character came, at least in part, from a fear that she would not be born again. This language of instantaneous conversion is much more evangelical than it is traditionally Quaker.\textsuperscript{38} Wistar’s fear about being born again was characteristic of many nineteenth-century girls, and her bleak language about sin is also consistent with the longing for


\textsuperscript{37} Sarah Wistar, February 27, 1859, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\textsuperscript{38} Hamm, \textit{The Transformation of American Quakerism}, xvi.
such a conversion experience among many young Protestant women.\textsuperscript{39} For example, Wistar’s despairing “Oh how very sinful am I, not a good part in me, nothing, I am entirely black with sin. Help me oh God,”\textsuperscript{40} mirrors one of her contemporaries quoted in Jane Hunter’s \textit{How Young Ladies Became Girls}, who wrote “Sometimes the awful thought comes to me, I am one of those who are never to be good—one of the doomed.”\textsuperscript{41} Both girls were engaged in a similar spiral of religious guilt, illustrating the similarities between Orthodox Quakerism and evangelical Protestantism.

Just as Orthodox Quakerism was changed by evangelical Protestantism, Progressive Quakerism was also affected by outside religious influences. These outside influences were part of the reason that many Quakers (Orthodox and Hicksite) were wary of cooperating too closely with reformers of other religious backgrounds, who might taint the purity of the Quaker community.\textsuperscript{42} These connections between Progressive Friends and other reformers are evident in Emma Jane Fussell’s diary. In one instance, Fussell wrote about attending a lecture given by Theodore Parker, a radical Unitarian and abolitionist.\textsuperscript{43} Although it is likely that the lecture was

\begin{itemize}
\item 39 Hunter, \textit{How Young Ladies Became Girls}, 145-146.
\item 40 This lament was brought on by conflict between Wistar and her family. In using her diary to reflect on conflict with her family, Wistar was a typical nineteenth-century girl: girls used their diaries to learn to “act appropriate emotional parts, [shape] their feelings to fit family and gender roles, and [attempt] to integrate their own needs for self-expression with cultural expectations.” Blauvelt, \textit{The Work of the Heart}, 29; Sarah Wistar, Eleventh Month 28, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\item 43 Emma Jane Fussell, May 22, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, RG5/087, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
\end{itemize}
about abolition, given the Fussell family’s interest in abolition, and Parker’s focus on
abolitionism, Parker was nevertheless a notorious figure.\textsuperscript{44} It is significant that Emma Jane
Fussell listened to him give a lecture, despite his Unitarianism. The Fussell family obviously
considered common beliefs about reform to be more important than Quaker purity.

Despite the growing connections both Orthodox Quakerism and Progressive Quakerism
had with other Protestant sects, much of what Rhoads, Fussell, and Wistar experienced in their
religious lives was distinctly Quaker. Rhoads recognized and appreciated the peculiarities of
Quaker practice, especially in comparison with what she witnessed at an Episcopal church she
visited in 1857. She wrote to her friend Louise Oliver, a fellow Quaker, about the experience: “I
ever was at any place of worship before, but meeting. I was much interested, but missed the
quiet.”\textsuperscript{45} This quote illustrates both the insularity and what may have been the growing openness
of Orthodox Quakerism. Before this experience, Rhoads had never attended any religious
services that were not Quaker. However, she was willing to attend—and interested in
attending—this Episcopal service. Nevertheless, she missed the customary silence of Quaker
worship when she did so. Although Wistar’s writing illustrates that Orthodox Quakerism was
creating room for ideas such as instantaneous conversion, Rhoads still appreciated traditional
Quaker religious practice—waiting in silence for the word of God.

\textsuperscript{44} Paul E. Teed, \textit{A Revolutionary Conscience: Theodore Parker and Antebellum America}

\textsuperscript{45} Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Ninth Month 6, 1857, Box 3, Sarah Wistar
Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford,
Pennsylvania.
Faith as a Source of Guilt and Strength

Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads understood themselves through their Quaker faith, but that faith could be a source of fear and tension in the girls’ lives, as well as a positive thing. For example, Sallie Wistar was never sure that she felt deeply enough about her faith, or that she was a good enough Quaker. Her sense of religious inferiority pervaded her thoughts about her future. She worried, “I was at Meeting this morning but my mind was not settled all the time and I fear I never can attain any settlement of mind in Meeting.”\(^46\) Attaining settlement of mind in Meeting refers to being in the right state to listen for the word of God, which is what Quakers do in silent Meeting for Worship. Wistar’s restlessness in Meeting, therefore, meant that she was not able to participate properly in one of the key aspects of Quaker worship. An inability to listen for God in Meeting connected to Wistar’s self-perceived sinfulness outside of Meeting as well. She found that her thoughts and actions at home and at school were deserving of her analysis and censure, writing frequently and despairingly about how sinful she was. In one typical diary entry, she wrote, “Sometimes…I think I will try once more to lead a more spiritual life, and to ensure my own salvation—then the week days follow with their worldly temptations and besetting sins and good resolutions too often vanish before them. Alas! Alas! May it not always be so.”\(^47\) Wistar’s melancholic language here also illustrates the fact that many Quakers saw depression as an important part of their spiritual journey.\(^48\) The experience of the Inward Light could be harrowing, not necessarily comforting, as it showed Quakers their many sins, and induced them to correct them.\(^49\) Wistar recorded her hopes that in the future she would be able to curb her

---

\(^46\) Sarah Wistar, Twelfth Month, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.  
\(^47\) Ibid., October 1858. Emphasis in the original.  
\(^48\) Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 4-5.  
sinfulness and lead a more spiritual life. Her frequent discussions of her sinful nature, brought on by conflicts with family members, reflections on her school work, and her time in Meeting, suggest that her Quaker worldview shaped how she thought about her life and future.

In a similar manner to Wistar, Emma Jane Fussell wrote about her need to act in accordance with her religious beliefs, although her guilt about her actions seems to have been much less intense than Wistar’s. Fussell wrote one day after school, “I am determined that if anything depends on me to do it rightly though I am afraid I do not always do it—yet I can try, and I have resolved to pay more attention to the Whisperer and be guided by it. I did not do this in school today…guided by the wishes of others instead of my own.”\(^{50}\) Wistar’s use of the term “Whisperer,” presumably to refer to God, is reminiscent of a tangle of interrelated Quaker metaphors for God and Christ.\(^{51}\) Indeed, twentieth-century Quaker theologian Thomas R. Kelly referred to the voice of God as the Whisper.\(^{52}\) Traditionally, Quakers have worshipped in silence to wait for the voice of God or Christ to speak to them in a “still, small voice.” For many Friends, this “still, small voice,” which comes from a phrase in 1 Kings 19:11-13, is also called the Inward Light, and is responsible for guiding people away from sin.\(^{53}\) Fussell’s invocation of

\(^{50}\) Emma Jane Fussell, May 22, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.


the Whisperer was thus a specifically Quaker way of talking about her desire to live according to God’s wishes for her, in terms of both her schoolwork, and her duties at home.

While Wistar’s struggle to live her faith was often a source of guilt for her, Rhoads’ faith provided her with comfort as she faced the fact that she was likely to die young. Rhoads struggled with her health throughout her teenage years, and died of pulmonary disease in early 1860, when she was twenty years old.\(^{54}\) In one odd piece of writing from 1858, Rhoads explored a pouch of wedding and funeral notices, describing the pouch’s contents with melancholic language such as: “Next comes [the funeral notice of] a little boy; by a fatal step his life was ended, a fall into a well changed the joyous child to the crushed corpse & blighted the mother’s heart.”\(^{55}\) Rhoads ended this bleak composition with a quote from Romans 8:18: “that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.”\(^{56}\) Although the purpose of Rhoads’ writing is unclear, the writing reflects a religious sensibility in which resignation to God’s will, and the expectation of a happy afterlife, were important.\(^{57}\) Rhoads’ other writings also reflect this reliance on God’s plan. In a letter to her brother written shortly before she died in 1860, Rhoads confided, “How can I be grateful enough to my Heavenly Father, whose love has enabled me to look forward to an early, perhaps a sudden


\(^{55}\) Jane Gibbons Rhoads, Fifth Month, 27, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\(^{56}\) Ibid.; Romans 8:18, King James Version.

\(^{57}\) The work may have been a school composition, or something Rhoads wrote for herself. It is unclear whether the composition is fiction or not. Its stylized lack of names and dates could mean either.
death, with hope—without, as it regards myself, a single regret!” Religion helped Rhoads cope with the uncertainty of life. While she felt sad that her family would miss her when she died young, her faith allowed her to hope that she was going on to something better.

Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads leaned on their Quaker faith to shape how they saw themselves and their place in the world. Although they experienced a Quakerism that was increasingly affected by outside influences, the girls’ lives were nonetheless markedly Quaker. Quakerism shaped the way they thought about sin, worship, and death. Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads reflect nineteenth-century Quakers’ different methods of carrying out the spiritual mandates of Quakerism. Wistar and Rhoads, both Orthodox Quakers, turned inward with their faith, as Wistar felt guilty about her sinful nature, and Rhoads drew comfort from her knowledge of a future life in Heaven. Fussell, a Progressive Friend, also turned outwards, and focused her energy on reform work. These young women’s writings about their spirituality showcase both their similarities and differences with other nineteenth-century girls.

SCHOOL AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF USEFUL FUTURES

When Sallie Wistar resolved ruefully at the beginning of the school year, “at school I must do differently from what I have done before…not be influenced by any one (even my dear friends) at school in regard to studying,” she illustrated the multiple types of learning that occur at schools. Schools are both academic spaces, where children learn how to read, write, and

58 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to William Gibbons Rhoads, First Month 19, 1860, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
59 Sarah Wistar, Ninth Month 2, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
cipher; and social spaces, where they learn about their relationships to the wider world, and try to become better people. By the 1850s, it was common for middle-class girls like Sallie Wistar to attend school, both as a way of signaling and reproducing their family’s social class, and as a way of providing a career, if needed, for those girls as teachers. Quaker families in particular recognized the importance of giving both girls and boys at least the basics of an education. However, advice writers, novelists, and doctors worried that too much education would harm girls’ health, and distract them from learning how to run households. Girls in the 1850s attended many different types of schools, including large public schools in cities, one-room schoolhouses in small towns, private religious schools, and teacher training schools. These schools provided very different types of educations. Sallie Wistar and Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ experiences at a private religious school, and Emma Jane Fussell’s at a teacher training school, begin to demonstrate the variety of types of schooling available to girls, and the variety of lessons that girls could learn from those schools. The types of schools they attended shaped the expectations for their futures that the girls and their families had for them. The girls’ hopes and expectations about their futures illustrate a dissatisfaction with the narrowing opportunities girls experienced as they grew up, and the difficulties they had in imagining meaningful futures for themselves, given those narrowing opportunities.

*Friends Select School*

For many middle and upper-class families in the 1850s, school was a way to “occupy and improve [daughters] during years they might otherwise be unoccupied, before anticipated

---

61 Ibid., 213; Boydston, *Home & Work*, 111.
Friends Select School (FSS), an Orthodox Friends School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which both Sallie Wistar and Jane Gibbons Rhoads attended in the late 1850s, worked to do just that. Sallie Wistar’s mother, Lydia Wistar, believed deeply in Friends Select School’s ability to occupy and improve Sallie Wistar, although Wistar was an indifferent student, and was not at all sure that she would be able to get her diploma. After procrastinating on her studying over the summer, Sallie Wistar wrote, “It seemed now almost impossible in the time that is allotted to me to finish that Algebrae [sic.], but to get a diploma, I must do it, & as Mama is so anxious for that, I will try hard; yes, I must do it, & I will (if I can).” The many qualifying statements in Wistar’s writing reflect her lack of self-confidence about her ability to finish her education, but her obedience to her mother meant that she would try. Lydia Wistar was so anxious that Sallie Wistar finish her education that when Wistar had not done all of her sewing, “dear Mother kindly offers to finish, so that I can get along pretty well with what I have.” Lydia Wistar evidently thought that her daughter would gain more from finishing her education than from doing the sewing that was part of her household duties. However, as Wistar’s future was much more likely to consist of running a household than of directly using the academic lessons she learned at FSS, those academic lessons must have seemed rather pointless to a student like Sallie Wistar.

---

62 Hunter, How Young Ladies Became Girls, 173.
63 Presumably, Wistar and Rhoads received their earlier education at Friends Select School at well, but that is unclear because Wistar and Rhoads’ discussions of school come from diaries and letters spanning the period 1855-1859, when they were in their late teens, and their writings do not mention their earlier schooling.
64 Sarah Wistar, Ninth Month 2, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
65 Ibid., Ninth Month 30, 1857.
Friends Select School did provide girls with a solid academic education, and studies at the school covered a variety of academic subjects. Jane Gibbons Rhoads wrote to a friend in 1857 that, her “studies are Mental philosophy, Rhetoric, Physical Geography, Davis’ Legendre [a geometry textbook], Alsop [an algebra textbook], Latin, French, Lyman’s chart [a history textbook], Barclay’s Catechism [a Quaker text], &c. We go to the very end of Alsop.”

This list of subjects and textbooks illustrates how Friends Select School incorporated Quaker lessons alongside academic ones in its curriculum. Although Rhoads did not write about her science education, FSS committee minutes also mention that girls at Friends Select School read William Paley’s *Natural Theology*, and attended “Experimental lectures on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy” at the boys’ school.

Academic education at FSS came with a Quaker component—although some books the students read were written by non-Quakers, like Lyman’s *Historical Chart*, even the school’s algebra textbook was written by Samuel Alsop, a former principal of

---

66 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Ninth Month 4, 1857, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.


68 Friends Select School educated both boys and girls, but they were separated into different classes and buildings. School Committee Minutes 1847-1878, Sixth Month 8, 1858 and Tenth Month 12, 1858, Friends Select School, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; Carol H. Brown, *A Friends Select School History* (Sharon Hill, PA: Archway Press, 1989), 57.
Friends Select School. Education at Friends Select School thus combined academic lessons in algebra, science, and languages, with lessons in Quaker beliefs.

Friends Select School’s distinctiveness came from the Quaker moral lessons it taught its students in addition to their academic lessons. FSS provided Wistar and Rhoads with a “guarded education,” which protected them from the influences of the outside (non-Quaker) world while they learned how to be Quaker. Non-Quaker students were not admitted to the school until 1877, meaning that Wistar and Rhoads would have been educated in an all-Quaker environment in the late 1850s. For the Quakers who ran FSS, and sent their children there, its most important attribute was that it was run by and for Quakers, and would teach their children Quaker values. Reading religious texts like Barclay’s *Catechism* gave the students an opportunity to study Quaker theology, so that they knew “the nature and grounds of our own peculiar testimonies.” School also provided opportunities for the girls to put those testimonies into action, and practice their moral behavior. In one such instance, Wistar wrote in her diary about a girl who joined her class at Friends Select School after her father’s business failed. Wistar resolved to be extra kind to her: “with great kindness & delicacy I hope to soften the mortification any one of her proud spirit must feel.” That girl’s mortification over her father’s business failure would have been extreme, since Quakers who failed in business lost much of

---

69 Samuel Alsop, *A Treatise on Algebra in which the Principles of the Science are Familiarly Explained*, i.
71 Ibid., “Timeline of Events in F.S.S. History.”
73 Ibid.
74 Sarah Wistar, Ninth Month 30, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
their religious standing in their community. In welcoming this girl into her social circle, Wistar demonstrated a nineteenth-century woman’s perspective on social status as something defined by virtue rather than wealth, which gave women agency in a system in which women were often dependent on male relatives for their wealth. Although the girl’s financial status had changed, Wistar resolved to treat her as a friend. This awkward social situation at school allowed Wistar to put her moral education into practice, and act kindly, something which she often wrote about her struggles with in her diary.

However, the competitive atmosphere of the classroom contrasted with the Quaker values which were supposed to be taught there. Wistar worried about the effect of competition on her efforts to improve her moral character. Reflecting on her classmates’ superior abilities in algebra, Wistar finally resolved, “still I will not worry about it. I am doing my best, and one thing remember better never do another sum than give way to unamiable [sic.] or Jealous feelings regarding the progress of others…how very selfish I am, it is dreadful to think of.” Wistar’s uncompromising declaration that it was better never to learn math than to be jealous recalls the fact that competition was seen as unfeminine, not to mention un-Quaker. Quaker children would not, like other children, have been taught to regard aggressiveness as a male virtue.

However, the disconnect between secular and Quaker virtues got smaller as the nineteenth


77 For example, see May 17, 1857, where Wistar discussed her propensity to gossip, or Eleventh Month 28, 1857, where Wistar resolved to try harder to curb her tongue. Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

78 Ibid., Ninth Month 30, 1857.

century went on, meaning that, by the 1850s, Quaker children would have been exposed to positive representations of aggressiveness. Historian Jane Hunter celebrates the fact that coeducational schools, even schools like FSS that separated boys and girls into separate buildings and classes, encouraged girls to be more competitive and work on equal footing with boys. However, Wistar’s distress over the disconnect between the prescriptive lessons she had learned about appropriate moral behavior for girls, and the competitive atmosphere she encountered at school, demonstrates that girls had difficulty living out the competing expectations that school placed on them. For Wistar, school was a place of conflict, where the moral lessons implicit in guarded education collided with Wistar’s fears about the negative consequences of competition.

