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INVENTORY

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## CHAPTER I.

### NOYES AGAIN AT THE HELM.

After three years' experience under the leadership of Weld, Boyle and Gates, Noyes finally in the battle-Axe letter, January 15, 1837, declared that he would never again go on board a vessel unless he could have the helm. Eight years later his leadership among eastern Perfectionists was brought to a test in the Belchertown imbroglio, and was sustained. Now in the gathering at Oneida he found himself face to face with a half dozen capable men who aspired to leadership. The result was another fight for control.

#### Noyes to Harriet A. Noyes.

Burt's February 4, 1848.

Dear Harriet:-I came here at the right time. Gould had done nothing, except in the way of undermining me. He was keeping back the truth, and in the meantime seeking his own among the women. He resisted and threatened, as he did one day at Putney, only worse, and I cashiered him. His wife is with me in heart, and he lays all the defeats he has suffered since to her desertion of him.

#### NARRATIVE OF JONATHAN BURT.

Soon after Mr. Noyes's arrival I went to Syracuse and invited Mr. E. H. Hamilton and Mr. Wm. H. Cook to come down for a conference the following Sunday. Then I went to Lairdsville and invited J. B. Foot to come for the same purpose. Mr. Foot was the man upon whom we had relied as the leader of our community movement. The meeting proved to be an exciting one. After a warm discussion

Messrs. Foot and Cook broke with Mr. Noyes, Cook particularly denouncing him in violent terms. The split was on the social theory, though both had been informed of Mr. Noyes' position at the time of the Convention. Mr. Hamilton took sides with Mr. Noyes.

We continued to have thrilling scenes. Perfectionists from different parts came to visit us. In some few instances warm alliances were formed, but in most cases the result was a conflict and final separation. Mr. Abbot came about the middle of February bringing \$800., which he held ready to put in as community stock. There had been considerable talk already about the transfer of the Putney family to Oneida, and Mr. Noyes had selected the present location for a building site, provided it could be obtained. Negotiations were entered into with Deacon Francis, the owner, and his whole farm was purchased, 80 acres, at an average of \$42.50 per acre, Mr. Abbot's money being used for the first payment. We had before purchased a small piece of meadow land, 23 acres, on which was an Indian hut, just across the road from my house. We could not have immediate possession of the Francis place, but Mr. Noyes thought that by occupying this hut we could make a beginning of calling in the wanderers... A short time previous to their coming Mrs. Burt and Miss Tryphena Hubbard called on Deacon Francis. While there he showed them an article from a Brattleboro paper giving a full account of the explosion at Putney. Deacon Francis expressed himself as regretting that he had sold his farm to such people. Mrs. Burt came home much excited, and declared that she would not have such a man in the house: if she could not get rid of him in any other way, she would burn the house down over our heads. I told her that Mr. Noyes had informed me of the whole

matter, and that there was an entirely different view to be taken. I also said to Miss Hubbard that, if she was in any way acting as an adviser to Mrs. Burt, she had better as a friend advise her not to act rashly, for in so doing she would certainly bring ruin upon herself. The next day Mr. Noyes proposed that we offer Deacon Francis the chance to take back his farm and return to us the \$800., that I take this money to settle with Mrs. Burt, if she chose to separate from me, and that the rest of us depend upon the old saw-mill for a living. To this plan Mr. Abbot heartily assented. I then said to Mrs. Burt that my purpose was fixed to bend all my future energies to the building up of a Community, and that I had two proposals to make to her. First, if she chose to stay with me, I would live in a separate family with her and see that her wants were well provided for, but that she must expect that my heart would be with the Community. Second, if she chose to separate from me, I would give her the \$800. After some reflection she said we had better keep the farm. We however, went to Deacon Francis with our offer, but he refused to accept it. Mrs. Burt and Miss Hubbard took from this time an entirely new turn. They became genial and happy, and with a hearty good will went about making preparations for the newcomers. The company arrived at the time appointed, and were joyfully welcomed by Mrs. Burt as well as the rest. Mr. Cragin brought another \$500. in gold, which was paid for the meadow lot, since always called the "Cragin Meadow. "

William H. Cook to J. R. Miller.

Syracuse, February 7. 1848.

Dear Brother:-

I do not know how long I shall call you by the above title.

Yesterday I called on J. H. Noyes and had some talk, and sharp talk it was. I have no fellowship with or for him, until he shall renounce his course as being "of the world, the flesh and the Devil." I have not so learned Christ.

And now let me say that J. H. Noyes is unhorsed, and that he is shortly destined to meet a Waterloo defeat. No, Bro.

This is no small task for me, as I have said much for and about him. I loved him very much, but if my right eye offends me, I pluck it out. And if I ever have been called to pluck out right eyes, it has been in this case.

Should any of you think that I have been actuated by worldly wisdom, I will say that, if this be worldly wisdom by which I have been actuated, I have no other, neither do I desire any other. My mind in these matters has not been prematurely expressed. I know what I am doing, and with whom I am dealing; and whoever is found advocating Gatesism will find me an uncompromising opponent.

Unless I see you again by return of mail, my desire for you is that you may fare well.

W. H. COOK.

Noyes to Deborah Haile.

Burt's, February 10, 1848.

Dear Mrs. Haile:-

As your letter does not forbid a reply, I will satisfy my love of faithfulness by offering you the cautions which your present situation demands.

From all that appears in your letter I conclude that you have judged me and the principles of the Putney Association by the report of Mr. Haile. M. G. Devoe has been here since Mr. Haile called at Owasco on his return, and he reported that

Mr. Haile endorsed Cook's bitterness against me. This surprised me much, as Mr. Haile left here with professions of Fellowship.

On one point, according to Devoe's report, Mr. Haile, either by carelessness or otherwise, grossly misrepresented my principles. He represented me as adopting the French method of controlling propagation. There could not be a worse mistake than this. I expressly repudiated in my conversation with him the French method, condemning them all in the strongest terms as unnatural, unhealthy and abominable. The method which I commended was one which confines sexual communion to social purposes, forbidding the propagative act, except when conception is intended. This method, in my view, crucifies the fleshly lust of men, and elevates sexual communion into a social and spiritual act.

Mr. Devoe also said that Mr. Haile did not show the brethren at Owasco a declaration of principles which I wrote out and put into his hands. As you are silent about it, possibly he has not shown it to you. Now, if Mr. Devoe's reports are true, ( which I do not affirm, and which I am very unwilling to believe ) you ought to wait for better testimony before you judge and act on this weighty matter. This is a caution to you, not an accusation of Mr. Haile. I hope he will be able to clear himself.

Beware of trusting blind operations of your mind and heart, however imposing and delightful your exercises may be. New York "revelations" are at a discount. Foot went to Putney last fall "by revelation," and acknowledged me leader "by revelation. " Cook in the interval between the two conventions endorsed my theory of sexual morality " by revelation." Gould has had abundant "revelations" exactly the opposite of yours. It was no longer ago than the 31st of January that Corwin found his heart irresistibly ( but

blindly as it now appears) loving me more and more. Only three weeks ago Foot was pressed " by revelation " to join this Community, and was wonderfully "blessed" in coming here. Remember what "blessedness ye spake of" in receiving and acknowledging me in both of the conventions and throughout the State, and consider that at that time and for more than a year previous I and the Putney Association had been in what you now call the "depths of Satan;" and remember that previous to the Genoa Convention, where the divine power was most manifest, I had "communicated privately to them that were of reputation" my gospel. One of the wickedest worldlings among our persecutors at Putney, in a crazy fit brought on by his fury against us, came out with a "revelation" just like yours, and was greatly "blessed" by it. Though he was mild and compassionate toward us for a time, he now swears he will pursue us till we cannot say that God takes care of us. Remember, too, that when you were drawn into the snare of uncleanness I escaped, and during the nine years of your captivity and sorrow I have been happy in God's approval, receiving revelations which commend themselves to all rational minds. I am still happy, moving on in revelations not of the mushroom sort but stable, consistent, enduring. Which are most likely to be true, my revelations which have made me steadily happy and consistent for fourteen years, or yours which have just gushed and are yet to be tried ? Bear in mind that a temporary flow of happiness is no test of the truth of your exercises. In all such changes of spiritual condition as you have just gone through the spirit comes into union with some new principality in the invisible world, and the mere novelty of fellowship produces pleasure, whether the new principality is divine or diabolical. Enduring truthfulness alone, not pleasurable imaginations and

sensations, attest the divinity of our fellowships and revelations.

I advise you to wait till I have told my story in full before you judge me. I am about to publish my views, and am as sure of casting down all opposing imaginations now as I was when I came out with the new covenant and the second coming. My prayer is that you may save yourself the trouble of a vain contest with the truth.

J. H. Noyes.

W. C. Gould to J. H. Thomas of Newark, N. J.

Oneida Depot,  
Madison County, N. Y.  
February 13, 1948.

To Bro. Thomas and others in fellowship:-

Two brethren from Genoa, Cayuga County, have just now called on me, and reprimanded me for not writing to them a report of my visit to Putney. This reminds me of the promise I made you in Newark that I would report to you, which I have not omitted through forgetfulness or indifference to your wishes or welfare, but really because I was not prepared to give you a full report.

I was very much interested in Putney as far as concerns Association. I found a good deal of love and harmony, kindness and true politeness among the members, but I was dissatisfied and surprised to find that Bro. Noyes's leadership as practiced at Putney was totally opposite and different from his theory as explained abroad. I expressed my disappointment to Bro. Noyes, who put me off from day to day with rather evasive answers, until I finally told him plainly that unless he satisfied me on this subject I should be compelled to make a report on his practical leadership that I thought would be unsatisfactory. He then promised that he would prove to me that instead of trampling on the claims of liberty and equality he was the champion of liberty. On the

my brother George will come with them to stay a few days.

Hamilton and family are expected in the course of the spring.

Young Seymour stayed till Monday, heard me through with steadily increasing interest, went away in full fellowship thinking seriously of coming to live among us soon. He is one of the reasoning sort, that can receive a rational idea and act upon it without requiring God to tickle him to confirm its truth.

Remarks: In view of all that is going on I am impressed more and more with the conviction that unfaithfulness is one of the worst of the bad habits of New York Perfectionists. There is a spirit in these regions which makes a light thing of entering into the engagements of fellowship, and a light thing of breaking them. Rider, when he left me in 1837, was under the most sacred engagements to cooperate with me. The next thing I knew of him he had dropped off silently into non-committalism, and soon without any change on my part or any negotiations between us he became an enemy. Dutton served me in much the same way... Cook did nothing in the way of executing the projects of the Genoa Convention, but on the contrary fell to devising abortive schemes of his own... The somersaults of Hatch and Corwin are further illustrations of the "shaky" nature of the spirit in these parts. And I fear, in view of all the signs I see, that the general acknowledgment of me which was made with so much enthusiasm at both conventions, and the solemn covenant which many made at the last convention to take Christ in the place of death and move on toward heavenly Association, will prove to have been windy talk of men who have not the spirit of execution, loud explosions like those of training day without bullets.

I shall be found for one a follower of him who rides on the



white horse and is called "Faithful and True." He has taught me to have unfaithfulness, to regard the obligations of spiritual fellowship as more sacred than those of marriage. His eyes are "as a flame of fire." He witnessed the proceedings at our conventions. He noted every man who promised to take him "for better or for worse." He will <sup>assuredly</sup> prosecute for breach of promise those who are now lightly turning away from him. I am bold to forewarn all that he is about to give Perfectionists a lesson on the subject of faithfulness that they will remember.

It is due to some ( I trust to more than I know of) and especially to Bro. Burt, that I should acknowledge having found a remnant of faithfulness in this State. The man whose response to the call of Christ at Genoa was clearest and most hearty meant what he said and has proved it by deeds.

The rewards of the Kingdom of God are offered to them that "over-come," to them that are "faithful unto death." "The fearful and unbelieving " have their part with whoremongers and idolaters and liars in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.

The body of believers at Genoa have heretofore given signs of more steady and substantial faith than is generally to be found in this State. I look with interest to see what turn they will take at this crisis.

I hope to hear good things of you and your wife, and shall remain ( till you turn away from me ) faithfully yours,

JOHN H. NOYES.

After Bro. Noyes broke with me I did not know but I should be abandoned by every Perfectionist in the land, but having strong assurance that God was on my side I resolved to stand firm if deserted by the universe. Within a few days however some Perfectionists in this region either have or are breaking with Bro. Noyes. I am informed that he and Burt have contracted for three or four farms, but without a material change in opinions I cannot see where they will find occupants in this region.

Having given you as full a report as my sheet will admit, I must defer a great many particulars until another time. Should this letter give rise to any questions in your mind or with those in sympathy with you, I shall be pleased to answer them. I had hoped that the day had arrived when Bro. Noyes's claims to leadership would no longer continue to be the stalking-horse of the land, when schism and treachery would give way to quietness, peace and unity of interest, fellowship and love; and still hope that this interruption will not be permanent.

I have looked back a thousand times with interest to our delightful visit among the saints at Newark, and the pure and heavenly fellowship that reigned in the little nucleus that was formed while there. I hope, as Bro. Inslee has come more particularly into this union, that the strength of this fellowship has increased with your increase of numbers.

We shall be glad to see or hear from any of you at any time. Suppose you come and make us a visit with your wife. I believe this is a time of year when your business is apt to be slack. We have been expecting an answer from Clarissa to my wife's letter.

Yours in the faith and love of the gospel,

W. C. GOULD.

Noyes to John B. Foot.

Oneida, February 18, 1848.

Bro. Foot:-

After a good deal of thinking and talking about your situation and the prospect of your coming here, I have come to the conclusion to write you a frank letter laying open to you the difficulties under which our minds are laboring in relation to you.

The undecided position in which you stand as to the views I am advancing on a subject of great importance especially to the Association movement gives an unpromising aspect to our proposed alliance. I have no right or disposition to force you to a decision, but I have a right and an bound to guard my own relations to you so long as you remain at variance with me or in doubt about my position. I feel as I did at Putney, when you were on the one hand urging me to go into partnership with you in holding meetings, and on the other hesitating about leadership. I said to you then: We shall not act together harmoniously till our relations to each other are definitely settled. I will not press you to judgment on my claim of office, and on the other hand you should not press me to partnership." So now I am satisfied that it is not prudent for us to marry by Association till we are substantially agreed. It is impossible to organize a harmonious and efficient administration with a second officer of opposite politics to the first. I will not ask you to agree with me, but I may fairly ask you to let me stand alone till we are agreed. If you can continue to say of a doctrine which enters so deeply into my theory of Association as the doctrine of communism of love does, that you have nothing to do with it, it is evident, whether I am right or wrong, that we are not in condition to act together.

The positive and continued opposition of your wife to what I regard as the Pentecostal principle still further embarrasses our relations and renders the attempt to join our interests doubtful and dangerous.

Bro. Burt also thinks (and I agree with him) that the situation of your property is not such as it ought to be in order to your satisfactory union with the body here. We shall need a large sum to pay for the Francis farm. Abbot brings \$800., Hamilton \$400. About \$;300 remains to be provided for. At least a portion of this must be supplied by the third partner in that concern. If Bro. Burt applies the \$500 which I put into his hands to that purpose, \$800 will still be behind, and after providing for Cragin I cannot undertake to fill this gap. We think that if you cannot help at all in this matter, prudence dictates that we should look out for another third partner. Bro. Baker is coming with \$600. Ought we not to put him in with Abbot and Hamilton, instead of extending our territory ?

If you have no opportunity to sell your farm, or if your wife's right in it is such that you cannot control it, you are not to be blamed for your inability to help us. Nevertheless that inability is a fact which must be taken into account in our plans, and which will necessarily affect your position among us. We ought not to involve ourselves in heavy liabilities, and if our liabilities will be made too heavy by your coming without funds, we ought to consider whether this is not a sign of the will of God that you should remain where you are till you can control and shift your property.

I desire greatly the consummation of our union, and for that very purpose I have been thus frank with you, because I know that a right union cannot be consummated without the removal of stumbling-blocks.

Yours truly,  
JOHN H. NOYES.

Noyes to E. H. Hamilton.

Oneida, February 19, 1848.

Dear Bro. Hamilton:--...

Abbot says that seven years ago, when my credit was low in New York, Cook wrote him a long letter censuring him for being a "Noyesite," and disparaging me in every way. The consequence was that Abbot lost his anchorage, drifted at random, and shipwrecked on Van Epps. Again Abbot says that last year, when my credit was good in New York, Cook wrote him that "there was a bond between him and Putney that neither men nor devils could break." And on Abbot's return from Putney, Cook bluffed him off till he found out where he had been, and then received him handsomely, avowing that "fellowship with Noyes was the condition of fellowship with him." But behold ! Now the wind has changed again. My credit is down again, and again Cook is writing in all directions against me.

Cook has had wit enough to keep at the head of the current of the times, but he has never really accomplished anything either for himself or anybody else. He has not the generalship or courage of a true soldier, but only of a bully. Bragging is his strength, and bragging will not answer in this war. Defeat is before him.

He has written to J. R. Miller at Putney that I am "unhorsed" etc. I have written that, as he has been my horse for the last year or two and has now flung up his heels in a fright at communism of love, I may admit that I have been "unhorsed" in a certain sense. But it has been my luck, as usual, to find a better horse ready, and the battle goes well.

In the battle on Lake Erie Commodore Perry's flagship was so battered by the enemies' shot that it became an unmanageable wreck. In the midst of the fight he left it in a boat, took the command of

another ship. sailed up through the enemies' line delivering an effectual broadside right and left, and so secured the victory. Cook, I suppose, would say that Perry was a coward in leaving his ship !

The little band here is purging itself of mischief-makers, and learning the value of peace. God's care over us is manifest. I think by the first of March, when my wife and Cragin with his family are to come, we shall be in condition to receive them into a quiet and happy home. We look with pleasure for the addition of yourself and family. God bless you and direct you in all things.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN H. NOYES.

Noyes to John Haile.

Oneida, February 22, 1848.

Bro. Haile:-

In fulfillment of my promise to write you I will give you a sketch of occurrences since you left, and (as we used to say in revival times) "close with a few remarks."

Bro. Foot, who was here when you went, said that his experience in regard to coming here was this: He was under pressure and darkness all the week previous, and at length when he turned his face this way he was "let up," and on the road hither was wonderfully "blessed." Yet he went away without any decisive union with me, sticking as heretofore in noncommittalism in regard to the agitating subject. Corwin came with eyes partly blinded by Cook's smoke, heard me, assented to almost all I said, but objected to the practical part of my position, went away to Foot's virtually though not formally rejecting me, and has been there ever since.

Hatch and his wife went with him. Soon after this a letter came from New York (sent by Cragin) which Corwin wrote me about a month ago. It is full of expressions of confidence and sympathy without a word of doubt or censure. The following are specimens of its drift:

It is difficult to comprehend how it is that brethren who have been in the field from the beginning, who have had all your writings, and have borne the reproach of Perfectionism, do not more readily comprehend your position; how it is that such brethren are hesitating, are doubting, are unbelieving, nay more, are absolutely opposed to the genius of the gospel touching the unity of believers, the gathering of the true church in the resurrection state... In answer to a letter (sent to Putney ) I have just received a very interesting and satisfactory reply dated January 22nd from J. L. Skinner and Harriet A. Noyes, and notwithstanding all the reproach that is heaped upon you by a wicked world through the instigation of a still more wicked church, I find my heart irresistibly loving you more and more, a fact which sometimes my outward senses are backward to confess."

Such was Corwin's position up to the latest date previous to his coming here. It is now, I think, quite different. Time will determine.

On Sunday while Corwin, Hatch, Foot and their wives were in hot debate about the administration here, young Seynour from Lairds-ville came to examine me. He was rather "porcupiny" at first, but soon became respectful, and finally laid down his weapons and surrendered at discretion. He let us into the secrets of the conclave at Lairdsville; said that the brethren there supposed he came to spy out our nakedness, and he knew not what they would say if he came

back otherwise than full of wrath at me. He disclosed the fact that Hatch was talking bitterly against me, which I put side by side with the fact that Hatch has not made a complaint against me to my face but on the contrary has plastered me with flattery for the past ten years, and especially the last three weeks. He has constantly professed to regard me as the only man that could be depended on as faithful to the truth, and the only man that could help him out of his difficulties; and he went away without intimating anything to the contrary of this profession. But you recollect he had a terrible crazy fit Sunday evening before you left. That was brought on by Burt's simply offering to become responsible for his debts. He took this as a bribe and an insult. He is the last man that ought to be "touchy" on such matters, for he has been hanging on everybody and anybody for support and dunning the saints all over the land for help to pay his debts for the last ten years to my knowledge. But so it was that he was enraged, and in his fury he abused Ackley, his best friend, threatened to drown himself, declared that he cared nothing for God and had as lief be damned as not, and swore that he would put his spear into the tallest arch-angel in heaven if he dared to touch his wife. The blasphemous spirit that thus tore him has carried him away (Corwin helping), and the remaining part of the Beaver Meadow company are heartily glad to be relieved of him. Ackley has given him up.

Those that now remain here are of the quiet, steady sort, and we have good times, acting unanimously, edifying one another, fearing nothing, asking no favors of men, not anxious for customers, ready to show our spiritual goods and impart to those who call. We have cheering news frequently from Putney. My wife and the Cragins are coming to settle here on the first of March. Baker and probably



strength of this promise i expressed myself satisfied to let the matter rest; but as he left Putney in three or four days unexpectedly, and I left the day following, I have had to wait for the fulfillment of his promise until two weeks since, when he arrived here. The next day I reminded him of his promise, when to my surprise he positively refused under the plea that I had expressed myself satisfied at Putney. I reminded him that we had had no conversation on that subject since he made me the promise, but that availed nothing. He then demanded to know if I would surrender my choice, judgment and will to him, and obey him even in opposition to relations from God. I told him, as I had told him in Putney, that I would see him damned first, and then I would not; that I had always meant, and still meant to obey God rather than man. He said if I did not accede to those terms he would break with me, and he did so. He went up to Burt's, and I have not seen him since...

He claims to be chief because he has the longest sword, and the sword represents truth; that generally he can convince his followers of the expediency of his measures, but as commander-in-chief he must be allowed in cases of emergency to issue orders that may appear for the time being unsafe and unreasonable. This is the theory he has held out to me for eight years. But after the strictest observation for three weeks at Putney I am compelled to say that his government is an exhibition of the most absolute specimen of despotism I ever saw. The members are under his control in the most absolute sense in matters of the least as well as most consequence. I do not think they feel the least right of control over their property, persons, time, their wives, choice, judgment, will or affections.

I heard them express not a solitary opinion in his presence until they heard his first, and then all gave in the same opinion. He treats counsel with contempt, and criticism as mutiny and treason, and all such intruders are placed under the ban of the community. And although I say it with pain and regret, yet truth compels me to say that, notwithstanding the exalted opinion I have of the privileges and advantages of Association, if I can have access to them only through worse than southern slavery, then I will face isolation with all its evils.

But, you may inquire, is not the happiness of the Community the effect of the government? I think not, but the result of Association and that its privileges make them happy in spite of a bad government.

If Bro. Noyes was inspired on all occasions, I would say, concede to his claim of dictating on all occasions. But this he does not pretend.

Yet do not understand me as despairing of Association. I believe this order of existence is destined to supersede and control all other social and political orders. Nor do I wish to be understood as condemning Bro. Noyes as a tyrant or hypocrite. I accuse him of no such thing. I regard him, as I have always done, as the best exponent of the cardinal doctrines of our faith, and chief as well as honored agent in their development. I think he has sacrificed more than any other one for the cause of truth. I have the same sympathy for Bro. Noyes and the Putney Association in their dispersion and trials that I ever had. I simply believe that he has committed an error in the matter of leadership of such a serious nature that I for one cannot submit to it.

## CHAPTER II.

### SETTLEMENT OF PUTNEY LAWSUITS.

#### The Case of Noyes's Bonds.

Noyes was arrested October 26, 1847, on a charge of adultery, and was bound over for trial before the County Court in April 1848. John R. Miller furnished \$2000 bail, and Noyes was released. The case came up for trial on May 5, 1849.

State's Attorney Kirkland opened the argument as follows:

"The defendant has been indicted for two of the worst crimes known to the law. The proof was as clear and positive as in any case I ever knew. The witnesses were all his friends and disciples, who believe him to be the beloved son of God. He sets himself up to be a religious teacher and leader, to have a purer doctrine than was ever taught before, the doctrine of perfect holiness. He even believes that the Kingdom of God has come, and that they belong to that Kingdom. He is a man of wealth, talents and education, and therefore has an unusual influence. If he was a poor man, instead of being at the head of a harem in the State of New York he would be at Windsor hewing stone where he ought to be. If there is any case in which the full amount of the bonds ought to be exacted, it seems to me that this is the one. I go for the bonds and the whole bonds."

Mr. William C. Bradley, attorney for the defense, offered to read affidavits from the Grand Jurors showing that there was no proof before them that would convict. But Judge Kellogg refused to hear anything from the Grand Jury room. "As Mr. Noyes does not appear for trial," said he, "I shall consider him guilty. If you have anything to say why the bonds should be cut down under these circumstances, we will hear it."

Mr. Bradley: "The defendant became a member of the theological

schools at Andover and New Haven at the very time when the discussion was going on between Dr. Taylor and Dr. Tyler, which resulted in the division of the church into the old school and the new school. There was great excitement. The doctrine of Perfection was freely discussed....The defendant turned his attention to the Bible and found there the doctrines which he then embraced. The fact that he has adhered to these principles at all times and under all circumstances, at whatever cost and sacrifice, it seems to me will convince the Court that he is honest and sincere. It is true that his principles are somewhat antinomian....

"It is not true that ~~The~~ defendant absconded. He went away openly and manfully, by the advice of his friends, in accordance with the wishes of his enemies, and took his proselytes with him. I visited Putney soon after, and found that the trouble was principally a religious excitement, together with a little commercial jealousy....

"Mr. Noyes married, I trust, into a respectable family, and received with his wife a considerable sum of money. Before he left I requested him to put something in trust for his wife and child, a fine little boy of nine years, in case they should ever come to want. He was perfectly willing to do so, and I now hold the bond.

"He took with him his personal property, and if you exact the bonds, you will either be obliged to collect them of Mr. Miller, his brother-in-law, which will entirely ruin his business, or take it out of the portion left to his wife and child. It appears to me that in either case it can do no good. We hope that the Court will take all these circumstances into consideration, and be as favorable as possible. "

The decision of the Court was, that the bonds should be cut down from \$2000 to \$1000. " got home, " writes Miller, "about 11 o'clock Saturday evening, glad to find sympathy and fellowship. I never felt more completely used up. "

#### THE HALL AND BAKER SUITS.

On December 13, 1847, Gates Perry, Deputy Sherriff, called with two writs against Noyes of \$3000 each in favor of Daniel J. Hall and Luke Baker. He put an attachment on the real estate, and undertook to attach the store but gave that up. During the ensuing month Mr. Hall made a new bid for the Community's confidence; read The Berean, and liked it much; even free love, he said, looked beautiful to him. In April 1848 he publicly withdrew his suit.

#### JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES, AUGUST 10, 1848.

I have just closed my negotiations with Mr. Baker. He will settle for \$300, paid to him, to be held in trust for the benefit of the girls and their heirs. I told him that I was perfectly satisfied with this proposal, and I was confident that you would be. He said he thought we ought to do something about his costs, and make Mrs. Baker a small present. I told him that I should make no such conditions, but he would find that we should deal generously and honorably with him. He has conducted himself like a gentleman, if not a Christian, through this whole negotiation. We all have the kindest feelings toward him. Just as I was leaving him he said: "I want you should do what you can to make my family think well of me, and I want you should all think well of me, and I shall of you. "

August 13.- I think we are getting along well. We have settled \$6000 of our lawsuits by giving \$300 to our own society.

NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

August 16, 1848.

I am satisfied with your arrangement with Mr. Baker, though it ought to be distinctly understood that it is an indulgence to his worldly views and feelings, and not the reparation of any wrong which I have done him or his family, for I have done then nothing but good, and the injury is altogether on his side. I hope he will continue to soften and yield till he sees that he is my debtor. If he does, I shall have none but friendly feelings toward him, and shall use my influence to make his family think well of him.

As to Mr. Lamb's case, I have no very clear judgment about the amount we should pay rather than quarrel at law. If it goes before honest arbitrators, I am willing to pay whatever they say. And I would not object to paying \$50. or even \$100, without an arbitration. Do what you think best, and I shall be satisfied. Our policy is to give the enemy a bridge of money, over which to make a decent retreat. We can afford it, as we are "operating for a rise" in Perfectionist stock, and have plenty of signs that our calculations are sound. The Old World is certainly going to destruction just at the time when we have received orders to begin the introduction of the new Heavens and the new Earth. Our constituents all over the country meet us with new devotion of heart and property just at the time when our private resources are embarrassed.

Tell Mother and Mrs. Campbell that they will find my speculations, as heretofore, safe as well as bold.

ISRAEL KEYES' GUARDIANSHIP SUIT AGAINST MRS. COBB: A MEMBER OF  
THE PUTNEY COMMUNITY.

John R. Miller to the Oneida Association.

March 28, 1849.- W. C. Bradley said, notwithstanding Mrs. Cobb had received the money on her notes, if Keyes had previously left a copy of his proceedings at the town clerk's office, all transactions afterward would be good for nothing. I went to the town clerk's office and found that the paper was left there after the money had all been paid. We supposed everybody knew that Mrs. Cobb lived with us, but Mr. Wheat, the constable, went to three other places first. When at last he came to our house, Mrs. Cobb had gone out and Charlotte did not know where. He found her just in time to make the service before sundown, but had not time to make his return to the town clerk's office that night.

April 6, 1849.- Yesterday was a great day for Putney. Our victory over the enemy was complete. I never saw anyone so used up as Keyes. He found that if the case came to trial yesterday he should be defeated, and to get out of the scrape he pleaded for a continuance, like a man pleading for his life. But he could not give one good reason. His main argument was, that some great wrong had been committed by Miller or some one else in putting the money where they could not find it. Mr. Bradley told them, if they wanted a continuance to find the money, he would tell them now where it was it was all in Mrs. Cobb's pocket, and if they did not believe it, he would prove it. Mr. Keyes said: "It may be there today, it may be in Miller's pocket tomorrow, and next day somewhere else."

After the Judge had decided that they could not have a continuance, not a word was spoken for five minutes. At last Mr. Kimball said: "Well, Mr. Keyes, what are you going to do?" Keyes: "I suppose the Judge understands what I am going to do." Judge:

"No, I don't understand." Keyes: "Well, I ---hm-- I-shall--hm-- withdraw my suit." Judge: "Well, there is nothing more to be done."

Our trust was in God, to whom all the glory.

Yours in love,

J. R. MILLER.

RUSSELL LAMB'S SUIT AGAINST JOHN H. NOYES, GEORGE W. NOYES. AND JOHN R. MILLER " for enticing away Lamb's daughter Lucinda to the serious injury and expense of her father." The suit was entered in January 1848 before Judge O. L. Shafter as Referee, and the case came to trial in January 1850.

January 17, 1850. John R. Miller to the ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

The Court was in session two days. The house was crowded. Many were present from all the surrounding towns. The Sheriff was in attendance the whole two days to keep order. Though compelled to meet all the wrath of our enemies I had the same victorious and cheerful spirit with which I left Oneida. I think I showed the whole town that I was not ashamed of the truth.

Mr. Bradley spoke two and a half hours, and his arguments were entirely satisfactory. He freely owned our practices, and then justified them.

Though Mr. Walker in his closing plea said everything that could be said against me, calling me a devil of the blackest character, I sat by his side and took notes of his remarks coolly and quietly, and with less unpleasant feelings than I have often had in reporting our Oneida criticisms.

. L. G. MEAD TO J. R. MILLER. January 25, 1850.

Judge Shafter went to sit as referee in another case at Vernon, Vermont.



He carried the Book\* with him, and as often as he had any leisure was seen to read it, till he read it attentively through. He was then heard to say, "Very original and profound, but has very little to do with the case at Putney." Old Mr. Bradley thinks he will not give one cent damages. Dorr thinks he may give slight damages for the abduction from Metcalf's on the 12th.

We all agree in one thing: 'Twas well it was not compromised. The trial places you all in a much better light than public opinion would have accorded you had it been settled. The multitude would have been ready to imagine things which Lamb, his counsel and willing witnesses could not make appear. And John will probably consider the widespread of his opinions worth at least the expense of the trial. I think no man should be indicted hereafter for circulating a book which Lamb's counsel took so much pains to bring before the public.

Love to all,

L. G. MEAD.

On the facts brought before the Court Mr. O. L. Shafter, the Referee, found that the defendants were "guilty in manner and form as the plaintiff hath alleged, and found for the plaintiff to recover of the defendants the sum of five hundred dollars (\$500.00) and his costs. Plaintiff's costs \$41.21."

INDICTMENT OF JOHN R. MILLER FOR CIRCULATING THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.

In the spring of 1849 it became known that the Rev. Hubbard Eastman, the Methodist minister at Putney, was engaged on a book to be entitled Noyesism Unveiled. At the same time Noyes was busily preparing the First Annual Report of the Oneida Association "exhibit-

\* First Annual Report of the Oneida Community.

ing its history, principles and transactions to Jan. 1, 1849."

As these rival books approached completion there was some jockeying for position between Eastman and Noyes. Eastman's book was completed in May 1849, but was not put into circulation until about the 15th of June. Noyes's book was printed on April 3rd 1849, and on the 15th Mr. Cragin placed copies in the hands of Horace Greeley and a half-dozen other prominent persons in New York City. The Court that was to try the case of Noyes's bonds was in session. Noyes said to his sister Harriet, that he would like to have Mr. Miller circulate the Report after the Court and a little ahead of Eastman. If it should come out just after Eastman had got his book too far forward to change, he would like that well.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

May 7, 1849.

I told Mr. Bradley your views about putting the Report in circulation. He said: " I think this Report had better not be put in circulation. At any rate Eastman's book ought to come out first. When that comes out I think that I, being a worldly man, can write something that will take better with public than a theological work from Mr. Noyes. I will consult Mr. Mead and see what can be done. Mr. Eastman may be so careless as to say things he cannot prove. If so, we had better pounce upon him. Our policy is to keep quiet, and see what the enemy can do first.

"Since I got hold of the doctrine I do not believe there is so much concupiscence in that whole body as there is in an equal number in respectable society in the world. There is a great stimulus taken off that raises the devil with the rest of the world. I told Mead and Horatio so."

Mr. Mead said: I cannot see as it will do any good to make

the Report any more public at present. On the whole I think Mr. Bradley's opinion is correct."

I thought I would write you just what they said, and perhaps you would think best to let it rest a while. We shall follow your advice about it.

I never felt the pressure of the worldly spirit worse than I have for a week past. It seems almost impossible to live under it. I have had a tremendous struggle in my own heart, caused on the one hand by dread of further disclosures that would create another war against us, and on the other a firm determination to stand my ground, defend the truth, and do the will of God at the sacrifice of everything else. My prayer is that I may act wisely before God.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

January 8, 1850.

Was I not at Oneida called a respectable man, decent at least? I thought so. But here in Putney, where I once had a name and standing with the rest of mankind, I am arrested like a common pickpocket. While I was gone this afternoon Gates Perry, the fat Sheriff from Saxton's Village, came to Putney to arrest me on an indictment for circulating the First Annual Report of the Oneida Association, notwithstanding the State's Attorney had agreed to do nothing about it till we all met at Putney on the 15th of January. Perry went immediately to Mr. Barton's without stopping to hear the stories of Isreal ~~Keyes~~ & Co. As I was passing by about five o'clock with Mr. Barton, he came out and said he had a precept for my arrest with orders to carry me to jail. "Well," said I, "I am ready; all I ask is that you will do your duty without giving me unnecessary trouble."

He said he supposed that he must carry me to Newfane jail, but if I wished to go to Brattleboro and see Mr. Mead first, he would carry me that way. I then invited him to take tea with me at Mr. Lord's. We had a pleasant chat at the table, and at half-past five started for Brattleboro in a snow storm. I talked freely with him, and before we arrived he became very much interested. He said he would be glad to read the Report, and assured me on the honor of a gentleman, that if I would give him one he would make no use of it to injure me. I replied that I would give him a copy if I could do so with safety. At Mr. Mead's office we found that it was not necessary to go to Newfane: all that the law required was that I go before one of the Judges of the County Court and give bail for my appearance at the April Court. Perry promised to send for Judge Clark of Brattleboro, but Mr. Mead said that Judge Arnold of Londonderry was stopping at Lord's Tavern, and he would call him in. When the Judge came in, the door was locked and Mr. Mead told him what the business was; that it was got up by Lamb to have an affect on his suit; that if the book was what it was said to be, a licentious book, the best way was to make the bail so low that we would pay it without trial. He said he was willing to give any bail the Judge thought proper, but would suggest the propriety of calling it \$50.00. The Judge said he had been thinking of \$100.00. Mr. Mead objected that this would bring the whole subject before the Court, which did not seem to be necessary. The Judge said he wanted to do his duty, and asked the Sheriff, who is a man of a good deal of influence in the County, what he thought of it. "I think it is damned small business," said the Sheriff, "and I would take the \$50.00." The Judge: "So do I think it is small business, and I shall do it. Make out your papers." The Judge got quite inter-

ested, and said: "Just between us, I would not pay the \$50.00, but bring it before the Court."

The business being done, I thanked the Judge and Sheriff for their gentlemanly treatment. The Sheriff asked me to ride up with him in the morning to Putney, and said with a laugh that he would leave me where he found me.

As soon as the Judge and Sheriff had left the office, Mr. Mead jumped up, snapped his fingers and said: "I guess John will think that God has had a hand in this," and we both had a hearty laugh. Strange as it may seem, I enjoyed the whole affair highly. I saw so plainly the hand of God in arranging the minutest circumstances, that it gave me the greatest confidence in our success.

Judge Arnold was the very man of all others in Windham County to help in this business. He was one of the Judges who decided on the amount of bonds in the criminal suit, and was in favor of putting them lower than either of the others. He lives thirty or forty miles from Brattleboro, and probably does not go there once a year, but God saw that his presence was necessary and sent him there just at the right time. Again, we got there just at the right moment. He was there to attend a Court, and was going to Vernon to a ball in the evening. We arrived in Brattleboro just after he got through with his Court and just before he started for the ball.

After we all got together in Mr. Mead's office and locked the door, I soon saw that I had the right company, and I felt as free and light hearted as I ever did in my life. The Judge said: "Well, I suppose we can talk this matter over freely amongst ourselves." "Yes," said Mr. Mead, "let us make a kind of family

meeting of it." The Judge wanted me to give a brief history of the affair. I asked the Sheriff to do it, saying, "as you are not interested, he will be more likely to believe you." "I'll believe your story," said the Judge. Mr. Mead and I then gave our account, and I can assure you we got up a real indignation meeting against Israel Keyes, Lamb and our Putney enemies, in which the Judge and Sheriff joined most heartily.

Mr. Mead told the Judge that we were not anxious to get rid of the indictment, that we thought the Report was God's truth, and would take pride in having it ably argued before Windham County Court.

April 5, 1850.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

I called on Bradley, Sheafe and Kellogg, all of whom thought it best to settle the indictment case for circulating the Report. Mr. Kellogg, the State's Attorney, said he wanted to consider the case further, but that he would promise to settle with our attorney on advantageous terms. Mr. Sheafe said he told Professor Agassiz that he had a book in his possession which had caused a great deal of excitement in this State, and would like to have him examine it. Agassiz caught hold of it with both hands, and after reading it for some time in silence exclaimed: "Mr. Sheafe, this book is invaluable to me. It is the very thing I want. I have been studying this subject for years. You could not have presented me with anything so acceptable." Mr. Sheafe also gave one to Mr. Gould, a distinguished physician of Boston, and sent one to the Governor of Vermont.

April 27, 1850.

Mr. Mead pleaded guilty for Mr. Miller on the charge of circulating three copies of the First Annual Report of the Oneida Association; and the Court, after reading and considering the

book and hearing the argument, assessed a fine of \$15.00 and costs of \$33.99. Mr. Mead paid \$49.00, and the case was discharged.

### CHAPTER III.

#### LIFE IN THE ASSOCIATION.

Jan. 1849 to Feb. 1850.

The first three and a half years at Oneida were years of strenuous endeavor "getting started." Outlying groups of Perfectionists were invited to join, and the membership, which was 87 at the end of the first year, rose to 172 at the end of the second, and 205 at the end of the third. A rough and ready organization was formed. Lands were purchased and cleared, dwellings were erected, communal housekeeping begun. The first-comers were temporarily accommodated in a rude log hut built by the Indians. A daily evening meeting was established for the religious and social communion of the family circle, and later a Sunday meeting to which the public was invited. The children and the few adults who joined in an irreligious state were converted. The fundamental principles of the new social order were taught. Provision was made for the care of children in the "Children's House." Education was organized, mutual criticism commenced. A beginning was made of various industries needed in a new country, farming, a saw and grist mill, store, shoeshop, blacksmith-shop. Branch Communities were formed at Brooklyn and Manlius in New York State, at Cambridge in Northern Vermont, and at Wallingford, Connecticut, besides maintaining the original stand at Putney, Vermont. A few members not adapted to communism were sent away or allowed to withdraw after a sufficient trial. Athletic sports and amusements were



encouraged, and much attention was given to providing the best conditions for health. Short dresses and bobbed hair were adopted by the women. The old law-suits, that hung over from the Putney persecution, were cleared away; the most important one was voluntarily withdrawn in consequence of the complainant being converted and joining the Community.

In the midst of multitudinous responsibilities the public was kept informed of the teachings and progress of the Community by the publication of a free bi-weekly paper, three annual reports, and a special exposition of the social theory entitled "The Bible Argument." There was a momentary flare-up of hostility on the part of one neighboring family, the Hubbards, at the time "The Bible Argument" was published, but in the main the surrounding population were tolerant and friendly. At the end of this preliminary period the members were seasoned Communists, homogeneous, compactly organized, equipped with needful religious and social ordinances, respected and loved by their neighbors.

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Jan. 1, 1849.

1. Religious principle, or more specifically the principle of perfect holiness as presented in the publications of the New Haven and Putney schools of Perfectionists is the basis of the Association.
2. In accordance with the sentiment of the first Resolution of the Genoa Convention this Association as a branch of the Kingdom of God embraces and provides for all interests of its members, religious, political, social and physical. In

other words it is at once a church, a state, a family and a business association. Of course it excludes from union with other associations.

3. The Association has not thus far resorted to constitutions and written compacts or rules for the regulation of its members. In the place of these it relies on inspiration, the care and admonition of those who approve themselves qualified to be overseers, and free criticism. These have been found sufficient.

4. The officers of the Association are not chosen by vote, but are ascertained and recognized as chosen by God. They come into their places by manifesting their qualifications. Under this principle some offices have already been filled, though the organization of the Association is yet far from complete. J. H. Noyes is recognized as President; G. Cragin as Vice-President and general Business Agent; J. Burt and E. H. Hamilton as principal Counsellors, etc.

### TERMS OF ADMISSION.

Jan. 1, 1849.

As in regard to rules and officers, so in regard to the admission of members, the Association relies on the inspiration and providence of God more than on written regulations for its guidance and protection.

At a full meeting of the Association on the 28th of December 1848 the following principle was unanimously adopted:

On the admission of any member all property belonging to him or her becomes the property of the Association. A record of the estimated amount of it may be kept, and in case of the subsequent withdrawal of the member the Association, according to its practice heretofore, may refund the property or an equivalent amount. This practice, however, stands on the ground not of obligation, but of expediency and liberality, and the time and manner of refunding must be trusted to the discretion of the Association. While a person remains a member his subsistence and education in the Association are held to be just equivalents for his labor, and no accounts are kept between him and the Association, and no claim of wages accrues to him in case of subsequent withdrawal.

Recorded by order of the Association December 31, 1848, by John H. Noyes, and signed by 91 members of the Association.

### ORDER OF EXERCISES.

On Monday evening, January 6th, 1849, the following plan for evening meetings was proposed and accepted: At 6 o'clock the Association is called together by the ringing of the bell.

An alphabetical roll of the members is called over for the purpose of giving each an opportunity to offer any criticism, suggestion of improvement, business proposal, or testimony of experience. At each meeting also a question is proposed to be answered in writing, the answers to be handed to the reader and read at the succeeding meeting. These are the standing gregarious exercises of every evening of the week.

On Tuesday evening, Jan. 7th, 1849, a Committee was appointed to digest and propose a plan for the disposal of that part of the evening which remains after the gregarious exercises. They brought in the following schedule of arrangements:

Monday evening		Reading and Report of Newspapers.
Tuesday	"	Lecture on the Social Theory
Wednesday	"	Phonography
Thursday	"	Music, vocal and instrumental
Friday	"	Dancing
Saturday	"	Reading Perfectionist Publications
Sunday	"	Bible-class.

These arrangements, with the usual meeting at 1 P. M. on Sunday, complete our order of exercises for the present.

#### MUTUAL CRITICISM.

It has been the practice of the Association both at Putney and at Oneida to devote the evening meetings from time to time to criticism of individual character. The process was this: A person would offer himself for criticism. At the next meeting the conductor of the exercises would call on each member present to express freely his or her views of the character under consideration. The number of members became so great in the latter

part of 1848 that it was found necessary to change the procedure. Instead of subjecting candidates to the scrutiny of the entire assembly, the Association appointed four of the most spiritual and discerning critics, who were first criticised by J. H. Noyes, and then in the course of three weeks criticised every member. G. Cragin, S. R. Leonard, H. A. Noyes and H. H. Skinner were the critics selected. They devoted several hours each day to the work. They consulted first with each other and with those best acquainted with the candidate, Then they called him or her before them, opened his faults, and gave such counsel as the case might demand. They closed their labors on the 12th of January.

Early in January 1849 the following note accompanying the gift of a cigar was sent to Noyes:

"Our love to the man who led us to God."

H. M. Waters  
L. F. Dunn.  
F. Hyde.  
A. Burt.

Noyes's answer, addressed to "The South Garret Lodge of Free and Accepted Lovers," was as follows:

"Gentlemen:- Accept my thanks for the fragrant present you sent to me last evening, and especially for the expression of affection contained in the envelope. In order that the incense of your offering may be disposed of appropriately and for our common benefit, I shall smoke the segar in the society of Miss Julia Dunn, our common sweetheart. Permit me to say that your united note is very gratifying to me, not only as an expression of love toward myself, but as a token of harmony among yourselves. On seeing your names together and thinking of you as a brotherly band I found

new love toward you all springing up in my heart.

Gentlemen, if I may be allowed to number myself among you and offer a suggestion for our common improvement, I propose that we young men maintain our freedom from the favoritism in which many of our married brethren are entangled, and study to be liberal and diffusive in our love and attention to the other sex. Let it be our ambition to hasten the grand consummation of the courtship which is going on in this Association between all the men as one man and all the women as one woman. To this end let us consider whether we may not do good, get good, and feel good by drawing nearer than we have to certain worthy young ladies whose charms have not yet been fully appreciated, such as L.B.R. and N. Let us also be heroes in love, and train our hearts to scale the heights above us as well as to enjoy the beauties of our own level.

With much respect and affection,

Yours truly, JOHN H. NOYES.

#### CHAPTER IV.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

February 6, 1849.- Francis Hyde, Leonard Dunn and Julia Dunn called early this morning to inform Mrs. Dunn of their intention to leave. The winds have blown, and the floods have beaten upon our house, but it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.

Mrs. Dunn stood her ground nobly. She forbade Mr. Hyde to take Julia away. He said he should not urge her, but if she wish-

ed to go she could. Julia said she did not care what her mother wanted; she would go if he went, and if he went to hell she would go with him. Mrs. Dunn exhorted Mr. Hyde to leave her children alone, and Leonard to leave him and look to God. We all gave our testimony on the side of truth. Leonard said with deep feeling, all he wanted was to know the truth. May we be able to clear ourselves of every obstruction, and open our hearts to the continual inspiration of Heaven !

2 P. M. The team has been standing at the door of the new house for the last two hours for the purpose of conveying them away if they chose to go. But to our great joy we now see it coming this way, and by Henry's animated look and the victorious wave of his whip I judge things have taken a favorable turn. Henry has come in and given us some account of the state of things at the other house. All have yielded after a severe struggle with self-will and the principalities of the lower world.---- Now comes in Mr. Hyde: Says he thinks we shall all go when he does. Next comes in Mr. Burt and informs us that Mr. Hyde and Julia, Leonard Dunn and Sarah Kinsley are to be married this evening, meet Mr. Cragin and return home with him. Stirring times these ! But I can honestly say, that I never felt a more quiet and confiding faith in God than to-day. We have launched within a few hours some distance out of sight of land.

9 P. M.- Have been up to the Mansion House. All was quiet and peaceful. Mr. Noyes looked like a young man. He said he could not see why this was not a perfect victory. I had an interesting interview with Mrs. Cragin, by which I was much refreshed.

How much do I prize her ! God has restored an hundred fold to us that have surrendered father, mother, and all.

Feb. 6, 1849.- Mrs Dunn has returned in all the vigor of youth, and has given us an amusing account of their exploits last evening ( the marriage of Francis Hyde and Julia Dunn, also Leonard Dunn and Sarah Kinsley. ) About nine o'clock in the evening we had an oyster supper with wedding cake, afterward a dance. Then the company dispersed to their several rooms.

Feb. 8, 1849.- Mr. and Mrs. Hyde sent in their written testimony retracting everything they had said or done in opposition to Mr. Noyes, asking the forgiveness of the Association for the trouble they had caused, desiring to be restored to their favor, and expressing the most unbounded confidence in Mr. Noyes and Mr. Cragin. Mr. Noyes said he thought this should be satisfactory to us all. Here was a case where we should apply Paul's rule: " If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted." It was a very delicate thing to restore a wounded conscience. The difficulty lay not in our forgiving them, but in their forgiving themselves. " I could cry very easily now," said he; " I am unspeakably desirous that they should escape the snare of the Devil." Many expressed the most tender love for them, and I doubt not all received them into their hearts as never before.

February 12, 1849.- Messrs. Noyes and Cragin left Oneida and, after visiting Boston and Cape Cod, went to New York City



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and took lodgings. Mr. Noyes's principal reason for leaving home was to secure a quiet place where he might give himself to the task of preparing for the press the First Annual Report of the Oneida Association with the Bible Argument Defining the Relations of the Sexes in the Kingdom of Heaven. There was considerable demand for the "Bible Argument" in consequence of evil reports, and Mr. Hubbard, father to one of our members, together with his son were somewhat excited. Mr. Noyes's absence had the effect of quelling the excitement against the Association, and on his return in April he found the Hubbard family quiet and friendly.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

February 13, 1849.

In five minutes from the time of your starting, the house was electrified by the intelligence. Some hearts quivered and voices trembled, but on the whole it was received with much presence of mind. The bell summoned us to roll-call at the usual time, and when Mr. Burt made an official announcement all hearts were prepared to appreciate the reasons and rejoice. We had a very quiet meeting. One desire pervades every breast, to behave so well that we shall be a credit to our Commander. Mr. Burnham came in just as the last name was called, bringing the latest bulletin from you. He said that Mr. Noyes was as free and happy as a school boy, described your comfortable sleeping chairs, etc. Some of us think all this fracas was got up on purpose to give him a chance for a holiday.

Afternoon.- Dexter Hubbard's wife with a young man, a cousin of Tryphena's, called upon us this morning, and requested Tryphena to go home with them. She tried to work upon Tryphena's sympathies, saying she was "murdering" her mother: "poor woman, she never slept a wink night before last." Tryphena answered calmly that she would like to see her, and went out to get ready.

Henry then went in and treated them very politely, so that they invited him to go too. This was what we wanted. The woman was full of wrath, but I "came it over her," as she says, by taking her into the room where the children were. She seemed delighted with them. The gentleman took up the Religious History in the office, and purchased it for fifty cents. Tryphena went away in good spirits, determined to be one with John and confide in God's working through her. We are all cheerful, and business goes on as usual.

Evening.- Another good quiet meeting.. Mr. Seymour gave an account of his interview with the Hubbards. The old man is chuckling over the idea of our falling to pieces now that "the old he-one of the flock is scared off," and threatens the law on you if you are caught around here. But evidently enough their spirits are weak as water. Mr. Hamilton takes the lead of the meetings, and things go on decently and in order. We took a vote to-night to return to the old system of early rising. I think it will give us a new start in business. All seem united in the purpose to seek inspiration in all things.

Feb. 14, 1849.- Noon.- Henry has just come in with good news from the Hubbards. The old man has softened down: says he believes Mr. Noyes an honest man, and he would not require bail

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of him; confesses that he has not been free from excitement and in a fit state to listen to reason until yesterday, when he began to feel the influence of Henry's and Tryphena's spirit. Dexter is going to Albany on some land business, and we advise Henry to push still further during his absence the advantage gained. Henry suggested to Tryphena that she relate to her father her experience in reading the Religious History, and offer to read it to him. In reply to some innuendo about enlarging the lunatic asylum Henry told Dexter this morning, that he thought they were disrespectful and abusive, and he would not stand it any longer. Upon this they stopped talking, and the old man backed up Henry, conceding to us as an Association the right to do as we pleased provided we infringed on no one's rights. They have fallen in love with Henry, who behaves well. So all this hullabaloo is likely to end in a laugh, as Mr. Noyes predicted.

OTIS H. MILLER TO JOHN R. MILLER.

March 1, 1849.

We have had some external commotion lately, commencing when Mrs. Skinner left for Putney. It was in consequence of the operations against bashfulness or shame. We kept up an incessant war for some time, during which some were pushed to extremes and some vulgar expressions were made, which were not approved by Mr. Noyes. Mr. Hyde, Mr. Dunn and Miss Dunn bolted and made a violent effort to leave. During this time Miss Dunn ( now Mrs. Hyde ) professed friendship and was let into the secrets of many wild things which have lately taken place, and reported to Messrs. Dunn and Hyde, who have not been much acquainted with our sexual morality. Mr. Hyde made up his mind to leave, and went to

the Castle and told all he knew to his father, who is a violent opposer, and thence it was reported to the village. The principal thing Mr. Hyde reported was that Miss Dunn had been forced. Several informal meetings in the village took place, and we were threatened with a mob. All is very quiet now. Mr. Hubbard, who was the most violent, is calm and friendly, and comes to meeting on Sunday. I do not apprehend any further difficulty from without..

The body are very well united at present. We have some schisms once in a while. Mr. Smith left last Sunday. He would not submit to Mrs. Cragin. Mrs. Cragin made some remarks in meeting on faith. Mr. Smith made some remarks on the same subject, in which he did not exactly agree with Mrs. Cragin. He made no allusion to her remarks, however. After meeting Mrs. Cragin reprimanded him. He took offense and boarded the cars in the evening. He did not break fellowship with Brother Noyes or the body. He said it was a matter of opinion in relation to Mrs. Cragin's position.

NOYES TO HARRIET A NOYES.

Brooklyn, March 16, 1849.

Dear Harriet:-

My proposed excursion with Mrs. Cragin, the details of which you will learn from Mr. Cragin, seems to be desirable and expedient for the following reasons among others:

1. It will give her a needed vacation and diversion.
2. It will give her and myself a quiet opportunity of perfecting our union with each other and with the Primitive Church.
3. It will expand, or rather confirm and complete the expansion of your heart and Mr. Cragin's into the free love of the family of God.

4: She will be my most appropriate companion in the preparation of the Confession of Social Experience.

I anticipate results from this movement which will perfect the union between you and me, and prepare us for new cooperation and more blessed festivities. And I have confidence in you, that you will be "none otherwise minded."

Hoping that I shall see you at the Depot Thursday evening, I remain as ever. Yours,

J. H. NOYES.

P. S. Mrs. Cragin will please provide herself with a full set of our publications, a polyglot Bible, a Shakespeare, an inkstand, needles, thread, scissors, etc.

On March 15, 1849, Noyes with Mrs. Cragin went on a tour to Niagara Falls. They spent a week there, and returned by way of Buffalo, Rochester and Geneva, arriving home March 28th.

NOYES TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

MARCH 18, 1849.

There is one feature of the Association in respect to which I am anxious for a change. The spirit of desertion has been our worst plague during the past year. As the social order of the world cannot exist without effectual guarant~~ies~~ for the sacredness of the marriage relation, and as an army can have no efficiency without security against the caprices of mere volunteers, so our Association will be in a precarious and crippled state so long as its members hold their connection with it in that loose way that leaves the door open for the spirit of desertion. A man who has joined the Association professedly "for better or for worse" and has consummated the union by liberties which properly belong only to the married state, is not in the condition of a man stopping at a tavern, who has only to pay his bill and depart... If he has any true moral sense, he will not think of breaking the connection unless he has reasons which would justify desertion of a wife in the world.

I advise our women to consider that a man who does not first prove his constancy to the Association is not likely to be constant to an individual; and ~~that~~ a man who can talk of deserting the Association thereby proves that he is not married to it in heart, and can therefore be only a paramour to one whom he approaches. Without this discrimination we cannot escape the degredation of licentiousness.

As the influences working in the Association during the past

year have not proved strong enough to expel the evil spirit, I am disposed to try new measures. I am unwilling to go through another year of watching and laboring to keep members from becoming disaffected and running away. My time can be better occupied. The past need not be censured. It is well that we have watched and labored against desertion for one year, for we have thereby manifested that as an Association we have no fellowship with the spirit that allows transitory connections; moreover it was fitting in this first year that extra persuasion should be used to prevent dislocations and scandals which might have impeded our work. But henceforth we may fairly throw the responsibility of divorce on the deserting party, and leave him to his chosen course without impediment. When the Report is printed, our principles organization, mode of government and conditions of membership will be open to the view of all. None will join us under mistake about these matters and so need special nursing. I propose therefore that henceforth, while we show our faithfulness and goodwill to every member in every modest way, we give up urging and persuading to remain those who are possessed by the spirit of desertion. "If the unbelieving depart, let him depart; we are not called to bondage in such cases." If I cannot obtain friends by quiet modest attraction, I will go without them; and if I cannot retain friends by the same means, they may go. This is the only attitude that befits us as the representatives of the Kingdom of God. It is not the individual that confers the favor

by joining and staying with us; it is the Association that confers the favor by receiving and keeping him. The dread question on the day of Judgment will not be whether this or that man had confidence in me, but whether I had confidence in him. I ask no favors. If any man thinks that he can do without me, let him be assured that I can do without him.



## CHAPTER VI.

### FOUNDING OF THE BROOKLYN BRANCH.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

February 26, 1849.- After visiting the Association during the winter Mr. Abram C. Smith on February 26th went to New York and laid his case before Messrs. Noyes and Cragin. Mr. Noyes advised him to get his property in a condition where it would be subject to his own control and used for the benefit of the church. This Mr. Smith gladly consented to do, and at Mr. Noyes's suggestion purchased a house in Brooklyn, N. Y., to be used as a station for the family of believers.

April 1, 1849. The Community men have great games of ball every Saturday afternoon. The most splendid flocks of pigeons are continually passing over.

#### HARRIET H. SKINNER TO CHARLOTTE A. MILLER.

Oneida, April 6, 1849.

Night before last the domain presented an Arcadian scene. it was like a summer sunset, children in the meadow, maidens in the lane, young men playing ball, one group jumping. More than fifty, I should think, could be counted on the grounds. Charlotte, I long for the time when you will quit the buckram of common society, and with a short dress and short hair become a hopping, skipping sportive child again. You will, you may depend upon it.

STEPHEN R. LEONARD TO GEORGE W. NOYES.

Oneida, May 13, 1849.

Mr. Noyes reported the appointment of Mrs. Skinner to take the place of Mrs. Cragin and Mrs. Noyes in the general superintendence of the women's department. Mr. Cragin's resignation was next reported, and H. W. Burnham was appointed to fill that part of his office that related to buying and selling for the Association. Mr. Noyes then resigned his special oversight, spiritual and temporal, of the Oneida Association. Vacancy filled by

J. Burt. Mr. Burt appointed J. L. Skinner to be steward in the kitchen, and in conjunction with Mr. Burnham to fill that part of Mr. Cragin's office that relates to keeping accounts and money, and attending to foreign correspondence; E. L. Hatch to fill the place Mr. Hamilton has occupied in superintending the erection of new buildings and all other work in the carpentry line; Mr. Kinsley to superintend the farming department, and Mr. Ackley the sawmills. This arrangement, Mr. Noyes remarked, would leave him and Mr.

Cragin with their wives, together with some others who had not their places assigned them, at liberty to obey any call; and he believed God would send a detachment to New York City before long, which would be the nucleus of an Association there. He concluded by giving the Association some appropriate advice, the substance of which was, that they should be careful not to get into a quarrel with God or with him; then they would never quarrel among themselves. He said he was bound to obey God in all cases, and he felt at liberty to do so without first consulting this Association.

Man's judgment was a small matter with him; the one that judged him was the Lord. And he had reached a position where he walked surely; he knew he was right before he went ahead. God would defend whatever course he took, and whoever undertook to judge him would find in the end that he was their judge.

ONEIDA JOURNAL, May 16, 1849.- Mr. Cragin and his wife and Mrs. Noyes left Oneida for Brooklyn, N. Y., and on the 18th were followed by Mr. Noyes, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Smith.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EXCOMMUNICATION OF OTIS H. MILLER.

MAY 20, 1849.

At a special meeting of the Oneida Association Sunday, May 20, by a solemn and deliberate vote Otis H. Miller was excommunicated. This was not done in a spirit of vengeance, but as a reluctant duty to truth. That the blessing of God might be upon us it was necessary to put away this wicked person and purge the Community entirely of his spirit.

#### RESOLUTION.

Whereas. we have full evidence that Otis H. Miller is governed by a selfish, lying, covetous spirit, and that he is false to his profession of fellowship with our principles and subordination to the Association, it is the deliberate judgment of this body that he has sinned wilfully after having received the knowledge of the truth and is therefore a reprobate before God. As such we declare him excommunicated from our body, and separate ourselves entirely from fellowship and sympathy with him. (Signed by all the members of the Association who had lived with him during the past year.)

From his earliest connection with the Association he has been industriously scattering seeds of evil-thinking, especially in the minds of the weak, the young, and recent members.

He seemed to have an anstinct for the most assailable points, and was always there. Even when he was apparently in fellowship with the body, he never let an occasion pass where he could feed an evil thought or strengthen prejudice. On this point abundant testimony was given by those who had suffered from his poisonous infusions. Pride, sensuality, laziness and covetousness appeared as prominent traits of his character.

All his pretended difficulties about our social theory were proved to be not conscientious but selfish. He was perfectly unscrupulous in his own conduct, and he never made any complaints except when our principles touched his selfish c;aim upon his wife. Indeed he was wholly destitute of conscience. He was obtuse, coarse, indecent, and he did not secure a friend while he was with us. He scarcely ever mingled with the members in study or plans of improvement, or even amusements, but affected a special dignity which was truly pitiable.

The immediate cause of the present crisis was this: Seeing in Miller's spirit the elements of danger and trouble to the Association, Mr. Noyes determined before he went away to bring his case to an issue, and cast out the evil spirit even if it broke up the Association. He therefore took measures to test his subordination. The course he adopted developed in Miller the full strength of his self-will, pride and hypocrisy. The details of the war would show him now rebellious and abusive, then submitting only to flare up the moment his submission was put to proof; now starting off with purpose to injure us abroad, then returning like a snake; too perverse and self-willed to

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submit heartily, yet terribly loath to leave. Finally the Devil himself seemed to drive him on to the damning act of a direct attack on Mr. Noyes, a thing from which he had restrained himself in all former strifes. On the part of Mr. Noyes and the Association the details would show forbearance, mercy and faithfulness, not casting him off till he had proved himself a reprobate. Throughout the contest Miller confessed to several persons that he knew he was fighting against God, and the effect of this judgment was apparently to render him powerless and hopeless.

The epistle of Jude is a description of his character, and of the scene of judgment we have been passing through.

STEPHEN R. LEONARD TO HARRIET A. NOYES.

May 21, 1849.

You probably will have learned from our pedestrians by the time this letter reaches you the facts in Otis Miller's case up to the time of Mr. Smith's leaving here: How we labored with him in kindness and faithfulness for the last time, and how he left in a rage with war and threatening in his heart against Mr. Noyes and the Association. He returned about bedtime of the same day. Messrs. Burt and Burnham had gone down to the Depot in the afternoon, taking his trunk with them, but had not seen or heard anything of him. They had an instinct however to call on Mr. Stone and give him some account of the matter. Mr. Stone was very friendly, and assured them that he could successfully withstand any efforts Miller might make. Mr. Skinner returned several hours in advance of Miller, bringing with him Mr. Noyes's de-

cision, which was in harmony with our own feelings. Miller threw himself on the lounge in the dining-room on his return, and we soon communicated to him Mr. Noyes's reply to his note, endorsing it in full ourselves. He said nothing to it. As it was late in the evening we did not think it best nor very safe to turn him outdoors, so he was allowed to remain on the lounge, Hial having succeeded to his tent. Messrs Kinsley and Perkins and the two Nashes had the oversight of him through the night. I found him in the printing-office in the morning. He looked as if he had been crying. He asked for Mr. Smith. I told him he had left. He asked if Mr. Noyes had gone too. I told him all had gone that had talked of going, that Mr. Noyes had only waited so long for his sake. He then asked me to call Mr. Burt. I did so and Mr. Burt returned word that he did not wish to see him. Miller then wrote the following note to Mr. Burt:

" Dear Sir:- I feel as I never felt before, and I pray that you may forgive me. I will do anything you say. You may test it by anything you please. If under present circumstances you think I had better go, I will, but I shall say nothing against you. I shall not give you up. I have never had a heart, when in cool and rational moments, to do what I have said. Mr. Stone will tell you what I said about the Association yesterday, which he marked down in his book. I felt that my heart was with you when I left. If I go away, I will not injure you. I will get on my knees and ask the forgiveness of you all.

OTIS H. MILLER.

Mr. Burt returned the following answer:

Mr. Miller:- After all that has passed you cannot expect the Association to have the least confidence in your word. If you

ever get their confidence again, it must be by deeds. If you can prove by deeds that you are a good man, and can get the recommendation of God, the Association will be ready to receive you; but they wish to have you go away now, according to the decision of Mr. Noyes. You can best prove your sincerity by deeds abroad.

JONATHAN BURT."

He assented to this note as reasonable. Mr. Kinsley immediately carried him to the canal, and our bell rang for meeting to make a final disposition of his case. He endeavored to get the sympathy of the Association through Mr. Kinsley, but was unsuccessful. He had a sinking turn and acted as though he would fall from the wagon. He then brightened up, and talked against Messrs. Hamilton and Bradley. He expressed himself several times as being in terrible distress, and Mr. Kinsley left him on the canal the picture of despair. His intention was to go to Putney... We all feel much relieved by his departure, and I guess no one more so than Ellen\* and Mrs. Thayer. The latter mentioned in meeting that Mr. Miller came to her a day before Mr. Cragin and company started for Brooklyn, and complained of Mrs. Cragin and the whole movement in progress against Mr. Burt as unfit to manage our affairs in Mr. Noyes's absence. Because she sided with Mrs. Cragin he kicked her and left her. She said she had received a great deal of treatment as mean as this from him that she had never opened her heart to anyone about.

\*" Ellen " was Miller's wife (married in the Community with Noyes's consent.) "Mrs. Thayer was a lady friend. G. W. N.



.Postscript by H. W. Burnham May 22nd: While passing Root's I saw Gould going into the house, and Otis Miller sitting in the wagon. On my return Miller met me in the street. He began by saying that he could not go into the world, wished retirement, etc. I replied that we had done with him, that he should have left on the packet Sunday morning as he agreed. "But here you are consorting with Gould, our sworn enemy." He said that Gould was not our enemy, that Stone could not keep him, so he went to Gould's. He followed me a few steps, and that was the last I saw of him.

Doubts as to Sanity.

JOHN L. SKINNER TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, June 3, 1849.

At half-past ten o'clock our bell rang for meeting. At the opening of the meeting Mr. Burt announced that marriage was intended between Mr. Marquis L. Worden and Mrs. Sophia Dunn. The roll was then called, and after testimony from all who had anything to say Mr. Worden and Mrs. Dunn stood up and were married. This was a sudden movement, but such things are common, you know, among us, where inspiration is allowed to have place. Mr. Worden has stood in a doubtful position in relation to us for a good while. His being so connected with William H. Cook (his wife being Cook's sister) probably had much influence on him. His wife died several months ago. He came down here yesterday from Manlius, and brought his two youngest children. After a talk with Mr. Burt, in which he expressed his decision to commit himself and his interests to the Association, Mr. Burt proposed to him the marriage with Mrs. Dunn, the idea of which had before come to his mind with considerable force. Mr. Burt regards it as in an important sense the termina-

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tion of the war with the New York Perfectionists.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

JUNE 4, 1849.

Mr. Campbell arrived this morning with letters and news from Oneida. After reading the letters we had a silence and then a talk. The result is sending you Mr. Cragin, and if he does not answer the purpose Mr. Noyes will come himself.

Harriet, I want to give you one piece of advice, and I pray you give heed to it. Do not suffer your instincts to be overruled and choked. Remember my experience in that Mary Knight affair.\* If I had been simple enough to believe John's estimate of my spirituality, I should have stood my ground, alone if it had been necessary. I wish nothing altered in the case I refer to, but I should be glad to have you learn wisdom by it and believe John when he says, as he has this morning, that he would trust you before any of them.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO GEORGE E. CRAGIN.

PRIVATE.

June 11, 1849.

Dear George:- We received a letter from you yesterday giving a pretty full account of proceedings at Oneida. Mr. Noyes suggests that you remain either until Mr. Burt fully recovers from the spirit of fanaticism, or until you can establish an organization independent of him. If you need help from here

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\* THE PUTNEY COMMUNITY. CHAPTER XXVII.

of course you can have it by making application. At all events I hope you will not leave them until they are all straightened up.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

JUNE 21, 1849.

We had a double treat yesterday in the arrival of John and Theodore and the receipt of a large package of notes from beloved ones at Oneida. I think of you as all quiet and settled, each one modestly getting his or her lesson. We needed John here as soon as you got through with him. How pretty it will be for him to go backward and forward between the two Associations, nussing his two babies from time to time as their necessities require !

We have gone on with our criticisms, as John told us to, and have found the spirit of wisdom and judgment descending upon us. Last evening it was Mr. Inslee's turn, and he was unanimously found fault with for a spirit that sought to please everybody. After we had got through Mr. Noyes said: "There are certain qualities of character that everybody loves, such as affability, skill in music. That these are superficial qualities is evident because it requires only superficial discernment to appreciate them. Such popular traits of character are to be considered as luxuries. For my part, I have settled the question, that I cannot afford to be popular. This is a time of war, not a time to surround ourselves with the trappings of wealth. Sonetime I may be able to keep my coach and four, but at present I am not able. To those who desire true popularity I would say, you will have the best

and most enduring sort eventually. Do not expect to be appreciated by the world or by weak believers. Cultivate those traits of character that are too deep for superficial notice, and be popular with God. Christ did not seek popularity. In his reproofs he did not trouble himself to be polite. He was a lion as well as a lamb.

JOHN R. MILLER TO ERASTUS HAMILTON.

Oneida, August 31, 1849.

At Herkimer I met O. H. Miller. He came down as far as St. Johnsville with us. I told him the substance of what was said at the meeting the other evening; that all had kind feelings toward him, and would be glad to save him if they could, but had not confidence enough in him to take him back. It seemed to give him a good deal of comfort to know that the Community had hopes of him. He thought that the trials he had been through had done him much good, and that he was prepared to submit to everything without fault-finding again. I told him that he ought to count well the cost before he ever thought of joining us again, that he could gain nothing by it unless he was in fellowship with the Association, and that it was impossible to get Ellen away or enjoy her society on any other basis. He seemed to be fully aware of this, and gave me to understand that his own salvation was what he was seeking. He wanted I should give him what advice I could. I advised him to offer to peddle for the Association, to come there only often enough to get his goods, and to make only a short stop unless he was invited to stay. He said he would be glad to do it, and did not ask for

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better terms. I told him that I would report his proposal to the Association, and give him an answer when I returned through Herkimer. He then took out his pocket-book and handed me \$200, saying he did not need it and wished me to take it. I told him that I would take the money, and if the Association did not accept his proposal I would pay it back. He seemed very glad to get rid of it.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO JOHN R. MILLER.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1849.

The Association has organized itself into classes of about twelve members each with a foreman for purposes of mutual criticism and anything in the way of improvement. John appointed the foremen, and they cast lots for their members, choosing round twice first. Mr. Burnham is foreman of the class I belong to. Charlotte is in Mr. Skinner's class. Today we told experience all round, and in our class chose Mr. Ackley for a subject of criticism next meeting. The members are to write out their criticisms, and give them to the foreman in season for him to read and prepare a summing up which is to be the property of the Association, liable to general inspection. Mr., Mrs. Cragin, Harriet A. Noyes and George Noyes are left out of the classes. They are to criticize the foremen before their class. The plan is very popular. All are anticipating much improvement.

AFFAIRS OF THE BROOKLYN BRANCH.

NOVEMBER 19-21, 1849.

Mr. Noyes spent the month of October 1849 in Brooklyn. Then after a three week's visit to Oneida he returned again to

Brooklyn with his wife, Mr. Burnham, Mrs. Cragin, Theodore and Victor. The campaign opened with severe criticism of Mr. Cragin for deception, George Noyes for false love, and Harriet Skinner for carelessness.

NOVEMBER 21, 1849.- Noyes left Mr. Hamilton and Charlotte Miller in charge at Oneida. The Brooklyn family commenced receiving classes from Oneida, including some of the children, for more private instruction.

MARY E. CRAGIN'S NOTES FROM MEMORY.

DECEMBER 1, 1849.

We have had, or rather the truth has had a good time this morning firing at superstition as showing itself in telling dreams, giving heed to spiritual impressions without trying the spirits, opening the Bible without a real instinct for it. We give it the general name of fanaticism, and the special one of Langstaffism because Mrs. Langstaff is notorious for doing these things, and some of us have caught the infection.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO MARY E. CRAGIN AND HARRIET A. NOYES.

Oneida, December 15, 1849.

I will relate to you the progress of Mr. Cragin's case since I wrote you last. The following criticism which Mr. Hamilton sent him Monday evening will explain itself:

" To Mr. Cragin: I find my spirit somewhat in bondage to you. I feel in you a spirit claiming deference from me and cramping my freedom of action because of the position you have heretofore sustained towards the center. And the part you had in helping me to free myself from the world and join the Association seems to hold

me back from endorsing the center's judgment of you. Also there is a spirit holding me back from acting in the simplicity of their confidence in me, tempting me to fear there are things in my spirit which will bring me perhaps at some future time under such particular judgment as you have come into. In carefully thinking over the facts I see it is my duty to stand in the confidence Mr. Noyes, Mrs. Cragin and Mrs. Noyes have in me. In my own strength I feel perfectly weak, but in the strength of Christ and in union with their spirit I am strong to do all that God has placed before me. My heart yearns after greater refinement of spirit than I have yet attained, but still I feel constrained to hold myself open to inspiration in the relation I am placed in to you, free from the obstruction and constraint that would naturally arise from considering you according to your former position instead of your present relation with the center. Perfect sincerity and that alone will secure union and fellowship. With sincere desire to fulfill the truth, Yours in Christ,

E. H. HAMILTON.

I wrote the preceding Thursday night, not concluding whether to send it to you or not, but tonight I feel constrained to free my spirit. I disliked the spirit of your remarks tonight exceedingly. I think they came from a lofty heart seeking to save its life and popularity. I can see a spirit in you trying to drag the Association down into judgment with you. You are making a merit of your sufferings, and instead of taking a position at the feet of the Association you are assuming a position above them. I think your reference to the necessity of making mistakes in order to learn wisdom was immodest, and the influence of your

spirit has been to entangle persons in suffering and mistakes. Sincerity and the position Mr. Noyes has put me in prompt me to be thus free. I pray that God may enable you to escape the snare of the Devil, and lead you to repentance that needeth not to be repented of.

E. H. H. "

Mr. Cragin thanked Mr. Hamilton for his criticism the next morning, and afterward showed it to Harriet and Mr. Leonard. He asked Harriet if she thought best to have it read in meeting. She and all of us thought it was not best, but he should rather ponder these things in his heart, and if he had anything to expose or write, write it to John. We concluded not to show him your letter unless some occasion demanded it. He has been much at the office since, and has not said anything to anyone.

NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, FEBRUARY 10, 1850.

Inslee is here, and reports some interesting movements in Newark. 1. The Korah crew are falling into awful gaps such as adultery and drunkenness. 2. Inslee's brother has quieted off so far as to consent to have Mr. Burt come into the shop, and is actually anxious to have him come. 3. Mr. Lynch has come fully over to fellowship with us, and he and his wife will throw their house open to the church. Their children have all left them, and his business (that of tinner and stove dealer) is running down. It has been and might be a profitable business, but he is too feeble through age and other causes to manage well alone. He is worth, when all his debts are paid, about \$1000. He and his wife



are ready and enthusiastic for a full surrender to the church. This we hope is the beginning of a move for a Community in Newark. They have a good house in a retired situation, which may be made a gathering-place for believers that are to be engaged in taking the city. I suggested to Inslee last night, that possibly A. C. Smith was the man to go in there in the name of the church and take charge. The question to be considered is, whether Smith with the he has had at Oneida and with the connection which he would have with Brooklyn and Oneida would be able to serve the church safely and faithfully in such a position, and redeem his character in Newark as he has in Kingston. We need not speculate much about the future, but it is well for us to watch every present opening and faithfully fill it. If the Association thinks that the Holy Ghost calls brothers Burt and Smith to new service, and can send them away with a blessing, I propose that they come on with you as soon as is practicable. Smith has other business in these quarters, and it may be worth his while to look at the prospects in Newark even if it is not found expedient to go in there. I think it is safe and according to the will of God, that Mr. Burt should try the experiment of joining Inslee. We are certainly not brooding over Newark so long in vain.

Yours etc.,

JOHN H. NOYES.

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CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRY AND FINANCE.

AUG. 20, 1849 to JULY 16, 1851.

A NEW ERA IN BUSINESS.

AUGUST 20, 1849.

The Brooklyn family returned to Oneida with the addition of Mrs. Whitfield.

J. H. N.- Within the last year toleration of our principles has been triumphantly gained. Now the time has come to enter heartily into the extension of business with a view to presenting the world a perfected model of society in all its relations, financial as well as social.

It was proposed to erect a store immediately. The worldly system of apprenticeship was discussed and pretty well used up.

ERASTUS H. HAMILTON TO JOHN R. MILLER.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1849.

We had a bee today, men, women and children, to clear up the swamp west of our house. The men pulled up and drew together in piles the stumps and logs, and the women and children picked up and carried the smaller pieces. The enthusiasm of the women would get to such a pitch that they would not be content with small attainments, but uniting their forces would seize upon a large log and place it in triumph on the heap. We enjoyed it much. Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Higgins, old Mrs. Burnham, Aunt Sally were out in short dresses as active as any.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO JOHN R. MILLER.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1849.

For two days past the men have been engaged in cleaning out the dyke. Yesterday a company of us women filled some baskets with luncheon and took it down to those poor mud-bespattered, boot-soaked but never more merry-hearted workmen. They washed their hands in the brook, and came out to the stump in the pasture, where we laid out their biscuit, nut-cakes and pickles. There were as many as thirty of them.

Last evening a committee was appointed to attend to the setting up of stoves, lighting the house, and taking precautions against fire. Mr. Skinner was appointed watchman.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.OCTOBER 4, 1849.

An inventory of this date showed that the Association owned property worth \$53,100.00 after deducting all debts. This did not include \$2000.00 owned by Mr. Joslyn, which was received into the Association last Sunday, nor Jack Kinsley's \$3000.00, nor Mr. Barron's \$6000.00 or \$7000.00, which we can call for any time we choose. We have also an income from Mr. Mead, Horatio and Dr. Ransom of \$112.50 annually so long as Mrs. P. Noyes lives.

During the months of October and November 1849 the Association put up a building containing a convenient store, printing office, and shoe-shop, which were occupied immediately, each department commencing operations about December 1st.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE BROOKLYN BRANCH.

DECEMBER 5, 1849.

A committee was appointed last evening to arrange our men for the winter campaign. They made the following report, which was read and accepted:

Printing-office: G. W. Noyes, G. Cragin, Charles Hamilton,  
S. R. Leonard. (Type set by women.)

Horse Teamsters: W. H. Woolworth, Geo. Campbell, Daniel Kniewles.

Ox Teamsters: Eli Whitney, L. H. Bradley.

Wood Choppers: Albert Kinsley, H. T. Clark, H. W. Thayer,  
L. Worden, John Leonard, H. Thacker, Joshua  
Smith, J. W. Perkins.

Blacksmiths : S. W. Nash, S. Newhouse.

Sawyers: H. Burt, J. L. Baker, I. Seymour, D. J. Hall.

Log Sawyers: H. M. Waters, A. L. Burt.

Care of Cattle: C. Higgins.

Wagon Shop: C. Olds, Leonard Dunn.

Watch Repairer: Harvey Norton.

Carpenters: E. L. Hatch, G. W. Hamilton, A. L. Burt,  
H. M. Waters, C. S. Joslyn, John Leonard.

Store: J. R. Miller, Francis Hyde, W. A. Hinds.

Kitchen: Enos Kellogg.

Wood Agent: Riley Burnham.

Teacher: H. J. Seymour

Childrens' House: J. C. Ackley.

Harness Repairer: A. C. Smith.

Business Agent: E. H. Hamilton.

Financial Agent: J. R. Miller.

Shoe-Shop: L. Vanvelzer, L. Worden, A. W. Carr, Elias  
Hall, Daniel Nash, J. L. Skinner.

It was thought to be an occasion of thankfulness to God, that such an arrangement as this could be made with perfect harmony.

Later S. R. Leonard and J. L. Skinner changed places by agreement, the former going into the shoe-shop.

ERASTUS H. HAMILTON TO NOYES.

December 17, 1849.

The new business arrangements work well. I think we have accomplished an important change in the shoe-making business. The repugnance with which that trade was looked upon has been overcome. Leonard and Carr are well satisfied with the business. Mr. Carr, they say, is going to make a good workman. Mr. Smith has a bench in the shoe-shop, and mends harness and straps skates. He is in a quiet, growing state. They passed a vote Saturday, that their shop be known as a place of prayer, not of gossip. The blacksmith shop has commenced doing custom work, and is likely to have all it can do. We have put Mr. Newhouse in with Mr. Nash, and are having him give up his guns and traps entirely. He does nothing but what Mr. Nash sets him at. This is taking the bull by the horns, but I think we shall succeed. He appears to be doing well. I hope I shall be able to carry out your principles and wishes in all things.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 18, 1850.

Mr. Smith closed a bargain with Capt. Bennett for the sloop "Rebecca Ford," which is to be used to transport stone from Kingston to New York City.

February 28.- Mr. Noyes is much interested in our plan of running the sloop. He lay awake and thought about it, and wished it might be manned by Community men. Then our folks could take a pleasure trip up the river any time they chose. We are all much elated at the prospects which open up to us in connection with this business. It was agreed that it should be a Community school of navigation.

NOTE: On July 5, 1851, the Rebecca Ford sank in the Hudson River, near Hyde Park, and two of the Community women were drowned.

G.W.N.

O. C. JOURNAL.

JUNE 14, 1850. -

A "bee" in the parlor to stitch tracts, Mr. Bradley presiding. It went off with a perfect rush, that is with the zest and harmony of inspiration. The inference is that the publishing business will be attractive. We stitched between 800 and 900 in a little more than an hour. Then with the momentum started, all fell to and mended 25 meal bags and quit in glowing spirits. There is ever so much testimony to the healthy effects of bees. They cover aches of all kinds, and send all home refreshed and strengthened.

JOHN R. MILLER IN THE ONEIDA JOURNAL.

OCTOBER 1, 1850.

The work on the mill goes on beautifully. We have for two days been at work in the wheel-pit, and though it is one of the dirtiest and most disagreeable jobs that can be found I tell you the truth when I say that it has been exceedingly attractive. I have not enjoyed myself so well for a long time as when in this work with my thick boots and overalls on, well covered with the Oneida mud. To my great delight I find I can take hold of the

heaviest kind of work, and continue it ten hours in the day, and that too without feeling tired.