Not all students experienced the disconnect between academic competition and moral values as Wistar did. Jane Gibbons Rhoads envisioned a future for herself in which she used the academic lessons she learned at Friends Select School to carry out moral works. She therefore valued the education she received because she saw that it could lead to a productive and virtuous future, although it often did not. Rhoads watched her Philadelphia peers graduate from FSS, and reported scathingly to her friend Louise Oliver, “They have just subsided quietly into daughters at home.” Rhoads hoped for a different future for herself. Referencing Oliver’s regime of “teaching & studying,” Rhoads complained, “We have not half the energy you have [to teach and study], and I believe it’s because it’s so warm here, according to St. Clare’s theory in Uncle

81 Hunter, How Young Ladies Became Girls, 197-201.
82 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
In the passage Rhoads referenced in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, St. Clare argues that it is easier to be virtuous in the North, because in the South it is too hot to think or talk about serious subjects. Through this allusion to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Rhoads admired her friend’s teaching career and her studiousness. She also linked that teaching career, and being more than a “daughter at home,” with virtue and morality, since St. Clare’s assertion is about virtue, and Rhoads’ assertion is about work. Rhoads ended her discussion of education by promising Oliver, “when my school days are over, I intend to do something.” Rhoads’ letter reveals a common Quaker anxiety to do something productive in the world, and Rhoads evidently saw the education she received at Friends Select School as tied to her ability to be a moral force in the world.

However, Rhoads’ ill-health, which often kept her from school, illustrated how precarious girls’ education was. Rhoads understood how education could lead to a productive life, but she also learned how easily her chances of education, and therefore a moral future, could be taken away. In a letter to her friend Louise Oliver, Rhoads lamented being “a prisoner at home, exiled from school by that sad enemy, my weak chest…with no immediate prospect of resuming school duties & pleasures.” Illness often kept nineteenth-century girls away from school, especially as many of Rhoads’ contemporaries argued that studying too much, or

83 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
85 Strangely, in Rhoads’ comparison, Philadelphia becomes a part of the South, not the North.
86 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Emphasis in the original.
87 Ibid.
studying advanced subjects, could harm a girl’s health. Rhoads anticipated that Oliver would make that connection, and Rhoads rejected the association between studying and ill-health, at least in her case, insisting, “Now Louise, dont [sic.] say, … ‘she has studied too hard,’ for I dont [sic.] admit [it].” Rhoads’ language makes it clear that she chafed at the restrictions placed on her by her health. Her time at home was an exile from her rightful place at school, and her time spent studying was unconnected to her current weak chest. She valued education for both its “duties and pleasures,” which she thought would help her achieve a useful and productive future.

*Chester County Normal School*

Emma Jane Fussell’s education at a normal school illustrates the ways that education could provide girls with a productive future, especially when their communities expected that they would use their educations for something in addition to housework. Fussell did not receive an entirely guarded, Quaker education. It is unclear what school, or schools, Fussell attended in her early childhood. By 1856, Emma Jane Fussell had entered a normal school, probably the Chester County Normal School, a school which provided education for people intending to be teachers. The Chester County Normal School taught aspiring teachers the subjects they would

---

89 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
be expected to teach at common schools, as well as instructing them in the pedagogy of teaching. Therefore, Fussell’s education provided her with a clear path to a future career. Her reflections on her education illustrate the sense of purpose this education gave her. In one typical diary entry, she wrote, “May I when I am engaged in the holy work of teaching be loved and respected as [my teacher] wishes and may my instruction be such as will do [my students] good.” As a part of her education, Fussell observed her own teacher, and reflected on what type of teacher she wanted to be. Like Rhoads, Fussell saw teaching, and the pursuit of knowledge, as a moral activity, which contributed positively to other peoples’ lives, and therefore gave meaning to her own life.

Education at normal schools, like education at Friends Select School, had a moral component, which made Fussell’s imagined future as a teacher seem worthwhile. Fussell’s diary itself was a school assignment, where she could record her thoughts about education and about her own character. Improving her own moral character was a goal of her education, as normal schools were meant to improve the caliber of teachers in schools. Teachers, being responsible for the education of children, needed to be of good moral character. Fussell recorded the goals of

---

92 In the junior course, students studied “Reading, Orthography, Analysis, Grammar, Composition, Geography and Mapping, Writing, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Elementary Algebra, Physiology, United States History, Familiar Science, Vocal Music, Pennsylvania School Law, and Art of Teaching.” In the senior course, they studied “Higher Algebra, Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, as contained in Surveying and Mensuration, Physical Geography, Philosophy, Household Science (Youman’s), Elements of Botany, El. Astronomy, El. Geology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Science of Government and Lecturing”; “Circular and Register of the Chester County Normal School” (West Chester, PA: Chester County Normal School, 1860), 5.


the diary assignment in her first diary entry: “may the advantages that [my teacher] wishes
follow my efforts and may I eventually improve in my intellectual and moral [character] and if
these poor pages do but show my progress through the field of darkness my work will be more
than repaid.”

Fussell understood her diary as a place to record her reflections on life so that she
could look back on them and hopefully perceive her moral progress. This use of a diary was a
part of an emphasis on self-culture for middle-class girls, whose primary responsibility was now
building a virtuous and educated self. Writing in diaries was an “ethical technique,” which
allowed girls to “practice introspection” about moral issues. Through writing a diary,
improving her moral character became a part of Fussell’s schoolwork.

Fussell was able to see how her education contributed to a worthwhile future as a teacher
partly because her community valued teaching as a job. In calling teaching a “holy work,”
Fussell signaled that, unlike many of her nineteenth-century contemporaries, she did not think of
teaching as a low-status occupation. Many middle-class families did not discuss teaching as an
option for their daughters, although it was a reason for educating them, because they hoped their
daughters would never have to lower themselves to the point of working as a teacher to earn their
keep. Even Quakers, who valued their children’s education, did not always see teaching as an
important and respected job, and often paid teachers very low salaries, leading to high teacher
turnover in Quaker schools. However, in Fussell’s family and community of reform-minded
Progressive Quakers, teaching was often part of a woman’s life trajectory. Fussell’s mother had

95 Emma Jane Fussell, June 7, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-
Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore,
Pennsylvania.
96 Sánchez-Eppler, Dependent States, 34-6.
98 Elizabeth A. O’Donnell, “Quakers and Education,” in The Oxford Handbook of
been a teacher before she married, and many of Fussell’s friends and family members were teachers as well.99 Fussell compared herself to them, writing anxiously after she graduated from normal school, “I have been unable to get any school. Esse[,] Ellen[,] Adie, Janie are all teaching.”100 In Fussell’s community, teaching was an expected part of a woman’s life, and a respected one. Fussell wrote about her plans to become a teacher multiple times in her diary, and she invested the job of teacher with spiritual gravity, by saying that it was holy.

School played a complicated role in Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ lives. It taught Wistar and Rhoads how to be good Orthodox Quakers, and gave Fussell strategies for improving her moral character. But Wistar in particular worried that school’s competitive atmosphere undermined the same moral values she was supposed to learn there, which should have been more important than the academic lessons taught there. School also provided Fussell and Rhoads with hopes of a useful future, employing the knowledge they learned at school. Fussell’s schooling gave her a concrete plan for a future as a teacher, while Rhoads’ schooling made her determined to continue using her education after she left school. However, Wistar was unable to connect the academic lessons she learned at school with any future she could imagine for herself. School thus embodied the confusing and varied expectations placed on nineteenth-century girls, showing how difficult it was for them to imagine and create a meaningful and moral adult life.

100 Emma Jane Fussell, June 7, 1857, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 2, Box 5, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
HOUSEWORK AND ITS USES

In addition to attending school, nineteenth-century girls spent a considerable amount of time helping their mothers run households, and preparing to run their own households in the future. Although the labor that went into running a household was considerable, and housework had economic value for families, nineteenth-century rhetoric placed housework explicitly outside of the economy. ¹⁰¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, girls were spending more time in school, and less doing housework, prompting cultural critics to worry that girls knew very little about housework, and were not prepared to take over from their mothers.¹⁰² Girls like Sallie Wistar, Jane Gibbons Rhoads, and Emma Jane Fussell were wealthy enough to be spared the hardest parts of household labor, but they, like other nineteenth-century girls, nevertheless saw housework and running a household as central to their lives. Although housework was central to their lives, the fact that it was not always defined as labor meant that girls often worried that the work they did was not meaningful.