O. C. JOURNAL.

November 27, 1850.- Mr. Miller writes: We now owe nearly \$1200, and our funds are nearly used up. Most of our debt is due in a short time. In addition to this, funds are wanted to finish the mill, and for our daily family expenses. But I feel sure we shall have good luck - that prosperity awaits us - that our Father, who has thus far supplied so liberally all our wants, will still see that all these things are added.

December 9, 1850.- Thus far we have had all the money we needed, and that without borrowing. I regard that money from Putney as the direct gift from God. Putney was the last place to which I looked for money, and those notes the last ones I had reason to expect would be paid. I love to acknowledge the hand of God in such transactions.

In the latter part of December, 1850, Mr. J. H. Thomas, a Newark Perfectionist, and manufacturing jeweller, proposed to induct the Brooklyn Branch into the manufacture of gold chain. All were interested in starting a new business, and Mrs. Leonard and Sophronia Higgins were invited to come from Oneida and learn the art.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

Brooklyn, January 5, 1851.

We are driving ahead in the gold chain business. A perfect enthusiasm has taken possession of the whole family down to Theodore and Sarah. We rise at daylight to prosecute the work,

and happy is he or she who finds a vacant seat at the bench any time of day. Mr. Noyes says that God has given him a spirit of industry, and he rejoices in it.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES JANUARY 15, 1851.

I have been engaged for several days in taking our inventory, which is now nearly finished, and will vary but a trifle from the following:

	<u>Jan. 1850</u>	<u>Jan. 1851.</u>
Inventory	\$65,523.39	\$66,600.00
Debts	3,614.39	3,300.00
Balance	61,909.00	63,300.00

This shows a gain since last year of \$1391.00. It may be said that we have not paid our expenses by our own labor, but we have been getting an education, and God has provided liberally for our expenses.

In addition to the above there are Newark, Wilber and Northern Vermont,, amounting in all to some \$15,000, which is Association property, I suppose. In Northern Vermont there are eleven thousand dollars now at the disposal of the church, and nine thousand more which Mr. Barron is quite sure of.

FREE CHURCH CIRCULAR 3:376.

January 30, 1851. By a recent Act of the Legislature affecting the "Oneida Purchase" of 1840-41 the liabilities of the Association to the State have been reduced more than \$2600, leaving only the small sum of \$377.84 still due.



BUSINESS.

HOME TALK BY J. H. NOYES.

BROOKLYN, APRIL 15, 1851.

We are nearing the end of our resources, so far as the funds brought in by new members are concerned, and at the same time external matters are shaping for the commencement of profitable business. At Oneida they are putting in machinery, and we have already commenced industrial operations here at Brooklyn. The great question is whether we are spiritually ready, whether we have fulfilled our obedience to God so that he can allow us to support ourselves. To prepare us for the boon of self-support God has found it necessary to put us through a long series of difficult and threatening circumstances corresponding to the experience he gave the children of Israel in the wilderness. God intended all the time to bring the children of Israel into a land flowing with milk and honey, where they should exercise themselves in all sorts of production; but before he could do that to their spiritual advantage he had to hold them for a long time in the wilderness where they could learn that the rock on which they rested was not money but God. I feel that our obedience is nearly fulfilled, and that God will soon call us to take up business in earnest....

God has held us back these sixteen years very much as we have held back Messrs. Smith and Long. They have been champing their bits for business, but we have steadily resisted till they are in a condition to take it up right end foremost, that is with a proper ascendancy of the spiritual over the physical....

The pursuit of business with us shall be the pursuit of truth. We shall be industrious because we love to be truthful and do the right thing.

I feel that it is decidedly to our spiritual advantage that we be financially independent. So long as there is a devil to take a hand in it, dependence will be bribery. Our government sends its agents all over the world, but it strictly forbids them to receive presents, and any presents that are given must be delivered into the United States Treasury. That is because to receive favors from those they are sent to influence might be an inlet of corruption. Who does not know that every minister in the land who receives a salary is under a strong temptation to suit his people? I hate to be under any such temptation. I hate to have the Association dependent on its subscribers and patriotic contributors. I should like it if we were independent even of our best outside friends. The case of Mr. Thomas brought these ideas forcibly to mind. When Mr. Thomas came up for judgment the thought thrust itself in, now take care, it will not do to offend him, if you do he will break up your business. I of course repelled the thought and nerved myself to break up our benches. I was determined to sit down and suck our thumbs if necessary, rather than sacrifice a hair of truth. Probably the same thought worked in him. We refused to pay any attention to that influence, and immediately the way was opened for us to go on without his patronage. I am now not altogether satisfied with our relations to the Newark concern. There is a tendency for us to feel dependent on them for our work and wages. I hate such an influence, and know that just as soon as it gets hold of us God will break it up and bring us into something better.

Then I see clearly that our business here has sustained us while carrying on discipline and improvement among ourselves. Mr. Smith would have had a good deal more influence here this spring, if it had not been for our business. It would have seemed almost necessary that he should go ahead as he wanted to do, right or wrong, for the sake of our maintenance. That would have interfered with what Mr. Smith himself now knows was for his best interest. Having something else of our own to stand on we can just hold still till the Devil gives up business on the sloop. We shall soon get a platform that will make us independent even of the Association. This plan of entering into business for the sake of gaining independence and producing a free gospel is going to wash us from worldliness instead of putting us into it... Men and brethren, are you ready ? (Messrs. Smith, Cragin, Miller and others responded with enthusiasm.)

This mission to England has a direct connection with our industrial movement. It takes money that is severely wanted and puts it to a public use. It is completing our obedience, showing that we do not hold property in a separate, private way, but that we make God our partner and are free to venture all on him. My personal feelings held back for a good while - my natural timidity, the expense, the danger of leaving my flock - everything looked threatening. But I made up my mind with fear and trembling to sacrifice all to the will of God. Right in the midst of our greatest demand for money we refuse to be small, refuse to be economical against God. That is an act of faith which I know God will acknowledge.

I hope there is energy enough in the family to make our gold chain business go forward. I would recommend to all that they stir up the gift that is in them. I feel that God will encourage us in that line, and also that he will encourage business on the sloop. I should recommend Smith, Hial and Long as crew; and since Mr. Burnham has been turned out of his pastorate in Newark, let him go as pastor on the sloop. A couple of women also will be likely to go each time.

The same principles and the same kind of advice should be extended to Oneida and should be studied by those who are particularly interested. I hope that they will catch the spirit that is growing here to do business in a godly manner. Mr. Inslee will take his talents and tools there for the establishment of a machine shop. Mr. Newhouse and John Leonard will cooperate. With other arrangements that are now in progress we should be able to do a clean business.

And here I would recommend that we do not worry about our social relations. Our social theory does hang fire; it does not realize all that we have been led to expect. Well, don't fret but press through. Remember that the social theory divides the process of redemption into four parts: first, salvation from sin; second, salvation from social evils; third, reform of the labor department; fourth, victory over death. These are all connected, and we do not expect perfect satisfaction in any until we reach the end. Until we have conquered the spiritual and moral departments. And until we have conquered disease and death, they will be a disturbing influence over all. We can only expect to approximate the right state of things at any given point until we have conquered the Devil and all of them. Supposing we regard

our operations in all these lines as the day's work, with the marriage supper of the Lamb at the end. Then dividing the day's work into four parts as indicated in the Bible Argument, I should say that we have reached the middle of the afternoon. We have got over the main difficulties of the spiritual and social departments, and are now in the third stage of the conflict. Supper will come by and by.

We shall have to work for the present very much as our forefathers did when they settled the country. They carried their guns as well as their hoes out into the field. If they saw any Indians, they dropped their hoes and took to their guns. Don't get so busy hoeing as not to look out for Indians.

God has been building his vessel and is apparently about ready to start. Now the question is, where are the paddle-wheels? The machinery of the vessel must take effect on sweeps or paddles working outside in the water in order to get motion. Just so we must have a system of distribution, an independent means of venting the products of our industry. I have a plan to propose that will put on our paddle-wheels. We have in the Association a number of men who have been brought up as peddlers, such as Otis Miller, Mr. Hatch and Mr. Lawton. Then here is John R. Miller, who has had a mercantile education but lacks a suitable opening for his talents. My idea is that Mr. Miller should organize a system of peddling, providing things to sell and training men as salesmen. In this way we shall come into contact with the business world and consumers through our own men, and a system of trade will commence spreading out from the Association in an increasing circle for fifty miles around. Our men will really go

not only as men of business but as missionaries. To send out our own men ostensibly to sell goods would be the best method of sending out our publications and spirit. The peddlers would ultimately turn pastors.

If we can establish such a system of distribution, God will give us wit to manufacture more and better things than the world ever saw. There is obedience among us, and obedience is genius.

Our business may properly be divided among our men. Mr. Inslee is very fond of his factory work, but has always been bothered by attention to outside concerns, getting orders, making contracts. Mr. Miller on the other hand is exactly suited by this part of the business. So they can play into each other's hands.

To show what could be done, Otis Miller when he was away under the displeasure of the Association and in a very unfavorable state made \$30. a month. If he goes out now with the blessing of God, it is to be presumed that he could make \$60.

I do not see but that this scheme touches all around. It is a sign of inspiration if a plan hits a good many objects.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

May 11, 1851.— Mr. Lawton and O. H. Miller returned from their first peddling excursion today. The whole Association were cordial in their welcome and united in their interest in what seems the beginning of an important operation. They went up the valley through Norwich and vicinity, about 100 miles in all, and tell some amusing stories. Mr. Lawton made \$9. and Mr. Miller \$18.32, though it was thought that Mr. Miller incurred the most

spiritual expense, which is a more important item than money-making. G. W. N. remarked: If the peddling cannot be made positively beneficial spiritually. we had better not go into it. I am sure that it can be, though it will probably require patience, heroism, and considerable criticism."

June 27, 1851.- The Farm Department have adopted the plan of working in groups. Once a week names are all drawn out anew. One company of men and women go out at 2 o'clock and work two hours. At 4 o'clock they come in and another company goes out till 6 o'clock. This plan works better than having all go out at once, on account of necessary business in the house.

A large company of men, women and children went to the mill tonight to witness the hanging of the upper millstone. The stone weighing 2400 lbs. was lifted into place by a great crane, the screw of which was made by Mr. Inslee. At a signal by Mr. Hall the great drum below was set in motion, and the stone began to whirl with the lightness of a top, almost noiseless, but emitting a fiery glow where it grated on the lower stone. All the machinery was made in our machine-shop and works well.

July 11, 1851.- J. H. N:- I like the plan of having Miller and Cragin make mutual reports of the state of finances at Brooklyn and Oneida. They should have a care for each other and see that a proper distribution is made. When we have Associations scattered here and there, I expect there will be a regular system of financial reports, and those Associations that have a surplus will impart to those that are in need.

REMARKS BY NOYES.

BROOKLYN, JULY 11, 1851.

I would recommend that the Association turn away from expansion and preparation, and carry through to completion the work already undertaken; also that Mr. Thacker and others in the agricultural department should turn their attention from the ornamental to the profitable enterprises. Let the ornamental come in as incidental. We must look out for three things in all we do, and in their proper order: first the spiritual benefit, second usefulness, and third present pleasure.

I think it is well, as Mr. Miller suggests, to hold up for a while in the peddling. But the more I look at it the more I am in favor of going on and increasing that business. I feel like putting the responsibility upon Mr. Miller to see that the peddling be done in a spiritual manner, and at the same time be efficient and profitable in a material sense. The two things are not incompatible. I want him to study the experience of those that go out, and learn to criticize and give advice.

I am confident that we shall be able to report next February that we are able to support ourselves and help others.



THE CHILDREN'S HOUSE.

AUGUST 11, 1849 to FEBRUARY 2, 1851.

AUGUST 11, 1849.

The first principle is to avoid as far as possible giving children occasion for transgression by putting them under a multitude of laws. The second is to correct their faults usually by addressing their reason and conscience, and winning them to obedience by kindness, patience and gentle words. Then once in a great while, when there is a signal occasion for it, give them a tremendous rebuke, such as will leave its impression forever.

THE CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

AUGUST 25, 1849.

Mr. Noyes alluded with thankfulness to the favorable change which has taken place in the class of older boys, with whom there had been formerly serious difficulties. The Devil came nearer proving himself almighty in that department than in any other. But now Mr. Noyes heard a good report of that class, and it was a privilege to commend them. The victory gained there, said Mr. Noyes, stands side by side with the health miracle and the other great miracles with which God is surrounding us. It contributes doubtless to the health of the body; there is a better atmosphere spiritual and bodily in consequence of stopping the leak in that direction.

In the infant department we cannot claim so decisive a victory. Nevertheless the same God is at work there as in the children's department, and we may expect the same results. To be sure the problem is more difficult in the case of the infants. They are feebler and more impressible to evil influences, and the parents are more tenacious of worldly fashions in respect to them. It is especially difficult to introduce the new system if we complicate it with the old one. Between two stools we fall to the ground. If we take the infant from the mother while she has her natural feelings in full play, and is at liberty to watch and keep up a particular care over it, we make the worst possible conditions. The care of the infants will inevitably become odious if it is subjected to the keen espionage and criticism of the parents. The nurses will droop, and that will make the infants droop. This will increase the anxiety of the parents, and rouse them to more watchfulness and interference. So the evil will perpetuate itself. The unpropitious results in the infant department are not due to the fact that we have introduced a new system, but to the fact that we have not done it. The persons in charge are faithful and talented. I feel safe in committing my children to them. Yet we do not see the same results. Now that we are making changes let us calmly and unanimously adjust the infant department to the new basis. Our original plan was to have but one establishment for the children. I think we can now return to it with benefit to both classes. There is a general feeling in favor of placing the infants under the same roof with the older children. The infants will then have the advantage of being helped by the older children, and the older children the advantage of taking some care

of those more helpless. Beyond that I propose to the mothers, to the husbands of the mothers, and to all who love the Association, that they consider the importance of allowing the Association to carry out its principles unembarrassed by worldly feelings. The essence of our principles is, that children cease to be private property and become the property of the Association; and the true way to manage them is, as soon as nature allows, to place them under a system of general control. This plan has been carried out with success in the case of the older children; we demand the liberty to carry it out in respect to all the children...

I feel a certain respect for this tenacious philoprogenitiveness. It is mighty, and I respect anything that is mighty. It is important to provide for it, and find a way to go along peacefully with it. But intelligent philoprogenitiveness and blind philoprogenitiveness are like fire and water, and if they try to occupy the same ground, there will surely be hissing and explosion. Hence if there any in the Association who cannot heartily join us in this movement, I propose that they occupy one of the old houses and take their children with them. Let the two houses which the Association has built be devoted to the principles of the Association. There is an appropriateness in their having the old and we the new.

It is not necessary to assume that there is no chance for improvement in the children's department. If we have not perfect confidence in the character and management of those in charge, let us appeal to those who are responsible for their appointment. Instead of talking in a way to disaffect the Association, or resorting to private and unruly interference, make known the fault in a quarter where it will be effectually stopped. Mr. Cragin and

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I are open to complaint and disposed to see justice done.

My attachment to the principles we have published is such that, if I found myself in an Association where there was no reasonable prospect of advancing to an entire community, I would quit at once.

### THE CHILDREN.

BROOKLYN TALK AUGUST 12, 1850.

The unconverted children are the front rank of the Devil's forces in the Community. We cannot expect uninterrupted development so long as this outpost of the Devil is unconquered. It is proposed that Mr. Hamilton and Charlotte Miller go to Oneida and undertake the spiritual education of the children.

September 27, 1850.- Mrs. Skinner writes in the O. C. Journal: "There is a beautiful change going on among the children, a Bible revival. Several new Bibles have lately been bought and distributed among them, and they are much interested in reading them. The spirit of meekness and quietness have much increased since Mrs. Cragin's visit, and I can feel in all my bones that pleasure-seeking had a death-blow.

### THE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE CHILDREN.

NOVEMBER 24, 1850.

J. H. N.- When Mr. Hamilton and Charlotte Miller were last here, the older children were much on my mind. Discipline and sincerity had worked their way through the other classes in the Association, but when we reached the older boys and girls a wall

rose up against us. This has been the difficulty from the beginning. The children have been within the family circle, yet not to any great extent under the Community spirit; and I proposed to Mr. Hamilton and Charlotte Miller that they return to Oneida with a special commission to carry the Community spirit through that class. I foresaw that the hardest conflict would come on precisely the same point as in the case of older persons, the relation of the sexes. Therefore my plan has been to devise some method by which the church could get the lead of the children, and thus let in upon them whatever good influences are coming down from heaven upon us.

There are two guiding principles which can be applied at once to the children. One is that the spirit and actions of persons must be brought out into the light where they can be criticised. The other is that there should be a leaning toward the ascending fellowship.

These principles are sure to make difficulty with a worldly spirit. We saw in the case of Hyde, that, although he was an obscene fellow, yet he was much offended when the Association brought out a word that is commonly considered obscene and aired it. So also the principle of ascending fellowship will offend those whose horizontal interests are at stake. I have had to stand in the invidious position of demanding that love should gravitate toward me. But I am subject to the same demand. I cannot have peace with God unless I keep the ascending fellowship predominant. So I have felt bound to introduce that principle into the church and be the victim of whatever offense its introduction might cause.

There was a clique of young men and women in the Association consisting of Hyde, Julia and others, who were in a state of exclusive fellowship with one another. I found it necessary to demand that they seek fellowship with those above them, and I went right in among them offering to be their playmate and inviting them up into fellowship with the Association. Those who had private property there were terribly offended. If a man would only wait and look through, he would see that no really valuable interests are attacked; for if he is a true man he will come within the benefits of the principle. If he calls away from him something which the world regards as private property, by the same rule it calls up to him the love of a class below when he is fit to receive it. Let a man wait patiently and he will find that the principle will give him a hundredfold for all that it requires of him and will eventually fill him with the richness of God....

Children can be modest, if they cannot reason. It is a trait that belongs to their condition, and renders them beautiful and attractive to their superiors. Modesty in conjunction with confidence in their parents constitutes the righteousness of children. Modesty and confidence, which are feelings, should prevail over the fondness for pleasure and other feelings; and when the two different kinds of feelings come into collision, children should use all the power they have to make the right ones prevail. This is their faith; it is looking upward, and is the attitude of mind which will eventually let them into fellowship with God and his family.

I do not expect that the children will understand all the movements of the Association. It is not possible for them to do so until their minds are enlarged. How can two persons be at

peace with each other when one is a great deal wiser than the other ? It is not possible if the inferior insists on understanding all that the superior does. What if I should say, I cannot have peace with God without understanding all his ways. That would not be a happy state of mind for me. God says: "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." How, then, shall I be at peace with him ? Why, by dropping the idea of understanding all his ways, and having a spirit of modesty and confidence toward him. Then no matter how high he is above me, love can flow.

What I want in the children is to settle it in their hearts that I am a man of God, and that I am right whether they understand me or not. When any feeling rises to contradict that, they should stand in readiness to put it down. Feeling will at last give us strength to prevail. Mere reason will never do it. God is providing for the growth of an omnipotent feeling in the Association and in the world, that I am right, and there will be an end of the insistence upon understanding all that I am about; and I invite these boys to cooperate with God in the establishment of this feeling, assuring them that I have now in my heart more love for the boys and children than ever before.

I felt as though I had found the whole of salvation, almost, when I had settled that principle of the possibility of fellowship between the superior and inferior. Without that principle, fellowship on any extensive scale would be impossible, so long as there is such a difference of intellect. There is but one way for me to have fellowship with God. He presents

me the chart of his infinite counsels, of which I can understand a very little. But I understand enough to jump the rest. I will sign it and say it is right without reading, for it will require the endless ages of eternity to read it all. I will stake my all on the assertion that he is right. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" We can in the same way find men who are inspired by God to such an extent that we can endorse them without reserve and without understanding them. Such a man is one of the greatest gifts that God can give.

### THE DOLL SPIRIT.

BROOKLYN LETTERS FEBRUARY 2, 1851.

Theodore Noyes, Sarah Burt, Mary Prindle and Mrs. Cragin formed themselves into a Committee to study and report on the doll spirit. They came to the following conclusions: 1.- That playing with dolls is acting and speaking a lie. 2.- That we do not want our philoprogenitiveness to grow any faster than God sees is best for us, and wish to learn more of the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of education, before we try to learn to be mothers. 3.- That playing with dolls tends to make us babies ourselves in thought and talk. 4.- That the doll spirit seduces us from helping the family and from being in earnest to get an education.

This report was read to Mr. Noyes, Mr. Hamilton and others, who heartily approved. Mr. Noyes added: The doll spirit is connected with the worship of images.

The children were well satisfied that the doll spirit had seduced them into pleasure-seeking, frivolity and lying, and voted that they be burned up. Accordingly the dolls were stripped without delay and laid on the coals, all hands rejoicing in their



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condemnation. Mr. Hamilton noted on the Report, that he hoped the children at Oneida would follow the example of Brooklyn.

( The children who took part in this holocaust were about nine or ten years old.- G. W. N. )

BATTLE OF THE PUTNEY "REAR GUARD."

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

PUTNEY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1849.

After tea I invited Mr. Woolworth to go with me into the street. It was very disagreeable to me to meet the Putney enemy again, but I thought that the boldest course was the safest. I first called at Mr. Perry's tavern. He expressed much pleasure in seeing me, and wished I would come back with all the rest of our folks. I next went to Chandler's store, where I found a great crowd. All appeared glad to see me with the greatest politeness except Israel Keyes, Mr. Baker and Mr. Ryan. I left my advertisement to be put up, and then went to Upham's store, where I met with the same cordial reception. I next went to Phelps' tavern. I met Joel Willard at the door. He caught hold of me with both hands and exclaimed, "Mr. Miller, can this be you?" I am glad to see you." I then passed into the bar room. All rushed forward and offered me their hands with many expressions of pleasure. George Robertson caught hold of both my arms, gave me a real hug, and exclaimed with a good deal of enthusiasm, "God bless you, my old friend. I am glad to see you once more. We shall never allow you to leave Putney again, unless you promise

to go and bring all your folks back here. " I told him it would be quite a job to do that, as I had more than 150 in my family now. He said, " I don't care for that, the more the better." I handed Mr. Phelps my advertisement and asked him to nail it. Some one asked if I was going to sell myself. I said, "No. If I was, I should choose some other market. I don't think I should sell for much in Putney." Some one from the further side of the room said, " You are not to be bought. Putney has tried that, but there is not money enough in town to do it."

September 4, 1849.- When I wrote you of my cordial reception in this town, I felt that there would be another story to tell. The fact is, I took the enemy by surprise, and they had not time the first night to rally their forces. But yesterday morning when I went into the street, it seemed as though all hell was let loose. Israel Keyes attacked me in Chandler's store in the most insulting way possible. It was all I could do to live, but God was my strength. I told Mr. Woolworth that I did not see how he could possibly live here, that I would flee as Lot did out of Sodom, if my wife turned into a pillar of salt.

Yesterday was a curious day. I never was so well treated by the publicans and sinners, and never so abused by the scribes and Pharisees.

I thought I would not tell you that I had a very sick night, but I have concluded to tell the whole story. I have scarcely been able to sit up this forenoon, but I think I shall be able to attend my auction. The poisonous atmosphere of Putney is the only cause, I am sure.

September 5, 1849.- I have received more insults and abuse during the last two days than I have before for the last two years.

Before my auction commenced I kept away from the crowd as much as possible, but I could not hold up my head. When the people and the auctioneer came, and I saw that I must meet the situation, I sprang into a wagon I was offering for sale, and made a short speech. I felt my spirits rise at once, and after that I had no difficulty. Our property sold low, but as well as I expected.

It will be remembered that in a double wedding July 12, 1847, George W. Noyes was married to Helen Campbell, and William H. Woolworth to Emma Campbell. The girls, especially Emma, were isolated by the events of the following fall and winter, and went through great perturbations of spirit before yielding themselves to life in the Community.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Oneida, September 15, 1849.

Today has been a victorious one for God over the power of Putney unbelief as it has been expressed in Helen's feelings for the last two years. She has come out into a state of grateful submission to God and love for the Association and its principles such as has made Mrs. Cragin exclaim joyfully: "The millennium has come ! Praise God for his goodness in the great congregation." George expressed himself satisfied with the result of two years of conflict and suffering, and Noyes remarked: "If you conquer the Campbell spirit, you have conquered the world."

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

Putney, September 22, 1849.

I met Dr Campbell yesterday morning, and he looked the very picture of despair. In the afternoon I met him again as I was coming out of Chandler's store. He said: "How do you get along working miracles and laying on of hands out in your Kingdom of God?"

M: If you want to know about our affairs, I can probably give you all the information you wish.

Dr: I find out enough by your publications to know that you are as corrupt as the Devil.

M: You may have occasion to change your mind on this subject.

Dr: I never shall change my mind, d--n it all.

M: Let God be the Judge between us.

I see that God does not intend that I shall get in love with Putney. After all the insults I have received from that man I have hardly been willing to give him up; but now the last cord that bound me to him is broken, and I am prepared to rejoice in his case, let it be decided as it may. I think I have been too willing to overlook his faults, but I see that God is no respecter of persons.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

Putney, September 22, 1849.

The "rear guard" are beginning to move. Emma has decided to go with us next week, and is now packing up her things. She has not been urged to go. Mr. Woolworth invited her to go with him. She refused until she found that he was in earnest. Mrs. Campbell

is going too. I expect to be there Thursday afternoon.

September 24th, 1849.- There has been a great change in Emma's spirit since I came here, which fills Mr. Woolworth's heart with joy. It is nothing that I have done, for I have said but little to her. It is the work of God. I think Helen's letter produced a good effect, though she kept it to herself and has shown it to no one.

Mrs. Baker called on me yesterday; appeared friendly, though a little embarrassed. She was much pleased with the invitation to visit at Oneida. Mr. Baker was also pleased. I think the invitation must have been given by inspiration.

There is a terrible commotion in the spiritual atmosphere to-day, and I do not know how it will end, but God overrules all things and I have not the least fear.

#### JOHN R. MILLER TO THE PUTNEY COMMUNITY.

September 30, 1849.

After writing you at Springfield I waited at the hotel, not knowing whether I should have the pleasure of meeting our Putney friends or not, but on the arrival of the cars to my great joy I found they were there.

After dining together at the American House the party decided to go on by way of New York. At the Brooklyn branch they found Mrs. Whitfield and Mr. Perry. They spent the day visiting points of interest, and in the evening went to the theater, "which Emma enjoyed very much." The next day they went by boat to Albany, and put up at the Delavan House.

We did not take tea till half-past seven. The waiter seated us at a long table where there were nearly a hundred persons, Mr. Woolworth at the end, Emma next, and myself at the side of her.

After I had finished my supper and was waiting for the others, Emma turned to me and asked if I expected to meet Mr. Noyes there. I said, "No. He is not here is he ?" "Don't you see him at the end of the table ?" I looked up, and sure enough there he was at the head of the table beside Mr. Woolworth, and had been there all the while. He saw that I did not recognize him, so he shook hands with Mr. Woolworth, and thought he would carry on the joke till I saw him. We spent the evening very pleasantly together, I assure you. He was on his way to Brooklyn to spend a few weeks. The next morning at half-past five I walked with him down to the boat, and bade him good-by.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE ASSOCIATION.

October 20, 1849.

I hear it hinted from time to time both while at Oneida and since I came to Brooklyn, that "Mr. Miller does not fully believe in our social theory." How far I may have given occasion for such remarks by my own weakness and foolishness I will not pretend to say, but I do wish to say, that to be in a state that would justify such remarks or such an opinion I consider the most disgraceful state I could be in to myself, and one of the greatest unthankfulness to God. I hope that no one will ever make, or have occasion to make such remarks again. I hope that all will believe me when I say, that I consider our principles - our social theory - as much above anything which this world knows anything about as heaven is above the earth.

NOYES'S CHARGES AGAINST EMMA WOOLWORTH.

OCTOBER 30, 1849.

In the name of Christ and the church I charge upon Emma Woolworth the following offenses: 1. Pride, which is the opposite of the fear of God. 2.- Railing, which is the abuse of society. 3. Breach of covenant in regard to the use of her tongue. 4. Disrespect and ingratitude toward me. 5. Cruelty toward her mother and sister.

As witnesses for the truth of these charges I name Mrs. A. Campbell, Mrs. Helen Noyes and William Woolworth. These witnesses are interested, if at all, in Emma's favor. "Out of the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established."

The alternative in this case will be a hearty confession and repentance, or a withdrawal of the fellowship of the church. Reasonable time will be given for deliberation.

JOHN H. NOYES.

Oct. 30, 1849.- Emma confesses that she sees that the first three of the above charges are true, and on the ground of her confidence in my judgment confesses that all of them are true, though she does not clearly see the truth of the last two. She says that she repents of her railing, that she will endeavor to clear herself of all grounds of complaint, that she wishes any one who sees any of the above faults showing themselves in her hereafter to tell her.

Of this confession William H. Woolworth is witness.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

NOVEMBER 10, 1849.

Your mother gets along finely, and Charlotte is beautiful. Mr. Woolworth and Emma have returned. They took the Kellogg's room. John put Mrs. Hamilton over Emma to be her mother in the place of Mrs. Campbell, and had a plain talk with Mrs. Campbell about being in earnest for God and for John. Emma flared up the first day, but is more quiet now. Helen does nicely, Mr. Woolworth is to take Mr. Burnham's place in the business, and stand up and be a man. Messrs. Thacker, Perkins and Newhouse are making a flower bed. Otis Miller appears well.

With love to you all,

Your sister Harriet.

CHARLOTTE MILLER TO MARY E. CRAGIN AND HARRIET H. SKINNER.

Oneida, December 15, 1849.

The case of Helen is next in order. You know how she received George's challenge to the race in pursuit of truth. She parted from him and Harriet and me in open war. To Mr. Hamilton she appeared more respectful. She has taken no practical steps toward a reconciliation with any of us since. Mr. Hamilton copied John's last note and with some remarks endorsing it sent it to her. She has made no move since, but perhaps it is working in her for Fidelia says she has learned at least to govern her tongue and mind her own business. What she is really about I cannot say. Shall we not expect from her an acknowledgment of the truth of John's charges before we take any steps toward her? She is in her own room mostly, quite reserved, though kind in word to



Fidelia. Emma is becoming quite approachable and attractive, rising some as Helen declines. I trust we have learned not to administer undue stimulants in such cases, but to "think soberly according as God has dealt to every man the measure of faith."

HELEN C. NOYES TO DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

Oneida, December 20, 1849.

Brother John:- I write to you, because the truth, my position and yours demand that I should do so.

In the first place you are laboring under the mistaken idea that I am here against my will, without confidence either in Mr. Noyes as a spiritual man and a leader or his principles. You have had reason to suppose so, but it is not the truth. It is not only my duty but a pleasure to tell you the real state of my feelings and thereby as far as my own testimony is concerned repair the wrong done a righteous man.

I have abundant evidence that John H. Noyes is a man after God's own heart, and that He has specially raised him up to establish his Kingdom on earth. I recognize the church at Oneida as the beginning of that kingdom that shall finally overthrow and break in pieces every other kingdom, and Mr. Noyes as its rightful head and leader. I know that in following him I am pleasing and obeying God. I thank God that my fortunes and destiny are linked with his. I wish for no other, no better fortune.

The long threatened imprisonments, courts of law, public exposures, the summoning before the tribunals of the dignitaries

of the land, these frighten me no longer, for the least in the kingdom of God is greater than all. Besides, I should count it all honor that I was worthy to suffer persecution with the children of God and for Christ's sake.

I believe Mr. Noyes's doctrine as contained in the Report is the true order of heaven, and that the love and unity there spoken of is the miracle that shall confound the world. I believe also, that unless Putney repents of its persecutions of a righteous man, a worse fate awaits it than that of Sodom and Gomorrah.

God only knows what I have suffered since the first outbreak at Putney and my desertion of Mr. Noyes. The truth has not made me suffer; that shall make us free. It was my fighting against it that caused the suffering.

I have been looking into the past, slowly and with difficulty taking up the stitches one by one back again to my first union with God, and endeavoring to remove the obstacles that are in the way. I find that you were my first confidant, yours the first spirit that I took in, and through your means I was seduced from my sworn allegiance to God and Mr. Noyes. I can trace the cause of my sufferings back to the time when I left them, and identified myself again with what I call the Campbell spirit, which has in it the very essence of unbelief, is reckless and God-defying in its nature. It is also a proud and rebellious spirit. You were a strong man in the world, I but a babe of a few weeks in Christ. I was afraid of you then, and my spirit yielded to yours. But I can now declare the truth boldly as it is in Christ Jesus. I can go no further in spiritual progress until I am forever separated from this spirit; till it has given

place to the meekness and simplicity of God.

I beg of you to do the duty you owe to yourself, and look more into your own heart, and less into the hearts of the Perfectionists. You must have found ere this, that you are not their judge, and that you are not fighting with flesh and blood but with spirits. I remember when you were a believer in the doctrine of holiness, so that you preached it to your wife. Beware lest "the cares of the world, the deceitfulness of riches and the lust of other things choke the word;" "for he that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes."

You do not scruple to handle and manage your wife's conscience to suit yourself, while to all appearance you have no regard for your own; she is little better than a captive in her own house, without even liberty of worshiping God in her heart without first consulting you. Although you take this responsibility, still you cannot answer for her, for each must stand before the judgment seat to give an account for himself; there every man shall be rewarded according to his works.

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." He is a God of judgment as well as mercy.

There is a way of escape for you, if you are not too proud to accept it, in repentance and turning to God. Even the thief upon the cross repented and said, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." And Jesus said, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." But the other blasphemed God and died. The spirit that persecuted and drove Mr. Noyes and his followers

from Putney is the same that crucified Christ. I pray that you may be like Paul, not only a persecutor of the church, but a helper at last.

I have done my duty; I have cleared myself, warned you, and pointed out the only way of salvation for you. As for me, I have set the Lord always before my face."

In faithfulness,

HELEN C. NOYES.

A COMMUNICATION FROM EMMA C. WOOLWORTH TO THE  
SPIRITUAL MAGAZINE.

January 15, 1850.

Having been brought through the kindness of God to a sincere love of truth as my best friend, I wish still farther to invite its spirit and influence by frankly confessing and rejecting my past errors.

I was converted in the first place to a confession of Christ, not by any proselyting efforts of the Perfectionists, but by a persuasion in myself which amounted to certainty, that they were right. This was also accompanied with a distinct consciousness that God was calling on me for the last time to separate from the world and unite myself with those who, I knew, manifested the spirit which he required. Soon after this I saw in the miraculous healing of Harriet Hall a manifestation of the power of God through them, which at the time was perfectly convincing.

The excessive pride, which is natural to me, and a foolish sensitiveness to worldly honor, with other strong influences to

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which I was exposed( but which I now feel were no excuse), caused me in a time of temptation to abandon my faith. I was led from this into a long and bitter war with the truth and with those whom I had every reason to know were my truest friends and worthy of my fullest confidence and love. The spirit of evil which I invited by my desertion wrought out in me the most unlovely and pernicious fruits. It was accompanied with darkness, suffering and despair. These were the natural results of my own course, I have no doubt.

I am now strengthened to cast off the spell of unbelief with which I have been bound, and to place myself again in the position where I first accepted Christ. I wish publicly to resume my confidence in him as a complete Savior of my soul and body; and also to confess my belief of the righteous character of this Association, and my full confidence in J. H. Noyes as a spiritual teacher.

EMMA C. WOOLWORTH.

O. C. JOURNAL.

FEBRUARY 15, 1850.

Emma Woolworth made her maiden speech, freely boldly, warmly espousing this cause (our social theory), confessing her past wrong-doings, her present admiration of the truth, and her desire to serve it. Helen Noyes made a similar confession, saying that this theory had been the resurrection of the heart to her.

August 8, 1850.- Emma is improving in health and spirit; is studying the Berean, and struggling with exclusiveness. She says, if God will only save her from this, she will call it her

hundredfold. She talks freely about it, not in the way of justification but of condemnation.

HELEN C. NOYES TO GEORGE W. NOYES.

DECEMBER 15, 1852.

I could hardly begin to tell the improvement that has been made here since I have been gone. The Association seems much more refined internally and externally. But I see the greatest change in their evening gatherings. Stiffness and the meeting spirit seem to have given place to the social and family spirit. Conversation is general and all seem free. I thought this would please you, as you have felt interested to have a change in that respect. Harriet Hall is in excellent health and spirit, and Mrs. Miller tells me there is not one case of sickness in the Community. Miss Burgess is an inspired woman among the children. She seems fresh and well, although she has a great deal of care, being in school all day and at the Children's House the rest of the time. I hope to be a help to her. Emma is a good girl, docile and cheerful, and is, I think, useful and acceptable to the Community.

With much love to the household I am yours in the faith of Christ,

HELEN.

George, I shan't forget the paper.

RELATIONS WITH OUTSIDERS.

1849 - 1853.

GEORGE CRAGIN TO GEORGE W. NOYES.

APRIL 15, 1849.

I left the First Annual Report in the hands of Greeley, Cleveland, James, Manning, Hicks, Miss Daniels, and a new case, Dr. Hempel, a German noted as a free-thinker, Spiritualist and socialist. James says he is a great man. I left also with him a copy of the Confessions. I am to call on all these persons on my return.

Mrs. Cragin to the O. C. April 15, 1849.- We had a call from a Mr. Carr, a young man who has been at Oberlin and has been a warm and strong defender of their views. But he seems to be in a state where he is ready to throw away everything for inspiration. He fell in love with Mr. Noyes, and readily accepted an invitation to come and spend a week for the purpose of becoming better acquainted. He is quite a big fish, a person of good intellect and a happy, rejoicing, teachable spirit.

O. C. JOURNAL-, SEPTEMBER 23, 1849.

This month has brought a great many visitors to Oneida. Several of our own company have come and gone. But such things interrupt the general quiet less and less. We have learned to show hospitality without the assiduities of the world; to give the freedom of home without costly attention. Nothing puts us off our track of self-improvement. In our evening meetings there

is quite a temptation to suit the exercises to the curiosity, taste, and addification of our strangers; but we find that the true way is to pursue steadily the lessons before us. Our heresies are so confessed that we cannot be afraid of disclosures; and if there is anything in the Association that calls for criticism, we are glad to be under all the motives to good behavior which the most open exposure to a carping world can give us.

Last evening some question of industry brought forward the subject of carelessness in misplacing and misusing of tools. Several members mentioned their grievances, and the existence of this fault was pretty glaringly indicated. Dissection went on till personalities were called for. The names of men proved to be faithful in this respect were given by voluntary vouchers, and then the names of those notorious for heedlessness. It was quite an exposure, and strangers might have said it was just the result to be expected from Association; but we can venture such criticism, knowing that we are in the sure way to overcome all our faults by this very process of coming to the light.

HARRIET A. NOYES AT ONEIDA TO HARRIET H. SKINNER AT BROOKLYN.

NOVEMBER 10, 1849.

Our visitor, Miss Thomas, is still with us. She is modest and pretty, gives herself up to reading and reflection, regards it a profitable visit; thinks of returning next week.

Dr. Devoe and wife spent a day and two nights with us since Mr. Cragin left. They were quite pleased. The Doctor talked pleasantly with John, and when he left presented him with a five-dollar gold-piece. While he was in New York he went over to Brooklyn three times, but could not find Willow Place. We are



hid, even in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Cragin and I are much pleased at the change proposed for Mr. Burnham, and I know you will be.

We are making some progress daily in the lessons John is teaching us, and are thankful for the opportunity of being so much with him. He says he thinks he can endure living in the Association a good while at the rate of communication he is now having with them. We do not go into the meetings, but John gives matter for them whenever he chooses through Messrs. Hamilton and Burt.

ONEIDA NOTES BY HARRIET A. NOYES.

NOVEMBER 14, 1849.

Mr. Franks called this evening after an absence of several weeks. He inquired into the possibility of joining the Manlius branch. Mr. Noyes frankly told him that he would not encourage any false hopes he might have in that direction; there was no sort of prospect yet of his uniting himself with any business man; the time would come when he and such men could work together, but it was not yet.

J. H. N.- I have settled it in my heart as a sober matter of fact these fifteen years, that the business of life is to seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness. I stand on this platform at all hazards, and get others to do the same as fast as I can.

### O. C. JOURNAL.

JANUARY 7, 1850.- Two strangers called to-day and asked to see Mr. Noyes. When told that he was absent, they made a demand on the Association for \$40.00 for infringement of a certain patent-right. Two weeks were requested by us for investigation, but no, they must have it immediately or proceed to law. It was finally decided by our honorable body to inform them, that we had consulted God about it, and should wait not a fortnight but his time, and do as he directed us. After being told of our decision, they acknowledged that they had been hasty and done wrong. We were convinced that they could collect something, and offered them \$20.00. They accepted \$25.00 with a Berean, which they promised to read.

Probably the best of this affair is that it serves as a judgment upon Mr. Burt, who had been engaged in the patent-right business since he became a Perfectionist, and had witnessed their dishonesty in silence. He took the reproof, and was thankful for it.

### BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

MARCH 14, 1850.- Mr. Henry James called on us; was very polite.

### ONEIDA JOURNAL

Mr. and Mrs. L. G. Mead called. Mr. Mead said: "I like things better than I expected. There is more common sense and business talent among the members than one would expect to find. I see no reason why the Community should not prove self-supporting."

Mrs. Mead said there was more order and comfort than she expected to find, more than is to be found in common families. She was much pleased with the Children's Department. She thought the women were handsome, and that the short dress made them graceful.

MARY MEAD TO HER MOTHER.MAY 26, 1850.

My recent visit to the Brooklyn and Oneida Communities, I trust, will not be an unprofitable journey to me, for my faith and feelings were very much confirmed in favor of John and his interpretations of truth. I saw nothing to weaken, but many things to strengthen my confidence, and to encourage me to wait on the Lord.

O. C. JOURNAL, MAY 21, 1850.

Mr. Blakeslee of the North American Phalanx called. He reports very discouragingly of his Association. They cannot make labor attractive, are badly in debt, have 700 acres of land and only about 30 members, have an aristocracy and high-livers. The rich send their children away to boarding-schools, while at the Phalanx the children are all over the house and extremely annoying. He says that our Reports are producing considerable impression there.

A few days ago Mr. Hotchkiss, brother of Mrs. Norton, called, and he now writes advising us to pitch the printing-office and store into the creek, and turn all hands into manufacturing some Yankee notion. Every man, woman and child could then earn his dollar a week. We could soon buy up a whole township, and put the railroad under contribution for our productions.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL JULY 26, 1850.

This evening we received a call from Mr. Ripley of The

Tribune, and Mr. Sears of the North American Phalanx. Mr. Noyes, in answer to a question about the state of feeling among our neighbors, stated that a year ago on some partial discovery of our social principles there was a hostile manifestation on the part of the Castle, but that the publication of our First Annual Report had had an immediate soothing influence. Mr. Noyes's avowal, that printing was the king of the trades and love of the truth king of the passions, led to a long and interesting discussion on the Bible and Christ's kingship as exponent of the truth. Mr. Noyes said that he had arrived at his most radical theories by perfect abandonment to truth. This they complimented as a high and rare attainment, one necessary to the Columbus-like enterprise of discovering a new social world. All reformers, they said, had this consolation: if they made things no better, they could not make them worse. Civilization in New York was a horrible thing. If our system was licentious, as our enemies affirmed, Mr. Ripley said he saw every day before his eyes transactions that were infinitely worse. Mr. Ripley inquired if Mr. Noyes found his social principles in the Bible. Mr. Noyes replied that he did, though not glaringly on the surface. He regarded Christ as a thorough Associationist, and thought many modern reformers in giving up the Bible threw away their best weapon. It was not essential to the value of a revelation that it be perfect in externals. It has always been God's policy to clothe his messengers with a rather repulsive outside, that people might be induced to penetrate below the surface. Mr. Ripley thought that the Ultimate state of perfection was yet centuries ahead, that he himself was 500 years ahead of his age. Mr. Noyes replied: "Then I am 1000 years before

my time, but nevertheless I expect great changes soon." He went on to speak of his belief in the Primitive Church as a still-existent perfected organization. Replying to a question he said he believed the principles of the First Annual Report were embodied in Christ's perfected church, but of course not to their full extent here.

Mr. Ripley to our surprise displayed a fine portly figure, bearing all the signs of a comfortable prosperous gentleman rather than the lean Cassius-like reformer we expected. He is full of vivacity, has large language, and talks rather too much to be a good listener. He has a good deal of social magnetism. Mr. Sears looks more as if he had seen hard service in the war with society. He talks much less, but perhaps more from real thought and experience than Mr. Ripley. From his thrice saying about repose from the labor of directing an Association we concluded that he was tired to death.

OCTOBER 19, 1850.- Mr. Henry James called again. He is a rich man, belongs to the "upper ten," has a splendid intellect, and prides himself upon being a gentleman. He was so conceited and dogmatical that he did not give Mr. Noyes a chance to put in a word. Finally, when Mr. Noyes spoke of the branch Association at Manlius, Mr. James inquired if it was a farming Association, and added that he supposed farming was the basis of our business. Mr. Noyes replied that printing was the basis.

Mr. James: But you must have bread and butter.

Mr. Noyes: It is more important that we should have the word of life.

Mr. James: Without the body we could have no conscious identity.

Quite a discussion followed, in which Mr. James rushed from one subject to another in a bold assuming manner. Mr. Noyes bore it patiently until Mr. James decidedly opposed unity, arguing that each one should have his own private opinions. Then Mr. Noyes told him plainly, that he thought he was impertinent in his remarks and in his manners. At first Mr. James seemed inclined to pass it by, but after thinking a moment he rose and said: "We certainly differ very materially in our opinion of what constitutes good manners;" and with an emphatic "Good morning, ladies," left looking white with anger.

NOVEMBER 9, 1850.- "Greeley," says Noyes, "is the only commanding editor in the country who has avowed in his paper his willingness that we should try our experiment unhampered. Since coming to Brooklyn we have been providentially brought into contact with the Tribune clique. Cleveland, Greeley's brother-in-law, invited me to read our First Annual Report to a company of gentlemen and ladies at his house. Ripley came to see me, and took our suggestion about the "Rappings." We hear by way of the Fowlers that Greeley has read our first and second Reports, and carries our periodical home with him.

JANUARY 26, 1853.

ONEIDA AND ITS VISITORS.

BY HARRIET H. SKINNER.

We think Oneida is distinguished from all other Associations in respect to hospitality. Its visitors are treated according to the etiquette of a family rather than that of a public institution. Sympathy with the principles of the

Society or a wish to become acquainted with them is the only passport that is required to hospitable treatment. No charges are made, and seldom any compensation accepted. Entire strangers stay days and even weeks, and are made to feel perfectly welcome. It is rare that the family is without visitors. Those who stay at all are invited into the work and every-day engagements. We may be asked, How does Oneida secure herself against disagreeable intrusion, if she keeps such open doors ? Not by law but by sincerity. If visitors are treated to the family fare in other respects, they are also in respect to criticism. Her frankness is her defense.

#### AN INDIAN CONCERT.

Oneida, Jan. 28, 1853.

Dear Friends:- Last evening we had a rich and somewhat novel entertainment. You have heard of the Indian Vocalists, members of the Oneida tribe living in our vicinity, who have attained considerable celebrity by giving concerts in New York and different parts of the country. Some of them, having attended the Community festival last summer, seem to have remembered the occasion with pleasure and lately proposed to come over and sing with us, not as in their paid concerts but as a free social entertainment.. To this we readily acceded, and last evening was the time agreed upon. The singers belong to the "Orchard" branch of the tribe, located east of us, from which we invited several to be present, among them THOMAS CORNELIUS, their minister.

Between six and seven o'clock they arrived, eighteen I think in all. We repaired to the parlor, they occupying one end, and

our people filling up the sides and the other end, with the children in the center. The Indians sung several pieces, then our people sung; and so alternating the evening was taken up. Our children occupied one interval with their singing. All agreed in enjoying this musical reunion, particularly the part performed by our visitors.

The band consists of three men and two women. Most of their pieces were "sacred music," though spiced with some songs. Their singing was all beautiful, and some of it exquisite. They sang all parts, keeping accurate time, and so far as I could judge with perfect harmony. One of their songs I cannot help alluding to. The chorus was, "Long, long ago; the words spake of "The woods where they chased the wild deer," of "The hunters, swift as the eagle in his flight," of "Their maidens that to virtue were not strangers." Sung here on the very spot, and by the sons and daughters of those they sang of, it was exceedingly touching. They sing both in the Indian and English tongue, but principally in the Indian. They engage in it with much earnestness, and there seems to be a soul to their performances. They are dignified in their manners and at ease in good society. We listened to them with attention, and at times could not resist the impulse to applaud.

A few minutes past eight o'clock we went down to our dining-room and all partook of supper served up in true Oneida style. Before commencing we sang our Community Hymn,

"Let us go, brothers, go."

After we had supped, they sang that familiar old tune, "China" in Indian. It was beautifully sung, and we felt it was a real act of worship. At nine o'clock they left for home, assuring us that the time had been pleasantly spent.



The whole affair passed off with perfect ease and order. At half-past nine the tables had all been cleared and re-set ready for the morning, and all had retired to their rooms. It was remarked, that nowhere but in Community life could such treats be enjoyed in our own home with so little trouble and so much pleasure. We sincerely thank God for the happiness we had in it, and feel like returning it to him, and making it a new stimulus to devotion to Christ and his kingdom, which will fill the world with love, beauty and happiness.

Your brother in the cause,

H. M. WATERS.

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE CIRCULAR.

APRIL 9, 1853.

(M. Victor Considerant, the well-known disciple and representative of Fourier in exile from France, was at this time visiting the Oneida Association.)

Our fishing expedition went off very pleasantly yesterday afternoon. We had a party of five, M. Victor Considerant, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Woolworth, Mr. Newhouse and myself. M. Considerant followed our advice to leave his long, nice fishing-rod and take one of ours, as we thought it would be more convenient for fishing in the bush. After providing ourselves with bait we started for a trout brook in the vicinity. As soon as he had looked at the brook he insisted on going back for his own fishing-rod, saying in his bad English, " She will do very well. I am accustomed to fishing in the bush," and started off at a rapid pace for the house. Mr. Woolworth and I stayed for him while the others went on with their fishing. On his return he asked whether we

fished up or down the stream. I told him that we commenced fishing up. He said he always fished down stream - "that is my system" - and started up the hill.

As we were walking up on the bank he caught me by the arm and said with enthusiasm, pointing to the western hills, "Beautiful !" It is like my own country. It looks like the mountains of Europe." He seems delighted with the scenery here.

After going up as far as he wished we struck down the bank and prepared for fishing. As he put on his bait he said pleasantly, "Now I will try to catch an American trout." He has a great passion for fishing, and his hook once in the stream he gives his whole attention to it. I was surprised to see him fish in the bushes with his long pole and twelve or fifteen feet of line without getting it tangled. He caught about twenty, which was more than all the rest of us caught.

In the evening one of the women gave him a lesson in Phonography at his request, in exchange for a lesson in French in which we all participated. He alludes occasionally to the difficulty he has from his imperfect understanding of the English language. Before starting on our fishing trip yesterday, I was conversing with him about the fishing, when he exclaimed laughingly: "Oh ! You talk like a - a steam - what is it ? a steam-boat - a locomotive - that's it," which gave the company a good laugh at my expense.

In the parlor one day I called his attention to a fine French picture, a view in Paris which you recollect we brought from Putney. As soon as he saw it he exclaimed, " Ah, there is my own house," and pointed it out to us.

FRANCIS HYDE CASE.

SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER, 1850.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1850.- Mr. and Mrs. Cragin arrived from Brooklyn, having come by request of Mr. Noyes for the special object of assisting the Association in clearing themselves from the spirit of Hyde and Newhouse. Considering all the circumstances Mr. Hamilton proposed that to-morrow be a day of fasting and prayer; that we suspend work and humble ourselves before God for giving place to Hyde's spirit. This was warmly seconded by Messrs. Burt and Kinsley, and approved by all.

SEPTEMBER 5, - The family took a bread and milk breakfast, and gave up the day to reflection and meetings, with a light supper at night. Mrs. Cragin held a meeting with the children in the morning, and they all voted to join in fasting and praying God to cast out disobedience. In the afternoon there was a prayer meeting of the women in the Tent Room, and a men's meeting in the parlor. Mr. Newhouse seemed hard and unconcerned, evidently thinking the Community would do nothing more than talk. Indignation was expressed against such a spirit. Judgment also fell upon Leonard Dunn, he being evidently under Hyde's influence. In the afternoon at a general meeting Mrs. Cragin said that she had refused to shake hands with these men, and now refused to eat with them. Mrs. Skinner, Mr. Burton Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Burnham and others immediately said they sympathised with Mrs. Cragin. "I do not wish to eat with them," said

one. "nor I," "nor I," "nor I," echoed many voiced, until Mr. Burnham proposed a vote, and a thundering "Aye" excluded them from our table. If a thunderclap had fallen upon Mr. Newhouse, he could not have shown more abject fear and astonishment. He covered his face with his hands for a long time. Leonard Dunn said in a broken voice, "I prayed to-day for the judgment, and it has come, and I am glad of it." A good many prayed audibly and feelingly, and we realized that God was here in our midst.

In the evening Mr. Hamilton brought up the case of the boys as an illustration of the influence of Hyde's spirit. It was found that George Hatch, John Norton, and John Smith had been possessed by a lying, thievish, insubordinate spirit. The boys had gone to bed, but a delegation was chosen to invite them to get up and come to meeting. John Norton broke down and confessed in a broken spirit many things he had done. As George remained stubborn it was thought corporeal punishment would be just and salutary, and Mr. Hatch offered to administer it, if the family thought best. This was approved, and it was a thrilling scene. Mrs. Cragin said: "Mr. Hatch never looked so noble as when he stood there publicly chastising his ungodly son, a young man almost as tall as his father; and it was a striking instance of the zeal of the church to purge itself of evil-doers." The transactions of the day cleared the atmosphere, and many testified to a strong sense of God's approbation in the matter.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1850.- The work of judgment and execution proceeded among the children. Four of the ring-leaders among the smaller boys, Charles Van Velzer, Albert Ackley, Wallace Worden, and Henry Clark, after a public criticism of the children. were chastised by their fathers with the rod.

Near the close of the meeting Mr. Hamilton presented a protest by which Francis Hyde is cut off from the Community until he shall repent and gain the commendation of Mr. Noyes. This document was signed by nearly all the adult members, among whom the first on the list was Julia S. Hyde.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1850.- Meeting at the Children's House for further discipline and judgment. Wallace worden, having shown that his punishment last evening had not humbled him and having manifested a lying spirit, was again chastised before the children. Henry Smith, Arthur Clark, and Eliza Burt were also chastised at the same meeting. Immediately after this Mr. Hamilton with several of the leading men met with the larger boys in their chamber, and Mr. Hamilton, after a sincere criticism of John Smith exposing his participation in the offenses of George Hatch, administered a faithful flogging.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1850.- In the afternoon a meeting was called of the members from Northern Vermont, and the Dunn family was criticised. Julia Hyde especially was subjected to a most searching criticism, which brought her into the same judgment with Francis Hyde. It was clearly shown that Mr. Noyes had suffered much through the Dunn family; and it was concluded that they be considered as outsiders, until they commend themselves to Mr. Noyes.

EVENING.- Criticism of Mrs. Seymour and the Seymour family. Julia Hyde's case was brought up again, and her deceitful spirit was judged. It was seen that her influence among the women had been similar to that of Francis Hyde among the men; and that as Hyde's spirit had excluded Mr. Noyes, so virtually Julia had ex-

cluded Mrs. Cragin and Mrs. Noyes.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1850.- Further criticism of the children today. In the evening the two Mr. Wordens and their families were criticised.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1850.- A good note from Leonard Dunn, confessing Mr. Newhouse's influence on him. Criticism of the Kellogg family and Henry Thayer.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1850.- Several persons were criticised this evening, viz: Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Nash, Mr. and Mrs. Joslyn, Lady Hamilton, Elias Hall, and Fidelia Dunn, the latter exposing her deceitfulness and coquetry in love matters.

Truly the past week has been one of criticism and judgment.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1850.- Mr. Newhouse asked Mr. Burt for work. Mr. Burt told him he might work in the swamp, where Mr. Abbott has been cutting brush. We decided in Meeting to have bread and milk once a day.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1850.- Letters were received from Brooklyn in regard to Hyde, his hardness and non-compliance with recommendations, and his departure from there after giving Mr. Cragin a receipt in full of all demands against him and the Association. A few minutes later who should arrive but Hyde himself. He called for Julia. Mr. Hamilton told him that we left Julia free to go with him if she chose; but she declined to see him, saying that she would not leave the Association unless we turned her away.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1850.- G. W. Noyes wrote a letter to the Campbell family, judging the family spirit.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1850.- Hyde came this morning, and manifested much bitter feeling. Soon after he left it was thought best that Julia with her mother, Leonard Dunn, and Mrs. Newhouse should go

down to his father's and have an interview with him. When they arrived Francis had gone to the post-office with a letter to Mr. Hamilton demanding that his wife be delivered at his father's before 5 o'clock in the evening, also a note to Julia requesting her to come. He pleaded, demanded, and cried, but she positively declined to live with him. At last he told her she might "go her own way."

M. L. Worden and J. L. Skinner went to Manlius to make preparations for removing to that place soon, in accordance with the proposal of Mr. Noyes that we commence a branch of our Association there, as Mr. Worden could not sell his place.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1850.- Mr. Hamilton said he had lately noticed evidences of sincerity and subordination in Mr. Newhouse. Mr. Leonard, whom Mr. Newhouse had chosen as his monitor, said that he had confidence in Mr. Newhouse, and moved that he be invited back to work and to eat with the family. This was approved by all.

OCTOBER 6, 1850.- Messrs. Hamilton and Miller at Mr. Noyes's suggestion called upon Mr. Timothy Jenkins, and gave him information concerning Hyde and Julia. He approved of the course which had been taken with Hyde. He did not think there was any difficulty to be apprehended from him, but more from the Hubbards. He stated that Lucius Hubbard had been to see him last week about entering a complaint to the Grand Jury against the Community for keeping a disorderly house. He advised him not to do it, but still he thought they might. He gave some friendly advice, and assured our men that he would not be employed as counsel against the Community. When told of the Manlius movement, he highly approved of it, and said the sooner Tryphena went there the better.

It might quiet the Hubbards to know that Tryphena had left here. When they returned home it was concluded that Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, Tryphena, and Julia Hyde should go on the first train this evening. Then if the Hubbards came to meeting tomorrow, we could tell them that Henry and Tryphena had gone onto a farm at Manlius to live.

OCTOBER 11, 1850.— Messrs. Burt and Leonard consulted Mr. Jenkins. He was very friendly. He said his advice had deterred Hyde and Hubbard from persecuting the Community. He declined to take money for this service, saying it would be better for the Community if he did not take sides. He expressed much interest in the system of criticism as practiced in the Community.

NOYES TO FRANCIS HYDE.

Brooklyn, October 26, 1850.

Mr. Hyde:—

A simple statement of facts in reply to your late letters may help you to see and choose the reasonable course.

When you left the Association I sent word to Julia that she would be free to go with you, and that it would be better for all parties that she should go if she was in sympathy with you. On the receipt of your first letter of demand I wrote to Mr. Hamilton and through him to Julia and the Association reiterating more distinctly that neither I nor the Association would hinder Julia by word or deed from leaving us. At the same time I said that we had no equitable right to send her away, and certainly no equitable or legal right to dictate to her where she should go if she went. Since then that is about the first of the



present month, M. L. Worden and his wife removed to his former residence in Manlius, and by the advice of the Association Julia removed with them, and now resides there with her father and mother, which I presume will be thought quite as proper as it would be for her to go to your father's house.

I say to you now that you are at liberty, so far as we are concerned, to assume your legal rights over her by persuasion or force. We shall not in any way hinder you, and you cannot reasonably ask us to help you. Threats of revenge will not induce us to do so base a thing as to attempt to drive her away from her mother's home. I desire peace with you, but I prefer war to such meanness.... If the meaning of your letters is that you wish me to drive her out of our Society and compel her to follow you, I shall never do it, because I fear the God of justice more than I fear anything that you may be permitted to do ...

If you can induce her to choose cheerfully to go with you, which is the only honorable way, I shall not interfere nor find fault. But if you resort to law and "revenge" to obtain her, I do not think you will be pleased with your own work or happy in its consequences. I do not believe that a civilized community will sympathize with you or that God will prosper you. But of this you must be your own judge.

I shall send a copy of your letter and of this to Julia, that she may know your position and mine, and act for herself. I shall also publish this correspondence if you make it necessary.

Hoping that you will take a peaceable and reasonable course, and that you will ultimately recover yourself from the snares into which you have fallen, I remain, Your well-wisher,

JOHN H. NOYES.

JOHN R. MILLER IN THE ONEIDA JOURNAL.

November 2, 1850.- My visit to Manlius was at the right time, as Julia was thinking of going to Le Roy to live with Hyde. The reason she gave was to save the Association from trouble. I told her we should carry out the spirit of Mr. Noyes's letter to Hyde by making her free, and at the same time we wished her to understand that no one wanted her to leave the Association to prevent trouble. I soon saw that her private feelings had much more to do with her desire to go than she was willing to confess, and perhaps more than she was aware of. She wanted I should advise her. We declined all responsibility, and made her confess that she felt free. We left yesterday, feeling on the one hand that we had made her free, and on the other taken away all false excuses for going with which she was deceiving herself.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

DECEMBER 14, 1850.- Francis Hyde drove up to the mill and delivered a letter from his attorney demanding that his wife be brought to his father's house at Oneida Castle within twenty-four hours, and threatening that if this request was not complied with, he would present his complaints in a tangible form to the Grand Jury, which convened at Morrisville the following Monday. Mr. Miller went down to the Castle and talked with Hyde, but was unable to mollify him. Hyde said he was determined to have his wife or satisfaction in some other way, and threatened to follow the Association till the day of Judgment.

DECEMBER 15, 1850.- Messrs. Miller and Burt called on Mr. Dodge, Hyde's attorney, and explained to him the Association's course toward Hyde. Mr. Dodge acknowledged the truth of all their arguments, but insisted that they were in duty bound to advise Julia to go and live with Hyde.

December 16, 1850.- Francis Hyde went to Manlius about 10 o'clock this forenoon, and demanded that Julia go away with him, saying he would give her two hours to make up her mind and get ready. She refused to go with him. He stayed between two and three hours trying to persuade her to go, but without success. He then left, telling her he was going over to the depot, and wanted her to be ready to go with him at eight o'clock in the evening; that he had come from Le Roy to get her and was determined not to go away without her. When eight o'clock came Julia again refused to go, and felt quite jubilant. But about nine o'clock Hyde came back with a constable from Fayetteville, and told her that, if she would go with him peaceably, well and good; but if not, he would compel her. The family left her free, telling her she must take the responsibility herself. The constable asked her to try living with Hyde for a month, and Hyde promised that she might return in a month if she chose. After resisting for three hours she was induced at length by his threats to go with him, but she protested against his proceedings, as did also her mother and Mr. Worden. He took her away at half-past twelve at night in a snow-storm, saying he would carry her to Fayetteville, where they would take the stage to Syracuse, and then the cars to Le Roy.

JULIA HYDE TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

Le Roy, DECEMBER 28, 1850.

You doubtless remember the promise that Mr. Hyde made when at Manlius, that I might go back in a month if I chose. Now he says that I shall never go back as long as he lives; but may enjoy my own opinions about religion, and may visit my friends. I asked him when I might visit Oneida, and he said, "Perhaps next summer."

NOYES'S JUDGMENT OF FRANCIS HYDE.

DECEMBER 19, 1850.

I am reminded of Paul's text where, comforting himself and the church in cases of apostasy and iniquity, He says: "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honor, and some to dishonor." My prevailing opinion about Hyde is that he is a vessel to dishonor. He has had a use in the church, and he has done his work. "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his." The Lord knoweth, if we do not.

In looking back I see that Hyde is entirely distinguished from every other case we have had. We might think there was a similarity between him and Otis Miller, but we should find there was a wide difference.

In the first place Otis Miller came into the Association by invitation from John R. Miller and myself. Hyde thrust himself in. He came up and went to work. I felt sensible of this

at the time.

Again, Otis Miller married Ellen by my offer and invitation. I am well satisfied that God would not give me such an agency in bringing a man to the Association and putting Ellen into his hands, unless there was something good in him. He came into possession of his wife, about whom the difficulty was afterwards made, in a regular way by consent of parties all round. But Hyde stole his wife from the Association, from her mother and family, and then fought the Association to keep his plunder.

Again, though Otis Miller showed an insubordinate, deceptive spirit that could not exist in the Association, yet so far as I know he never propagated that spirit. I know of no man in the Association except Hyde, who ever seriously undertook to serve as the Devil's missionary among us. He was distinguished for a chronic hatred of our meetings, of our criticisms, and of edifying spiritual conversation, and was eager to propagate that feeling among all our young people... From first to last he never gave any satisfactory evidence of self-improvement. The only things he was ever interested in were dancing, gossip, external labor, flirtation, sexual intercourse, eating and drinking.

To be sure, Otis Miller went out and in the craziness of passion attempted to do us mischief. But in him it was a freak of passion, and soon died out. Hyde on the other hand has had several months for deliberation. First came a note threatening revenge if we did not do that which was clearly unreasonable; then after a considerable interval another; and now after several months there is a third.. This is no freak of passion, but settled ugliness - the desperation of malignity, disobedience and

selfishness.. Here we find ourselves in the face of the text:  
"If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation."

This view puts me back on a closer examination of the facts in Otis Miller's case. We fired a gun of excommunication, but I think there was some little obscurity in our minds at the time. The man appears to have taken a good turn, and we find that we were all mistaken. What is the meaning of this? My instinctive understanding of it is as follows: Hyde was in the Association at this time acting himself out in reprobate fashion as the enemy of all righteousness and truth. As I was on the point of leaving I felt that there was a terrible adversary there, and I said, "I will mob that spirit out before I leave." The three men I pitched upon as the vessels of that spirit were Hyde, Miller and Newhouse. I summoned all three to surrender. Hyde and Newhouse made a satisfactory surrender so far as profession went, but Miller acted himself out. Well, we now know to a certainty that Hyde did not surrender at that time. His submission was a mere mockery for the sake of escaping a drubbing, and on the whole Miller's acting himself out boldly was comparatively a decent performance, altogether better for the Association than the sly, serpent course of Hyde.

The point is this: I was driving at a spirit, but I was in the dark as to the flesh and blood that held it. I fired at the one who was most honestly manifesting that spirit, but it turned out that he was not the real man. Well, I fired close enough to scare the spirit out of him, but he himself was saved. Hyde was

the real representative of the spirit that was fired at, and it will pretty likely appear that he inspired the operations of Otis Miller.

Afterwards in the affair with Mr. Perry there was the same uncertainty as to specific aim. I thundered at the spirit which revealed itself in him. As in the other case the spirit was working in the mass, and our shot took effect on the foremost man. But as the smoke was cleared away we have found at last the man we were after. The emissary of Satan, the Achan in the camp, from the beginning was Hyde. We have had to fire three times to hit the right man, but this time we have slung him out.

We can see what a power of infusion Hyde had in the case of Hial Waters. When I first went to Oneida Hial was so good-natured, so far from jealousy and ugliness of every kind, and so ready for every good work, that he commended himself particularly to all. That was his natural character. But a very goo-natured man who is not furnished with the protestives that come by experience and discipline is the very man to swallow a plausible scoundrel whole. Hial accordingly was prepared to swallow Hyde, and did. By such a combination the most good-natured man becomes the ugliest man in the world, and it is true that for two years Hial was very troublesome. By his own confession and by the knowledge of others he was full of evil-thinking, jealousy, insubordination and discontent.

We can suppose equally well that Otis Miller in his good nature also swallowed him down. As reported from Putney and as we first knew him he was a clever, companionable man, with nothing like jealousy in him. He received our social theory in the midst of a great excitement against us at Putney, and was almost the only

person who stood up as our friend. There was evidence in him of an attraction for the truth and an ambition for improvement, a spirit that was the extreme opposite of that which he manifested afterward. It will be found that Hyde bedeviled him just as he did Hial. Hyde had the art of oozing into every opening, and thus actually filled the Association so that I could not stay there.

I am inclined to think that the same operation that has been described took place in Leonard Dunn. He is naturally a sensible, good-natured man, and that which was said of Hial is true of him.

(Some one mentioned that Daniel Knowles laid his desertion to Hyde.)

There it is again. We shall find that he was the center of the spirit of discontent and desertion, the spirit that worked the alienation of the young people from the spiritual portion of the family. According to Mr. Bradley's observation Hyde had an agency in influencing William Courter and Joshua Smith in the course they took.

I believe that Julia was bedeviled by Hyde in the same way as the others. It is true that she did lie, and as to external transactions seduced him. But it is an easy and common thing for one person to seduce another to seduce him in return; and the first seduction is usually carried on in spirit, while the return comes out in words and deeds. I believe that Hyde blew into Julia that which induced her to persuade him to quit the Association. She is of that free, social, generous nature that would be open to the infection of his spirit. I know that I never loved a false nature as I loved her. There was something true and beautiful in her when she first came to the Association, and although falsehood and even indecency have appeared in her since, I am persuaded that it has come from his spirit.



There is another circumstance in Otis Miller's case which deserves to be noted, namely, the way in which he came back. We dashed into the reprobate spirit, and slung out Otis Miller neck and heels. But John R. Miller, the man who induced him to join us and knew him best, was not there at that time. By the Providence of God he fell in with Otis Miller, and a train of circumstances thereby commenced which led to his restoration. I was glad when we flung him overboard, that John R. Miller was not present but was cruising outside in his boat. It was clearly our business to fling him overboard, and it was Mr. Miller's business to pick him up if he could in his skiff. This he did successfully.

But in Hyde's case the circumstances are different. There is no boat out for him. We must not jumble things together and think that Hyde is to be saved because Otis Miller was, for we have every reason to think there is no good in him.

Mr. Nash:- I will relate an incident that illustrates Hyde's vindictive spirit. Mr. Hamilton had given me a job. I went to the shop for a board, which was brought by Abram. As the board did not prove suitable I mentioned the fact to Abram. But Hyde immediately returned with the board, and insisted in a blustering, determined manner that it should do. I remonstrated, maintaining my right to have the thing done properly, when he declared with much heat, that if he only had me in the world, he would give me such a mauling as I never had before.

J. H. N.- There is reason to believe that Hyde introduced much greedy alimentativeness into the Association. His gluttony

was most recklessly displayed in the cellar, far exceeding that of any other person. Mr. Bradley tells a story on this point: The last evening that Hyde spent on the sloop he purchased two quarts of milk, two quarts of peaches, a loaf of bread, and a pie, and ate nearly the whole for his supper. He afterwards came to the house, and I had a plain talk with him on the necessity of his being a spiritual man. Feeling compassionate toward him, and remembering the abuse he had suffered in his youth, I sent Mrs. Cragin up to express my sympathy for him.

Mrs. Cragin:- I went to him on this errand, and proffered him our sympathy and help. For a moment he seemed to relent, but with a sudden and violent effort of will he exclaimed: "It is no use." I said: "Tell God your troubles. He has a father's heart toward you. You can pray." "I can't," was his reply, "It is all dark."

J. H. N.- Hyde was then going through the experience of Esau, who, it is said, sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, and afterward found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. No wonder it was all dark to him, when instead of fasting, as he had been recommended to do, he ate as has been related. He is one of those "whose God is their belly, whose end is destruction, who mind earthly things."

I am convinced that the true name for this man is impostor. He has imposed upon the Association from beginning to end. And this is not the result of sagacity; it is the wolfish instinct in him. He imposed upon the good-nature of those around him. He shammed a particular sensitiveness, which always secured him

tender treatment. By sham repentance when he was cornered he won sympathy. But he never gave a thing to the great purposes of the Association. His sole aim, under a mask of artlessness and simplicity, was to ravage, devour and destroy. And after his mask became worn through, it was of course his time to withdraw. What we supposed true of Otis Miller has proved true of Hyde. He is the man, and we may now go back and put in the correct name.

This study of Hyde's case is interesting to me. I do not wish to treat it as a private personal affair, but as affording us an important view of truth, which will be serviceable to us hereafter in our judgment of persons. We can from time to time find out the inner truth of cases as they are brought up. And this is our way of carrying on the war. Hyde goes to the courts below, and we to the courts above. He goes to the Devil's world, and we to God's world.

ABIGAIL MERWIN.DECEMBER 28, 1850 TO JULY 16, 1851.BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

DECEMBER 28, 1850.-- Elizabeth Hawley has gone with G. W. Noyes as a missionary to Abigail Merwin and the many others in that region who have once confessed Christ and have fallen from their testimony. Mr. Noyes has strong hopes of Abigail Merwin's return to the truth.

Mr. Noyes said today that he had completed the circle, having reached New Haven where he began. He says of Abigail Merwin, that her spirit is eminent for good nature, and that a strong infusion of good nature is just the thing for us all, since we have had so much criticism among us. Moreover he says that her spirit is adapted to extension. Harriet and I have cooperated with him more in the department of depth, but if we are now going into the department of extension her spirit is the one needed. He remarked today that possibly the conversion of Abigail Merwin was the thing he was waiting for before going to Oneida; that perhaps she would go with him, and we should all rejoice together.

REMARKS BY NOYES REPORTED BY MARY E. CRAGIN AND HARRIET A. NOYES.

JANUARY 3, 1851.

"We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers." The communication with Abigail Merwin has stirred up the principality of the marriage spirit, and probably

she is suffering on that point herself. The way to treat this spirit is to go back to rejoicing in bare salvation, being willing that God should take away everything else. We must seek more fellowship with God in order that we may be sure to behave well. Abigail Merwin's coming among us will make us happier than anything else that ever happened to us. We must learn to admire a beautiful person, just as we would a picture in the Art Union, without wishing to make it our own. We must be satisfied with a good love feast once in a while, and not think we must have it all the time. We should all be most free. Abigail Merwin cannot take your place, nor you hers. Our places are distinct and appointed us by God. If we yield this point and begin to retreat, there is no stopping-place short of condemnation. "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance."

MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

JANUARY 5, 1851.

Mr. Noyes is much elated with the prospects in Abigail Merwin's case. He says it has been the greatest trial of his faith, but he has "staggered not," and now after so long a time the promise is being fulfilled. He says further that she will be the prodigal son. Having deserted him under such circumstances she can never claim anything of him, but must receive all as a free gift. In this way God will make an end of the claiming spirit in the Association...

I suppose you naturally inquire how Harriet and I stand affected by her approach toward us. Mr. Noyes says that we are peculiarly exposed by our situation to the marriage spirit, and

ever since the movement with E. Hawley began it has seemed as though that principality was stirred up to war. As to myself, I have been tormented more or less with fears that I should act the part of the older brother, especially as I have from time to time had to be washed from a claiming spirit toward him, or tossed to and fro by a spirit which connects happiness with place instead of with a meek and lowly spirit. I do not know how much egotism remains, but I want to have all there is tempted out and destroyed.

REMARKS BY NOYES ABOUT ABIGAIL MERWIN.

APRIL 9, 1851.

Mr. Burnham and Elizabeth Hawley to-day attempted to call on Abigail Merwin, but were refused admittance.

I want to show why my affair with Abigail Merwin is of general interest. The issue between faithfulness and unfaithfulness is being tried out. The spirit of unfaithfulness is coming to judgment in the person of Charles H. Weld; and the faithfulness of Christ toward those who believe on him, in pursuing them unto Salvation, and making them faithful in spite of themselves, the world and the Devil, is being manifested in the case of Abigail Merwin.

It is curious that believers, as they get interested in the truth, get also a singular enthusiasm about that case. For instance, Elizabeth Hawley has been there at New Haven for fifteen years without any particular connection with it; but as soon as she is waked up and brought into spiritual motion she is right away all alive on this subject. I said nothing to her about it, but I found as soon as she came here that she would

talk...

As I have said, this is not an affair pertaining exclusively to me, It is vitally connected with the general interest. I loved her, it is true, but not in a way ever to swerve from the truth. I can now do without her, and have no hankerings for her; but I feel that principle requires me to be like Christ, the same yesterday, today and forever.

Just about the time that the Battle-Axe letter came out Abigail pulled up stakes and went back to New Haven. I got back to Smith's. I then communicated with Harrison, and he was as eager to get into the business as Burnham was. He was pressed up by an impulse of the spirit that he could not resist to go and see her. He went in the face of a worse influence than Burnham met, and renewed the note - showed her my letter. She retreated as usual into a non-committal position. Afterward in my letter to Harriet proposing marriage there was a paragraph not published, in which I stated my unalterable relation to Abigail.

That was the end of my practical interest in Abigail till May 18, 1849, when I left Oneida for New York. On our way here I met an old New Haven acquaintance, a passenger, who took pains to introduce conversation about her, and mentioned his occasionally meeting her. I told him that he might tell her, if he pleased, from me, that I still loved her as well as ever, that I could not help loving her as I remembered that she stood by me in the hardest battle I ever fought.

That was all that took place till I was at Niagara last, when I received a letter from Elizabeth Hawley asking help.

I said to myself, " Now for another game with A. M. I shall enter every door that opens." And I foresaw at that time substantially all the moves that have since been made. Elizabeth Hawley's letter was received about November 15, 1849. I returned to Brooklyn on the 19th, and Miss Hawley arrived there the next day. On January 3, 1850, Miss Hawley called on Abigail and left with her all our books. She has read them, and said that she did not disagree with them, that the faith she received in 1834 sustained her through all her trials. I suppose that this communication has been secret; that there is volcanic matter in her heart that is suppressed by the surrounding pressure of her friends and the world.

There is another view of this whole matter. Amativeness is a mighty passion, and whatever is to be done it will do. If God can apply that passion to the public service, the stronger it is the better. I know that was what he did in my case. He roused up affection between her and me into a mighty force, and then made it work for his kingdom. If he had given her to me, and I had turned aside to the enjoyment and idolatry of her that is usual, no good would have been gained. I am sure that nothing but such circumstances would have given me the momentum necessary to come out with the Social Theory.

What I have said of Abigail Merwin will apply to that whole Free Church. There are fibres of connection running down through that church. They might get rid of me if I was such a man as they; but as it is they won't. I shall twist them up. I feel in full sympathy with that text of Christ's: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand." It is the beauty of



love to have what at first is an outside feeling refine itself into eternal faithfulness. All the external excitement that works up into that is valuable, and the rest is good for nothing.

Through Abigail Merwin I was admitted into the Free Church, and for a time the truth had free course there. And in reality through her the door was opened for a victory over the whole city. Her withdrawal was what turned me out of New Haven. It broke the connection between me and the church and the city. As she turned me out, I demand that she reopen the door, and God will insist upon it.

REMARKS BY NOYES, APRIL 10, 1851.

God gave plenty of evidence in 1834, that he had appointed me foreman of his church. Finney was the leading man before, but he had gone out of the country, and his dispensation had worn itself out. His men had become independent of him. Boyle, his right hand man, came out publicly and put himself under me. The truth that I brought out and the experience that followed it bore witness of me. The church had advanced to the border of holiness, and anybody watching the course of events would have said that the crisis demanded some one to lead the way into new truth and new experience. God did send a man, but the churches rejected him.

When certain federal offices are to be filled, the President makes his nomination and sends it to the Senate. If the Senate refuses to confirm the nomination, the President may send in another, or he may adhere to his first choice and send back the same. If this situation persists, the office must remain unfilled and the government comes to a deadlock. That has been

precisely the situation in the religious world since 1834. God nominated his man as foreman, and the church rejected him; and New Haven, as knowing most of the facts, took the lead in that rejection. The consequence was a deadlock between God and the church. Revivals of course have ceased.

MARY E. CRAGIN AT WALLINGFORD TO HARRIET A. NOYES AT ONEIDA.

MAY 4, 1851.

I have seen and talked with Abigail Merwin. I found in myself an irresistible desire to make an attempt to see her, and feeling an instinct that I should succeed best alone went to the house at eleven o'clock on Saturday morning. As good luck would have it, a lady boarder entered the door just as I ascended the steps. I followed her in, and asked to see Mrs. Platt. She requested me to sit down in the hall, and went and informed her of my request. A young girl came and asked my name. I said that Mrs. Platt was not acquainted with me, and that I would tell her myself who I was, adding that I would not detain her long. Pretty soon the lady appeared, and asked my errand. I requested a few minutes private talk, and followed her into a room. I then told my name, but she had never heard of me. I said my errand was this: "Sixteen years ago you publicly confessed the doctrine of holiness in this city, and it was through your influence that Mr. Noyes gained admission to the Free Church; and it was through your withdrawal that the testimony of salvation from sin has been repressed here. Christ has many people in this city who are captives, and you are holding the door shut which would liberate them."

She refused to believe what I said as to her influence either way, and then assured me that she had not altered her position; that Christ was in her a present savior; that the doctrine of holiness was still preached. I asked her if she now confessed Christ as she did sixteen years ago when she stood up and sung that hymn. She said she did, qualifying it however so as in reality to smooth it down to just such a confession as the orthodox make; that she did the best she could from day to day; she was not perfect in every word and thought, to be sure, but Christ gave her power to overcome. It seemed to me a good deal like the testimony of New York Perfectionism.

I spoke of her deserting Mr. Noyes, as she did, without giving him any chance for explanation, and said that was not proper treatment, whatever she might have thought of him. To this she made no reply, and I invited her in his name and that of Brooklyn to come and visit us and talk the matter over whenever she felt inclined.

She told me plainly that she did not believe we were living in the day of judgment, or that the Kingdom of God had come, and furthermore that she did not believe in the abolition of marriage. I asked if she had read the First Annual Report. She confessed that she had not; that a gentleman friend in whom she had great confidence ( Mr. Benjamin I presume) read it, and spoke disapprovingly of it as at war with the Bible. I told her that if she lived at Oneida or Brooklyn, she would soon find out that there was a beginning of the day when the secrets of all hearts were being revealed.

We talked some of Elizabeth (Hawley.) She begged to know

if she was a representative of Perfectionists; (She told a lie, you remember, to get in to see her;) and spoke as though she would not admit that she knew Christ, if she should be left to do such a thing. I said silently: "The time may come, Madam, when you will find your need of a Savior to be as great as Elizabeth's. However, I told her of our experience with Elizabeth, and let her know that Mr. Noyes did not recognize her as a representative of us, and that we advised her to confess the truth about herself.

Some one called her. I merely said: "You will find my words true. First, we are living in the day of judgment, and the Kingdom of God is set up in this world; and secondly, you are, so far as your influence goes, keeping Christ as a present Savior from sin out of New Haven and these regions about."

I advised her to read the First Annual Report for herself, and not judge of it through others, and saying I hoped I had not offended her, to which she replied that I certainly had not in the least, I bade her good morning.

I have not repeated more than half of what was said on both sides. She is a very fluent speaker, and I can tell you I had to do my best some of the time to keep up with her. The "stick" with her evidently is on the point of marriage. She said that Mr. Noyes was a married man, and that if he had any such love for her as was represented, it was a sin in his heart; that she had had a dear good husband, and did not wish to extend her acquaintance in the direction of gentlemen; that she did not want a husband. I said: "The point is, not to help you to a husband or a lover, but to have you do the right thing by Christ and his gospel."

I do not wonder, Harriet, that Mr. Noyes told us we must have more tongue among us to compete in any degree with her. She quite came up to my idea of her for fluency. If Boyle is her counterpart in this gift, I some doubt our being quite ready for them yet.

I walked the streets as one in a dream after seeing her, hardly believing the evidence of my senses; but so it is. Plainly God does not mean that she shall rest in her present situation, but stirs her up from time to time.

Your affectionate sister,

M. E. CRAGIN.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET A. NOYES.

JULY 16, 1851.

Mr. Noyes had a long think on Abigail Merwin's case, and came to the conclusion that Benjamin and she had never forsaken him, for Boyle stood between him and them and they quarreled with Boyle. They have never forsaken the fear of God and reverence for the Bible, and are in a far better position now than Boyle is. Mr. Noyes said he should pursue her forever. If she died, if she made up her bed in hell, it would make no difference with him.