Girls and Housework

Running a household in the nineteenth-century was a complicated and difficult task, even for women who could afford to hire help.¹⁰³ Middle-class women were responsible for some

¹⁰¹ Boydston, Home & Work, 159.
¹⁰² Ibid., 110-112.
¹⁰³ The Wistar and Fussell families hired servants, probably cooks and maids, reducing the amount of work for which their mistresses were responsible. The 1850 census reports three live-in servants, two women and a man, in the Wistar household, and the 1860 census reports one live-in servant, a woman, in the Fussell household. Although records are not available for the Rhoads family, they moved in the same circles as the Fussells, and probably had a similar number of servants. 1850 U.S. census, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, population schedule, p. 36B, family 120, Sarah Wistar; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 13, 2017, http://ancestry.com. 1860 U.S. census, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, population schedule, p. 477,
combination of childcare, sewing, cleaning, cooking, laundry, and superintending servants.

When servants left, as they often did, women had to take over their more difficult jobs until replacements could be found, and women were responsible for the arduous task of finding replacements as well.¹⁰⁴ Daughters were responsible for less household labor than in the previous century, a phenomenon which caused much alarm among cultural critics.¹⁰⁵ However, housework was still an important presence in nineteenth-century girls’ lives: as well as occupying some of their time as girls, they knew that household management was likely to occupy most of their time when they grew up. Consequently, the process of learning how to help run their households showed up in their diaries and letters. Jane Gibbons Rhoads wrote proudly in a diary from 1853, when she was thirteen, “I do my own mending and sometimes more.”¹⁰⁶ In that same diary, she recorded the sewing and preserving work she did for the years 1852 and 1853, which included sewing clothing for herself and her siblings, as well as sewing clothing for dolls.¹⁰⁷ Rhoads probably recorded sewing for her dolls alongside the more obviously useful sewing she did for herself and her siblings because in nineteenth-century ideology, sewing for dolls gave girls a chance to practice their sewing and maternal skills.¹⁰⁸ Ironing was another

---

¹⁰⁴ Boydston, Home & Work, 77-85.
¹⁰⁵ For example, see the writings of the novelist Louisa Tuthill and the writer Catharine Beecher; Boydston, Home & Work, 111-112; Hunter, How Young Ladies Became Girls, 22-23.
¹⁰⁶ Jane Gibbons Rhoads, 1853, Jane Gibbons Rhoads Diary, Box 12, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
time-consuming task, which often showed up in the pages of Emma Jane Fussell’s diary.\(^\text{109}\) As girls, Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads helped with housework, but it was not yet their primary responsibility.

Housework was a job bounded by both gender and age. It was women’s work, although girls were supposed to help with it, and the transition from girlhood to womanhood involved adjusting to the expectation that housework would consume most of a woman’s life. Jane Gibbons Rhoads, while discussing her cousin Allie, illustrated how girls had room to escape traditional girls’ work, as long as they grew up into proper wives, mothers, and housekeepers. Rhoads called Allie “a strange girl,” recalling that she “used to wear boys’ clothes, chop wood, make brooms, use carpenter’s tools; & do all she could that was not girl’s work.”\(^\text{110}\) Allie’s performance of boy’s work was uncommon enough for Rhoads to comment on it, but in a later letter, Rhoads argued for the positives of Allie’s unusual childhood chores: “She is a strange girl, but will be a fine woman I think. Her boyish tastes have led her to such pursuits as have well developed her physical powers & she has in this respect a great advantage over others… I feel more & more the importance of a sound body.”\(^\text{111}\) In this model of girlhood, juxtaposed with Rhoads’ own ill-health, Allie’s choice of boys’ chores gave her exercise, and, consequently, good health, allowing her to grow into a healthy woman. However, when Allie grew up, she would be expected to put aside her boyish pursuits and use her good health to do the hard work

\(^{109}\) See for example Emma Jane Fussell’s diary, July 14, 1858 and August 3, 1858, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

\(^{110}\) Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Ninth Month 7, 1858 and Seventh Month 23, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\(^{111}\) Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Ninth Month 7, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
of household management. This ideology was also present in nineteenth-century fiction. In Louisa May Alcott’s novel *Eight Cousins*, a doctor explains that he lets his niece run wild because “Tomboys make strong women usually.” When his sister-in-law cautions him, “we must not forget she has a woman’s work to do by and by,” Dr. Alec responds that, as long as his niece is in good health, she can be taught women’s work.  

112 Critic Anne Scott MacLeod argues that women authors like Louisa May Alcott used fiction to explore the transition from tomboy-hood to womanhood. She makes the point that the transition could be an extremely painful one, marked by loss of freedom and opportunity, as women adjusted to the cares and constraints of running a household.

Housework most frequently made an appearance in girls’ writings when their mothers were away, or servants left, and girls needed to take up the slack.  

114 For Quaker girls, this household labor may have been especially important, as a way of letting their mothers do religious work they felt called to do. When Emma Fussell’s mother, Rebecca Fussell, went away, Fussell both celebrated and worried about her increased responsibilities: “Mother still at the Meeting we are succeeding very well and I am determined that if anything depends on me to do it rightly though I am afraid I do not always do it.”  

115 Although Fussell acknowledged that her family was getting along well, she also demonstrated a fear about her ability to do the household

---


114 Girls may have written more about housework in these instances because, unlike their normal household work, this work was unusual, and made them feel useful; Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*, 24.

work her mother did.\textsuperscript{116} Her fear reflects a larger cultural anxiety about girls being unprepared to do their mother’s household work, as well as illustrating Fussell’s usual lack of participation in the majority of the domestic labor.\textsuperscript{117} The meeting which Emma Jane Fussell mentioned was probably the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, with which Rebecca Fussell was deeply involved.\textsuperscript{118} Fussell’s desire to do her mother’s work well may have been intensified by her desire to prove that the family could function while Rebecca Fussell was away on Quaker business, allowing her mother to feel less guilt about placing Quaker work above the needs of her family.\textsuperscript{119}

Running a household was a likely life trajectory even for women who did not imagine themselves getting married. Sallie Wistar planned on keeping house for her brother William after she finished school. But before she could start, William moved to New York to work in a store there, leaving Sallie in Philadelphia. Wistar wrote, “It is almost as much of a change in my prospects as his, as my services as helper & housekeeper had been offered in case he took Hilton which we all fully expected; but W thought differently & I hope it may be for the best.”\textsuperscript{120} As an

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{116} In this entry in Fussell’s diary, she expressed apprehensions about her ability to behave well at school, which was discussed on page 17, and to do her duty at home. Those home duties included doing housework usually done by her absent mother. In both types of duty, Fussell looked to the prompting of the Whisperer.

\textsuperscript{117} Boydston, \textit{Home & Work}, 110-112.

\textsuperscript{118} The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends took place from May 20-22 in 1855, and Emma Jane Fussell’s diary entry about her mother’s absence is dated May 22, 1855. In addition, Rebecca Fussell’s name appears in an announcement about the dates of the 1859 Yearly Meeting, showing that she was involved in its organization. See Appendix I for an explanation of Quaker organizational structure, including Yearly Meetings. “Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends” (New York: John F. Trow, 1855), 3; “Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends,” \textit{Liberator} 29, no. 19 (May 13, 1859), 75.


\textsuperscript{120} Sarah Wistar, February 6, 1859, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\end{flushleft}
unmarried daughter and sister, Wistar’s role in the family was to be passed around as a housekeeper for male relatives. Wistar’s passive formulation, saying that her “services…had been offered” illustrates her relative lack of agency in this situation. She did not write that she offered her own services, and it was William’s decision, not her own, that decided her actions. Perhaps Wistar would have seen running her brother’s household as preferable to living at home, since she clashed constantly with her father. But her brother’s decision took that option from her, and no matter where she went, Wistar’s life as an unmarried daughter would consist of helping to run a household in her family, since unmarried women of Wistar’s class were expected to live with family until they married.

The Pastoralization of Housework

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the definition of labor changed in ways that prioritized paid labor, and undervalued housework, which made it difficult for women and girls to feel like the housework that they did contributed lastingly to the family economy. It is clear from Sallie Wistar’s diary that she did participate in household labor: sewing, preserving, helping her mother open their Philadelphia house, and filling in when servants left. For example, Wistar wrote tiredly in 1858, “A week or two ago our servants left us and since then Mother has had 5 disappointments with others; one left this morning early, consequently I have been working ever since and am quite tired. Week before last we were entirely without [servants], and Hannah [Wistar’s sister] was cook and I chambermaid for more than a week. No slight task.”\(^{121}\) Since servant turnover was quite high at this time, Wistar’s turn

\(^{121}\) Sarah Wistar, July 17, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
as chambermaid was not unusual. Even when the family did have servants, Wistar was responsible for sewing, as well as more seasonal tasks like picking and preserving fruits and vegetables for the winter. However, Wistar agonized over not doing enough work for her family. In one particularly dramatic diary entry several months after her week without servants, Wistar wrote, “I do nothing, of any account. Sewing for myself does no one any good, my reading benefits no one but myself. I do very little or nothing for the “general good” at home…I wonder if the parable of the ‘talents’ relates to me, it certainly must I think and yet what cd [sic.] I do?” In the Biblical parable of the talents, a master gives several of his servants talents (a Roman unit of money) before going away on a trip. When he gets back, he rewards the servants who increased their talents, and punishes the servant who kept the same amount. By invoking the parable of the talents, Wistar attempted to imagine a future in which she created something useful out of the life she had. However, she was unable to see the meaningful work she already did for her household, as well as unable to imagine doing more with her life, and increasing her talents.

Wistar’s inability to see the housework she did as labor is similar to the reflection of the author Harriet Beecher Stowe, who in a letter recounting the massive amounts of housework she had done in the past month, ended, “And yet, I am constantly pursued and haunted by the idea

---

123 “the beans & currant[s] to be picked (which will fall to my lot) & prepared for winter’s use looks rather formidable. It seems strange that I should find it difficult to do cheerfully the out-door tasks I am called upon to do, yet so it is, poor human nature!” Sarah Wistar, July 5, 1857, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
124 Ibid., September 18, 1858.
that I don’t do anything.” Wistar and Stowe’s attitude stems from what historian Jeanne Boydston calls the “pastoralization of housework,” an ideology in which women were celebrated for their natural talent at running households, but which also obscured the actual work involved in household management. Boydston notes that the pastoralization of housework “required the articulation of a new way of seeing (or, more exactly, of not seeing) women as actors, capable of physical exertion”:

the work women did in running a household became something that came to them naturally, hiding the sheer amount of physical labor involved in women’s work, and downplaying its importance in people’s lives. Even when women wrote about the never-ending cycle of sewing, cleaning, and cooking they did, they were reminded that such work was a natural function of womanhood, and that it was not as important as the wage labor performed by their husbands and fathers. Therefore, girls and women often felt like the work they did was not actually work, and they worried that they were not living their lives in a meaningful way.

Even describing housework as work left women unsure of its value. When Emma Jane Fussell lost her teaching job, after a mysterious argument with the school board, she wrote about housework as though it were a job. She recorded in her diary that, “Dispensing with instructions to others I am now engaged in the old work of household management.” Although she sounded merely resigned to household management, she nevertheless called it work, and she made an equivalency between teaching and running a household as jobs. This equivalency may

126 Harriet Beecher Stowe to Sarah Buckingham Beecher, December 17, [1850], Beecher-Stowe Family Papers, quoted in Boydston, Home & Work, 163.
127 Boydston, Home & Work, 149.
128 Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
130 Ibid., January 30, 1860.
have been an attempt to convince herself of the importance of household work in comparison to teaching, especially since her return home had not been her choice. However, the contrast between Fussell’s description of the work of household management and Wistar’s worries that she did not do any work for her family is telling. Both girls seem concerned about housework’s role in making their life meaningful in a society in which work was defined as wage labor.

As Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads moved from girlhood to womanhood, they also moved from freedom and possibility to a more circumscribed existence, defined by their role as housekeepers. In this move, and in their writings about the role of housework in their lives, Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s experiences mirror the experiences of other middle and upper-class nineteenth-century girls. Housework was expected to be part of the life of every woman, and therefore it was part of the way that they understood their place in the world. The pastoralization of housework meant that, although housework was difficult and essential work, its economic value was discounted. Therefore, women felt as though they were not contributing to their households, or creating meaningful lives, when the majority of their lives was taken up by household management.

REFORM WORK, GUILT, AND A USEFUL FUTURE

Reform work was an important part of the ideology, if not the practice of nineteenth-century middle-class women’s lives, especially as women’s involvement in it was seen as a natural extension of their nurturing and moral qualities.\textsuperscript{131} Abolition, temperance, prison reform, school reform, asylum work, and women’s rights were just some of the many reform movements

\textsuperscript{131} Ginzberg, \textit{Women and the Work of Benevolence}, 11-16.
that moved nineteenth-century reformers to action. Work to improve the world was even more central to the lives of Quaker women, since Quakers believe, “True godliness don’t [sic.] turn men out of the world but enables them to live better in it and excites their endeavours to mend it.”

Although not all Quaker women and girls engaged in reform work, it was nevertheless a large presence in their communities. The expectation that they would endeavor to mend the world caused much guilt and anxiety for Quaker girls, as they worked to figure out what work and how much work they wanted—and it was appropriate—for them to do.

Although Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s families were all involved in reform movements, the girls responded differently to the pressures of their communities’ expectations of reform work. Wistar agonized in her diary over her lack of involvement and purpose, while Fussell was deeply involved in the abolition movement, although her diary does not reflect that work. As a result of her ill-health, Rhoads’ good works took on a different character, and she tried to do good through her example of patient suffering. Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s different responses to the expectations of their communities illustrate the difficulties and dangers of reform work, as well as the differing levels of engagement with, and different types of, reform work among Quaker girls and women. Although women’s engagement in reform movements was an important part of Quaker ideology, in practice, engagement in such work varied, often causing women distress over how fulfil their moral duties to do good.


Family and Community Expectations

Reform work was an extremely important part of Quaker communities by the 1850s, especially abolition work, which can be shown through the variety of abolition organizations with which the Wistar and Rhoads families were involved. As well-connected and wealthy Orthodox families, they were involved in various fund-raising, organizing, and lobbying ventures. For example, John Greenleaf Whittier, the famous Quaker poet and abolitionist, corresponded with Sallie Wistar’s father, Dr. Caspar Wistar, about raising money for abolitionist causes, and about lobbying Congress to require Texas to enter the Union as a free state. In addition, Caspar Wistar was part of the influential Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for Sufferings, which assisted Quakers who suffered because of their moral scruples, which, in the mid-nineteenth-century, often meant Quakers who suffered because of their abolitionist beliefs and actions. Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ father was also involved in abolitionism—he donated substantial amounts of money to the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM). Through their involvement in organizations like the PYM Meeting for Sufferings and the PYM Free Produce Society, Caspar Wistar and Samuel Rhoads demonstrated to their families and communities the importance of working to improve the world.

Like the Wistars and the Rhoadses, the Fussells were an influential and well-connected Quaker family, involved in multiple reform ventures. However, unlike the Wistars and Rhoadses,

134 John Greenleaf Whittier to Caspar Wistar, Seventh Month 5, 1844; John Greenleaf Whittier to Caspar Wistar, Eleventh Month 11, 1845; Box 18, American Friends Letters Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
136 The Free Produce Association worked to provide consumers with products untainted by slave labor. Samuel Rhoads, Free Produce Association Certificate, First Month 1, 1855, Box 10, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
the Fussells were Progressive Friends. Progressive Friends supported more radical forms of activism than other branches of Quakerism, and the Fussell family, in keeping with their religious views, were more radical in their reform work than the Wistar or Rhoads family. The Fussell family was directly involved in the Underground Railroad, and Rebecca Fussell, Emma Jane Fussell’s mother, once protected Frederick Douglass from an angry mob by holding her infant in front of him.\footnote{Smedley, \textit{History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania}, 182, 187.} In addition to abolition work, the Fussells, through their careers, were involved in the early women’s rights movement. Emma Jane Fussell’s father, Edwin Fussell, helped found the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania—the first medical college for women in the United States—and later served as its dean of faculty.\footnote{Ibid., 182.} His wife, Rebecca Fussell, was also a doctor, and served on the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania’s Board of Managers.\footnote{Edwin Fussell, “Valedictory Address to the Graduating Class of the Female Medical School of Pennsylvania, at the Tenth Annual Commencement” (Philadelphia: J.B. Chandler, 1861), ii.} Being doctors, and helping to run a school to produce women doctors, was a way in which the Fussells looked to improve the world. The Fussell family provides an example of a family in which reform was an integral part of life—it was how the family made its money, not just how they spent it.