NOYES'S TRIP TO EUROPE.

APRIL 16 to JUNE 4, 1851.

In 1851 Noyes, accompanied by Robert Sparrow De Latre, an English disciple who lived in Canada, visited England and Paris. It was the year of the World's Fair in London. The Fair, Noyes said, was to be a Congress of all nations, and it seemed proper that the Kingdom of God should be represented. Still he did not go primarily to see the Fair, but to "look the world in the eye," and see what Christ wanted him to see. He was gone seven weeks to an hour.

The suggestion and development of the plan were thus set forth in a letter March 14, 1851, by Noyes's brother, George W. Noyes:

Some weeks ago when emerging from the long, smoky contest with Weld and Elizabeth Hawley, Mr. Noyes said that if he could get a berth in the same ship with Greeley he thought he would go to London to the World's Fair. All were pleased with the proposal, but nothing was done until Mr. Miller came from Putney. He entered into the plan with spirit, and the next day at the Tribune Office drew out of Mr. Cleveland in an unsuspecting way the fact that Greeley had engaged a berth on the American steamer "Baltic" sailing on the 16th of April. The "Baltic" happened to be in port, and the following day several of us went over and inspected her. Mr. Noyes selected a berth, which Mr. Miller immediately paid for. We had a fine

opportunity to go all over the ship, and were filled with wonder at the extent and power of her machinery and costliness of her arrangements. As there were two berths in his stateroom, a fact which would make him liable to the company of a blackleg, it occurred to Mr. Noyes to invite De Latre to go out with him. This idea grew into such an assured inspiration that Mr. Miller went immediately and secured the other berth. Mr. Noyes then wrote to De Latre stating what he had done, and suggesting that Mr. Ellis furnish the funds necessary for one of them to go with him.

Such is the main shaping of the project at present. It affords a natural and favorable opportunity to get into communication with Greeley. They will be shut up together on shipboard for two weeks. The voyage and change of situation will be good for his health of body and mind. De Latre is an old traveler and an agreeable companion, and will be able to introduce him to the best society. Mrs. De Latre enters into the plan with enthusiasm, and perhaps it will react favorably on her through her English relatives...

One object in writing now is to give notice to our English friends and others at the Association, so that if they have any interests of any kind to be looked after in Europe they may make up their orders. Mr. Mallory and Susan Hamilton, I presume, will be interested in this move as leading possibly to the establishment of a true home in their Fatherland.

Their berths were on the lower deck, down two flights of stairs, a little aft the middle. Greeley's is on the deck above. All the convenient berths on that deck were taken before we applied.

The Voyage out was unusually stormy, and Greeley was seasick most of the time. Opening off from Noyes's berth was a small sitting-room, not nearly so pretentious as the upper saloon, but warmed by a fire. Greeley did not know there was such a place till Noyes invited him down. Afterward he came frequently, and said it was the only place on the ship where he was comfortable. It came to be a meeting-place of the intelligentsia, and the scene of many lively debates. Once Greeley upheld Noyes in a discussion with a Swedenborgian on the second coming. In another discussion when Noyes was present Greeley opposed Communism, but defended it to Ashbel Smith when Noyes was absent. Greeley and Noyes crossed swords on the subject of Americanism, the former declaring that, if he ever got through this voyage, he would "give fits" to the desire for foreign travel, and the latter that Christ's place, if He had any, was on the sea where all nations met. One day Greeley said to Noyes: "John, the 'Marriage Colloquy' in your last Annual Report is the best thing you ever got up, I wouldn't have Ashbel Smith see it for a hundred dollars. In this colloquy "Judge North" first vanquishes "Major South" in a debate on slavery, and is then himself vanquished when "Mr. Freechurch" turns against marriage the identical arguments "Judge North" had used against slavery.

While in London Noyes attended a session of the House of Commons. Edging up to a person near him in the visitors' gallery, Noyes asked if he knew any of the speakers. His companion said he did, and very kindly and politely gave the name of several members as they arose. Shortly he excused himself, saying he had an appointment to speak on the floor of the House, and request-



ed another to take his place in giving information. He then left. Upon that the other gentleman asked in an awestruck voice, "Do you know the man to whom you have been talking?" "No," said Noyes. "Well, my dear sir, that was the earl of Arundel and Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk."

Noyes visited the Crystal Palace several times, hoping against hope to see the Queen. Many who had paid fifteen shillings for entrance had been disappointed. One night he saw certain reasons for changing the program of the next day, and went early with DeLatre to the Palace. They agreed upon a rendezvous, and separated. Noyes rested a few minutes, then arose, and strolled aimlessly from one aisle to another. Observing a small group of persons interested in some object Noyes quietly joined them. A few rods away a dozen ladies and gentlemen were inspecting one of the booths. "Could you tell me," he asked the man at his elbow, "who the stout lady might be?" "That, sir, is the Queen of England." "And the gentleman with whom she is walking?" "That is the Prince of Prussia." Off came Noyes's republican hat. In a few moments the royal party turned, walked straight toward the spot where Noyes stood, and the Queen bowing and smiling, swept by so near that Noyes could have touched her with his hand.

THE WALLINGFORD BRANCH.

In May 1851 Mr. and Mrs. Cragin accepted an invitation to visit the Allen family at Wallingford. Mrs. Cragin remained a month, during which time she established evening meetings and criticism and commenced studies of several kinds in the Allen family. She became much attached to Eliza Allen (Mr. Allen's sister,) and had a good influence on Henry, Harriet and George. From this the Allen family were practically one with Brooklyn.

For several years previous to this Mr. and Mrs. Allen had been believers in salvation from sin. They had read Noyes's writings, taken the paper, and were somewhat acquainted with Mr. Cragin and others of the Putney family. On January 31st 1851 they went to Brooklyn for a brief visit, and on February 13th they made an assignment of their property to Christ, naming J. H. Noyes as their executor. This assignment was published in the Community paper for March 13th.

Eliza Allen's conversion was on this wise: She observed a marked change in her brother and his wife after their return from Brooklyn. One day she overheard Mrs. Allen telling her daughter Harriet that they had never given up houses, lands, children and all to Christ, but now they felt that "Holiness to the Lord" was written on everything. She pondered these things in her heart, and perceived that Mr. and Mrs. Allen were on a higher plane than the churches. Mr. Allen then advised her to read Noyes's writings attentively. After two days' study she came down to breakfast in the morning, her countenance beaming

with joy, and said: "Live or die, sink or swim, I am for the administration of J. H. Noyes." That morning they ate their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and felt that the true Pentecostal spirit was there. They dismissed their hired servants, and had great happiness in working together. About March 20th the Bristols, who were also believers, came to live with them.

Mrs. Cragin wrote on May 4: "This family is a very pleasant one. A docile, sober spirit prevails. I don't know what I am to do here, but feel like waiting on God, knowing that he will "keep me in all my ways, and direct my paths."

THE HUBBARD QUARREL.

JULY 26, 1850 to JANUARY 12, 1851.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

July 26, 1850.- Last evening a report on Tryphena Seymour was read. She has been in a desponding, unthankful state. Some of our men said that they had heard remarks lately made by the Hubbards showing their continued hostility to us. The other day Dexter said to Mr. Newhouse, that in consequence of having wicked neighbors they had to have their hay washed, carrying the idea that the late flood was a judgment on us. Mr. Newhouse told him we considered it a benefit to us - it enriched our land.

September 8, 1850.- Tryphena Seymour had an interview with her father today, in which she denounced and renounced him for his enmity to and abuse of Mr. Noyes and the Association, and declared her unity with us. Mr. Hubbard was greatly enraged, and gave vent to his wrath in much abusive language.

September 15, 1850.- The Hubbard family came to meeting this afternoon, and manifested a sneering and contemptuous spirit. In the evening a committee was chosen to go over and remonstrate with them for their insulting behavior. They had been seen to take a knife from the Community garden, and it was suspected that they had robbed the Community melon-patch.

September 16, 1850.- A committee consisting of Isaac and Henry Seymour, Mr. Burt and Mr. Hamilton called on the Hubbards to-day, carrying a note from Tryphena. The Hubbards were much excited when the note was read, and talked abusively. They con-

fessed they took the knife, did not deny satisfactorily the melon impeachment, and said they should pick plums or anything else they chose in our garden. When Henry Seymour positively denied some of their accusations, Mr. Hubbard put him outdoors; and when Mr. Hamilton endorsed what Henry said, he was told to leave and was abused shamefully. Old Mr. Seymour and Mr. Burt then rose and left the house.

September 17, 1850.- Burt and Hamilton called on Hon. Timothy Jenkins of the Castle, and related to him the facts about the Hubbards. He received them in a courteous, friendly manner, and entered into a long and free conversation. He told them he had no confidence in Dexter Hubbard; that he regarded him as a man of no principle, and that he had made himself liable to prosecution for his assault on Mr. Hamilton.

September 22, 1850.- Mr. Hamilton returned yesterday from his excursion with Susan and Theodore to Cayuga Bridge, where they met Mr. and Mrs. Noyes the day before at Mr. Noyes's suggestion. They reported that they talked over the state and prospects of the Association, and the plan of introducing to a greater extent the monitorial method of discipline; also that they caught 80 or 90 fishes, which Mr. Hamilton brought home. The fishes were cooked for dinner to-day.

Dexter Hubbard came to our meeting this afternoon, bringing with him a company of eight or ten rowdies, all ready for a quarrel. We hardly knew what course to pursue, for Mr. Hamilton had said to him that he wished him not to come to our meetings until he apologised for his abuse of the Association. But there was little time for deliberation. As soon as the bell rang Hubbard

the "Flaming sword that keeps the way of the tree of life,"  
and you may yet win our confidence.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN H. NOYES.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 27, 1850.- The Holmeses of East Hamilton, after a week's trial, have decided that they are not ready to join, and must leave. They were scared away by the requirement that husbands and wives should sleep apart.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO MARY E. CRAGIN.

Oneida, April 28, 1850.

If ever there was an illustration of Paul's philosophy, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, we are seeing it now. A spark of hell-fire has come in through Mr. Perry that would sweep the Association if it was not quenched. The engines are at work to-day in good earnest. Mr. Perry received John's letter Friday evening. He communicated it to Mr. Burt, and Mr. Burt to George and others. Last evening George called a meeting of the leading members, read the letter and brought out facts showing that a licentious spirit had been disclosed in other quarters. Mrs. Smith confessed yesterday that she had been with Hyde without Mr. Skinner's knowledge while she was professing to confide everything to him. This brought Hyde into judgment. Julia and Jane confessed that he had been trying to seduce them, and he confessed to Julia that night before last he was with Mary Pomeroy during the evening meeting. It appears that he has been completely drunk with sensuality for some time, and all the while in special fellowship with Mr. Perry.

the counseling faculties. My impression is that it was not good policy to forbid Dexter's coming into the house. The issue made was retaliatory and provoking, and one in which you could not succeed without violence, which is what he wants. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," and if he wants to come into your house, throw your doors wide open. If this course should bring disturbance into your meetings, my way would be to quell it by truth and suavity, or suspend the Sunday meetings. You need not fight nor surrender. You can retreat and choose your ground.

Yours truly, JOHN H. NOYES.

ONEIDA JOURNAL

December 10, 1850.- Mr. Kinsley, on returning from a week's stay at Manlius, reported that Tryphena had come under judgment for insubordination to the church and excessive egotism amounting to a kind of insanity. Yesterday the family had a meeting, and it was the unanimous judgment that Tryphena be placed under the special charge of Henry Seymour, and required to submit herself to him as her head and the representative of the church; and that she should also accept the advice of Mrs. Skinner.

JOHN L. SKINNER TO NOYES.

Oneida January 12, 1851.

A favorable change took place in Tryphena the day but one before I left. She had called for Henry in the afternoon, and had confessed to him her disobedience and the wrong she had done him and others. She acknowledged the justice of the treatment she had received, asking his forgiveness and that of the family.

Henry had felt impelled the day before to treat her with a good deal of severity, administering a remedy similar to that which Mr. Cragin applied in another case. She told Henry that soon after he took that step she began to come to her senses in a way that she had not done before.



BURNING OF THE PRINTING-OFFICE AND STORE.

JUNE 28, 1851 to JULY 21, 1851.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO NOYES.

Oneida, July 5, 1851.

Harriet (Noyes) advises me to write my feelings to you, as they do not seem to settle themselves very satisfactorily. The week before George came here at the time you went to England I was wishing he would come back to the paper. I seemed to have lost my inspiration. I don't know but it was weariness in well doing. From that time my difficulties have increased. The effect of George's being here has been to divide my mind and make me expect a good deal from him. Then I have become involved one way and another in the affairs of the Association a great deal more than I was. When Mrs. Cragin left here after her last visit she said: "I don't see, Harriet, as you will have anything to do now but attend to the paper." But I got<sup>t</sup> drawn into this and that. I think it may have been from a lust of meddling, or that I was getting narrow and needed to be broken up. At any rate I have drifted away and don't know where I am or what to aim at. I do not wish to have my feelings govern at all unless they are an indication that God is moving for a change. I thought if you knew them, you would either criticise me and strengthen me to go on, or dismiss me from being editress. In either case I hope to remain truly and sincerely your obedient servant,

HARRIET H.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO NOYES.Oneida, July 5, 1851.Dear John:-

Ever since I have been here Harriet has been coming up from an old, heavy, discouraged spirit. She says so herself. I have hoped she would work back to her attraction toward the paper, but considering that you were meditating on a new move in printing I thought her state might have some weight with you one way or another, and so advised her to write.

Yours with good courage,

HARRIET A. NOYES.BURNING OF THE PRINTING OFFICE AND STORE.JULY 5, 1851.

The building which was used for our printing-office and store was destroyed by fire on Saturday evening July 5th. On that evening the Association were, as usual, in general assembly. It was about 9 o'clock. We had been talking about individual inspiration, and had just passed a resolution that we would every one rely on interior direction for guidance the coming week. The subject was concluded, and conversation rested. A member requested that the 13th chapter of Romans be read. The Bible was just opened when Mr. Baker came to the door and said: "The store is on fire." Upon the first rush forward some one said, "Quiet!" Moderation was restored, and egress from the room was free and still. On getting outside we saw fire streaming from the roof and garret

windows at the further end of the store. All energies were used in carrying water to the garget so long as there was hope of success. Then the order was given, "All hands clear the building." The type-cases, drawers and counters, barrels of pork, tubs of butter, oil and turpentine, a large hogshhead of molasses, and a jug of powder were all carried out. Some attempts were made by G. W. Hamilton and others to get things from the press room, but flames drove them back. The doors, windows and blinds were saved from the lower story. The women were very efficient in clearing the store. When further work was considered dangerous, the order was given: "All hands quit the building!" Quite a crowd had gathered by this time, and attention was turned to removing the goods to a place of safety. Horse and ox team were soon at work. A strong body of our own people were stationed as police. One company was sent quietly to watch at the mill, another to guard the barn, and G. W. N. proposed that all the women return to the house. In a short time all the things were deposited in the house, barn and woodshed without noise or excitement. Mr. Miller seemed endowed with special inspiration and presence of mind, and was the ruling spirit of the occasion. He went out as soon as things were safe, and thanked the crowd for their assistance, going around them talking pleasantly. A gang of fellows lingered near the house, and showed some signs of making a disturbance. They asked if they might look around the garden. Mr. Miller replied that it was so dark they could see but little, but if they would come in the daytime, he would take pleasure in showing them all around. They quietly retired. Before midnight we were all, with the exception of a few acting as watch-men, assembled in the parlor listening to a Report from Brooklyn.

Coffee and lunch were passed around, and all retired to rest. The event has afforded us many profitable reflections. We take it as a "conservative fire," and are sure of profiting by this criticism from God.

HOME TALK BY NOYES, JULY 7, 1851.

The Association should take this event as a criticism from God; and it is a criticism which seems to have been arranged for, in order to have it carried home, by the article published in the last paper. (See article, "Conservative Fire.") I expect that the Association will receive it well, and rise from it with increased love, confidence and loyalty to the truth. I have felt that inspiration was lacking in the editorial department, and only this morning had blocked out a plan for a change; yet I felt that what we really needed was a breathing-spell, that we might have time to fix our course and start anew. That is now done. We have a reasonable excuse for stopping the publication of the paper. I have no thought but that we shall begin again. Death is the harbinger of victory and resurrection. We can now take a new step unembarrassed by previous operations, and it is very likely this will lead to starting our publishing enterprise at Brooklyn.

It is of course quite a property loss, yet as the goods were saved and the shoe business uninjured, and the great loss fell on the printing-office, it does not really affect our income, but on the contrary stops an expense.

This event will naturally operate as an appeal to our friends and open their hearts and purses. It will give us an opportunity to say what I have contemplated saying for some time, that we are

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able to support ourselves and ask no favors in that respect, but the publishing of a free paper must be a national enterprise. We are ready whenever the nation is ready for that enterprise.

THE PAPER.

HOME TALK BY NOYES, JULY 11, 1851.

The morning previous to our hearing of the fire I had made up my mind that the editorial department at least should be established here at Brooklyn and be under my direct personal oversight; and now that the printing-office is burned the better way will be to send the type and apparatus here, and commence printing here. We have plenty of room, and with nearly the same hands that we now have in the gold chain business we can get out a paper and give variety to our occupation. The spirit of the times is liberal and friendly. To begin with I think we shall carry out the project George and I have talked about so much, that of publishing a Sunday paper. As things now are, all of the Sunday papers are of the meanest and most profligate kind. Religious people are too righteous to take possession of the Sunday field, and so let the Devil have that day to himself. And it is a day when people want a paper more than ever. Perhaps some do not read a newspaper at any other time. The only daily paper, I think, that is published on Sunday is the Herald. The Tribune only publishes on six days of the week. Probably two-thirds of the Tribune's subscribers read the Herald on Sunday. After persons get accustomed to it they miss a paper as much as they would their breakfast. If the Tribune thinks we do not want a breakfast on Sunday, we know better and the Herald knows Better.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO GEORGE CRAGIN.Oneida, July 19, 1851.

On receipt of your letter last evening announcing the purchase of a press, several of us went down to the Burt house and took an account of printing materials saved... The examination proves satisfying. I think by using the pica, and perhaps without, you can print a larger paper now than we have ever printed, without buying a type. Apparently all that you need to buy is paper and ink. It is literally true that before the ashes of our old office were cold you had bought another press and established an office three hundred miles away.

The invitation to furnish the Brooklyn office came just in season to make an agreeable diversion for the men who have confined themselves so long to the mill, and all hands have gone to work busy as bees building stands, tables for the imposing stones, and other furnishings. They will all be ready to pack off by the middle of the week or sooner. Miller and Leonard are boxing up the type to-day. I see a beautiful providence in what we saved as well as what we lost. How so much was saved from that building is a mystery to me.

GEORGE CRAGIN TO MR. & MRS. MEAD.

We are quite enthusiastic with your suggestion of building an office in our back yard. We have sent to Oneida for Mr. Hamilton to come down immediately and superintend the building of it. We purpose to have it of brick, tin roof, and the side fronting our back parlor of glass windows, so that we can look in upon the operations in the office instead of gazing at a brick wall.

SINKING OF THE SLOOP.JULY 16, 1851 TO AUGUST 29, 1851.MARY E. CRAGIN TO HARRIET A. NOYES.Brooklyn, July 16, 1851.

Mr. Noyes attacked me last evening in a friendly way on my fear of ghosts, and asked if it extended to the Primitive Church. I said that it seemed so natural to associate with the word ghost a white sheet, clammy touch and mischievous intent, that it became me to see whether I connected heavenly spirits with such associations. Others spoke of the same disagreeable associations, particularly Mrs. Smith. It was noticed that the disciples were affrighted when they saw Jesus, thinking they saw a spirit. Upon examination I was not satisfied with my emotions when I brought home to my mind the idea of seeing the forms of the heavenly church. I believed that I could control the outward expression of fear, but still there remained great awe which I knew would ~~make~~ me act awkwardly. Surmising that my will had considerable to do with it, and that it was a great humbug to fear them in any shape, I resolved to cut ~~that~~ spirit in two. Mr. Noyes said that instead of their being spectres and skeletons they were the most beautiful beings in the universe. I thought of them as real bona fide men and women, warm, glowing, youthful, and although too modest to intrude themselves upon those who were shy of them, yet happy to visit those who were hospitable. While thinking on the subject Mrs. Smith came in to sleep with me, and I proposed that we address an invitation to the Primitive Church to call on us in

any way and at any time that they felt inclined, engaging on our part to do all we could to render the visit agreeable. I felt a good deal more at home with them than before, and had beautiful fellowship with Mrs. Smith. I slept well and dreamed of Abigail Merwin, waking with this beautiful passage in my heart: "The peace of God which passeth understanding shall keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus," and with a glow of love toward her and toward God. I took it as an answer to my invitation, and said to myself, "What can I want or fear so long as the heavens are open to me."

#### A PLEASANT REMINISCENCE.

The sloop "Rebecca Ford" was ready for her trip, and Mrs. Cragin, in the cheerful, generous spirit of enjoying whatever she did to make others happy, had consented to be one of the company on board. A group of washers were engaged in the basement. Partly for their diversion and partly from a merry inspiration of her own, she invited Mr. Noyes to accompany her with the violin in a song before she left. The effect was magical. The washers will never forget it, they say. She never sang so well. The song was "The Parting of Jeannette and Jeannot." After the tragedy at Esopus we found the sequel to the song, which we interpret as a pledge that "when the wars are over, we shall welcome back our rover."



JEANNETTE TO JEANNOT.

You are going far away from poor Jeannette.  
 There is no one left to love me now, and you too may forget.  
 But my heart will be with you, wherever you may go.  
 Can you look me in the face and say the same, Jeannot ?  
 When you wear the jacket red and the beautiful cockade,  
 Oh, I fear you will forget all the promises you made.  
 With the gun upon your shoulder and the bayonet by your side,  
 You'll be taking some proud lady and be making her your bride.  
 Or when glory leads the way, you'll be madly rushing on,  
 Never thinking if they kill you, that my happiness is gone.  
 If you win the day, perhaps a general you'll be.  
 Though I'm proud to think of that, what will become of me ?  
 Oh, if I were Queen of France, or still better Pope of Rome,  
 I would have no fighting men abroad, no weeping maids at home.  
 All the world should be at peace, or if kings must show their might,  
 Why, let them who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight.

THE SOLDIER'S WEDDING.

Give me your hand, my own Jeannette, the wars at length are over;  
 And merry are the wedding bells that welcome back the rover.  
 The Song of Peace is on our hills, and all is cheerful labor,  
 Where late we heard the din of strife, the war-pipe and the tabor.  
 Good omens bless this happy day, the suns bright rays are shedding  
 Their loving light of Hope and Joy upon the soldier's wedding.  
 Rich fields of waving corn are seen where hostile flags were streaming,  
 And where the sword was flashing, now the sickle bright is gleaming.  
 Lie still, ye brawling hounds of war. Let peace our hearts enlighten.  
 Rest sword, and rust within your sheath. But let the plow-share brighten.  
 Good omens bless this happy day ! The sun's bright rays are shedding  
 Their loving light of Hope and Joy upon the soldier's wedding.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Rebecca Ford's Cabin,  
Friday Evening, July 25, 1851.

Dear Mr. Cragin:-

We arrived here last night about half-past four o'clock, having had a very pleasant trip. We stopped on the way and visited some ice houses, and Montgomery Lake, the scene of interesting events in Revolutionary times, if I am rightly informed. We had a pleasant ramble through the woods, and picked several quarts of berries. I like a sea-faring life very much. It breaks up effeminate notions, and takes the starch out of folks wonderfully, and is, I think, very conducive to health; certainly it quickens my appetite and digestion. Miss Allen stands it well. Tonight, after we have finished our day's work, we visited the cave, and had a fine time. Tell Mr. Noyes that things go well interiorly and exteriorly, and we feel satisfied that the angels are watching over us and are full of good will to us. We shall have one or two adventures to relate to you which will prove it. Mr. Long is improving in subordination and meekness, and gives no trouble. I had some emotions of wonder and admiration of God's power and wisdom in bringing us through safely in the days of old, which these scenes revive. Surely after what has past we can trust him to pilot us through anything, confident that he has machinery sufficient, only give him time.

I shall visit the stone house before I leave, but how altered are its surroundings. Where I used to sit on a green bank and read to the children and nurse Georgy while you hoed corn just behind us, stands a cluster of buildings looking unromantic

and business-like enough. The old house, however, looks natural, the only spot that is untouched.

I bid you good-night with love to the household.

Yours affectionately

Mary E. Cragin.

Saturday morning.- Just getting ready to start.

NEWS ITEM CONDENSED FROM THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

July 26, 1851.

The sloop "Rebecca Ford," owned and manned by the Oneida Community, was capsized and sunk at one o'clock P. M., near Hyde Park, while on her way from Kingston to New York City loaded with limestone. Six persons, namely, Captain A. C. Smith, Henry W. Burnham, Francis Long, Henry J. Seymour, Mrs. Mary E. Cragin, and Miss Eliza A. Allen, were on board. The women and three of the men (Messrs. Smith, Burnham and Seymour) were at dinner in the cabin when a violent squall struck the vessel. Perceiving a commotion but not apprehending any serious danger, the men went on deck...The vessel immediately careened so as to shift her load, came on her beam-ends, filled by the hatches and cabin windows, and went down in forty feet of water. The women, who remained in the cabin, were lost. The men, by swimming and by the help of articles from the wreck, kept themselves afloat till they were picked up by Captain Hotaling of the schooner Shaw Abbilena, who went to them in his yawl with noble promptitude, and afterward generously placed his vessel at their service. Two hours before the accident Mrs. Cragin was reading aloud to a part of the crew the 8th chapter of Romans, and directing attention with much vivacity to the last verses.

THE SINKING OF THE SLOOP.

Home-Talk, July 27, 1851.

Noyes: Well, I suppose all will say, it is right.

I will begin with that, and not only say it, but feel it. There is something very curious to me in the coincidence that this should occur just after her visiting the old-battle-field at Rondout under Mr. Smith's care. It will be something of a trial to the whole body, but in some way or other I know that the Kingdom of God will gain immensely by it. It will teach us that, notwithstanding the truth of the principle that death is overcome, still God has not surrendered his right to strike us in that way. God is evidently bringing about a new situation with a view to far greater manifestations of his power. As the center of interest was transferred from Oneida here by the fire, it seems to me that the center of interest is now to be transferred from here to the Primitive Church. I suffered a good deal last night. I finally got my balance by turning my attention to what we must do to give this event its proper effect. I look for every one to turn to the question, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ? "

Mr. Cragin : (Addressing Mr. Noyes:) You have done all you promised. You said you would raise her as high above her former position in the world as she had been sunk below it by the affair at Rondout.

Noyes:(To Mr. Cragin:) In the flesh the tendency of Mrs. Cragin's position has been to produce chafing between you and me and Mr. Smith; but now that she has passed into the spiritual world I can see how her position may be the occasion of a splendid condensation. The women seem to be the heroes and martyrs in this dispensation.

Mr. Cragin: (Weeping:) My flesh is suffering and dying out. I will behave as well as I can through the process.

Noyes: I suffer with you. The Primitive Church say to us, "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial that is to try you. " They have been through more than this. I count this and the fire tokens of God's love. He chastens those whom he loves.

Charlotte A. Miller: I was thinking she had a fifteen-hundred monument to go down with her.

Noyes: Yes, she had the North River for a grave, the sloop for a coffin, and their short dresses for uniforms; enough for any soldier.

Mrs. Cragin's death will lead me to overcome death, just as Abigail Merwin's marriage stimulated me to break up the marriage system. She being on one side of death and I on the other, death will be cut in two for we shall certainly come together. Her life is the faith of the Son of God, and that is as free to work in Hades as in the Primitive Church as here. She has only gone through what our women occasionally experience, a giving up of furniture. As soon as she has settled herself she will go to work in conjunction with us here for the advance of the Kingdom of God. Her elasticity of spirit is remarkable. She always recovers quickly from any disaster or misstep. She is a model woman, and I hope many more will be run in the same mould. She is a prodigal, to whom much is forgiven. The same loveth much. The father too loved the prodigal, and when he returned there was music and dancing. I thank God for the privilege of appreciating

Mrs. Cragin and of seeing God's beauty in her. Although I might say I had a hand in making her over, yet after all it was God's work. She will now have a body suited to her character, and it will be beautiful. She is hidden from the world and all its malice. Her mother and the Putney folks will not persecute her any more. How agreeable it would be, if we could be invisible and yet work for God just as effectually. Mrs. Cragin's fear of ghosts will make her a fit person to commence communication from the inner to the outer world. She knows how to sympathize with the fears of many. She is ingenious, and will contrive to appear in some very attractive way.

The first thought that occurred to us was that her death would increase our communication with the spiritual world. It has come at a crisis when everything is tending to draw us upward and inward. There is so much connection between us and her that it is not possible for us to be separated from her or lose sight of her.

Harriet A. Noyes:- I have never felt to acknowledge her position as I have today. I never felt so much fellowship with spirit.

Noyes: We shall now be compelled to argue in a substantial way, free from cant and poetry, that there is no such thing as death. In order to establish our hearts satisfactorily we must come up to the simple truth that death is not to be regarded as a distressing, horrible thing. It is overcome.

All will recollect the time two years ago when I went to the Association and took her away. I had at that time an impression of her death....

The only way for us to get any satisfaction in view of death is to repel all natural feelings about it as fast as possible. Flattery, respect of persons, idolatry, all such thoughts will prevent us from seeing her real value and the meaning of God in this transaction. Be still, be free to receive impressions from God. We may be sure that God appreciates whatever is valuable in her more than we do. The lesson that I learned when I took her away from the Association two years ago, and that she learned, was that the truth must take the lead of all other affections. The criticism of her at that time was a criticism of the fleshly spirit in the Association which came in through Hyde. Now just as I have declared that the Association is free from false love, her death comes as the consummation, and the outpouring of her purified spirit will follow.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

JULY 29, 1851.— Henry Burnham and Charlotte Miller arrived from Brooklyn about half-past one this morning very unexpectedly. The reason of their coming was communicated to but few till after breakfast, when notice was given that all the family were requested to meet in the parlor at seven o'clock. After all were seated Mr. Burnham and Mrs. Miller came in with Mrs. Noyes and a few others. Mr. Burnham began by saying, "Mrs. Cragin has left us !" For an instant it seemed as if every heart stood still and no one breathed. He then went on and told us all about the capsizing of the sloop "Rebecca Ford," the drowning of the women, Mrs. Cragin and Eliza Allen, and the saving of the men, Smith, Burnham, Seymour and Long. Mrs. Miller told us of Mr. Noyes's faith, hope



and love, and of Mrs. Cragin's victories and buoyant spirit. The faith, courage, thankfulness and elevation of soul and purpose that filled Mr. Burnham and Mrs. Miller were like sunshine to our hearts, driving back the agony that would crush us.. G. W. Noyes read the 8th chapter of Romans, and thought all might accept it as Mrs. Cragin's message to us. She had read it with Mr. Burnham just before she was drowned, and at the close had remarked, "What do you want better than that ? " All were exhorted to go about our business in a buoyant, cheerful spirit as the one most pleasing to God and to Mrs. Cragin.

Mrs. Miller writes from Oneida to Brooklyn: As we conversed yesterday at Kingston Mr. Noyes seemed overflowing with faith, hope and love, and a tenderness of feeling that melted all hearts together. On reaching here the same victory over worldly sorrow, and spiritual insight into God's wonderful providences were realized by the whole Association. We all feel it true that victory has come in the first three divisions, and that now Mrs. Cragin has pioneered the way for the final victory over death.

Mrs. Harriet A. Noyes writes from Oneida to Brooklyn: It seems to me that we have entered upon the fourth division of the battle of God. It looks as if the battle with death had commenced in earnest. My eyes are turned toward a clearing away of the clouds about death. I know Mr. Noyes will penetrate this subject, and we shall partake of his victory.

John R. Miller writes from Oneida to Brooklyn: The first feeling of my heart on hearing the intelligence was one of agony

like the parting of soul and body, but this was soon followed by a quiet trust and confidence in God, who "doeth all things well." My heart involuntarily said, "What next?" We have had the burning of the store and printing-office, and now the sinking of the sloop with two sisters, and these events have not made us doubt that God protects. What next I know not, but of one thing I am sure, it will be nothing that can shake our confidence in God." I feel that the whole Association are becoming abandoned to the will of God, and that nothing will ever be able to separate them from Christ, from Mr. Noyes, and from each other. This event will only draw our hearts more closely together in bonds of eternal love.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO THE BROOKLYN FAMILY.

Oneida JULY 29, 1851.

Dear Friends:-

I wish to put my heart in sympathy with you in respect to this event, and to say, so far as it has had time to work in my experience, it has been good. I fully believe it will be a blessed gain to us as well as to her, and that "this light affliction, which is but for a moment, shall work out a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while we look not at things that are seen, but at things that are not seen."

I feel respect particularly for John and Mr. Cragin in this crisis, and desire to be with them in whatever special burden that may have to bear. May we not well hope, that her sainted spirit will be a bond of new union among us, and a new channel of attraction toward the immortals? I believe it will.

I say from my heart, it is God, our God, who has done this. The time had come with her and with us for this change, and God out of his kindness made it suddenly, with no shadow falling before, as I believe none will remain after.

I am yours,

G. W. Noyes.

NOYES TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Rondout, Mansion House.

July 30, 1851.

Dear Bro. Cragin:- I have deferred writing to you, that I might have something definite to report. I have been very busy since I left you, and will now give an account of my proceedings.

On my way up to Kingston I returned to my original plan of sending Mr. Burnham to Oneida and stopping at the center of interest myself. Monday morning Mr. Burnham found Messrs. Smith and Seymour at Rondout and brought them to Kingston Point. Smith informed me that most of the sloop was some feet above water at low tide, and that there would be no great difficulty in raising her; that he had left Long in the neighborhood to keep a light on the mast at night; and that he had been endeavoring to get the means of raising the vessel at Rondout but had not succeeded. After Burnham and Charlotte left at noon, Smith, Seymour and I walked to Hyde Park, about twelve miles, and sent for Long. I thought it my first business to hold a sort of inquest and ascertain the causes of the judgment we have suffered. We spent the evening at this. The result was a unanimous judgment

that Long's mismanagement and cowardice were the direct cause, that the perverse spirit in him which has resisted criticism and kindness so long were the previous chronic cause, and that the loose habits of fellowship which have admitted him among us and employed him in responsible business have involved the Association in his culpability, so that this chastisement is deserved and necessary for us all.

The grounds of this judgment were briefly these: Mr. Long had been for months in a gloomy, unbelieving, non-consulting spirit. One main object of Mrs. Cragin's excursion on the sloop was to make a last effort to conquer him by kindness and advice. He was in charge of the helm and the only man on deck when the squall struck the vessel. Mr. Smith, as he ascended the companion-way, saw that Long was holding the helm the wrong way, and ordered him to put it "hard down," which he did. Mr. Smith turned to look at the state of things forward, and when, a moment after, he reverted to Long, the helm was again wrong. Smith sprang to the tiller and held it down as long as there was a standing-place, but it was too late.

I told Long that I intended to set a new example of honesty and faithfulness by confessing publicly the whole truth about the disaster, and I advised him to prepare a confession of his agency in it for the paper, which he said he would do. I then discharged him from our service with the understanding that we shall have nothing more to do with him till he proves by deeds that he is a penitent and faithful man. His unfaithfulness and cowardice were signally proved in his last service after the shipwreck. He was

left, as I said, to keep a light on the mast. But there was none there when we went up Sunday night. We informed the Captain of the position of the wreck, so that our boat escaped it, but no thanks are due to Long that we and a whole boatfull were not sunk. Having thus providentially detected his unfaithfulness I charged him with it, and he confessed that he saw in the night that the light had gone out, but that he felt so bad and the river was so dreary that he was afraid to go out and relight it ! After the inquest Smith and I went to the wreck and placed on it a good, sufficient light. At eleven o'clock in a dark night to go out in a small boat a half mile to hang a beacon over the bodies of our loved ones was as solemn a thing as I ever did, and yet it was pleasant. We spoke not a word of sorrow, but cheerfully hailed the spirits of the dead and left the scene with reluctance.

The next morning (Tuesday) Smith and I hired a carriage and went to Poughkeepsie, but did not succeed in getting help. We returned, hired a boatman to attend to the light, and left Seymour to oversee the business. We reached Rondout last night about nine o'clock. Smith had another interview with Long this morning, and more effectually expelled him. Long confessed in full the justice of our judgment, and offered to discharge all pecuniary claims, acknowledging that he owed us more than he could pay. We leave him now with God.

We traveled about the docks all the forenoon today in quest of boats, and after many discouragements succeeded in obtaining all we wanted. Tomorrow or next day at farthest we expect to be at the wreck with men and means sufficient to raise the vessel

probably in twenty-four hours. Sometime on Saturday or perhaps Sunday it is likely we shall recover the remains of our friends, and the question of their disposal is therefore now before us. I shall not take upon me to decide it. It belongs rather to you, and perhaps her relatives should be consulted. But I will give my opinion. Exactly opposite the scene of the wreck in the village of Esopus is a beautiful church spire, seen far up and down the river. There is a burying-ground not far off. Mrs. Cragin certainly had three homes, and this spot is nearly in the center between them. Her monument (the church spire) will be seen by all who loved her as often as they pass up and down the river which she has consecrated. It would be very pleasant to my feelings to have the remains of both the departed placed here in one grave. Furthermore, the church that I speak of belongs to the Episcopal order, and it seems to me that it would be a graceful and pleasant compromise of the diversities of sentiment which exist in the circle of friends and relatives concerned, to commit the ceremony of burial to the Episcopal clergyman, and deliver dust to dust under the beautiful burial service of the Church of England. I call it beautiful because it contains so much of the Bible testimony about the resurrection. By this plan we shall avoid many disagreeable things which must attend the transportation of the dead in warm weather, and shall place the remains in the most beautiful spot in the shortest time.

If after such consultation as you think necessary you approve of this plan, send me word by telegraph as soon as possible and I will make the arrangements. You can also telegraph to Wallingford and Oneida in season to have friends come

so as to be here by Saturday. It is possible that we shall not raise the vessel so soon as we expect, and it is therefore not best for many to come. But I should like to have you and Mr. Burnham and Harriet A. from Oneida. and Mr. Allen from Wallingford come on Saturday if possible, bringing a "considerable amount of money."

We are in want of clothes, as the men lost all and are using mine, but we can get along till Saturday unless you think best to send someone with shirts, coats pantaloons, etc. My overcoat would be agreeable.

Yours affectionately,

J. H. NOYES.

Note by Noyes in The CIRCULAR, old series, I:6. It is but justice to Mr. Long to say (as we are glad to be able to say) that his conduct since his discharge has been honorable and very favorable to a re-establishment of confidence. When the Roundout editor broke forth upon us Mr. Long volunteered the defense. His services in cleaning and taking care of the sloop after it was raised were laborious and cheerfully rendered. We trust that we shall <sup>yet</sup> be able to report that he has profited by this terrible event, as we have, till the sorrows of the death that has befallen us are swallowed up in the victory of the resulting benefits.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

AUGUST 1, 1851.- Mr. Miller writes to Mr. Cragin: I settled my cash account this morning. It stands, cash on hand \$57.49. I shall have to pay in a day or two \$42.00 for insurance. We have had plenty of money all summer, and I know that we shall continue to have.

AUGUST 3, 1851.- Harriet A. Noyes to George W. Noyes: When Mrs. Mead was in Brooklyn she requested Mr. Cragin to let her know if we got into any strait in money matters, for she still felt anxious that Mr. Mead should give the three hundred dollars. Mr. Cragin promised that he would. John suggests to Mr. Cragin that he fulfill his part of the engagement now, leaving her to do as she chooses.

I spent the day yesterday taking in the scenery of this beautiful place, and sitting down and quietly breathing John's atmosphere. After tea we walked to the burying-ground, a retired spot close by a grove with only a few graves. It is just such a spot as I think Mrs. Cragin would choose. Raising the sloop seems to be a heavy job. I hope before Henry (Seymour) goes we shall have something more definite to report. I am glad he is going. I think he will be a help in the Association, although he is weak in the body now.

In making some general remarks John said: "We must enlarge our ideas about providences. Don't lean on special providences in the way of being petted. We want God to attend to the general interest and then, if our special interest coincides, very well."



Someone asked who was to fill Mrs. Cragin's place. John replied he did not know as God wanted it filled. She was so filled with the spirit of service, so helpful to the Association, that they would lean upon her. It was time they were weaned, and that they should go to God for themselves. God will not allow us to get sticky to persons.

AUGUST 4, 1851.- Hial Waters and Henry Seymour arrived from Esopus. Mr. Noyes sent special word by them about the family having godly prudence. He said: "When we can fill our sphere with prudence, God will fill his with good providences." A committee was chosen by his suggestion to look after and make the grindstone safe. The committee were Mr. and Mrs. Burt, Mr. Ackley, Hial Waters and Mrs. Baker. They went immediately to the mill and had the speed of the grindstone reduced. A good deal of anxiety had been working in the family respecting it. This circumstance gave occasion for criticising the professional spirit in Mr. Morgan.

HENRY W. BURNHAM:- We delivered Mr. Noyes's message. It seemed to have a serious effect upon the whole. Mr. Nash had laid down his pocket-book at some place where he was making purchases, and had carelessly forgotten it. There were sixty cents in it. This with other discrepancies in his dealings with outsiders led me to propose that some one else take his place, and from an instinct nominated myself. Mr. Hamilton and others liked it. The change, it was thought, would help lessen the gossip and notoriety which our present position was exciting, I being more or less a stranger here just now.

REMARKS BY NOYES AUGUST 8, 1851.