Reform work was not just for adults. Girls like Fussell, Wistar, and Rhoads would have been expected to be actively involved in some type of reform effort. There were reform activities and organizations run specifically by unmarried young women. Therefore, in addition to the example of their families, Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads would have seen the example of their peers engaging in reform work. The actual work involved in participating in these groups for
girls varied. Louisa May Alcott depicts, somewhat scathingly, a fictional charity sewing circle run by rich young Philadelphians in her book *An Old-Fashioned Girl*. The girls involved in this circle were much more interested in gossiping than providing help to those in need.\textsuperscript{140} Alcott critiqued girls who wanted to perform their charitable actions in ways that made them look good, instead of actually doing the hard work of helping. The girls’ attempts to look virtuous illustrates how pervasive the expectation that girls partake in good works was. A real group which required considerably more effort from its workers was the Catherine Street House of Industry, which was run by unmarried Orthodox Quaker women, and provided poor women in Philadelphia with sewing work, childcare, and food.\textsuperscript{141} The Catherine Street House of Industry was exactly the kind of organization with which Orthodox girls like Sallie Wistar and Jane Gibbons Rhoads were supposed to volunteer.\textsuperscript{142}

\textit{Reform Work and Guilt}

Despite the overwhelming expectation that Quaker girls be involved in reform work, not all girls participated actively in a reform movement. Although it would not have been difficult for Sallie Wistar to involve herself with abolition activities, as her father was involved in the abolition movement, Wistar rarely mentioned abolition, or other reform movements in her diary. Her only mention of abolitionism, or indeed race, in her diary, was in 1859, when she wrote,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{141} Report of the Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor (Philadelphia, Joseph Rakestraw, 1835).
\textsuperscript{142} Sallie Wistar did work with the House of Industry later in her life. Sarah Wistar, January 13, 1866, Sarah Wistar Diary, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\end{flushright}
“The fugitive slave case has been rather exciting, I am glad he is now set at liberty.” Wistar’s reference is to the case of Daniel Dangerfield, who was captured in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania as a fugitive slave, and taken to Philadelphia to be tried in 1859. Wistar’s reaction to Dangerfield’s case reveals that, while she believed in the abolition movement, it was something to watch happening, not something with which she personally would be involved.

However, girls who did not participate actively in reform work were prone to guilt about their lack of participation, since benevolent work was part of making a meaningful life. About six months after graduating from school, Sallie Wistar agonized in her diary: “I do nothing, of any account. Sewing for myself does no one any good, my reading benefits no one but myself. I do very little or nothing for the “general good” at home, and I am quite sure I do nothing for anyone but of the family circle; and yet I expect people to love me… I hope all my life will not be as useless as it is now.” As noted in the previous section, Wistar discounted the labor of sewing for herself, because it did not benefit others in her life, and she wrote despairingly that she did not do anything for her family, or the larger world. It was not enough for girls like Wistar to help their mothers run households, and to try to improve their character through reading. Wistar’s lament shows that girls needed to act for the general good of the world in order to have a useful life. Her guilt about her “useless” life illustrates how important reform work was in making women’s lives seem meaningful.

---

143 Sarah Wistar, April 9, 1859, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
144 Dangerfield’s trial centered on whether he was, in fact, the escaped slave Daniel Dangerfield, and not, as he claimed, the free black man Daniel Webster. Dangerfield’s height did not match the height of the escaped slave his capturers claimed he was, so the judge decided that this was a case of mistaken identity, and set Dangerfield free. Charles L. Blockson, *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Jacksonville, NC: Flame International, 1981), 27-8.
145 Sarah Wistar, September 18, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. Emphasis in the original.
Exposure to a community of reformers did not automatically lead to girls getting involved in reform work themselves. In fact, Wistar’s guilt about her lack of action was compounded by her frustration at her father, whose lectures on virtue did not inspire her to live what he considered a useful life. When Wistar was planning to get new clothing for winter, and her sister’s wedding, Caspar Wistar objected. Sallie Wistar wrote wearily, “owing to one of Father’s periodical mental afflictions…Today has been an extremely trying day; scene at the dinner table disgraceful, a warning to all how they indulge their evil passions. I was very much excited by it. I wish my life was different…but this is idle I must make the best of it.”\(^146\) Caspar Wistar’s convictions about the importance of Quaker virtue (which necessarily included reform work) caused him to rebuke his family for not living up to his standards of moral behavior. His role as father and head of the family meant that Sallie Wistar and her siblings were supposed to listen to and to obey him. For example, in one anguished diary entry from August 28, 1858, Sallie Wistar and her brother Thomas discussed their family’s relationship with their father, and Thomas Wistar urged her to obey her father: “he spoke of the habit we have all acquired of speaking against Father almost without knowing it, and of the deception practiced daily here about many things…I was in tears a great part.”\(^147\) Sallie Wistar’s duty as a daughter meant obeying the father with whom she disagreed. However, Sallie Wistar’s duty, and Caspar Wistar’s lectures did not make Sallie Wistar want to get more actively involved in reform work. Instead, they contributed to her paralyzing guilt about her lack of action, and Wistar subsided into hoping that her future would be better than her current life, instead of finding a cause or organization to support. For some girls, then, exposure to a community filled with reformers did nothing but

\(^{146}\) Sarah Wistar, [November 1858], Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\(^{147}\) Ibid, August 28, 1858.
make them feel guilty about their worth, while they struggled to find their place in the world of reform work.

*Living Up to Community Expectations*

Diaries and letters do not always give a complete picture of a girl’s involvement with reform work, especially if that work was dangerous. Emma Jane Fussell’s diaries and letters make her stance on abolition seem similar to Wistar’s, although Fussell’s family, which was involved in the Underground Railroad, was made up of much more radical reformers than Wistar’s family.¹⁴⁸ Jody L. Cross-Hansen notes the importance of growing up among a family and community of reformers in showing children what their own future should look like, although it is clear from Sallie Wistar’s case that that example was not always enough to cause action.¹⁴⁹ Like Wistar, Fussell occasionally mentioned abolition and race in her diary, but not frequently. For example, in 1855, Fussell recorded that she went to lectures on “Animal Chemistry and Comparative Anatomy. The former was very interesting but the later I did not like. He departed too much from his subject and attempted to show the difference between Negroes and whites.”¹⁵⁰ Fussell’s distaste for the lecturer’s foray into an anatomy-based system of race illustrates her abolitionist beliefs. The lack of more mentions of abolitionist belief or

---

¹⁵⁰ Emma Jane Fussell, June 9, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
action in her diaries and letters may be because it was dangerous to leave incriminating records of Underground Railroad activity lying around.

Despite the lack of evidence in her own writings, Fussell lived out the dangerous expectations of her community about participating in relief work, particularly abolition work. In his history of the Underground Railroad in Chester County, R.C. Smedley wrote that Fussell attended a lecture given by the abolitionist George William Curtis in 1859: “Whilst there a shower of vitriol [sulfuric acid] was thrown into the audience and it fell chiefly on her face and dress. She was so terribly burned that for weeks her face had to be excluded from the air wrapped up in wet cloths.”\footnote{151} A biography of George William Curtis confirms that Curtis gave a lecture in Philadelphia on December 15, 1859, at which lecture, vitriol was thrown into the crowd.\footnote{152} Smedley’s account of the incident might be slightly overblown, however, since Fussell made light of her injuries in the diary which she started about two weeks after the lecture: “This morning early I received such a dear kind letter from Janie and Ellen. They wrote to me so sympathetically thinking I had been burned much worse than I was.”\footnote{153} Regardless of the severity of Fussell’s injuries, her willingness to attend this lecture points to her staunch Quaker commitment to abolition, since anti-abolition crowds had threatened the lecture beforehand, and entering the lecture involved walking through a mob being held back by the police.\footnote{154} Fussell’s serene description of the incident in her diary illustrates that living within community

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{151} Smedley, \textit{History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania}, 188.
\footnote{153} Emma Jane Fussell, January 2, 1860, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
\end{footnotes}
expectations was satisfying, and contrasts noticeably with Wistar’s emotional diary entries about her sinfulness for not participating in reform work.

*The Invalid and Reform Work*

Although Jane Gibbons Rhoads was too ill to be expected to participate in charity or abolition work like Wistar and Fussell, she had a different set of community expectations to carry out—she was to be a virtuous invalid. Diane Herndl notes that the prevalence of the cultural figure of the female invalid began at a moment when women were increasingly claiming prominence in both the domestic and the public sphere, but also a moment when doctors were increasingly laying claim to understanding women’s (sickly) bodies as a way of bolstering doctors’ own prominence. As a result of these competing discourses, women invalids were subject to a confusing combination of sympathy and suspicion—were they faking, in order to claim the attention given to an invalid, or were they really sick, and deserving of respect and sympathy? Like the ideology that governed other aspects of girls’ lives, this was a contradictory ideology, which both celebrated invalids for their resignation in the face of pain, and was also skeptical of that pain, which could be an excuse to avoid their duties as girls and women. This contradictory ideology ensured that there was considerable pressure to be the right kind of invalid. The construction of Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ identity as an invalid must thus be read in a context in which it was very important for her and her family to establish her virtue.

---

156 Ibid., 38-41.
Instead of improving the world through reform work, invalids could improve the world by inspiring their peers through their cheerful resignation in the face of boredom, pain, and possible death. Rhoads’ writings show the effort she and her family expended in living up to this image of the invalid. Shortly before she died, Rhoads went through her possessions and writings, deciding what keepsakes to give to friends and family, and how to dispose of her letters. She suggested that some letters be returned to their senders, and she left others for her mother to decide what to do with: “probably many of them had better be burned, being valuable only to me.” Through this process, Rhoads helped to curate her own memory, and her family continued that effort. The writings Rhoads and her mother left create a picture of a virtuous girl, who struggled nobly and bravely through her pain and ill-health, and who had access to spiritual truths because of her closeness to death.

Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ letters demonstrate the difficulty of resigning herself to a life in which her contribution was being a patient sufferer, instead of actively engaging in reform movements. In her letters to Louise Oliver, Jane Gibbons Rhoads comes across as a girl who hoped to do important things with her life. She told Oliver that she did not want to be just a “daughter at home,” and that she wanted to “do something” when she finished her education. However, she knew that this future was unlikely, even as she wrote that letter in 1858, and Rhoads worked to teach herself patience and resignation. In one note from 1855, she wrote, “I know my health is in a critical position, and I am not looking forward to a long life, nor would I

---

157 Jane Gibbons Rhoads, [1859 or 1860], Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
158 Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
desire it, if I was sure of going to Heaven, when I die.”¹⁵⁹ Making sure that she was a virtuous enough person to go to Heaven meant grappling with the fact that her health meant she would not be more than a daughter at home. Instead, Rhoads would need to teach herself how to find meaning in being an invalid. One way of doing this was by learning the lessons which prolonged sickness was supposed to teach. For example, writing to Oliver about a proposed visit, Rhoads admitted, “I hope I am learning a little in the school of disappointment, but I fear it will be hard to bear it if I am sick when thou art with us.”¹⁶⁰ Rhoads had to learn to adjust to the smaller circle of life in which she could participate, and she was supposed to treat that adjustment process as a valuable moral lesson.

The lessons Rhoads and other invalids learned from their experiences of pain and suffering also provided a way for them to impart change on the world around them, by acting as an example for their family and friends. The example of patient resignation provided by invalids was a common one in nineteenth-century ideology.¹⁶¹ For example, in a letter to her beloved brother William shortly before she died, Rhoads wrote, “To thee, & our dear brother & sister, I hope long and happy lives are in store, & that you will be comforts to our parents, to whom I know, the loss of a child, though that one was not what [she] should have been, will bring

¹⁵⁹ Jane Gibbons Rhoads, Twelfth Month 31, 1855, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
¹⁶⁰ Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Tenth Month 31, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
¹⁶¹ See, for example, the virtuous invalid Lucinda Snow, who acted as an example for her whole community in Louisa May Alcott’s novel Jack and Jill; Louisa May Alcott, Jack and Jill: A Village Story (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1887), chapter VII, https://archive.org/details/jackandjillavil00alcogoog.
grief.\textsuperscript{162} Here, Rhoads focused on her family’s pain at losing her, not her own pain and fear of death. Rhoads was modest, saying she was not as good a daughter as she should have been, but combined that modesty with a moral authority gained by her status as an invalid, assuring William that she hoped he and their siblings would behave well enough to be comforts to their parents. With this combination of selflessness, modesty, and moral authority, Rhoads’ tone in this letter sounds similar to that of fictional heroines like Eva St. Clare in \textit{Uncle Tom’s Cabin}.\textsuperscript{163} Rhoads assumed a similar role in letters to her old schoolmate, Nettie Vail, in which she observed Vail’s shortcomings, and kindly urged her to master them, as Rhoads herself would no longer have a chance to. “I wonder if [thy shyness] is from the same cause that made me dread to be with those much superior...that I had nothing to say interesting and would appear stupid. If it is I would advise thee to make a strong effort to overcome it.”\textsuperscript{164} Again, Rhoads assumed a modest position, assuring Vail that she also was shy, but ended from a position of authority, telling Vail to overcome her shyness for her own good.

The image of the saintly invalid often continued after girls died, as their families and friends constructed their memories of their loved ones. Rhoads’ family ensured that she would be remembered as saintly by quoting her letter to William G. Rhoads in her obituary, including parts of it which established her Christian character, and ending with the part quoted above, in

\textsuperscript{162} Jane Gibbons Rhoads to William Gibbons Rhoads, First Month, 19, 1860, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

\textsuperscript{163} For a discussion of Eva St. Clare as an invalid, see Diane Herndl’s \textit{Invalid Women}, 51-55.

\textsuperscript{164} Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Nettie Vail, First Month, 26, 1860, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
which Rhoads gave loving advice to her brother. The same kind of sanctification occurred when Emma Jane Fussell died nursing wounded soldiers in 1862. The author of a history of the Underground Railroad writing in the 1880s ended his profile of the Fussell family: “We only know that the silent dead sometimes influence us more than the living. Children yet unborn may be lifted to a higher plane by spiritual kinship with Emma J. Fussell, aged 23.” Even after death, girls’ moral and spiritual characters mattered, since they could influence others in future generations.

Fussell, Rhoads, and Wistar all lived in communities which expected them to work to improve the world. All three of their families were involved in abolitionist causes. However, the differences between their family cultures, and the girls’ situations, affected how the girls reacted to the expectation that they contribute to reform work. Although there were reform efforts which Wistar could have helped with, she did not, and her diary became a place to work through her guilt at her lack of participation in the culture of reform. Fussell did live up to her family’s culture of reform, and therefore had less of a reason to write about her abolitionist activities—they were not a source of guilt for her, and it would have been dangerous to even write down the details of some of her family’s work. Rhoads’ fragile health meant that she had to let go of her expectations of organized reform work, and instead take up the role of the cheerful and resigned invalid, which was a different, and less obvious way, of working to create a better world.

Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s reform work, or lack thereof, illustrates the place that reform work had in nineteenth-century Quaker women’s lives. Working to improve the world is

166 Smedley, History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania, 190.
an important part of the Quaker ideology about what makes up a good and useful life. However, not all Quakers participated actively in this work. Guilt at their lack of participation shaped the lives of women who did not contribute to worthy reform causes, because their lack of participation reflected on the value of their lives. Women who did participate actively in reform work, while they did not feel the same level of guilt, faced other pressures, such as the dangers of more radical forms of social reform. While reform work could help women create meaningful lives, its importance also made it difficult for women who were not involved in social reform to feel like their lives were meaningful.

CONCLUSION

In September of 1859, Sallie Wistar picked up her pen to write one of her last diary entries. Looking back through her past entries, she reflected:

This journal seems rather foolish and unworthy of addition every time I take my pen to write, but the idea that it may prove useful and interesting to me here after, induces me to keep it up. So far upon looking back I can not discover in myself any improvement. This is sad. To think that in two years I should not have progressed in any way, but I fear it is true…Alas! Alas! Will it always be thus? Is this book destined to be filled with regrets, & vain desires & aspirations unaccompanied with strength & grace[?] Perhaps I am more efficient in the family than formerly.\[167\]

Wistar saw her diary as part of a project of improvement, which would help her as she grew into womanhood. During the past two years, Wistar had completed her school education, moved into a larger role in running her family’s household, struggled to get along with her father, and agonized over her place in the reform movements happening around her. Looking back at the

\[167\] Sarah Wistar, September 1859, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
changes of those years, Wistar both saw her diary as a useful part of the process of change, and worried that she had not changed enough. Just as Wistar’s diary reflected the process of change and development which she underwent, so did Emma Fussell’s diary provide her with a record of her moral growth, and so did Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ writing help her think through her probable future. Wistar, Rhoads, and Fussell’s writings provide a record of the fraught process of moving from the freedoms of girlhood into the more constricting responsibilities of womanhood. This process was more difficult for some girls than others, but most girls ran up against the prevailing ideologies of womanhood as they struggled to imagine and articulate meaningful futures for themselves.

Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads faced a world in which there were confusing expectations placed on them about how they could live productive and meaningful lives. They lived in markedly Quaker communities, which influenced how they saw themselves, even as their Quaker communities were changing due to outside influences. One example of this was the girls’ schooling. Wistar and Rhoads got a “guarded education” at Friends Select School, learning how to be good Orthodox Quakers, as well as learning their academic lessons. Fussell learned both moral and academic lessons at her normal school as well, although her school also gave her a future career, by training her as a teacher. Education for girls, depending on the school, could thus be both a way of securing a place in the wider world, and a reminder that, once they finished their education, their role in life was not depended on that education.

168 See Emma Jane Fussell diary, June 7, 1855, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; and Jane Gibbons Rhoads, Fifth Month, 27, 1858, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
As middle and upper-class nineteenth-century girls, Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads knew that, regardless of education, their main role in life would be to run a household. However, the hard work involved in this all-important role was obscured by a culture which preferred to think of women as angels in the house, whose natural role was to effortlessly create and maintain happy homes. This was a paradox: girls knew that keeping house was important, and exhausting, but somehow it did not count as work. This combination of factors led to exhaustion and disillusionment for many women and girls. It was especially hard for Quaker women and girls, who were taught that they were spiritual equals to men, and that Quakers had a spiritual duty to try to improve the world, not retreat into their own communities and homes. Therefore, Quaker girls and women had trouble seeing their lives as meaningful if all they did was housework.

Middle and upper-class nineteenth-century women, and especially Quaker ones, were expected to be involved in work to improve the world, which often provided meaning to their lives, although it came with its own set of expectations and guilt. For Wistar, the expectation that she would find some way of improving the world, of helping people other than her family, was a source of intense guilt, as it was an expectation she did not live up to. Fussell, who was more actively involved in reform movements, especially abolitionism, wrote about her life much less guiltily, perhaps because her reform work helped her feel that she was contributing to improving the world. Rhoads, who, despite her ill-health, wanted to do something productive with her life, had to resign herself to being a role model of the virtuous invalid. Although not all Quaker girls and women participated actively in reform work, it was a powerful way of creating meaning in their lives.

Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ struggles to understand their place in the world were both typical of middle and upper-class nineteenth-century girls, and inflected by their Quaker faith.
Their struggles help us to understand the ideology of womanhood in the mid-nineteenth-century, and the ways in which it was almost impossible for women to live up to dominant gender norms. Wanting to create a meaningful adult life is not a phenomenon limited to Quaker girls of the 1850s. Looking at what made a moral and meaningful life in the mid-nineteenth-century can remind us that people, especially women, still must live with a variety of often-contradictory assumptions and expectations about how they will live their lives. These assumptions and expectations have real effects on how people think about themselves, and the paths they can choose in creating their own futures. Wistar, Fussell, and Rhoads’ writings are useful in illustrating the specific ways in which Orthodox and Progressive Quakerism differed in culture, and how those cultures shaped the girls who grew up in them. But they are also useful in illustrating the more universal ways in which people shape themselves by, and push back against, the dictates of their cultures.

APPENDIX I: Quaker Organizational Structure

Quakerism has a nesting organizational structure. The standard unit is a Monthly Meeting, which is a group of Quakers who meet together approximately once a week for Meeting for Worship. They are called Monthly Meetings because the community meets once a month to take care of Meeting business. Several Monthly Meetings (usually fairly close to each other geographically) make up a Quarterly Meeting. Quarterly Meetings meet four times a year in order to discuss business which involves multiple Monthly Meetings. Finally, Yearly Meetings are made up of multiple Quarterly Meetings, and they meet once a year to carry out business. Quarterly and Yearly Meetings are also social occasions, at which Quakers from far-away places can meet and talk to other Friends.
APPENDIX II: Quaker Dates

The Quaker dating style eschewed pagan names for months and days of the week, and used numbers instead. Thus, Ninth Month would be September, and First Day would be Sunday, since the week starts with the Sabbath. By the 1850s, usage of Quaker dates was uneven—some Quakers used Quaker dates, some used standard dates, and some switched back and forth. I have left dates in the form they were written, because it makes it easier for researchers to find the minutes, letters, and diary entries to which they refer.

APPENDIX III: Brief Biographical Details

Sarah Wistar

Sarah (Sallie) Wistar was born on February 14, 1839 to Dr. Caspar Wistar and Lydia Jones Wistar. She was one of ten children.\(^{169}\) She attended Friends Select School in Philadelphia, getting her diploma in 1858.\(^{170}\) Although she worried about how to occupy herself usefully after finishing school, by 1866 she was involved in the Catherine Street House of Industry, and several social and charity societies.\(^{171}\) On November 28, 1866, she married Jane Gibbons Rhoads’ brother, William Gibbons Rhoads. They had six children: Lydia Wistar Rhoads (1868), Jane Gibbons Rhoads (1870), Ethel Rhoads (1871), Edward Rhoads (1873), William Rhoads (1876), and Samuel Rhoads (1878). William Gibbons Rhoads died in 1880, of rheumatism, 

\(^{169}\) Davids, The Wistar Family.
\(^{170}\) Sarah Wistar, January 23, 1858, Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\(^{171}\) Sarah Wistar, January 13, 1866, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Diary, Box 12, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
leaving Sarah Wistar Rhoads to raise their young children.\textsuperscript{172} Sarah Wistar Rhoads died in 1920.\textsuperscript{173}

\emph{Jane Gibbons Rhoads}

Jane Gibbons Rhoads was born on March 15, 1840 to Samuel Rhoads Jr. and Anne Gibbons Rhoads.\textsuperscript{174} She had at least three siblings.\textsuperscript{175} She attended Friends Select School in Philadelphia for a short period of time in 1857 and 1858, but her ill-health kept her from continuing there.\textsuperscript{176} She suffered from pulmonary disease, and died in February of 1860, about six years before her brother William married Sallie Wistar.\textsuperscript{177}

\emph{Emma Jane Fussell}

Emma Jane Fussell was born on June 7, 1839 to Dr. Edwin Fussell and Rebecca Lewis Fussell, in Indiana.\textsuperscript{178} She spent her early childhood in Indiana, but her family moved to

\textsuperscript{172} Mengel, “Sarah Wistar Rhoads family papers, 1824-1962,” 6.
\textsuperscript{174} Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, March 22, 1858. Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\textsuperscript{175} Mengel, “Sarah Wistar Rhoads family papers, 1824-1962,” 5.
\textsuperscript{176} See Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Louise Oliver, Third Month 22, 1858 and Jane Gibbons Rhoads to Elizabeth Allen, Sixth Month 27, 1858, Box 3, Sarah Wistar Rhoads Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
\textsuperscript{178} Emma Jane Fussell, June 7, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
Pennsylvania in 1843. In Pennsylvania, Fussell attended a normal school, and then taught at several schools in the area. Like her family, she was deeply involved in the abolition movement. She offered her services to teach freedmen in South Carolina during the Civil War, but was refused. In 1862, she fell ill and died while helping her father nurse wounded soldiers in a hospital near their home.

180 Emma Jane Fussell, June 7, 1855, Emma Jane Fussell Diary, Series 4, Box 10, Lewis-Fussell Family Papers, RG5/087, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
WORKS CITED

Primary Sources

Archival Sources

American Friends Letters Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Free Produce Association Materials. Sarah Wistar Rhoads Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.


Rhoads, Jane Gibbons. Letters to and from Jane Gibbons Rhoads, 1855-1860. Sarah Wistar Rhoads Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Wistar, Sarah. Diary, 1857-1859. Sarah Wistar Diary, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

---. Diary, 1866. Sarah Wistar Rhoads Collection, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.


Published Sources


http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/alcott/girl/girl.html#XI.

---. *Eight Cousins, or The Aunt-Hill*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1875.


---. *Jack and Jill: A Village Story*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1887.

https://archive.org/details/jackandjillavil00alcogoog.


“Circular and Register of the Chester County Normal School.” West Chester, PA: Chester County Normal School, 1860.
Fussell, Edwin. “Valedictory Address to the Graduating Class of the Female Medical School of Pennsylvania, at the Tenth Annual Commencement.” Philadelphia: J.B. Chandler, 1861.


Lyman, Azel S. *Historical Chart Containing the Prominent Events of the Civil, Religious, & Literary History of the World from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Philadelphia: James G. Doughty, 1845.


Secondary Sources


http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/ead/5087lefu.xml.


http://library.haverford.edu/file-id-1039.


http://trilogy.brynmawr.edu/speccoll/quakersandslavery/.