God is taking us at our word. Soon after I returned from England I broached the subject of criticism, and we all, as you know, invited God to criticise us more closely than ever before. Indeed at the time when I took Mrs. Cragin away from the Association and felt that the sentence of death was upon her, I thought we had gone as far as we could in criticising each other, and that God was beginning to criticise us. You know when criticism was first proposed at Putney, we thought it would work well if there was sufficient unity to keep us from breaking away from one another. The effect proved that we were united, and I think now that we are firmly enough united ~~enough~~ to have the bond hold under a serious criticism from him. We may take it as a sign of an advanced stage of experience, that God has commenced criticising us sharply, for the Primitive Church had their sharpest criticisms just before the second coming. This is a woman's dispensation, and I am thinking it possible that Mrs. Cragin's death is in this dispensation what the death of Christ was in the Jewish dispensation. Her death was more befitting a woman, and Christ's was more befitting a man.

We are marching into public notice under cover of a funeral. It is a curious strategm of God's to bring about this death and excite sympathy for us just as we are coming before the public. As the world looks on the funeral procession they little think that they are looking at an army, that underneath are concealed guns and pistols.

AUGUST 15, 1851.- Harriet A Noyes writes:- The sloop is not within sight of us now, but lies a mile up the river. It drifted along and stopped just opposite the burying-ground. There is a road leading directly from the wreck to the grave.

GEORGE CRAGIN TO HENRY ALLEN AT WALLINGFORD.

Brooklyn, August 20, 1851.

I returned yesterday from the scene of our late labors on the North River. After those men we employed to raise the vessel had labored 19 days they so far succeeded as to enable us to recover the bodies of our loved ones. We found them in the cabin on Tuesday the 19th about 10 o'clock in the morning. We had provided a box, well made and varnished, large enough to contain them both, and we had excellent luck in going through all the duties that devolved upon us in disposing of their remains. Mr. Johnson, the man we boarded with, gave us a place for them in his private plot in the Episcopal burying-ground. Mr. Noyes officiated as our clergyman, using for our meeting-house a beautiful shady grove on the bank of the Hudson nearly opposite where the wreck lay when you were there. We had an exceedingly profitable time while being detained.

The expense of course has been very great, probably not less than \$800. We should have abandoned the vessel long ago, could we have received the bodies. I state these facts for your benefit in case the heirs to her property feel disposed to contribute out of her own funds to defray part of the expense.

NOYES TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Rondout, August 29, 1851.

Smith and I came to Rondout the day you left, Wednesday.

The sloop arrived at Bishop's yard Saturday morning. Discharged the vessels at noon. Hamilton took our stone on his vessel. Long toop upon him the cleaning of the sloop, which was loaded with mud. Most of the things in the cabin were ruined, but we found Mrs. Cragin's note book in good condition, have dried it, and count it worth more than all the rest. It was to me a beautiful love-letter coming up out of that dismal ruin and finding me in the midst of warring spirits and the cruelties of the world of business. The vessel was badly damaged by mismanagement in raising. It will require some \$300. to repair her, besides the cost of a new mainsail. We determined however not to be abused by the speculators, and refused an offer of \$500. We offered her for \$700, and determined, if we could not get that, to repair her. So the matter stands. She is on the stocks at the yard of Tremper & Scott in the course of repair.

Now for the expense and a view of our finances: Hathaway's bill is \$220, Hamilton's is \$133, Bishop's is \$692, making about \$1050. We have paid \$50. to Hamilton, and about \$100 to Bishop, leaving about \$900 to be provided for, Smith is about making an effort to get funds from Abijah (his brother ) who is now here, but success if doubtful. Hamilton will wait on us. Hathaway wants his money, but is not urgent. Bishop presses for immediate payment, and refuses to turn in his debt of \$300.

You see the whole now. Don't stare at it much, but see what you can do for us. If you can't do anything, don't fret.

REMARKS BY NOYES IN THE CIRCULAR I:11-15.

For the sake of concluding the financial part of our story here, I will say that we finally sold the sloop for about twelve hundred dollars to Mr. Hotaling, the man who witnessed the shipwreck and rescued the survivors. Our total loss was between six and seven hundred dollars, besides the value of the sloop. We settled all, and escaped from Rondout about the first of October.

In looking over this paper on the eve of its going to press I perceive a providential combination of matter for joyful exultation and matter for sorrowful humility. Vitality, hope, success are pictured on the main breadth of the canvass; but here almost at the center is a terrible death-scene. We are rising triumphant, but where is our sweetest and brightest fellow-laborer? We are rebuked in the midst of victory. A voice of warning thrills through our spirits: "Serve the Lord with fear, rejoice with trembling; he will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images."

To exult in success, as though we had achieved it, is to embezzle the property of the government we serve. Embezzlement is the most common and the worst vice in all human administrations, but it will not be tolerated in the Kingdom of God.

The King of Kings takes no counsel from fear of the party opposed to him, nor of his own party and his own officers. They will not escape criticism under the shelter of favoritism or policy. On the contrary, "judgment begins at the house of God."

We have accepted this condition of service. We have invited the chastisements which we feel. Let us, then, in the midst of temptations to exultation, remember the integrity of God, and beware of embezzlement. We shall escape the rod only by ceasing to need it, and we shall invite prosperity only by being able to bear it without glorying. "All the haughtyness of man shall be brought low, and the Lots alone shall be exalted."

I expressed these sentiments to the company engaged with me in the work of this paper, and they wish to join with me in inviting the spirit of sobriety and humility to preside over our thanksgivings.

J. H. N.

MRS. CRAGIN'S POSITION IN THE CHURCH.

HOME TALK BY NOYES

SEPTEMBER 4, 1851.

I shall make a confession tonight on a subject that I lately reflected much upon. It is a matter of importance to the whole church as well as to me, that we should as fast as possible find our permanent places in the temple of God.

There has been a general concession of my position in the church. It is well understood that God has raised me up to take the lead. But the point which has hung in suspense even in my own mind has been, who is the female correspondent. That question has been seemingly answered by facts as they have arisen in regard to Mrs. Cragin. She has grown into a position where it does not require any choice on the part of the church or any designation on my part to secure for her the unanimous suffrage of the church as the female head. I can truly say, that it was no plan of mine that has made her what she has been in the church. On the contrary God has directed my attention to another woman, Abigail Merwin, in such a way that I thought of her as destined for that position. His purpose was to cut off personal ambition and glory, that the plan might be entirely by the will of God. My mind is now free to look deeply into the matter, and I frankly say that God has put Mrs. Cragin in that position by his own choice. I now see that she is better qualified for that position than any other woman in the universe. And this does not alter my

substantial faith and expectation in regard to Abigail Merwin. All that I can now see distinctly is that God has put Mrs. Cragin in that place. What he will do with others I leave to be worked out by events hereafter.

I will now present some facts which go to show that I have been in a certain sense mistaken, and that God's choice has been purposely veiled from me.

You all know that I am pretty correct in any serious spiritual impressions that I receive, that there is reliability and prophetic certainty in them. But there have been two instances, in which I have had as serious convictions as I ever had, when I have been apparently mistaken, and yet I have not been. God has been to me "as a deceiver, and yet true." When I was at Ithaca, knowing nothing of Abigail Merwin's circumstances, I had what I supposed to be revelation from God as sure as any I ever had in my life, that she was in New York City ready for me. I sent on to inquire into it, and found nothing; and what to make of it I could not tell. Well, Mrs. Cragin was in New York City at that time. Again, when I was at Kingston I had another revelation of the same kind and certainty, that Abigail Merwin was coming to Kingston, that Smith was to bring her there. It was all a cheat, apparently. And yet Mrs. Cragin did come to Kingston, Smith took her there, and I met her there. So you see that the substance of the thing did take place in both instances, but my mind was on the wrong person.

Look at the history and character of Mrs. Cragin. It is central and national beyond that of any other woman we have had



among us. She was a child of the cities, educated here in the metropolis, born spiritually in the focus of the church. She was Finney's first and favorite convert in his great revival in New York. Her character corresponds to that central position. No woman is so motherly as she. I can clearly see that the church now being formed is coming out of material that is stored away in Hades and this world. God's mind is on the invisible as well as the visible material. The church has already been divided into the dualities, Jewish and Gentile, angelic and human. The duality that is now being formed is mortality and Hades, and it is appropriate that Mrs. Cragin, as the female member of the dual head of the church, should have special responsibility for Hades, the female branch of the present organization. Therefore Mrs. Cragin, instead of being thrown out of her position as mother of the church, is now put into it.

Abigail is an Old Testament name; Mary is a New Testament one. The female heads of the Primitive Church were all Marys, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, and Mary whom Jesus loved. Abigail was the wife of David. Well, such coincidences do not amount to much, but after all there is some poetry in them.

I think I now see clearly enough to require me to confess it, that the thoughts I have had about Abigail Merwin have been and are being fulfilled in Mrs. Cragin. This does not conflict with God's purpose to set Abigail Merwin in the church. I believe he intends to do so. Apparently there is room for her, but in a different sphere from that occupied by Mrs. Cragin. The substantial marriage of the man and woman that is first in order and that

is the seed of all the others, is by the election of God, not by the will of man, and is now consummated. The cornerstone has been laid, and will never be altered. I do not see how it is possible for any other woman to do the deed of self-sacrifice that she has done, and if God rewards every one according to his works she has a greater reward, it seems to me, than any other woman in the church. I refer to her last great deed of visiting Abigail Merwin. Just think of her going to Abigail Merwin with the understanding that she was seeking to save the woman that was to displace her ! She went in the face of all the usages and almost decencies of society, thrust herself into that woman's house, and laid hold of her, believing it was the will of God. The fruit of that deed remains to be seen, but I am sure that she did what was required.. She is now put into her own proper place at the head of the female branch of the church. At the same time she is knit into the affections of this part of the church. She is in a position of advantage toward each that she could not be in if she had not put off her mortality.

Although she had a lingering desire for the position she now occupies, if she was qualified for it, yet she was not selfish. I know well from plenty of experience what that feeling is, a consciousness of power to fill a certain place, and yet a feeling that I am not called to it. She verily wished herself accursed for Abigail Merwin's sake, and I have no doubt but that in this transfer, after she has had time to think of it, she will have the impression that God has taken her out of the way of Abigail Merwin, and she will be glad of it. But she will find that God is not unrighteous to forget her labor of love and patience. She will have the desire of her heart in full...

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Charles H. Weld, who has all the sagacity of the Devil and watches everything on the Devil's side as I do on God's, knows that the relation between me and Abigail Merwin hangs in suspense. He knows too that it is in the true organization of the man and woman that the Kingdom of Heaven commences, and he has had a secret exultation all this time, supposing that as long as the division between me and Abigail Merwin exists the Kingdom of Heaven cannot come. But the substantial thing has been done. The man and woman have come together, and the Kingdom of Heaven has commenced. He has all the while been looking in the wrong direction; and so have I, but not in a wilful way that could not accept facts as they came along. I suppose my own delusion in regard to the person was necessary to perfect Mrs. Cragin in obedience and self-sacrifice, and throw the Devil off the track.

Harriet A. Noyes: It is a beautiful idea that the mother obtained the love of all the children before they knew who she was. I have had it shown to me clearly two or three times, I thought from God, that she was anointed of him.

Noyes:- I suppose that she is more directly the connecting-link on the female side with the Primitive Church than any other woman; that there is no other woman who will ever teach her, but that all other women this side of the Primitive Church will sit at her feet. She has suffered more than any other woman can in the nature of things, and in a way that works righteousness and brings out truth. That Kingston affair, in the low view, seems very bad, but in the true view it was suffering in which she laid down her life for the brethren. Smith, the apex of the Methodist Church and as such the head of a great branch that is to be redeemed, had become connected with me but was entangled in a net of

Satan's influence. The corrupt part of the Methodist Church had set that woman, his wife Mary Ann, upon him, and she was the most perfect embodiment of the serpent spirit in the world. She had sunk him, as you may say, into the depths of perdition. I was faithful to my first love for him, and sent him word several times. Finally I went to see him and spent the winter with him. After getting a clear view of his trouble I entered into an everlasting covenant with him and then left him. Two years later the Cragins went to live with him, and Mrs. Cragin at a tremendous sacrifice of honesty and morality broke Mary Ann's charm. She was sacrificed to save him, and she has done it. That was one of the meanings of her death; it broke up the principality that had possession of him.

This whole affair tends to cut down human imaginations and exalt the sovereignty of God in the formation of the church. You will all find by looking at the deepest working of your heart, that you have no desire for any place that you are not fitted for. You will have a true instinct and desire that corresponds to your capabilities and to the place that is foreordained for you in the church of Christ.

There was this difference between Abigail Merwin and Mrs. Cragin. Abigail Merwin drew out my heart but did not respond to it. Mrs. Cragin drew it out with equal if not greater power, and responded to it not only with love but union. With her first of all, I have had the experience of love in all its beauty and harmony. That is the fact that will stand forever.

I do not wish to have it understood from what I have said

that there is any substantial alteration of God's views in regard to Abigail Merwin. I believe that he is yet going to bring about a tremendous revolution by her. But it appears to me now that her position is a secondary one. The circumstances that have taken place are calculated to throw open the door of expectation in regard to her, but my mind has not been turned in that direction at all. My whole attention has been turned toward Mrs. Cragin. I feel that God has greatly enlarged my perceptions in regard to his purposes, and let me into a new world.

SPIRITUALISM TRUE AND FALSE.

AUGUST 6, 1851 TO SEPTEMBER 4, 1851.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

AUGUST 6, 1851.

John says he certainly expects to see Mrs. Cragin and hear a report from her, but he is willing to wait any length of time for it. When I told him I had been just seven weeks at Oneida, he said that was just the time he was absent when he went to England, and perhaps Mrs. Cragin had taken her seven weeks' tour. At any rate he should not be out of patience if he did not see her till after that time.

CHARLES LOVETT TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Westmoreland, Aug. 16th, 1851.  
Oneida Co., N. Y.

Mary Cragin wants you should write to George Cragin and tel him John H. Noyes is not right in his views in regard to Womin, and I want he should testify against it. I am in the Third Sphere.

MARY CRAGIN.

To George Cragin of the  
Oneida Community.

CHARLES LOVETT.

Medium for Written Communication from the Spheres.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Genoa, AUGUST 29, 1851.

I found myself boiling inwardly from the time "Brother Lovett" came in, and I soon put a stop to his inquiries by informing him that his letter to us about Mrs. Cragin caused us some amusement. This led to a pretty satisfactory explosion on my part. I had a good and quite unexpected opportunity to put back on him the infamous counterfeit that he is circulating under Mrs. Cragin's name... I told him it was a lie. I think it was an inspiration of Mrs. Cragin's spirit that stirred me up. I refused to eat with him when we were called to dinner, but as he had been to dinner I did not have to wait. The incident will at least give Mrs. Hale a wholesome specimen of our sincere way of treating such cases, a thing which the Genoa people need to learn.

HADES AND THE THREE WORLDS.HOME-TALK BY NOYES.SEPTEMBER 1, 1851.

The resurrection state - the state of Christ, the apostles, and the 144,000 - is to us the ascending fellowship. But Hades is the descending fellowship. Hades is to this world as woman is to man. Its only advantage over us is the advantage of weakness. This view defines our position in regard to the "rappings." Instead of our being instructed by Hades through the rappings or in any other way, we are going to instruct them. In the order of the resurrection the first step will be the coming up of the world of the

dead into conjunction with us; then these two worlds will move along together into the resurrection sphere.

The insinuation of Marquand and Lovett that Mrs. Cragin has changed her opinion is a lie. But if it was true, I would not change my position. Much as I respect her I respect the truth more. Do not imagine that the dead are coming here to teach us and take the lead of us. Mrs. Cragin has gone there not to be taught but to teach. In accordance with this view, my impression is, that at some early date we shall have personal communication with her, as the apostles did with Christ. As soon as she has time to turn herself she will begin to lead Hades up into communication with us. We are now where we can have precisely the same thoughts as the Primitive Church had about the second coming. I do not know as there will be the same formalities, but the substance will be the same.

I feel modest in talking about things that are too deep for me, but I must try to understand the works and purposes of God. One thing is certain - he intends to unite me and Mrs. Cragin by all possible ties of affection. I declared at Esopus that I loved her more than any other being on earth, and I know I loved her by inspiration. For the last five weeks God has been continually turning my attention to her, surprising me with circumstances to arouse all my attractions toward her. I see plainly that his object in this is not private and personal; it is to bring on communication between this world and Hades. A touching-point of attraction will be established, and death itself will be overcome.



JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, September 1, 1851.

I should judge that the whole world is stirred up with the "rappings." Mr. Carr called on Mrs. Giles, whose daughter is a "medium." She had a good deal to say about our Association. Among other things she said that Paul had the special care of Mr. Noyes till within a few years, when he left him to attend to the "rappings" at Auburn, and Stephen had taken his place. She condemned our social theory, and thought Mr. Noyes less spiritual than formerly. This we thought quite enough to prove the spirit a lying one, and we wanted no further testimony.

HOME-TALK ABOUT MRS. CRAGIN.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1851.

I have to confess, in order to be sincere, a weakness that hangs about me in respect to Mrs. Cragin. I have had no difficulty in being reconciled as to my own personal interest, and can thank God and rejoice. But there is a sadness in my heart, a feeling that I want to know definitely and exactly what has become of her. I have no doubt or fear about her salvation, but I want to know what her present state is and what she has been through. I cannot help having the same care for her that I did when she was here, and I want to understand God's dealings with her.

This whole question of life in death is to a great extent blind. We cannot trust at all to the theories that are afloat about it, but must look it all over in order to get a satisfactory view.

I see plainly that there is an intermediate state. The idea that she has passed directly to the resurrection, the final state of the blessed is not authorized by Scripture. That intermediate state, the one into which she passes previous to the resurrection I am now studying with great interest.

I suppose, that from the time of Christ's resurrection to his second coming the relation between him and the church on earth was such that as fast as believers died they joined him. There was a resurrection body forming all the while. Paul says: "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better; nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you." Stephen, I should say, did pass right into open connection with Christ. "The heavens were opened, and he saw the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." But what took place previous to Christ's resurrection and after his second coming? It is evident that there was no such process going on previous to the resurrection of Christ. The Old Testament saints did not pass into immediate connection with Christ. Paul says: "These all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect." This shows that the beginning of the resurrection was at Christ's resurrection, and that there was a very different state of things before Christ's resurrection ~~and~~ and also after the resurrection was completed at the second coming. In the new dispensation which commenced at the second coming the experience of believers was much like that of the Old Testament saints. A second resurrection is now commencing. It seems to me that those who have died since the second coming have been stored away in God's mansions waiting for the second resurrection.

If I follow reason and the Scriptures I shall expect that Mrs. Cragin will appear to us soon. That will be the first step of her resurrection. The second step will be to rise to the mansion of Christ. Unless she is in the resurrection, she should be called asleep. That is the Bible term for the dead. I think her resurrection will take place in the same order as Christ's. She will first appear to us in her spiritual body. If I cannot take this view, I must consent to the view that she is asleep, and that is what my heart is not contented with. I have no doubt but that she has had the protection of angels and of the Primitive Church, and yet there is a desire in my heart to know precisely where she is.

We may say that God cannot take away in the fullest sense all sadness from us while it is possible for us to be separated from those we love. I am confident that we are going to be surprised with something that will be far better than anything we could have planned ourselves. Her motto was: "Expect things to turn out better than you expect."

The Lord is doing new things and strange things. We must not look back and think of the things of old. On the other hand we must not give up our minds to false imaginations. We must wait and let God work out his will.

There is a desire in my heart that can be satisfied only by hearing from her. It is not possible for me to be separated from her in spirit. I know that the text she read just before her departure is true between her and me: "Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things

present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." That love is stronger than any other power in the universe. It will reach her in the uttermost depths of hell, or in the uttermost parts of heaven. It is in that confidence that I have peace.

At the funeral I confessed before heaven and earth, that there was no other woman whom I loved as I did her. Yet I screwed on the lid to her coffin without a pang. I could not have done it if I had believed in any separation.

The prayer of Christ that his disciples might all be one has been the prayer of my heart for sixteen years, and I have had an assurance that it would come to pass.

The true Community spirit is not limited to the circle here or at Oneida. We are an Association in which the Father and Son, the holy angels, the Primitive Church, the church on earth, and all that have fallen asleep are gathered into one house with one interest, one life, one faith.

#### NOYES'S VISION SEPTEMBER 21, 1851.

We are in a position wxactly adapted to the working of a spirit of fanatical faith, and I am glad of an opportunity to rebuke it in my own experience. I said this afternoon that I had seen Mrs. Cragin in a dream. I now say that I have not seen her. Since I made the assertion that I had seen her, I have analyzed the whole affair thoroughly, and have come to the conclusion that it was a humbug. While asleep this afternoon I saw the external form and appearance of Mrs. Cragin as really as I ever did

in my life. But I did not see her any more than I see her in her daguerreotype. I dreamed that I saw a covered bridge or archway. I was looking into it at two persons coming toward me from within. They at first appeared obscure, but as they approached I saw them distinctly. On my left hand was Mrs. Tuttle dressed in mourning, and on my right hand was Mrs. Cragin dressed as usual, looking precisely as she used to. She seemed to be raised up a little from where I was. I looked up toward her ready to weep for joy at seeing her, but she returned my gaze with an indifferent stony stare. I do not recollect what I said, but my heart spoke. She said: "I am glad that you are going with me." I determined to have no mysticism, so I said: "What do you mean? Do you mean that I am going to die?" She did not answer, but shook her head. I then said I was ready to die, if it was the will of God, but my impression had been and still was that I should not die. Then I awoke.

The being that I saw was a totally different being from the Mrs. Cragin we loved. There was nothing but her form. Her heart, I am sure, would meet me with an altogether different aspect. That stony stare was not an index of her heart. Then the intent of what she said was to give me the idea that I was going to die. But there was mysticism about it, and a selfish wish on her part to have my company. Mrs. Cragin herself would never say any such thing. She would say she was glad I was not going there. Also the company in which she came plainly shows it was not a true vision. She could not possibly have come with Mrs. Tuttle.

The inference is, that it was either like any mystical dream, or it was a phantasm which the spirits of Hades and the Devil

have power to present. They may have her daguerreotype, or an evil spirit may have her form. We are in a somewhat similar condition to that of believers just previous to the second coming. Christ forewarned them that many should come in his name. The demand for Christ created a false supply. I now recommend to all who are looking into the spiritual world, that they feel at liberty to analyze and criticise whatever presents itself. If any of our people see Charles Lovett and Marquand again, I wish they would tell them that I have seen the same character that sent that message, and under circumstances such that I could detect the imposition. The simple truth is worth more than all visions and revelations. We must not despise such things, but we must examine everything thoroughly and rebuke whatever is counterfeit.

Those who are swallowing the "rapping" oracles are being monstrously deluded. The mediums no doubt receive a great deal of truth, but it is mixed with a great amount of falsehood. We are at the gate of that same world, and now is the time for us to walk soberly and stick to the truth through thick and thin. Spirits that do not come with the truth on the second coming are sure to be lying spirits.

The great cheat in Hades is the preference it gives to knowledge over love. When the balance is finally struck, it will be in favor of love. That is why I am satisfied with Mrs. Cragin. False spirits may tempt her with knowledge as much as they please. She will say, "Let me know less and love more." I shall wait till I see her in her true character.

## DISCUSSION OF CLAIMS TO COMMUNICATION WITH MRS. CRAGIN.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1851.

(Speaking of Abran Smith's and Elizabeth Hawley's alleged communications with Mrs. Cragin, Noyes said: The circumstance that compels me to distrust them and feel that there is no prima facie evidence in their favor is this: Elizabeth Hawley in her last letter professes to report the exact words of a conversation she had with Mrs. Cragin. She was on the most cozy terms with her - was having a private tea-party with her. In the same letter she professes to have power and wisdom given her to cure the dysentery. This is the direct reverse of the truth. Instead of her having power to cure Sophronia or any one else, she was actually the cause of her death. She came here on a special mission from the Devil. She was sick with the dysentery, and our folks had trouble to send her back, but they had enough to do with her for Mr. Burnham to catch her disorder and bring it into the family. It resulted in Sophronia's death. Now she thinks Sophronia would not have died if she had been here, and says God directed her to tell me to send for her if any of our folks were seriously sick, for she could cure them. After such a detection of the spirit that is abusing her, I say there is no presumption in favor of her pretensions to intercourse with Mrs. Cragin.

Another circumstance which lessens my estimation of these alleged revelations is, that when E. Hawley was here under terrible judgment for harboring and cultivating the spirit of C. H. Weld and T. R. Gates, this very spirit of foolish spiritualism, attention to dreams, signs and phantasms, Smith was also under

criticism, and in curious sympathy with Elizabeth Hawley, so that when I struck at her he felt the blow. The fact is, Smith has been in the same spiritual puddle with her. He has had a great deal to do with Weld and Gates, and so has she. Both are impressible, open to such spirits, and evidently both are full of dreamy, fanatical speculations. The particular thing to be noted is, that these same persons that were under such judgment last winter and were in communication with each other about it are both in the same tete-a-tete relations with Mrs. Cragin. This looks suspicious to me.

I would say here that I am not cutting them off, and I am not going to say anything that needs cause any serious condemnation. But I want to persuade them to deal honestly with such things. They have been humbugged long enough, and it is for their interest as much as mine, that imposition should be exposed. This has been the curse of Smith's life. He has been imposed upon by men in this world and spirits in the other world; and I expect that this criticism, instead of leading them into condemnation, will deliver them from the spirit that is opposed to justification and peace.

My impression has been that Mrs. Cragin, instead of immediately playing the angel and going visiting, has enough to do in attending to her own affairs. She has been through a tremendous experience, and I think that she received it at first as a judgment from God, and that she has been rising ever since. Her experience has probably been similar to what it was in this world, where she rose from the lowest depths of condemnation to the highest glory. It took us some little time to understand the event, and I believe she has been through what has stretched her



faith. I am persuaded that the union which existed between me and her was such that death itself could not alter it. I have felt the same care for her since she left as I did before, and I can judge very well from my own feelings how she is getting along.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration we may ask, to whom would she first manifest herself; where would her attractions lead her, and where would God be pleased to send her. I am convinced that, if she was allowed to go anywhere and there was not some special almighty force preventing her, she would first come to me; and it is the furthest from probability that she would first go to Elizabeth Hawley.

I have from the beginning looked for her. I am not ashamed of the truth, and the truth compels me to look for the second resurrection as at hand; and the truth concerning the second resurrection compels me to expect that the first step of her resurrection will be her reappearance in this world. At the same time that I have been looking for her reappearance here, I have been looking for communication with the Primitive Church. If the three worlds are coming together, and we are in the middle between the Primitive Church and Hades, we may look for open communication in both directions. But I have been very quiet and modest. I have felt that I was bound by all good sense to wait patiently. "Though the vision tarry long," says the prophet, "It will come, and shall not tarry." I can wait, and am pleased to be in this position of suspense with my heart vigilant toward the spiritual world. The believers before the second coming were in an attitude of watching and patience, and God arranged circumstances on purpose to keep them in that attitude. I have felt that Mrs. Cragin's departure has turned my attention to the spiritual world in

a very profitable way.

This being the situation, I do not believe that she has introduced herself first to Lovett and Marquand; neither do I believe she is much in love with Elizabeth Hawley or Mr. Smith. If she is having intercourse with them, it must be because they are seeking it and are open to intercourse that is illegitimate. The whole world of spiritualists are now rushing into intercourse with Hades; and so far as such intercourse takes place without invitation from God and without a primary marriage with him, it is like the rushing together of Perfectionists in the old times; it is fornication, a snare of the Devil. I have not the smallest desire for intercourse with Mrs. Cragin or anybody else in the spirit world except as God is pleased to sanction it.

But my judgment is that they have had no intercourse with her, and there are signs by which we may detect the counterfeit as I did in my own case. I know Mrs. Cragin's spirit, and the thing which proves Elizabeth Hawley's message not a true one is its mysticism. It is unintelligible. Then there is nothing in what she is reported to have said that is really profitable or entertaining, though I can see that there is that in Elizabeth Hawley and Mr. Smith that such stuff would please. It is very evident to me that they have been imposed upon, and I shall hold on to that conclusion until I see manifestations to the contrary.

Now I will turn to recent occurrences among us which strike me in a very different way from these revelations of Elizabeth Hawley and Mr. Smith. You will all recollect my sending a message to Mrs. Cragin by Sophronia. One night when there was every prospect of her dying, I went to her room and told her that, if

she went into Hades, I wanted she should carry a message to Mrs. Cragin. I asked her to carry our love and tell her we were waiting for her. She did not start on her journey then, but remained a few days longer. Meanwhile Mrs. Noyes reported to her our conversations and everything that was going on up to the time of her death, so that she went to Mrs. Cragin fully charged with our spirit. Several days ago in examining spirits I discerned distinctly something peculiar in Louisa's manner of communicating with the world of the dead, and referring to the philosophy of the rappers that certain persons were peculiarly adapted to be mediums I said to the household that I believed Louisa was the best medium we had among us. I could not give any reason for it, but I knew it was so; and I recommended to Harriet to make some change in the household so as to put Louisa more in communication with the family and with me, which was all appropriately done in anticipation of Harriet's going away. The second night after she had been, as it were, appointed, she had an impressive, realizing dream. She dreamed that she saw Sophronia, but was afraid of her and could not speak. The dream awoke her. She soon went to sleep again, and Sophronia came to her a second time; not Mrs. Cragin but the messenger we sent. When Sophronia came the second time Louisa had recovered from her fright and was glad to see her. Then a conversation took place between them which bears no marks of mysticism. Louisa asked questions in the same manner that she would have done if she had been awake, and Sophronia answered just as we should suppose she would. Louisa asked her if she had seen Mrs. Cragin.

S: Yes.

L: What have you and she been about ?

S: We have not been able to accomplish much yet. Mrs. Cragin has written several articles and sent them in to the authorities. But there are laws and institutions here which prevent our having much communication with the people. Mrs. Cragin and I keep together and have very good times.

L: Is that world like this ?

S: It is somewhat like it.

L: Do you know what is going on here ?

The answer was rather indistinct, but Louisa received the impression that they did not know much about it, and were glad to hear from us.

Those are just the answers I should expect to get. The inhabitants of that world probably know as much about us as we do about them, and no more. I have no doubt but the conversation Louisa reports actually took place. All the circumstances favor this conclusion. Here are two sisters that are in particular affinity with each other, one on one side of the veil and the other on the opposite side; and God is through them sending messages both ways. The whole transaction looks rational.

The real object of this criticism is not to shut off communication with Mrs. Cragin but to open the way for it. So long as we entertain spirits that deal in mere phantasms, so long we are precluded from getting at the reality. We must be honest enough to refuse to accept dreams as realities unless there is positive evidence in their favor.

Mr. Smith has thrown out the idea several times that Mrs. Cragin is going to help us discover Capt. Kidd's treasure. That is just the imagination that I should suppose an evil angel would communicate, and it is another evidence that the spirit he has been dealing with has imposed upon him. Mrs. Cragin is the last person that would communicate any such thing.

PREPARING FOR A PERSONAL MEETING WITH  
CHRIST AND THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.  
HOME-TALK BY NOYES OCTOBER 13, 1851.

If I should express the greatest desire of my heart, it is that Christ may dwell with us intimately, and if possible personally. I should be very glad to see the whole family of the interior kingdom. I desire that there should be nothing in my heart or in this house that would hinder them from presenting themselves to us. I do not wish for anything before the time, nor contrary to the will of God; but if the time has come (and it seems to me that it has) when the spiritual world is breaking in upon us, I invite the Primitive Church to visit us. I don't believe, when they do visit us, they will come in the rappings or any other mystical way. The inhabitants of that Kingdom are like little children, full of simplicity and freedom, and we ought not to think of them as ghosts in winding sheets. The freshest life that we see in this world is the nearest approximation to what we ought to look for in that world.

We will not invite them presumptuously, but we will prepare our hearts to receive them.

I do not ask to have Mrs. Cragin come, and have no definite expectation of it. All I ask is that we do not drive her out of the house. The same spirit that would do that would drive Christ out of the house.

I see nothing improper in our desiring the personal presence of Mrs. Cragin in submission to the will of God. One reason why I look for a meeting of the three worlds is that I see in our experience a steady progress in that direction, yet

without fanaticism. We have been surrounded by rappings and all sorts of spiritualisms, and have had dreams and visions among ourselves, but we do not allow them to turn us from the simple truth.

#### FAMILY TALK AT BROOKLYN.

NOVEMBER 26, 1851.

Noyes: It is just four years since we were driven out of Putney, and now how changed the scene ! I should like to have Mrs. Cragin here in this victory. She was among the refugees four years ago. When is she coming back ? According to my dream the other night she is coming pretty suddenly. I dreamed that I was walking along with several of our women behind me, when suddenly Mrs. Cragin jumped in ahead of us in her usual lively manner. I said to her: "You have got back, have you?" She replied: "Yes." She looked rather pale, as though she had had a hard time, but her joy was great... It will not take a great while to find Mrs. Cragin at this rate, I know.

#### THE MOTHERS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES.

DECEMBER 4, 1851.

My experience has taken a very favorable turn of late. A great part of the time since Mrs. Cragin disappeared I have felt the need of her. I have not had any childish trouble from a lack of personal companionship, but there has seemed to be a real need of such a woman among us, a lack of a certain motherly

element, which is desirable and necessary in a family like this. But I now find myself past that difficulty. I do not now feel the want of her much, if any. I have found that want supplied by turning my attention upward. I see and feel that the Primitive Church, "which is the mother of us all," has plenty of help for us. I find myself in fellowship with the mothers of the Primitive Church, who far exceed in wisdom and power Mrs. Cragin or any one else among us. I feel strong and well able to meet all the difficulties that may arise both in this family and in the larger family that we are connected with.

EDUCATION, AMUSEMENTS.

AUGUST 8, 1850 TO DECEMBER 27, 1852.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO HARRIET A. NOYES.

AUGUST 23, 1851.

EXCERPTS.

The mill was finished on Wednesday the 20th. It was agreed to spend the remainder of the week in relaxation. We meet after breakfast for salutation, concentration and any spiritual exercise that is suggested, then aggregate in some attractive bee or occupy the time as we choose. In the middle of the day we meet for reading Cromwell and for Community studies. In the latter part of the day we have amusements and bees. Yesterday I gave some demonstrations in Algebra, just where I happened to be studying. This noon Hial is explaining the tides. Mr. Burt and I have built a bowling-alley, simply planks bedded down level in smooth ground. This was enjoyed last evening by nearly the whole Association.

JOURNALIST: At 4 P. M. the family went en masse down to the mill garret, which had been cleaned out in the forenoon. First there was swinging the rope for the children, many of the older ones joining in. All were children together. After this Mr. Burt read several Psalms, and we sang songs in which all could join. Music and a dance followed, after which the smaller children returned to the house. Then came another dance, and a marching of all around the room under the direction of "Capt. Kinsley" and to the house, where supper awaited us.



ONEIDA JOURNAL.

AUGUST 19, 1852. John R. Miller: A party of twelve, six men and six women, have gone to Oneida Lake today fishing.

NOYES TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

AUGUST 19, 1852.

Wallingford.

I have been studying chemistry since I have been here, and I commend it to the attention of those who have an appetite for it. It will help us much in spiritual science, besides being practically useful in industry.

THE OLD SERPENT.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1852.

There is a curious fact mentioned in the first chapters of Genesis, which tends to confirm the theory of geologists that there were long periods previous to the creation of man, that is the subtlety of the serpent. If the days spoken of were only of twenty-four hours' duration, how shall we account for the subtlety of the serpent on any known principle?... It is probable that God had gradually brought up the animal race until it was in a state of high approximation to the ideal of human nature, and then he started a new race to be carried still higher.

SCIENCE.HOME-TALK BY NOYES MARCH 1, 1853.

This kind of science which the Scientific American is so full of is the greatest obstruction to genuine improvement... If you should feel around in the dark and make an inventory of all the things in the room, you would expect that daylight would bring into view many things which you had not perceived, and there would be many blunders in your perceptions. For one thing you would have missed all the coloring....

There is another part of science which is miserably untrustworthy. An immense mass of what passes for science has been handed down by tradition, and you cannot find any authority for it. The time will come when a man who believes in this mass of stuff will be considered more credulous than the oldest foggy in the churches.

We shall have to make a distinction between science and discovery. There are two sets of persons in the world, one set busy inspecting and recording facts in God's universe, and the other set busy theorizing on those facts. The latter take advantage of past discoveries to manufacture a stiff crust of science that will prevent making any more discoveries. Discovery is closely connected with use. Ericsson appears to be a man who is bent on useful achievements. This scientific spirit, however, is not bent on useful discoveries, but on parading its own thoughts. These two spirits are intricately mixed, but we shall be able to separate them by and by.

Absolute truth is a view taken from God's standpoint. The Bible is written from God's standpoint. This idea will expound a great part of the Bible...

Persons who are searching for truth in this scientific way are trying to steal it...That was the fault at the beginning: Adam and Eve undertook to steal knowledge.

I shall take the ground distinctly, that whatever is true in these pretended sciences will be traced up to Jesus Christ; and whatever cannot be traced to Christ will be found to be a cheat. Paul knew what he said when he told the church, that "in Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

There is something good in all the sciences and Christ has been teaching it to the world. If there is any truth in the Copernican system, it will be found that Christ has taught it.

#### HOME-TALK BY NOYES FOR WALLINGFORD.

AUGUST 24, 1853.

My present anxiety for this family is to have an increase of taste for improvement of the mind... I have more respect for what is called "modern science" than I have for the old church religion.

#### PAPER BY NOYES OCTOBER 31, 1854.

In reading the account of the creation in Genesis one is sometimes invited to speculate and find difficulties. How did Moses, or whoever wrote that book, come to know of the circumstances which he relates concerning the origin of things? How is it about the seven days of creation, which geology proves to have been periods of indefinite and immense length? And

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about the sun, moon and stars being made to light the earth, instead of being, as modern astronomy assumes, independent globes ? And about the day and night that is spoken of previous to the creation of the heavenly luminaries ?... In our present stage of experience we have lost all attraction and necessity for such disputations. They seem to us needless, and our hearts are quite at rest in respect to the truth of the Bible without attempting for the present to bring to bear upon all its statements the process of a direct logical explanation. We find in ourselves a growing patience that is willing to let some things stand unexplained... We are willing to submit the Bible to the criticism not indeed of hard human intellect but of the Spirit of Truth, and see any of its statements shown to be literally not the most correct.

PAPER BY NOYES, NOVEMBER 2, 1854.

If there is a temptation sometimes to find fault with Moses' cosmogony in the first chapter of Genesis, there are on the other hand awful simplicities of truth running through that account that it seems to us are palpably above the production of mere human invention. There is no effort, no strain or waste of words for effect, and yet who could present a picture, for instance, of original man and his relations to God and to nature more ennobling and beautiful than is here given ? There is one verse in that description on which alone we should be willing almost to stake the divinity of the Bible: "And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed." We do not believe that Socrates or Plato or any other Bibleless philosopher in the history of this sin-and-shame-cursed world was ever equal to the sublimity of virtue involved in the perception and enunciation of such a truth.

EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY.

BY W. A. HINDS.

DECEMBER 27, 1852.

There is a school forenoon and afternoon for children under 15. The young people over 15 have a school of several hours and a Bible class every day. Adults are divided into groups and classes for study. One class numbers nearly 40; among them are three persons over 60, and several over 50 years of age. Some are studying German, others French. A reading class occupies an hour before breakfast. Our evening meetings are becoming more and more intellectual as well as spiritual feasts. Instrumental and vocal music is also cultivated. Improvement is the motive power here, and it is found in every department. The object before all is a universal education. This comprises a knowledge of all trades as well as mere book-knowledge. No one here thinks of making some one or two things the business of his life. By rotation of employment persons learn to do a great many things. This system has also entirely displaced the feeling that one kind of business is more honorable than another, and tends to cultivate unity and love between the different departments.

COLLISION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD WITH HADES.

HOME TALK BY NOYES, SEPTEMBER 2, 1851.

Four years ago we declared ourselves annexed to the Kingdom of God. If our declaration has been invited and substantiated by the Kingdom of God, then the whole strength of that kingdom is with us. Christ promised that the powers of Hades should not prevail against his church. This promise proved true in the Primitive Church, and if we are truly annexed to the Kingdom of God, it will prove true with us. A collision is evidently taking place between the Kingdom of God and Hades. If the deaths that have occurred and the threatenings from the world of the dead do not discourage or frighten us, but our faith and hope increase, then the collision will shatter the attacking power. Christ undertook nothing less than the destruction of the whole power of death. His purpose is not merely to prevent death from taking any more captives, but to set free those that have already been taken. And I now renew my claim on all the captives that Satan has ever taken from us.

DYSENTERY, THE CAUSE AND CURE.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, SEPTEMBER 3, 1851.

I am inclined to think there is an unclean spirit at work, which is at the bottom of this disease and exposes the family to it. Eating and drinking are an ordinance, and if we eat and drink without discerning the Lord's body, we eat and drink damnation. Ordinarily my stomach is clean and submissive to inspiration. But on returning here I perceive that there is a spirit

connected with alimentiveness that makes it difficult for me to eat my meat with gladness and singleness of heart. Children are often troubled with worms, and there are live creatures in our bowels that operate just as worms do. There are two spirits at work in the universe, a spirit of power, life and growth, and opposed to that a spirit that is parasitic. Your life has become civilized enough to expel the physical vermin, but it is still unable to expel entirely the spiritual parasite. Here comes in the tremendous significance of this text: "Be sober; be vigilant; because your adversary, the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." He does not come in the shape of a lion, nor does he give any particular notice of his approach; but he is a parasite seeking to destroy God's beautiful universe. In order to live eternally in peace and happiness you must get rid of parasites. Your bowels must be occupied by heavenly spirits. There is just the same desire on the part of the good life to take possession of us. Christ goes about to nourish and save, and he is stronger and roars louder than the Devil.

The parasitic life in our stomachs is greedy and will make us greedy. If we feel an unnatural, greedy appetite for food, we may be sure that it is the working of that parasitic life in us, and must resist it.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO ONEIDA.Brooklyn, September 9, 1851.

A large share of our time and attention has been taken up by Sophronia. We have written that she was better, and she did seem brighter days, but for three or four nights past, especially the latter part of the night, her circulation would stop and she would have a difficulty of breathing, which she would only recover from by rubbing and warming. Sunday night Sarah Campbell took care of her. About two o'clock she thought Sophronia was dying, and she called Mr. Burnham, John and me. When we saw her we all thought the same. John went to his room and felt that he got a complete victory over the spirit which was upon her. Sarah and I looked on and saw Death do his prettiest. In the midst of her worst struggle John came in and said he had no faith in her dying, and should not believe in it till he saw her dead. But if she should die, he wanted to send a message by her to Mrs. Cragin. He would send his love to her, and say to her, we are waiting for her to come back. Sophronia smiled and nodded. Soon afterward she revived and appeared brighter all day yesterday. Last night towards morning she was tempted again to think she was going to die. But Mr. Noyes says we will stick to the victory we got the night before. The Devil is turned out, and is now whining around the back door. Today we have criticized the spirit in her which demands attention, and advised her to talk on God's side. All her bad feelings are only a parenthesis, to be read in a lower tone of voice if read at all. She received the criticism well.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1851.- Grace Worden, who has been gradually declining for about two weeks, died this evening at the Children's



House. She was nearly 11 months old.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1851.- Death of Sophronia Tuttle.

THE UTICA INDICTMENTS.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1851.

AN EVENING'S TALK ABOUT ONEIDA.

Noyes:- Under present circumstances I revert to our position after our dispersion from Putney. The Association at that time actually moved to New York City, and the center of operations has been here ever since. The first thing we did after coming here was to right the Newark church, which in fact was to be the nest-egg while we were called off to do the necessary work of establishing an Association in Central New York. I said at the time, that though our ultimate post was to be in New York City our true policy was to make a lateral movement until our enemies at Putney were dispersed. We have established some of our forces here at Brooklyn, but the time is not quite ripe for Brooklyn to stand forth publicly as the center. The whole concern is called the Oneida Association, and will be until the enemy is dispersed at Putney. We are now promising a movement on Putney. If that succeeds, I shall consider it a signal that we are prepared to commence operations here in earnest. Meanwhile I beg of Oneida to take comfort in the view that their tribulations are exactly what they need to reduce them to their proper magnitude as an auxiliary to Brooklyn. My heart is soft toward them. I should be glad to shield them from all their troubles, but I am persuaded that they will yet be thankful for them. The burning of the store, the sinking of the sloop, financial pressures, Tryphena's case will all work for good in humbling them and increasing their confidence in me. I was willing, so far as my personal feelings were concerned, that the center should be at Oneida, but that was not

God's will. The mischief that has been at work in the Association has all come from the spirit that separated itself from me. I believe that the body of the Association have wisdom and simplicity enough to understand the meaning of our tribulations. I suggest that they fix their eye on the movement here at the center, go on earnestly with their business, and expect that God will prosper them. That is the way I do. There is enough going on around me to take up all my attention, if I should let it. But I keep my eye steadily on the press as a means of giving Christ a thorough medium of communication with the world, and will not be turned aside by sinking of sloops, waiting on corners, or scufflings with Old Bones.

The Hubbards are reaping the rewards of their labors. I believe, and with good ground, that if I could have had the management of Tryphena's case, she would never have been crazy. The case of Horace Burt shows that I am not overcome by insanity, but can conquer it in its worst forms. By driving me away the Hubbards have driven Tryphena into her present state, and they must take the consequences.

I appreciate Henry Seymour, and think he has done nobly. While I have no doubt he will learn wisdom by his experience, I think he has behaved well, and I shall back him against all creation. I also want to encourage Mr. Skinner. There is real value in him that has not yet been thoroughly appreciated.

I certainly feel a nearness to the Association that I have not felt for a great while.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

October 2, 1851.- Samuel Hutchins reported to Mr. Perry a conversation of Dexter Hubbard with Lawyer Jenkins of Vernon, in which Hubbard said that Henry Seymour had confessed to him that he had whipped Tryphena with a rawhide every day for three weeks, that her back was in consequence all as black as his pantaloons, and that one of her eyes was so badly injured that he was doubtful whether she would ever see out of it again. He told Jenkins moreover that there were as many as 300 men in the town who were ready to come at any time and tear down our buildings. This morning Mr. Seymour went over to see the Hubbards, and found the family full of wrath. The old man threatened to horsewhip him, and actually went and got a large stick and shook it at him, though he did not get up quite enough courage to use it. Henry kept cool, and said what he could to quiet them, and to clear Mr. Noyes and the Association from blame. As he was about to come away the old man said he might go home and wait till he was called for. The Hubbards show that their principal spite is against Mr. Noyes, insisting that he has been here and had the direction of things. They say Hutchins told them he had seen Mr. Noyes go away within a few days. This probably grows out of Mrs. Noyes's late visit here.

INTERPRETATION OF OUR LATE EXPERIENCE.

OCTOBER 3, 1851.

Noyes:- The burning of the store, the sinking of the sloop, the insanity of Tryphena, and the death of Sophronia Tuttle may seem like judgments and indications of God's displeasure. But so long as we learn the lesson, and faith rises triumphant, these

trials are really like the sufferings of Christ, merely a proof that we are founded on a rock. We have been subjected to trials which have broken up other Associations, yet we have stood firm and united. God is showing us and the world that evil has no power against us. With our crude ideas about victory over death we have been encouraged to think that disease, death and insanity could never come to us. Now that we have felt their power we have been tempted either to quarrel with God, or rush forward into fanatical faith. Yet we have submitted on the whole quietly, and have fulfilled our righteousness in waiting on God.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

October 7, 1851.- This morning old Mr. Hubbard and his son Lucius, who is constable, called and summoned nine of our folks, viz: J. Burt and wife, Albert Kinsley and wife, J. L. Skinner, Fanny M. Leonard, Eveliza Newhouse, Sylvia Hamilton and Isaac Seymour to appear before the Court of Oyer and Terminer now sitting in Utica, to testify relative to a prosecution against Henry Seymour for assault and battery. As soon as they could get ready they started by team, George W. Noyes with them, and arrived between 10 and 11 o'clock in the evening. The jury questioned Mr. Skinner on our social principles and arrangements. They kept Mrs. Leonard in the chair half an hour, asking her questions about her acquaintance with the Community before coming here, the number of members, marriage, sleeping arrangements, visitors, her love for her husband and child, sleeping with her husband, also about tryphena. They questioned Mr. Burt particularly in reference to our financial condition and property arrangements. They

questioned Mrs. Burt something as they did Mrs. Leonard but not so much. It is thought all answered wisely and well. The remainder of the witnesses were dismissed without an examination. Our company took supper at the hotel, and it so happened that several of the jurymen sat opposite them at the table. G. W. Noyes says: "We had a good time with them, explaining our views and inviting them to the fullest investigation of our concern. They were at least good natured, and one of them appeared to be fairly captivated. He took a favorable view of Tryphena's case, and wished to get our Reports and other publications.

October 10, 1851.- Mr. Burt had an interview with Whipple Jenkins, Esq., of Vernon. Mr. Jenkins said that the Hubbards had been to him for help in the case of Tryphena, but he had refused. They had filled his ears with exaggerations in regard to our treatment of insane persons, saying that our rule was to whip without exception, that Horace Burt was cured in that way, that a devil as big as a woodchuck was cast out of him by whipping. This gave Mr. Burt a good chance to state the facts about Tryphena and Horace. He said that whipping had never been applied except in the case of Tryphena, and that as a family we had disapproved of the measure, though we believed her husband had good intentions in his treatment of her - he knew no better way to make her quiet and keep her from injuring herself.

October 13, 1851.- Mr. Burt went to the Castle to see Timothy Jenkins Esq. At the outset Mr. Jenkins expressed great regret at the circumstance of the whipping, and censured it strongly. He then professed his friendship for the Community and went on to give advice. He said that Mr. Garvin, the District Attorney,

had inquired of him about us, and that he gave us a good character for honesty and regularity of life, and expressed the opinion that our peculiar views ought not to subject us to indictment so long as that was the case.

October 21, 1851.- Mr. John R. Jones, High Sheriff of Oneida County, called this morning, and delivered a warrant ordering Jonathan Burt, Henry W. Burnham, Eleazer L. Hatch, Isaac and Henry J. Seymour, Otis H. Miller, John Abbott, George W. Noyes, John L. Skinner, and Sewall Newhouse to go before Judge Root of Utica on the first Monday of December next. At a glance Mr. John R. Miller saw that his name was providentially left out, and he told the Sheriff he would go down with them and give bail for them all. The action was for misdemeanor. When they were about to start, the Sheriff told Mr. Miller he should go alone from Vernon to Utica, and invited him to ride with him. This was just as Mr. Miller liked. He found the Sheriff a free, whole-hearted, musical character, with no bitterness towards us but on the contrary, very friendly feelings. Lucius Hubbard of the Castle was Deputy Sheriff, and had told the Judge he would like to do this business with us, but Mr. Jones said that, as Hubbard was our enemy he would be likely to have personal feelings, and he would serve the warrants himself. He became so disgusted with Lucius Hubbard that besides refusing to let him do this business he turned him out of his office and appointed another Deputy. He said he might have called us before some other Judge, but he knew it was best for us to go before Judge Root, as he was the cleverest Judge in the County and would be reasonable with us. After dinner they went to Judge Root's

office, and after some questioning the Judge accepted Mr. Miller as bail without any hesitation. He required \$200. each, and \$200. extra for Henry Seymour on account of his separate indictment for assault and battery. The Judge was very agreeable, and the Sheriff treated us with as much kindness as a brother could. As they were leaving the Judge's office, the Sheriff said to them: "I think we can fix this business up about right for you. A good deal depends upon the selection of the Jury." They arrived home about 7 o'clock with hearts full of faith, hope and thankfulness.

Apparently Sheriff Jones went to Brooklyn to serve the warrants on G. W. Noyes and J. L. Skinner. But in a Home-Talk January 24, 1853 Noyes speaks of "the Sheriff's playing in with Mr. Miller to have George and Mr. Skinner evade the majesty of the law." G. W. N.

October 22, 1851.- Messrs. Perry and Hatch started out peddling in this vicinity this afternoon. We thought that in this crisis of our affairs it would be well for them to circulate in this and neighboring towns. They left in fine spirits.

October 31, 1851.- The following document has been made out and is to be circulated among our neighbors:

To the District Attorney of the County of Oneida and all whom it may concern: This is to certify that we, the undersigned, citizens of the Towns of Vernon and Lenox, are well acquainted with the general character of the Oneida Community, and are willing to testify that we regard them as honorable business men, good neighbors, and quiet, peaceable citizens. We believe them to be lovers of justice and good order, men who mind their own business and in no way interfere with the rights of their neighbors.



We regard them so far as we know as persons of good moral character, and we have no sympathy with the recent attempts to disturb their peace.

November 3, 1851.- Mr. Miller started out this afternoon with the paper for our neighbors to sign. He called first on Mr. Parsons, who was pleased with the paper and signed it most heartily, offering to go with Mr. Miller to call on his neighbors in that direction. Mr. Miller took him in his wagon and they called on 11 respectable men, all of whom signed without objection except one, who had just moved there and knew nothing about us. Mr. Miller says: "I must confess I was altogether taken by surprise to hear so many warm expressions of friendship. As a specimen, when I read the paper to John Tipple, a man of considerable influence, and asked him if he could sign it, he replied very heartily: 'Sign it, yes, I am glad to, and so will every decent man.'

November 8, 1851.- Mr. Miller called on Mr. Downing and three of his neighbors this morning, and they cheerfully signed the paper. After dinner he went over to the Foundry and presented the paper to Henry Wilson and son. They were both very forward in signing it. Henry Wilson said that he had been applied to for help to get up a mob, but had replied that he would have nothing to do with it. He added, "If I know this community, it would be impossible to get up a mob here. I have heard only one feeling expressed, and that was a feeling of regret that such a thing should be contemplated. Every man in this vicinity is a friend to you."

November 6, 1851.- Mr. Miller called this forenoon on Messrs. Rawson, Johnson, Ney, and Ira Hitchcock. He says: "I found them all ready to sign my paper heartily. I had some doubts about asking Mr. Ney, but when I read it to him he said, "Yes sir, I'll sign that. It is what I have always said of you!" In the afternoon he went to the Depot and reports thus: Messrs. Allen, Goodwin, Thompson, Soper, and Bennett all cheerfully signed my paper. They were the only ones I asked. They said there was no difficulty in getting all the names we wished at the Depot."

November 7, 1851.- Mr. Miller went over to Vernon and saw Dr. Case and sons in reference to signing the paper, and had his usual good luck. He called on the editor of the paper there, and gave him the document sent by Mr. Noyes with Mr. Burt's name attached. The editor was pleased with it, and said he would put it in next week's paper.

November 13, 1851.- In the absence of Mr. Miller Mr. Burt went out to get more signatures to the paper that is being circulated. The first man he met was Mr. Withee, whom we have considered doubtful and a friend of the Hubbards. He said he would sign it cheerfully, and did. Mr. Burt then called on Mr. Root, and gave him a full account of our experience and troubles with the Hubbards. Mr. Root appeared full of sympathy in our behalf, and told Mr. Burt that he not only considered us good peaceable citizens, but the best class around here and a blessing to the surrounding public. At first he said he would write to the Judge, his brother, expressing his feelings towards us, but afterward said he was going to Utica before the day of our meeting,

and he would talk with him, also with Mr. Garvin, the District Attorney.

November 22, 1851.- Mr. Miller called on the Hubbards this forenoon, and asked Dexter what would satisfy him. Dexter replied that he didn't want to make anything out of it, and would be satisfied if we would give bonds to support Tryphena during life, and make her free when she became sane. Mr. Miller told him we would do that, if it would settle the whole difficulty. At this point the old man came in and made some strong objections. Dexter then said he would think more of it, and let us know next Monday or Tuesday what he would do. He would not vary much from this proposal.

November 24, 1851.- Messrs. Burt and Miller took the first train to Utica, and met Mr. Jones as agreed at the District Attorney's office. The District Attorney said that in a criminal case he had no power to settle, but the indictment for assault and battery would be dropped if we settled with the Hubbards and paid the costs. In the evening Mr. Miller went over to the Hubbards. Dexter was gone from home. Mr. Miller waited, and meanwhile the old gentleman and lady talked pleasantly and treated him to apples and cider. When Dexter came home he said that he had not altered his mind in relation to the settlement, and that if Mr. Miller would go with him tomorrow to Vernon and talk the matter over with Mr. Jenkins, he thought they might settle it to their mutual satisfaction.

November 25, 1851.- Mr. Miller and Mr. Hubbard had a consultation with Mr. Jenkins at the District Attorney's Office. After talking for some time the District Attorney said to Mr. Jenkins, " You go home and settle this matter, and whatever you

do, I will consent to." After Mr. Jenkins left the room Mr. Miller asked the District Attorney if he intended him to understand that if we settled this thing with Mr. Jenkins it would make an end of all the indictments. "He replied: " The Court must approve of what I do, of course, but you need not have any further trouble about it." Mr. Miller told the District Attorney, that if the Seymour case came to trial he need not summon any witnesses, for Henry Seymour would plead guilty; that he felt badly enough for what had happened, and would confess all that could be proved. The District Attorney replied: " I don't want he should do it, for I should have no heart to punish him."

November 26, 1851.- Mr. Miller and Mr. Hubbard called on Mr. Jenkins to try to settle this difficulty that has hung like a dark cloud over us ready to break at any moment. They had a long and tedious conversation, but at last the following arrangement was made: We are to pay Tryphena's expenses at the Asylum, which we are already under bonds to do, and when she comes out of the Asylum we are to pay her \$125. per year if she is well, and \$200. per year if she is unsound in body or mind. This is secured by Henry Seymour's bond and a mortgage on the Hamilton Farm. We also agree that Mr. Jenkins may procure a divorce in a quiet way at our expense. It was understood by all that Tryphena would be free to live with Mr. Seymour if she chose to, and if she did, or if she married anyone else, that would end all bonds. Mr. Miller and Mr. Burt returned by way of Oneida, and sent the following telegraphic despatch to Mr. Noyes: "All negotiations are ended by an amicable settlement. Terms by mail tomorrow. We join with the State in a day of Thanksgiving."

John R. Miller to Harriet H. Skinner:- How clear it is now that our neighbors do not regard us as a nuisance, but quite the contrary. Hubbard himself said that he was glad to have us live here, that it was an advantage to him and to the neighborhood.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, December 8, 1851.

In relation to our lawsuits I am quite sure there is no "cat in the meal," and I can see only one hole by which she can crawl in. The District Attorney may throw the responsibility on to the Judge, if anything should come up which would change his mind. I am quite sure that his terms of settlement were made in good faith, that he has none other than friendly feelings toward us, and would be willing and glad to have this matter settled without further trouble. Whether two months will make the case better or worse, we must trust that same Providence who has thus far overruled everything for our good.

GOD'S CRITICISM OF US.

NOVEMBER 4, 1851.

Noyes:- It seems on looking over our history for the past season, that God has criticised us for two faults. The first is false fellowships. That seems to be the point aimed at in the difficulties with the Hubbards, Hyde and Long. The sinking of the sloop and deaths connected with it were to me a terrible criticism on the spirit that allowed Long to hang around the church and corrupt it with his unbelief; and Tryphena's insanity

has been a criticism of what we may call the neighborhood fellowship. Then I am satisfied that God has also been criticising us for over-sharpness in criticism, and for dealing with each other in a cold, hard way. I will learn from an enemy. I understood that Charles Lovett said there was not enough patience among us. It struck me that there was some truth in this, whether he had a right to say so or not. Our system of criticism has generated more or less sharpness and severity of spirit which has precluded the softness and gentleness of Christ. You will say that these two faults are opposite and neutralize each other; we criticise first for too much good nature, and then for not enough. But you will find that those two evils generate each other. If you begin by being easy in your fellowships, you will admit bad material, and will be tempted to over-severity in order to get rid of it. In the French Revolution the Reign of Terror was preceded by a reign of universal philanthropy. For the present we have fulfilled our righteousness in the line of criticism; let us now turn our mind toward the gentleness and mercy of Christ.

All the troubles we have had with the Hubbards commenced with that original mistake of criticising them for taking things from our garden...The tendency with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Bradley at Wallingford is to crack up the team of criticism.

For a year past our inspiration has looked in the direction of extending the press. The Lord, who does nothing in a hurry, began the extension by sending me to England. From that commenced a series of new movements all of which were scientifically adapted to prepare us for what we are now going about. After my return I was stirred up to demand of the Association that they submit themselves to God for criticism, and we invited him to put us through

any course necessary for our perfection. Directly upon that the printing-office was burnt. Then followed the sinking of the sloop and the deaths of Mrs. Cragin and Eliza Allen. Since then have come the insanity of Tryphena, the death of Sophronia Tuttle, the turmoils and troubles at Oneida. All these things I take as criticism invited by us and necessary to prepare us for service.

TALK FOR ONEIDA.

DECEMBER 23, 1851.

Noyes:- There may be a little tendency at Oneida to feel as though our late affair with the world has produced a serious internal change of policy. I would caution the Association against any such influence. There has been no constitutional change. We have learned no wisdom contrary to our previous ideas of government. We have indeed found that it was quite possible for severity to be applied without profit and in a way to give offense to the world, and we shall be cautious about doing so hereafter... In regard to the use of the rod I believe as fully as I ever did that Solomon was right. The rod is the best of all carnal weapons, and if properly used in season will remove the necessity of any other carnal weapons. The rod rightly applied to children is a mercy to them. If it is not applied by their parents, God will apply an equivalent; and if it is not applied by God or man, they will grow up mere animals. All that should be learned in the case of Tryphena is that wisdom and power of management are required in order to apply chastisement effectually, and that the application of the rod to adults would generally be inexpedient. If a person with an adult understanding is so perverse that he cannot be managed by

other influences, he will not be likely to be managed by that. Yet even in the case of adults I have learned no wisdom that precludes me from using the rod under certain circumstances. I have had good success in the case of Elizabeth Hawley. The circumstances of that case were such that, if they could be presented to the world, I should be justified. She was here under sufferance, and I distinctly and with long patience made her know that she must submit to the family or leave the house. She came to a crisis in which she flatly refused to do either. Calculating her sensitiveness to bodily pain I followed my inspiration and attacked her body. I gave her the liberty to leave the house if she chose, but gave her to understand that if she behaved like a child I should treat her like a child. The case is apparently coming to a good termination, and she will yet attribute her salvation to the plainness with which I faced her.

This same reactionary tendency may produce fearfulness in applying criticism where it is needed, and tempt the Association into over-delicacy toward outsiders, as in the case of the Hutchins girls. In view of the fact that we have triumphed over the world and God has vindicated us, I demand that there shall be more boldness than ever. We should assume that the lion is tamed, and if he is not, we will have another tussle with him.

I object to the idea that the Association is indebted to the world for mercy. Just before appealing to the world for a certificate of character Mr. Miller asked the Hubbards what they were going to do about mobbing us. They intimated that they could raise a mob, said that every one was our enemy, and that they should do all in their power to break us up. We went forward in



defiance of them, got our certificate, and secured a vote of the public against them. Then they were very glad to settle ! The Hubbards apparently held us at their mercy, and would have broken us if they could. We appealed to God and the public, and are indebted to God's mercy working through our own courage and wisdom.

Then again I utterly object to any thought among us that we have made any concession to the public in this war. On the point of our social theory we acknowledged everything, asked no favors, promised nothing. Even in regard to chastisement we simply acknowledged our imprudence in that particular case, but made no concession of principle...

The experience at Oneida has brought about no weakening of my moral character. I feel stronger and firmer than ever. We have here lately been through a campaign with the children, in which I have pursued the old policy successfully, and with beautiful results.

The Association have now conquered the country around them. They have cleared a space which they can and should fill. Unless they do, the Devil will, and the tide will flow back upon them. This is no time for relaxation of heart with me, but a time in which I am marching on the enemies' center more boldly than ever.

EDITORIAL ATTACK IN THE NEW YORK OBSERVER.

JANUARY 22, 1852.

PERFECTIONISM AND POLYGAMY.

Recent revelations of the interior and total depravity of some professedly religious establishments have shocked the public mind and led to inquiry as to the tendency of religious delusions. It is hard to say whether knavery or folly, whether fanaticism or lust has more power over the Mormons of Utah and the Perfectionists of Oneida, but the facts that are now before the world in reference to both those communities are worthy of being studied as new chapters in the history of modern imposture and delusion.

It is hardly known, but it is true, that there is a weekly newspaper published in this immediate neighborhood to advocate and propagate the doctrines of the Oneida Perfectionists; that in the community of those who are led to embrace the system all the laws, both human and divine, that are designed to regulate the marriage relation are set aside and denounced, while the unrestrained indulgence of the human passions is practised not merely as the means to present enjoyment, but as means of grace or helps to holiness. The founder of this disgusting order of united adulterers is a graduate of a New England college, a student in two theological seminaries, and now the editor of the paper we have referred to above.

The center of this sect is in the town of Lenox, Madison County, N. Y., where about 150 men, women and children live together

in one house, with no distinction of property, family, or authority. Each one does what seems good in his own eyes. The Bible is their nominal constitution, and how curiously they must follow its teachings is evident from the fact that they disavow all separate or individual right in "property, wives or children." Literally they have "all things in common." But the sect is by no means confined to Oneida and Madison Counties. In New York and Brooklyn and in Newark, N. J., and in many other places there are groups of practical members of this foul body, who under the name and guise of seeking after spiritual enjoyment and professing to be perfectly holy are living in a state of vile concubinage and even worse, such as is not even thought of among the Mormons. In Utah the distinction of husband and wife is rigidly maintained, and non-intervention insisted upon even at the peril of life. But in the Oneida Association and in the boarding-houses established in this vicinity these distinctions are utterly abolished and the freest licentiousness practised as the highest development of holiness. We have been furnished with a large number of certificates signed by females of this Community stating that at first they were fearful they were not doing right, but the longer they have practised on the system here pursued, the holier they are sure to grow. On the principle, we suppose, ~~we suppose~~, that where there is no law there is no transgression, they have abrogated all authority but inclination, and they never sin because they never do anything but what they like. The reader may be amused at the practical operation of the Association at Lenox as we find it detailed in one of their " Reports,"

The children are trained in a general nursery, and "it is found to be altogether a more comfortable task to take care of six in the new way than it had been to wait on one in ordinary circumstances." The only drawback in the operation was the temporary distress of the mothers in giving up their little ones to the care of others, which made occasion for some melodramatic scenes; but the wounds were soon healed, and the mothers learned to value their own freedom and opportunity of education and the improved condition of their children more than the luxury of a sickly maternal tenderness." This is the language of the Report.

The way they sleep is curious. One large room is set apart for a dormitory, and each bed is encompassed by a sort of square tent, so that one stove warms the entire space. "As the principles and habits of the Association are more gregarious than usual, the sacrifice of privacy is a small affair."

The women found that much time was spent in dressing their hair, so they looked into Paul's theory of long hair, and, says this Report, "the discovery was made that Paul's language expressly points out the object for which women should wear long hair, and that object is not ornament but a covering. In this light it was immediately manifest that the long hair of women as it is usually worn, coiled and combed upward to the top of the head, instead of answering to Paul's object of covering, actually exposes the back part of the head more than the short hair of men." This mode of reasoning was carried on till the "bolder women" cut off their hair and wore it on their necks as girls do, and soon the practice became general. In the next place the women laid aside the usual dress, and substituted a short frock and pantaloons, which was found to be altogether more convenient. The

The Report says: The women say they are far more free and comfortable in this dress than in long gowas. The men think that it improves their looks, and some insist that it is entirely more modest than the long dress." This is plainly the germ of Bloomerism.

The religious exercises of this Association consist of public meetings, when each one is called on to relate his own experience or to make such exhortations or reflections as "are on the mind waiting for vent." Different evenings are set apart for different purposes; one for music, one for dancing, one for Bible reading, etc. The religious influence is said to be wonderful on those who have joined the Association. All who came in an unconverted state are declared to have been converted, and one man who was a confirmed lunatic has been entirely cured !

The Annual Report sets forth a theory of promiscuous intercourse of the sexes as compatible with the highest state of holiness on earth so loathsome in its details, so shocking to all the sensibilities even of the coarsest of decent people, that we cannot defile the columns of our paper with their recital. It must be sufficient to say that the doctrine is taught and the attempt is made to defend it from Scripture, that unbridled licentiousness is the law of heaven, the perfection of human happiness, and the realization of the highest style of divine virtue. There is no shrinking from the boldest and frankest avowal of this faith and practice. On this point the Oneida Associationists are honorably contrasted with the Foucierites of this city, who refuse to be held responsible for the consequences to which their doctrines inevitably lead.

The Report holds such language as this: "Variety is in the nature of things as beautiful and useful in love as in eating and drinking." Again it is held that it is all very well and often-times of great advantage to bring about "special pairing," that is marriage of convenience. But, says the Report, this should be no barrier to the enjoyment of others. "The fact that a man loves peaches best is no reason why he should not on suitable occasions eat apples and cherries."

We are able to give only the vaguest and most distant intimations of what is set forth in these pages, and we are now fearful that we are trespassing on decency in these quotations. The perversion of Scripture is oftentimes so blasphemous as to chill the blood, while a scheme of social life under the name of virtue, may of religion, is here taught that the foulest days and darkest places of Roman Catholic iniquity never conceived. The beasts of the field are better in their habits than these people profess to be. If the orgies of the heathen are re-enacted in the City of New York in public, they cannot fill the mind with more horror than every virtuous person must feel when contemplating the "interior life" of this Oneida Association.

When we now bear in mind that the persons thus living in this beastly manner were but recently members of orthodox evangelical churches, some of them well educated and most of them respectably connected, we cannot fail to regard their history as in the highest degree instructive, tending to show the danger of error and the infinite necessity of holding fast to the truth. Loose teaching from the pulpit and the press is destructive to the principles. The only safety is in steadfast adherence to the good old-fashioned morality of our fathers and mothers, on whose principles the first half of the nineteenth century has made no improvement.

THE PUTNEY "SENATE."

OCTOBER 2, 1851, TO FEBRUARY 17, 1852.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Putney, October 2, 1851.

Soon after it was announced in the street yesterday morning that the Wordens and Bakers were coming to town, I saw the veterans of the war of 1847 gathered at their old headquarters in front of the Post-Office with Israel Keyes at their head. But how changed ! They looked more like old war-worn soldiers petitioning government for a pension than soldiers fresh for the fight...

Yesterday was the happiest day of my life. The consciousness of the presence of an invisible hand guiding all our affairs filled my heart with unspeakable joy. I never rode through Putney street in such a victorious spirit as I did last night with our friends from Oneida."

MEETING OF THE PUTNEY "SENATE."

The inhabitants of the village of Putney met at the vestry of the Congregational Meeting-house on the evening of the 23rd day of January 1852 for the purpose of taking into consideration certain letters published in The Circular edited by John H. Noyes at Brooklyn, N. Y.

1.- Organized by appointing Israel Keyes, Esq., Chairman, and John Kimbal, Secretary.

2.- On motion of David Crawford, Esq., appointed a Committee of seven to draft and report some appropriate resolutions at a future meeting. Israel Keyes, Esq., John Kimbal, Esq., David Crawford, Esq., Rev. Amos Foster, Rev. L. C. Dickinson, Dr. John Campbell and Thomas White, Esq., were appointed said Committee.

3.- On motion adjourned to Friday evening, January 30th, 1852.

Friday, January 30.- Met agreeably to adjournment, and Dr. John Campbell reported the following preamble and resolutions, which, after being discussed, were unanimously adopted:-

Whereas, John R. Miller, one of the leading and principal associates of John H. Noyes, has recently published in The Circular a letter bearing date at Oneida, N. Y., Dec. 23, 1851, wherein he writes as follows:- "As it is generally understood that we were driven out of Putney, Vt., in 1847, I think it is right that your readers should know of the changes which have taken place there during the last four years." "A great change has come over the spirit of the place." "If this is not so, I hope the people will express it before we go further. Unless this is done, we shall take it for granted that they have retracted the movements of 1847, and shall act accordingly."

And whereas, the said Miller writes to said Noyes in a letter bearing date at Putney, Jan. 4, 1852, as follows: "Our friends here were much pleased with the last Circular, and many appeared delighted to learn by my letter published in that No. that we thought of returning to Putney."

Therefore, I, Resolved, that in answer to the above request of said Miller and his associates we, the people of Putney, have



not "retracted the movements of 1847," or the resolutions then adopted.

2.- Resolved, that we are not "delighted to learn" by the letter of said Miller that he or any of his associates have thought of returning to Putney unless they shall "retract" their principles and reform their practices regarded by us as a "Nuisance."

3.- Resolved, that now as heretofore we adhere to our penal enactments for the suppression or punishment of "offences "against the peace and dignity of the State."

4.- Resolved, that the editors of the Vermont Chronicle and the editor of The Circular be respectfully requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting, and that the Secretary furnish each of them a copy of the same.

ISRAEL KEYES, CHAIRMAN.  
JOHN KIMBALL, SECRETARY.

Putney, January 30, 1852.

MARY J. MEAD TO NOYES.

Brattleboro, February 14, 1852.

Dear Brother:- As I was making my pies this morning I had a long talk with you, and feeling quite a disposition to write to you I concluded it was best to obey the feeling and send you a few of my thoughts.

I was thinking of the proposed return of some of the Community to Putney, and it occurred to me that Paul prayed that he might be delivered from unreasonable men. It cannot be denied that Israel Keyes and Dr. Campbell are unreasonable men, and I don't know as it would be right to tempt God by expecting him to work a miracle to deliver those who put themselves in their way.

Then there is pride of opinion, a feeling among the people that they would have to acknowledge (at least by actions) that they had done wrong, and that can only be effected by a miracle of grace in their hearts. It does not seem to me that those who troubled you before have changed their minds in the least. I think the New England Puritan character, which has been so ready in former times to contend earnestly for the truth, is as slow and obstinate in receiving new truth, and requires long patience.

When I made up my mind to write you I supposed this would be the substance of my letter, when whom should I receive a call from in the afternoon but Mrs. Nichols. She wished to have a private conversation with me; said she had received three exchange papers which had copied the piece about you in The New York Observer, and wished to ask me plainly the truth in the case. She said she had too much confidence in your religious character to believe that you would do wrong, and she had never believed the reports. I told her frankly all that I understood about your doctrines and practices. She did not seem alarmed or disturbed. She has arrived at the same conclusions on many subjects that you have. She has had experience to show her that the relations between man and woman need reforming. We had a familiar talk of two hours. She said she had said things to me that she had never said to any other, and I certainly said things to her that I never did to any other woman in Brattleboro. We parted with great good feeling. You are so ready to see a meaning in events that pass unnoticed by others, that perhaps you will say Mrs. Nichols' call was a rhyme.

Love to all friends. Your affectionate sister,

M. J. MEAD.

NOYES TO MARY J. MEAD.

Brooklyn, February 17, 1852.

Dear Sister Mary:-

You will see by the enclosed copy of a letter which went to Mr. Miller yesterday, that I did not so much need your kind and judicious suggestions, received this morning, as you perhaps imagined, for which nevertheless I sincerely thank you. I perceive as usual that critical emergencies call you out into thought and action. I trust you will turn some of the good sense, which the present alarm has aroused in you, toward the favorable opening for truth which Mrs. Nichols is giving you. While I appreciate your care for our safety manifested in holding us back from imprudencies, I assure you that you can do more to shelter your brothers and sisters and friends from harm by stepping forward yourself and helping Mrs. Nichols out into the utterance of her deepest convictions in the face of Windham County and the world. We shall not be imprudent, but we shall be firm and faithful to the truth, and the ultimate chance we have of escaping the wrath that crucified Christ is the possibility that prejudice will yield to the spirit of truth and the age of reason commence. We are in the lions' den, and that not by our own wilfulness or imprudence but for reasons as good as Daniel had, and we can be saved not by getting out or by shrinking into corners but only by the lions' mouths being stopped. If you can do anything to stop their mouths, you can help us. Think of this in all wishes and efforts for our good.

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN H. NOYES.

A CONCENTRIC CONVENTION.

THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES, 1:50.

FEBRUARY 1, 1852.

As conventions for the purposes of reform are the order of the day, and as it is desirable that such conventions should be accessible to all adherents, which is not the case with any local gatherings, we propose to our scattered friends a Concentric Convention. What we mean is a gathering of spirits on the plan suggested in Col. 2:5.# A convention of this kind will not only admit every believer however distant and embarrassed, but may be attended by delegates from the Primitive Church and from Hades, the two other worlds with which we are cultivating interesting relations. We will not enlarge for the present on the feasibility and hopefulness of this project, but will simply name the 20th of February next as a good time for the gathering, and so leave the subject to the meditations of our readers till we have matured what more we have to say.

BUSINESS FOR THE CONVENTION.

THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES, 1:54.

FEBRUARY 8, 1852.

We propose to publish a free paper giving to all who ask the benefit of the grace given to us. We propose also to advance, as we shall be able, in the business of publication till we can send to the church of God a daily message of truth and love. For the support of our press we have proposed the plan of system-

# " Though I be absent in the flesh, yet I am with you in the spirit."

atic, free contributions on the part of those who find themselves stewards of God's property and are disposed to invest, according to their ability, in the stock of Communism. We expect this plan will prosper because we believe that the heavens are interested in it, and are able to turn the hearts of men toward it; and because our gospel, in attacking and annihilating selfishness instead of creeping about under it and asking favors of it as other causes do, is sure to unlock the hearts that hold the treasures of the world, and so to live by its own legitimate conquests.

Our readers have now before them an outline of our projects and hopes. We respectfully submit them for the consideration of all hearts at the Concentric Convention proposed in our last number for the 20th of February. We believe that there will be an actual and interesting meeting of three worlds at that time; and we believe that whoever has a heart big enough to attend that meeting has a heart big enough to comprehend the enterprise we are engaged in, and to cooperate with us and heaven in its fulfillment.

#### ABOUT THE CONVENTION.

THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES, 1:58.

FEBRUARY 15, 1852.

As physical beings we are so accustomed to think of all things as subject to the laws of space that a proposal for a Concentric Convention seems chimerical. But let us try the experiment. Improvement and discovery are going ahead in things spiritual as well as temporal. Perhaps we shall find better means of communication than railroads and telegraphs. "Where there is a will there is a way."

If any one asks, Where shall we meet ? we answer by the question, Where do you meet Christ ? If you know where to find him, you have access to all that are in him, Paul has given this direction: " Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is to bring Christ down from above; ) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it ? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart." And Christ says of his second coming: "Neither shall they say, Lo here ! or lo there ! for behold the Kingdom of God is within you. "

As to means and appliances we offer the following recommendations:

1. If your circumstances permit, devote the day, and especially the evening of the 20th to spiritual attention. Make it a matter of as direct and earnest effort to meet Christ and his church in your hearts as you would make to go to an interesting convention at Brooklyn or Oneida.

2. Read again the article on "Concentric and Extrinsic Vision"<sup>1</sup> in our 11th number; also "Condensation of Life"<sup>2</sup> and "Our Relations to the Primitive Church"<sup>3</sup> in The Berean.

3. Seek to realize the presence not only of Christ but of the angels and the general assembly and church of the first-born. See Heb. 12th.

4. Think specifically of all believers that you know in this world or in Hades, "making mention of them," as Paul says, "in your prayers." Of course we shall not forget Mrs. Cragin in this meeting of three worlds.

5. Endeavor to enter into not only the pleasure but the business of the Convention, which will certainly be to take measures for the fulfillment of the two celebrated petitions of Christ: the petition for the unity of all believers, and the petition that the will of God may be done on earth as it is in heaven.

6. Do not forget the suggestion about business in our last paper.

7. Note your exercises and observable spiritual events of the occasion, and send us reports of whatever may be generally interesting.

COUP D'ETAT.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES.

FEBRUARY 28, 1852.

It is now five years since we adopted the principles of our First Annual Report. We have now come to a time when the public is taking notice of us. The Oneida Association has been indicted, and it is quite possible that the agitation which The New York Observer has stirred up may compel the authorities at Utica to prosecute the indictment. Now in view of the fact that we have on the one hand asserted our liberty of conscience toward God, and on the other are now faced by public opinion distinctly expressed toward us in the newspapers, I am led to inquire whether we cannot meet the good treatment we have thus far received in the State of New York with concessions on our part in the general desire for peace. The principle that governed the Primitive Church in regard to Jewish ordinances and marriage was a principle of accommodation. They could take two or three courses

according to the necessity of the case. That principle is ours. We are not fighting for this or that form of society. We are seeking liberty to serve God, and we have insisted that we will not be the slaves of form. On these grounds I would propose to the Association for discussion the question whether it might not be comely and in harmony with the position in which we find ourselves to adopt for the Lord's sake and for peace the fashion of this world in respect to marriage.

If an entire exposure of our manner of life were made, the fact would be shown that there has been far less freedom in sexual intercourse among us than there is in ordinary society. The taking away of restrictions has brought into the field principles and feelings that have operated as restraints, and we have all been more Shakers than Bacchanalians. Still it is true that we have abandoned the fashion of the world, and there has been among us what the world would call transgression.

Let us understand just what the coup d'etat is. In the first place it does not dissolve our Association, for that is lawful. Secondly it does not forbid the spiritual circulation of love and the freedom of speech that we now have. Thirdly it does not prescribe any permanent course. We do not promise what we will do hereafter, except that our course shall be governed by the same principle as hitherto, our allegiance to God first of all. If people wish to have us set a time, I should say it is not at all likely we shall resume our operations until public opinion allows it. As long as the world is as friendly to us as it has been, we shall recognize our solidarity with it.



I am not going to allow this coup d'etat to come upon me as a law and snare. If it does in any case, we must find out the will of God about it. I take this as spiritual advice from Christ, and believe that whatever he wishes to have done he will enable us to do easily.

This move will be a puzzle to the Devil. He has got his officers out after Perfectionists as it is described in the newspapers, and he will have to return on his writ, "Non est inventus."

### TWO KINDS OF ADULTERY.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, MARCH 1, 1852.

It will be well for the Association to prepare for difficulty with the world similar to what they had last fall. It will not hurt them to slacken business in some degree and study how to face the newspaper excitement throughout the country.

By way of indicating the offensive measures to be taken I will refer the Association to my previous advice, that they keep themselves well-aired and in rapport with the world around, that they take every opportunity to blow pence in the face of opposers, that they exercise lion-like boldness and a faith in God that expects miraculous changes.

The source of all this wrath and misrepresentation is the nervous, irritable feeling which folks have about adultery, a feeling that is utterly at variance with Christ's estimate of this sin. Christ defined adultery, and very rigidly too. He said: "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." When the

Jews came to him asking his advice, he said: "Whosoever shall put away his wife saving for the cause of fornication causeth her to commit adultery; and whoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery." He was more rigorous than even the scribes and Pharisees so far as the extent of transgression was concerned. But what was his estimate of the magnitude of this crime ? Sometimes a man commits an offense, the case goes to law, the jury brings in a verdict of guilty, and the judge with solemn countenance awards damages of one cent. That is the way Christ treated adultery. Not one word of Christ's against adultery except by implication can be found in the four gospels. When a woman "taken in the very act" was brought before him, he made her accusers' consciences the jury, and then as Judge brought in one cent damages: "Go thy way and sin no more." His favorite women were two that had been harlots; and he held up with commendation the prodigal son, who had spent his substance in riotous living among harlots.

Here we have the gnat that public opinion makes a monstrous camel. Now let us see if we can find the camel that the world swallowed so easily. "He that believeth not shall be damned." Unbelief is worldliness. That is evidently the sin Christ hated above all others.

We must insist upon it that there are two kinds of adultery, one referring to the human relation, and the other to the divine. The world charge us with the lower adultery. We have principles that clear our conscience, and we therefore deny that we are guilty. But waiving that advantage we are willing to stand trial if Christ's estimate of the crime is accepted. We shall then

charge them with the higher adultery, and bring them to trial before the bar of Christ.

MANIFESTO OF THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES, 1:66.

MARCH 7, 1852.

In view of the fact that sexual liberties of the Association are looked upon with jealousy and offense by surrounding society, it may be understood henceforth that the Oneida Association and all Associations connected with it have receded from the practical assertion of their views, and formally resumed the marriage morality of the world.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

March 7, 1852.- Last night a letter came from Mr. Cragin criticising the Association for not carrying out the "new move" promptly. Today may be said to be the first day the new move has taken effect.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

FAMILY TALK AT BROOKLYN.

MARCH 24, 1852.

Several mentioned the fact that since the late movement there has been in certain quarters a peculiar attraction between husbands and wives.

Noyes:- I mean to win our liberty from the world to go on in our former freedom, but for the present I am willing to show the world and myself, that I am not bound by custom. I do not

imagine we shall be defrauded in the long run, but quite the contrary. I have perfect confidence that the Primitive Church are superintending our movements and understand every want; and it is my wish to give them the lead. I am waiting with curiosity and deep interest for a new movement ~~from~~ the Concentric Convention. The wheels have been stopped, and we are now waiting for a more splendid advance into liberty than we have ever had. My idea has been to keep things in order and not make any great changes of any kind till we get a program from the Primitive Church. If there are any cases in the Association such as Paul describes, not having power over their own will, they should receive proper attention.

I do not think the Association at Oneida or at Putney have had any true idea of the danger they have been in, what a tremendous sea was rolling when this move was made. We were here in the very heart of it and felt the whole mass of public opinion. The whole State would have been down upon us before this time if we had not made that move. It was as perilous a time as it was when we left Putney. I think the Association, after having gained a local victory, to go about their business, enjoying themselves and neglecting their solidarity with the rest of mankind. It is a good thing to get peace and quietness, even if it is merely local, but we must have a general victory before we can be at ease.

Mr. Miller told us of his visit to the Oneida bank with Mr. Burnham. Mr. Noyes, Mr. Cragin and others said they were heartily glad matters had come to such a crisis; perhaps there was too much of a tendency to lean on the banks.

Mrs. Miller:- Some of the husbands and wives at Oneida are in perplexity; do not feel very free with each other, and

hardly know what to do.

Noyes: I should think those who have been through our school ought to have gained their freedom by this time, so that they could accommodate themselves to any circumstances. They will have to get that freedom sometime.

Mrs. Miller:- Some wanted me to find out what the fashion was here.

Noyes:- That is the very thing we want to break up. We want to free ourselves from fashion. Each one must follow inspiration and good sense.

G. W. Noyes:- It seems to me that what the Association needs is to start the ascending fellowship.

Noyes:- That has been the effect of the crisis upon me. I was satisfied that the move when made was as necessary for our internal good as for the danger from without. We put on the brakes at exactly the right time. The only possible way to get out of difficulty is to walk in the spirit. It does not make so much difference what people do if they keep free from doubts. "He that doubteth is damned if he eat." Whatever you do, do it decisively, with a will, not in a half-way, doubting manner, in which passion pricks you on, and conscience holds you back.

I have never had such a sense of the Primitive Church as I have since the 20th of February. We came into their presence at that time. There was a meeting of the three worlds that will never be broken up. It was as great a time to me as when we proclaimed that the Kingdom of God had come.

Mrs. Miller:- Some at Oneida stumbled at the expression in one of the late Table Talks, that Mr. Noyes would "drink no more of the fruit of the vine till he drank it anew with Mrs. Cragin."

Noyes:- I never put myself under law in any such way. The most I ever said was to apply that saying to free love. In that sense I might still say the same.

I do not feel like deserting my post, though it sometimes seems a very difficult one. I fully believe that the Primitive Church will inspire me with vigor to throw off all unnecessary burdens and demand that others bear burdens as well as I.

George Cragin:- I think the time has come for a change in the Association in relation to sustaining the center. Oneida learned that just as soon as they started an ambition to sustain our press in temporal things, they were blessed in their business. I do not see why they should not take the same view in regard to assisting the center spiritually, instead of calling upon the center for spiritual strength to sustain them. Mr. Noyes stands as the center point to be shot at from all quarters. The Associations should not only walk in the spirit themselves, but give actual life and strength to the center by staying up the hands of Mr. Noyes and inspiring those that write for the paper.

Mr. Noyes:- I like Mr. Cragin's remarks very much. So long as we are deep in the newspaper enterprise and are in the way of enlargement, I should be somewhat released from carrying the spiritual interests of the Associations, and the Associations should be a support and strength to me in the work.

ITEMS BY HARRIET A. NOYES.

Brooklyn, March 25, 1852.

In this family I don't know as there has been any (or if so, very little) of the marriage spirit aroused by the change of position. I did not feel like expecting any more attention from Mr. Noyes than formerly. We certainly have left the marriage spirit behind, and I hope we shall never return to it. I expect to be directed by the Primitive Church in all my fellowships.

A NEW OBSERVATION.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, MAY 31, 1852.

Some inquiries have come from Oneida and intimations have been given that there was a good deal of circulation of social life which would naturally demand expression. That, I suppose would be a matter of course, and it is not to be deplored at all. I shall do the very best I can to help all to walk in the spirit.

The change of course, which we took on the advice of the "Concentric Convention," February 20th, was not taken as a moral obligation but as a matter of expediency with reference to public sentiment. That pledge we may call a general debt of honor to the public, and we have faithfully discharged it on our part. But that offer of peace implied a response on the part of the public. What response did we get? Mr. Miller went to District Attorney Garvin and called his attention to that document. "That is nothing," said he. "It is worse than the original offense." He would not accept it, and there has been more stir and trouble about the Association than there was before. The New York Observer said: "We do not believe they will keep it; we have no confidence in

them; credat Judaeus." Joshua Leavitt said: " That don't help the matter any." We hear also that the minister at Wallingford takes the same ground. The compact therefore is not consummated, and we are discharged from all obligations under it. I feel myself perfectly free to take another course without asking leave. The public we have tried to pacify is not a public that will talk reasonably with us. They have no sort of respect for us. The most conciliatory and respectful thing we could possibly do they repulsed with sneers. I do not feel under any obligations to notify that public of my future intentions, or shape my course with reference to their opinions. They stand wholly as our enemies, and I do not feel bound to put weapons into their hands. On the contrary I feel at liberty to deal wisely with them, and outwit them if I can in an honorable way. There is another part of the public that have been reconciled and feel friendly toward us, but if we examine thoroughly we shall find that they would not be displeased with us if we should go on with our former freedom.

While I say all this, I do not say it is expedient for the people at Oneida to return to their former fashions. I can do no better than to refer them to the remarks I made a few evenings since on the necessity of assuming individual responsibility. It seems to me that I and the counselors of the Association should not be called upon to dictate or give specific advice in this matter. It should be referred throughout to individual responsibility. Every individual must have faith for himself.



JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.Oneida, July 8, 1852.

I thought I would let you know how we stand on the social question. With all the freedom we have enjoyed for the past few weeks I do not know of a single transgression of the law in this Association. I think no one has felt under law, but still something has prevented any move in that direction.

ADVICE FROM THE CONCENTRIC CONVENTION.HOME-TALK BY NOYES, OCTOBER 22, 1852.

We are in a universal crisis. There are thunders and lightnings between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians. To-night we hear of the death of Daniel Webster. This month is the time appointed for the uprising of Europe. It would not be surprising to hear that Kossuth has set his train on fire. Louis Napoleon may make his coup d'etat. Our year's work advocating the sovereignty of Jesus Christ is coming to a close.

We now feel that God is advising us to enter upon a new series of criticisms on a larger scale, the criticism of Associations. This idea came to us by inspiration very much as the call for a Concentric Convention did. We offer ourselves as the representatives of the Kingdom of Heaven in this visible sphere, and invite the criticism of the church above. We shall need the criticism and advice of that church in the present crisis.

I have an impression that a criticism is needed among us as much as last spring. Our social theory is not working altogether right in some quarters. The throwing out of Mr. Lord indicates that there is a dangerous element at Putney. Then there is friction between Albert and John Kinsley in the Northern

Vermont Association. And I have felt that there was need of putting on brakes at Newark. Also there are signs of looseness at Drummondville. I do not feel about Oneida as I did last spring, but among the new Associations there is grating in the machinery. I would recommend for the present crisis while we are offering ourselves for criticism, that we withdraw from horizontal fellowships, and wait for a new impulse from the Primitive Church.

We did not stop the train last spring from fear of the world. We had passed through the worst of the hurricane, and we took our course freely under a suggestion from the "Concentric Convention." But after a while the original impulse was partially obscured. We came to feel that the restriction was imposed by man. Thus our purpose was vitiated. Our instincts then were throw off the yoke and insist upon our freedom.

Dr Newberry wanted to know why we did not put our principles "right straight through." But the truth is, we have never taken any position that obliges us to practise our social theory. Our only plan is to obey orders - learn to walk in the spirit.

We are indeed surrounded by dangers. But if we will let the Lord have his way with us, he will school us through these crooked turns in safety. This little "Modern Times" gale shows that we must be ready to reduce sail and shift anchor at a moment's warning. Suppose for instance that there should be a general commotion about the Modern Times Association and its iniquities, and a tremendous accusation should be launched against us for holding radical social theories. Suppose now at the right moment we hold up and live on ordinary principles. "All correct with us !"

The wisdom that Paul had in accommodating himself to circumstances while still keeping his honesty is one of the highest attainments.

It is a good time for us to fast and pray for a season - not long enough to let the Devil tempt us for our incontinency. I have no doubt that the "Concentric Convention" have in view to give us a new start in edification after we finish this volume of the paper; perhaps not a daily paper quite yet, but something in that direction.

In looking upward to God we may extend the hand of fellowship to the widow and desolate in the world, and to those in the Association who are more or less out of the circle of free love. Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, those that are bound by old age or by the fashions of the world. There are precious spirits, plenty of them, that cannot enjoy our freedom.

Mr. Worden's proposition to invite Mr. Lord back leads to some general reflections. We must never forget that our organization is voluntary and spiritual. We are bound together not by laws, constitutions, agreements or circumstances, but by attraction. Our rule should be to make it difficult for folks to get in, and easy for them to get out... I shall be glad to see the time when a man can go out without any ill will on either side... As to Northern Vermont, I do not want to have our folks stand there against the wishes of Mr. John Kinsley and wife. They can go back to Oneida. I do not feel any anxiety to establish a station in Cambridge. Every Association we have can fall back now on Oneida.

CLOSE OF THE VOLUME.OCTOBER 31, 1852.

We have been able, as was proposed, to issue a weekly paper, free to all, and devoted to the sovereignty of Jesus Christ. We have had our daily bread not as hirelings and by dint of anxious care, but as the children of Providence and by the gift of warm-hearted friends. With a large family we have frequently come to the end of our resources, where there was nothing in hand for our next day's dinner or to buy the paper for our next week's printing. But in these circumstances we have been kept from any unpleasant concern, and at the right time remittances have been received which met all our wants. To meet the expenses of the volume we have received in subscriptions and donations from persons outside the Community about \$1000.

HOSTILITIES RENEWED.

APRIL 1, 1852 - SEPT 14, 1852.

ARTICLE IN THE BRATTLEBORO SEMI-WEEKLY EAGLE.

APRIL 1, 1852.

Be Sure the Fox is Dead.

Messrs. Editors:- The article published in the Eagle of the 18th ult. on the "Progress of Perfectionism" reminded me of a little incident which once occurred, in which a shrewd old Fox acted a somewhat prominent part. The story about Reynard runs thus: One John Skillins, a downeaster, was a noted fox-hunter, and usually had his traps out for those mischievous animals so annoying to farm-houses. At one time an old Fox came to his trap, eat off the bate, and went away. John went out to his trap, looked and said (for he was always talking to himself): "What ! Does that Fox think to outwit John Skillins ? " So he fixed the bed, and set the trap the other side up, to outwit the Fox. But it was one of the cunning old Foxes, and he managed to get off the bait, spoil the bed, and get off again without being caught. John went to his trap and looked astonished. But he was not to be outwitted by a Fox; he would show them that he knew more than the whole tribe of Foxes. So he borrowed another trap, and set two, so that while the Fox was in one he got his hind leg in the other. When John came to his trap he said: "Good morning, Mr. Fox. Did I not tell you that it was no use to attempt to outwit John Skillins?" He then took up a pitch knot and whaled him on the head till the Fox lay down and appeared quite dead. He then turned to fix his traps, but as he happened to look around he saw the Fox's tail just going out of sight among the bushes !

The present posture of affairs among the Oneida (formerly Putney ) Perfectionists indicates the necessity of giving heed to the caution standing at the head of this article. If the Fox is really dead, it is presumed the public will be perfectly satisfied, and will apprehend no further danger from his carnivorous propensities, and suffer no more inroads upon their farm-houses. But that is the question to be settled. Is he dead ?

NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, April 4, 1852.

The story of John Skillins, which I suppose you have seen in the Eagle, is after all an unfortunate one for the Doctor. John had not skill enough to catch the Fox. If we beat the trappers at Putney as handsomely as Reynard beat John, we shall do well enough. And I think we shall, for Christ beat the Jews in this very way. They "Whaled" him till they thought he was dead, but in three days they caught a glimpse of him through the report of their sentinels just as he was "disappearing in the bushes," and fifty days afterward he was making havoc in their farm-yards worse than ever.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 18, 1852. Last evening Lucius Hubbard, constable, called here with a summons for Messrs. Noyes, Cragin, Burt and the two Seymours to appear at Oneida Castle before Esquire Dodge within 20 days. Messrs. Burt and Burnham went immediately to see Dodge, and found that the Hubbards were attempting to prove seduction in the case of Tryphena. They told Mr. Dodge the story of our settlement with the Hubbards last fall, and he said, if they told the same story, he would have nothing more to do with it.

In this move the Hubbards, with no provocation, have broken their voluntary pledge to keep the peace. The news was sent to Brooklyn and Putney as soon as it could be got ready.

Henry W. Burnham to Noyes: Mr. Burt saw Dexter alone. Asked him what new provocation there was to cause this fresh prosecution. Dexter replied that the statement in The Circular "Past, Present and Future," that we had published our social principles at the beginning of our career at Oneida was not true, and that it had offended his father.

NOYES TO HENRY W. BURNHAM.

APRIL 19, 1852.

In your report of the new prosecution I see that the offense which we have given Mr. Hubbard lies in the statement made by George in the article "Past, Present and Future" that we were "perfectly frank from the beginning in the avowal of our social theory." I have thought myself that this statement in some of its particulars, though honest and substantially true, is liable to misconstruction. For instance, that article says that we placed copies of our Report in the hands of the Governor and other authorities "at the outset of our movement." This language, strictly construed, is not correct, as we did not publish our first Report till the end of the first year. But the word outset is popularly used in a liberal sense. The first year of a four years course may properly be called the outset of that course, just as we speak of the fore part of the week, meaning Sunday or Monday or even Tuesday. We published our Report as soon as we were fairly organized and in motion and had material for report.

It should be observed that George had his eye on our relations to the State, and not on our relations to our immediate neighbors in the paragraph complained of. His argument is: "The State authorities have had notice of our principles for three years, and it is late in the day the "The New York Observer" to call on the Legislature to put us down." We simply say that we have dealt fairly with the State authorities, which is certainly true. If Mr. Hubbard has private grounds of complaint against us for our want of frankness to him as an individual, this is a separate affair.

On this point I will give my views as candidly as I can. Mr. Hubbard undoubtedly reasons that, because he was not aware of our views at the outset, therefore we must have concealed them. We may with equal justice reason that, because we certainly disclosed our views, therefore he must have been aware of them. But this is not fair reasoning either way. I may disclose a thing which my neighbor does not take notice of. His ignorance cannot convict me of concealment.

The facts are these: At the very outset, during the first days of my residence at Oneida, our social theory was the subject of open and violent discussion between myself, Burt and others on one side and all the leading Perfectionists who deserted us on the other. Cook, Foot, Corwin went abroad from those discussions with all necessary information and plenty of excitement against us. We had a right to assume that they would apprise the community of our position, and we believe they did quite extensively.

In the course of a month or six weeks after my arrival at



Oneida I wrote the entire Bible Argument at Mr. Burt's house. While I was writing it the sheets lay openly on the table in the parlor. Mrs. Burt and Tryphena, who were then not only outsiders but decided enemies, read this Argument of their own accord. We did not entice them to do so, nor did we hinder them. The prospect was that they would report us to the neighborhood, especially to Mr. Hubbard's family, and we took no measures to prevent it. Whether and how far they did report our position I know not to this day. We did not feel bound to thrust our peculiar views upon our neighbors individually, but we took no pains to conceal them.

Information about our principles and practices was sent in various ways from Putney and blazed abroad at the Depot and the Castle. A legal summons charging me with our peculiar offenses was served on me by the postmaster of the Depot within a few weeks after my arrival, and he was unfriendly enough to us to be a good servant of the Putney hostility.

The Bible Argument, when it was finished, was read openly in our meeting at the shoemakers' shop. Mr. Stone of the Depot was present.

So much for our side of the story. Yet it is true that we never read that Argument or communicated its sentiments individually to Mr. Hubbard at that early period. And it is also true that he never asked us to do so, or examined us on those sentiments. After Tryphena became friendly to us we naturally left it with her to decide for herself how far she should carry discussion with her father and friends. When Mr. Hubbard at last demanded information we gave it without reserve.

In view of these facts I cannot see but that our dealings with

individuals as well as with the State have been honorable.

WHIPPLE JENKINS TO S. B. GARVIN.

Vernon, April 24, 1852.

S. B. Garvin, Esq.,

Dear Sir:-

The bearers, Messrs. Miller and Burt, have called on me for a letter to you stating what was done in the matter about which I had some talk with you against the members of the Oneida Community.

The suit for a divorce of Mr. and Mrs. Seymour and the arrangement for her support then in contemplation were carried through and carried out by the Community in perfect good faith, and it was my understanding that this would settle the indictment against Seymour for assault and battery, and as to the other indictments I do not remember that anything was said, though I've no doubt they understood that these were also to be abandoned.

Yours truly,

J. WHIPPLE JENKINS.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida Postoffice, 3½ o'clock.

April 24, 1852.

Dear Bro. Noyes:-

I arrived at Oneida at 1 o'clock this morning. After talking with our folks I called on Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Burnham will give you an account of the interview. As soon as possible after dinner Mr. Burt and I went to Vernon and called on Mr. Whipple Jenkins. He wrote a letter to Mr. Garvin giving his understanding of the settlement with the Hubbards, and Mr. Burt and I came

from Vernon here for the purpose of taking the express train for Utica at 4. I will send you a copy of Mr. Jenkins' letter by the next mail. His memory was not quite so good as I wished, though on the whole it was tolerably satisfactory. I don't feel that we shall have much difficulty. My hands are so cold that I can't write decently.

Yours in haste, J. R. Miller.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Utica, 6 o'clock P. M.,

April 24, 1852.

Dear Bro. Noyes:-

We have had an interview with Mr. Garvin, and I am perfectly surprised to find how his feelings toward us have changed since I saw him last. He now says that he can only settle the case of the assault and battery, and he shall prosecute the other indictments if directed to by the Court. I told him that I supposed the Court would do as he said, and as he understood the whole settlement I had no doubt he would be willing to advise the Court to drop it. He said he should say nothing about it; as he had said, he would do nothing more about it; he should keep his word. He said he did not think we began to understand the feeling there was against us by all respectable people through the County. He said he regarded us as a nuisance. I replied, "I don't suppose you will allow your personal feelings to come in when doing your duty as a public officer." He said he should somewhat. I asked him if he received the 17th No. of The Circular. He said he did, and that he considered that as bad as the original offense. He advised us to see Judge Root and make

our peace with him. He promised on leaving to give us next week to arrange it before summoning any witnesses. We are now waiting at Judge Root's office to see what he is disposed to do, though I have no expectation that he will show any mercy, unless the powers above compel him to.

We have concluded to go home and wait no longer today for Judge Root, as the cars leave in 15 minutes.

Yours in haste,

J. R. MILLER.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, April 25, 1852.

Dear Bro. Noyes:-

Mr. Burnham and I called at Oneida Valley Bank yesterday and paid our note of \$275. due May 3rd, which was the last note against us here. We are thankful to God that we are so well prepared for the coming storm. There has been no time since our commencement at Oneida when we were not in debt, but now we are free. If the State deals with us as justly and honorably as we have with them, we shall be able to meet all their demands without difficulty.

Enclosed you will find Mr. Jenkins' letter to Mr. Garvin. I was not satisfied with it nor with his spirit when I was there; and when I got to Utica I found that it was no better than white paper. I have no doubt there is a perfect understanding between him and Mr. Garvin, and that he would be glad to see us broken up.

Mr. Garvin gave us to understand that others had complained besides Hubbard, but would not tell who.

This may yet all blow away like smoke and end as that affair with Jones did last fall when he came to Brooklyn, but I feel that it is important to give you all the facts as they appear.

With much love to all the family,

I am your brother,

J. R. MILLER.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, April 26, 1852.

Dear Bro. Noyes:-

On our way home I stopped at Hubbard's as I had agreed, to get his terms of settlement. Dexter said that he and his father and Lucius talked it over yesterday. His father refused to make any terms. He was determined to have it go to trial, and thought he could get a large sum. I asked him how much the old man thought he could get. He said, \$5000. Dexter did not think he would get so much. He said he was anxious to have it settled, but has concluded there was no use, for his father was determined to break us up. I told him then that I had nothing more to say, and got up to leave. He called me back and wanted to know what I was willing to pay. I told him that I was not willing to pay anything, that we had done them no wrong. I concluded from the whole talk that they were quite anxious to have it settled, and only wanted to get all the money they could out of us. My opinion is that we had better let the matter rest till after the other indictments are disposed of. If they should be decided in our favor, it will greatly weaken his cause.

Yours truly

J. R. Miller.

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ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 27, 1852.- Yesterday Messrs. Miller and Burt called again on Mr. Whipple Jenkins of Vernon. He met them at first quite coldly, but after some talk there seemed to be a change in his spirit. He thinks he will not make out much with the ten indictments. At any rate they can go no further than to fine us. He thought we ought to have a good lawyer, and about the same as offered his own services. Mr. Miller thinks there was a crisis Saturday in the public feeling toward us. We do not know how it will come out,

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, April 27, 1852.

Thinking our circumstances might demand some sudden moves I advised our folks to have their clothes in condition to go to Court or anywhere else at an hour's notice.

Our cash is reduced to about \$8, but I know we can get all the money we shall need in some way, though I don't see how. You will make your plans without any reference to the state of the treasury.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 29, 1852.- Yesterday Messrs. Miller and Burt went to Utica to see Judge Root and District Attorney Garvin. They could get nothing from Judge Root. as he said it was against the law for him to say anything about it. They found nothing hard in his spirit, but Mr. Garvin was full of foulness and venom against us. They could see no way to avoid a trial but to forfeit

the bonds. Mr. Burt returned, but Mr. Miller went to Brooklyn, expecting to return to-night. Mr. Burt's report was very interesting, and there was a calm, triumphant spirit throughout the meeting.

JOHN L. SKINNER TO ONEIDA.

Brooklyn, April 29, 1852.

Well, Mr. Miller has paid us a flying visit, and is gone. I hope that by this time he has safely reached Oneida. Mr. Noyes too is gone, having left with Mr. Hamilton this morning for Wallingford.

Susan Hamilton to Putney: We were all taken by surprise this afternoon by the appearance of Mr. Noyes and Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Miller arrived at Brooklyn last night at one o'clock, informed Mr. Noyes of the state of things at Oneida, and returned at five this morning, taking Mrs. Newhouse and Milford with him. Mr. Noyes then decided to come to Wallingford with Mr. Hamilton and stay awhile with us. We shall be very happy to make a quiet, pleasant home for him. He looks remarkably well and bright, and not at all cast down or disturbed by the prospect of a scattering at Oneida.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, April 29, 1852.

Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory. I called on Mr. Garvin to-day at Utica. I told him that I should like to see him alone a few minutes, but he was in the same spirit as yesterday, and said: "If you have anything to say, you can say it here." I then stepped up to him and said in a good-natured but decided tone, at the same time slapping him on the knee:

"I called. Mr. Garvin, to find out whether you would be satisfied if we quietly withdraw, and whether you will settle the indictments by our paying the cost, and whether you will give us time to arrange our affairs. We are going to take an honorable course. We are not going to run away, but you will find that we shall act above board." "What do you mean?" said he, looking up with perfect astonishment. "I mean that we have made up our minds to do all that we can honorably to satisfy you and the authorities of this County. I have been to Brooklyn since I saw you yesterday, and we have decided to break up our Association, if that is what you want, and if you will give us time to do so quietly." He replied promptly and pleasantly: "I will tell you what I will do. I will have the indictments all put by till the next Court, and see what progress you make." I told him that I was satisfied with that, but added: "I don't suppose you will expect us to leave our houses empty; we should of course leave enough to carry on our business." Then without waiting for him to reply I said: "We won't arrange that today, but I will see you again after we have commenced our arrangements." "That will do," said he pleasantly, and when I said good-by he responded in the same polite spirit and manner that he did last fall.

This was truly more than I expected or asked for. I never was more conscious of the presence and power of God giving us victory over our enemies. It was like opening the prison doors to my spirit. I can assure you it is good news to the Association.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO PUTNEY.

Brooklyn, April 29, 1852.

Mr. Noyes had several times spoken of the possibility of our



breaking up - that it might be God's design to scatter us as missionaries all over New England and New York - so he was ready to consent to an offer being made to the District Attorney, that the Community should be dispersed if all suits should be withdrawn, and that we would settle with the Hubbards if \$1 of \$500 would do it, they giving a bond to stop all further prosecutions against us. Mr. Miller did not go to bed at all, and most of the family were up with him. Then Mr. Noyes thought he would like to retire for a few days to a quiet place where he could look the whole field over, await the moves of the Hubbards and make arrangements for the future. After the issue of the present number of the paper we shall wait awhile till affairs are settled.

JOHN R. MILLER TO PUTNEY.

Oneida, April 30, 1852.

This is a beautiful day externally and internally. We feel that the enemy's line is broken, and there is a quietness and calm that succeeds a tremendous battle. I think now that we can go on and make our plans with reference to the general interest and not from necessity. After seeing our willingness to submit to the "powers that be" I don't believe they will have any heart to crowd us.

The idea of having half of our Association, or more, leave here looks very attractive to us, and I should vote for it, if the world would consent to let us remain in peace. But I feel too much exhausted to enlarge to-day.

NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Wallingford, April 30, 1852.

Dear Bro. Miller:-

In this quiet retreat my thoughts are clearer than they were at Brooklyn. Some of them may be useful to you.

I am satisfied that our true policy is to avoid a trial, as we did at Putney, by paying whatever is necessary. The law is not our chosen field of battle. The Devil would like to force us to fight there, because with public opinion against us he can do what he pleases with us. The unreasonable result of the Lamb suit shows how we may expect to fare on that field. And then a trial, if public and reported in the newspapers, converts a local difficulty into a general scandal. We are dealing with the enemy on the field of public opinion, and our hope is that we shall finally overcome prejudice by common sense, sound reasoning and good behavior. The introduction of our private quarrels with such folks as the Hubbards would injure this operation. As good strategists, therefore, we should steadily decline battle on the law-field, and pay the costs cheerfully, at least till we can change public opinion so as to make sure of fair play.

My opinion therefore is that, if the enemy will make no terms, those who have been indicted should disappear, and let the bonds be paid. All together they do not amount to the sum that I was bound for. So I would pay Hubbard \$500 or even \$1000, if you cannot do better. And if he will make no terms, I would let the case go by default. The property at Oneida will foot the bill of our four years' education, and money-losses will not bleed us as they do the Mammonites.

It is further to be considered in favor of declining battle on the lawfield, that we have no time to spend about it. We have other things to attend to. I detest the idea of having our minds

occupied with consultations and preparations of witnesses and lawyers, and thoughts and doubts about a dirty quarrel got up by malicious and treacherous men. They shall not take possession of me in that way. I shall pay my toll and pass on.

Yours truly,

JOHN H. NOYES.

THE GREATER MIRACLE.

APRIL 30, 1852.

Noyes: There have been many miracles first and last in the history of the Association. In fact the existence of such a Community is a miracle, a demonstration of what is considered impossible, the abolishing of selfishness. But I think that the crowning miracle which we shall have the privilege of presenting to the world is that of breaking up and dividing our property without quarreling. I have full confidence in the Association that it will be done, The public spirit will superintend the whole operation. There will be no grudging, and the best thing will be done that can be done for every individual. Our external organization will disappear, and we shall be resolved into an invisible association - lose our locality and develop a spiritual organization.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, May 10, 1852.

I came to Rome this morning, and went to the District Attorney's room in the Court House. He met me with all the politeness I could ask. I asked him if this case of assault and battery could be disposed of so that I could return by the mail train. He said that he would attend to it immediately after the Court was organized. I then went up into the Court Room and waited

quietly till the Court was organized. As soon as this was done Mr. Garvin arose and presented the case of H. J. Seymour and several others. He said to the Court that in the Seymour case a divorce had been obtained and security given to the satisfaction of the complainants. He then came directly to me and said it was disposed of and the costs were \$10. After paying this sum I told him that we had begun to disperse, that one or two had already left and others would go soon. He replied pleasantly, "All right, sir." I told him that I would see him again and report as soon as we had arranged our affairs. He said, "That will do, sir." I then asked him if it was necessary for me to pay any attention to the other indictments. He replied, "No, those are disposed of." I then left, after we had bid each other good-by pleasantly. I had no idea that the costs would be less than \$25., perhaps twice that.

TALK BY NOYES FOR ONEIDA.

May 15, 1852.

Concerning Mr. Burnham's plan to go west I have nothing to say except that some time ago I felt a desire to send a mission there, and spoke of it. I am pleased with the idea. I choose that he and Mr. Carr should act on their own inspiration. I will help all I can and I expect they will have a good time.

In regard to the Newark project the most I have to do is to keep the genial influence over it. I cannot dictate in detail, but must have confidence in the men that are concerned. If this movement toward Newark succeeds, it will be transferring an important part of the Association into an important position. We shall send our forces in there not for the benefit of the Newark brethren but for the sake of the cause. A strong phalanx there at the present

time will be worth more to us than it is at Oneida. I commend the project to the free, good will of the whole Association. Take one thing at a time. The more moderation and deliberation there is, and the more heartily we do the thing now to be done, the more concentration and unity there will be in our action, and the more success. Their present circumstances will try their faith in God. I have been through that trial in a thousand times worse circumstances. I know God is faithful. I am not afraid, and I expect to have an army of men around me that are not afraid - that can stand unmoved, devoted to the public interest in circumstances that would tempt common people to snatch and scatter each one for himself.

Mr. Mallory has been tempted to a worldly spirit, but I believe he will get into the line, be quiet and wait on God. It is important that there should be no fright, no spirit that would down with the boats and off.

There is no absolute need of dispersion at present, and very likely there will be no severe necessity for it at all.

Let each one propose to himself the question where he would choose to go, and also the question where the Lord would like to have him go; where each one could stand most efficiently serving the public interest. The Lord has a use for every one, and will find a place for him.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, May 19, 1852.

Yesterday I went to Vernon on business. As I was riding through the street Mr. J. Whipple Jenkins came out and spoke to me very cordially. He inquired about the settlement of the indict-

ments at Rome, and asked what we had done with the Hubbard suit. After I had given him a frank statement of the facts he said he would tell me something which might be of service to us, though I must not mention it. He then said: "I told Mr. Hubbard that he could not maintain an action against you. A few days ago he called at my office with Mr. Rose of Albany to consult me about his lawsuits to recover the ten percent on the land discounts. Something was said about your case, and Mr. Rose wanted Mr. Hubbard to explain it to him. After he had done so, Mr. Rose told him at once that he could not maintain an action against you. I guess you will find them pretty moderate in their demands." Mr. Rose is the Albany lawyer and clerk of the House of Representatives who called here with Mr. Hubbard a week ago last Sunday. I thought it quite providential that we should get access to the private counsels of the enemy just as we were expecting to make a settlement. I told Mr. Jenkins that we were making arrangements to disperse, and gave him the reasons for it. He appeared perfectly astonished, and said, "Is it so?" He dropped his head as if in deep study, and then repeated, "Is it so?" He seemed to want to say something more, but did not, except that he thought it ought to satisfy the authorities. He promised to come down and buy some of our Rustic Seats as soon as he could.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

May 22, 1852.- Last evening the last of the Newarkers left for Brooklyn at quarter before twelve.

Hial Waters writes: There is some misunderstanding between Mr. Inslee and Brooklyn in relation to the women's going on immediately, Mr. Inslee expecting the women to accompany the men.

Mr. Inslee felt himself criticised some for want of clear understanding and union with Brooklyn in the matter. But it all turned out well - better for a little criticism. The remark was made that if they went out with a broken and contrite spirit they were sure of success. On the second sober thought they were all decidedly in favor of going without the ladies.

HON. TIMOTHY JENKINS TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Washington, May 24, 1852.

Dear Sir:-

I have your favor of the 16th inst, and have only have time to write you a line in answer thereto.

I have always advised our people not to molest your Community, and after you settled the assault and battery with Mr. Hubbard's people I supposed that no further trouble would ensue.

I think in the process of a little time this difficulty will pass over. It may be that persons opposed to you are desirous to coerce you to sacrifice your property at Oneida, perhaps with a view of benefiting themselves. However this may be, I think you had better keep your property, as I have no doubt you will, by the exercise of prudence, soon be able to get along without molestation. I think Garvin will not eventually be unreasonable, as he is naturally a well-disposed man.

With kind regards to yourself and the Community I subscribe myself,

Yours truly,

TIMOTHY JENKINS.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, May 28, 1852.

An idea has just occurred and been talked over with enthusiasm, which I will report for the consideration of Mr. Thacker and all interested. There is policy in war, and why would it not be a grand stroke of policy to devote all your strawberries this season as a peace offering to the neighborhood ? Circulate a general invitation at the Castle and elsewhere for everybody to call and partake of strawberries and cream. Perhaps it would be thought best to set a particular day at the height of the season when the Community will be happy to entertain the public. Such a course, it is thought, would be an acceptable offering of our "first fruits" unto the Lord, would clear ourselves of covetousness, and show our neighbors that our prosperity, if we are allowed to go on in peace, will not be a selfish, isolated affair.

We think the plan would be worth the cost. If approved, let Mr. Miller and the rest lay their heads together and bring it to the right conclusion. It will make entertaining matter for the paper. I should love dearly to be with you.

We must tempt people back to God with the fruits of the earth, as Satan first tempted them away. After our talk Mr. Noyes opened the Bible to the account of the interview between David and Abigail. 1 Sam. 25: 17-44.



ONEIDA JOURNAL.

June 1, 1852.- This morning the Kinsleys left for Northern Vermont. No company that has left Oneida since the dispersion has affected the heart of the Community as this departure of the Kinsleys. Contributing largely in the darkest financial hour, and coming on with his whole family and effects Mr. Kinsley has been truly a pillar in the church. He has the warmest love and the perfect confidence of the Association. At the table this morning before they left there was a melting yet cheerful scene. Mr. Kinsley called for the song, "Let us go, brothers, go," which was sung with the sincerest feeling.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, June 18, 1852.

Mr. and Mrs. Burt called on Hon. Timothy Jenkins this afternoon. Mr. Jenkins said that Mr. Hubbard wrote to him at Washington trying to engage him to defend his suit against us, which he declined. After he came home the old man called on him and asked him if he could sustain an action against us for seducing his daughter. He told him, No, decidedly. Mr. Jenkins then told him that he could get a writ, if he chose to, but all it would amount to was, that in the end he would have to pay his own costs. "Well," said Hubbard, "they dread the law, and I will make them believe I am going to bring them to trial, and then at the last get what I can."

Mr. Jenkins said he would advise us not to go near them, but wait for the, to come to us, and then not refuse to settle, but offer them say \$50, what it would cost us to go to trial, but no more. He said: "Don't offer them too much."

He said there no no need of our dispersion, and that he knew we could go along without trouble, that there was no excitement against us now, but on the contrary, good feeling.

He says farther that they cannot sustain an action against us for keeping a house of ill fame, and he told Mr. Hubbard so. He advised us not to leave here, wished us prosperity, advised getting Whipple Jenkins to draw up a paper to end all future trouble.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO BROOKLYN.

June 25, 1852.

Our Strawberry Festival yesterday was the most exquisite thing of the kind that we ever witnessed. Early in the morning some of our people constructed a bower of sweet-scented cedar in the children's playground, capacious enough to seat 100 persons, with tables interspersed. Another party engaged in picking and preparing the strawberries, of which over seven bushels were gathered before noon from our garden beds. Groups of rustic chairs and tables were arranged in shady spots about the grounds. About 80 families of our neighbors and of citizens in Vernon, Oneida Castle and Oneida Depot had been invited. Soon after three our guests began to arrive. The house was thrown open, and they were invited to stroll through the gardens or amuse themselves in their own way. The company soon took their way to the arbor, where an abundance of strawberries, cream and sugar awaited their acceptance. Parties continued to arrive for about two hours, and the number of guests, it was said, was about 300. The attendance and singing of the Community children added to the pleasure of the occasion.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.Oneida, June 25, 1852.

We had some fears the night before that we might come short for strawberries. We thought we should want 5 bushels, but we picked 7 from about 2/3 of the beds, and could easily have picked 5 more. We had six pails of cream, 100 lbs. of white sugar, and plenty of nice biscuit and butter. Everything was in order about 2 o'clock, and the next hour was spent in "fixing up" for the occasion. We had enough of everything to give a rich treat. Many thought it was the most beautiful place they ever saw.

Nearly all of our neighbors were present. From Vernon came Mr. Norton, the editor of The Journal, Dr. Foot, the Cases, Mr. Mc Intosh, Mr. Jenkins' sons. The merchants and lawyers came from the Depot and Castle, Dodge among the rest. Mr. and Mrs. Dexter Hubbard were here, and seemed to enjoy themselves as much as anybody. They called again this morning to eat strawberries. How can they fight us after this ?

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.Oneida, June 27, 1852.

Yesterday I went to the Depot and Castle with Messrs. Kellogg and Newhouse to sell strawberries and peas. We sold both very quickly. I was pleased to see how good-natured everybody was. People flocked around us from all quarters to buy. Several came to meet us for fear we should sell out before we got to them. All said our pic-nic was the pleasantest party they ever attended. Their good report of us now is as much

exaggerated as their evil report was three months ago. We have decided not to sell any more strawberries at present, but to make a finish of our peace offering with them. I feel that God will be better pleased to have us use them in this way than to have them all sold for money. I desire to deal with others in the same liberal way that God deals with us.

WILLIAM A. HINDS TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, June 27, 1852.

Mr. Noyes says in relation to dispersing, it will not do to act simply on Mr. Jenkins' talk or form your judgment entirely from it. Garvin is the man with whom we have to do. If he is opposed to our remaining, the good feelings of the whole neighborhood would not warrant us in doing so. Therefore it might be well to see Mr. Garvin and ascertain his present mind.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO BROOKLYN.

Oneida, June 29, 1852.

Yesterday we spent an agreeable afternoon in a strawberry festival given by the Community to the Oneida Indians. The Indians have been good neighbors from the commencement of the Community here, and we were glad to show our appreciation and respect. We commissioned their minister, the Rev. Thomas Cornelius, to invite the whole resident nation to meet in the Community grounds. About 70 sat down under our arbor to partake of strawberries and cream. Among them were several members of the Indian Minstrel Company, who favored us with several hymns in their own tongue. We answered them with songs, after which they adjourned to the garden and strawberry beds, and then took their way home.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.July 6, 1852.

I went to Utica to-day and had another interview with Garvin. As soon as I entered his office, before I had time to make known my business, he asked me how we got along moving. I told him what progress we had made. "Well," said he, "you had better be off." I then told him that I had called to report to him as I had agreed, and also to invite him to visit us. He said that he should not visit us, that he considered our Association worse than any whorehouse. He went on with the most abusive language he could possibly utter, saying every little while that he was determined to break us up, and if we were not off before the September Court, he would give us "such an overhauling as we never had yet." After pouring out his wrath for some time I said to him: "Whatever your opinion may be, Mr. Garvin, about our Community, I think we are entitled to respectful treatment when we call on you on business by your own consent." He replied: "I never shall treat you with the least respect. You are not entitled to it. I consider myself insulted every time any of you come into my presence, and I wish never to see any of you again." After a few minutes' talk he said three or four times, "I wish you would leave," and "I wish you would leave now." I supposed he meant the Community, but as he repeated it with emphasis and pointed to the door I began to understand that he wished to turn me out of the office. I said: "What do you mean? Do you wish me to leave your office?" "Yes", said he, "now. Will you go?" "Certainly I will," said I; "Good day, sir," and left his office.

He made no reply that I heard. This talk all took place in the presence of several strangers, who stared at me with perfect astonishment. At the Utica Depot I met Judge Root. As soon as he saw me he turned his face the other way. I soon passed again where he was standing, and spoke to him. He answered me in the shortest way possible, and turned around without offering to shake hands. I saw clearly that he had the same spirit that Garvin had.

The Community received the news in a cheerful, victorious spirit.

VICTORY OF THE 27th, JULY 1852.

REMARKS BY NOYES, JULY 7, 1852.

There is no need of going over the old exhortation to faith. The constitutional principle in such cases is well understood.

It is plain as can be that God reigns, that the Concentric Convention is carrying on the game. I don't know what God will do, nor what the Devil will do, but I can see that there is real sport to the powers above. Whenever I can sympathize with their spirits I have a tremendous tendency to laugh. Then when I look at the case on natural law principles there is a tendency to cry. We shall have some good laughs over it by and by. We have just got a pretty clear verdict of the people delivered by their foreman, Jenkins, and if the lawyers and Pharisees choose to go on and thrust us out, they will be kicking against the pricks. It is now simply a question of jurisdiction. We told Mr. Hubbard to begin with, that we were living in the Kingdom of God. He answered that he was living in the State of New York. It is a long game, and Mr. Hubbard will have to wait with the rest of us till it is fairly through.

My impression still is that the Lord wants to scatter us. There will be no hurry; the retreat will be conducted in good order. It is sure to lead to an expansion as decisive and sweeping as that on the day of Pentecost. Christ always plucks victory out of defeat.

Tryphena, the exciting cause of the disturbance, was our

first convert at Oneida. Thus the element of dispersion was in the Association from the beginning.

The true interpretation of all this is not that the Lord is straitened for means or power. He could strike all enemies dead, if he chose. But his policy evidently is to work into the world peaceably; if the ruling powers oppose, to blow peace in their face and give way. I am anxious to carry out that policy - keep the peace in spite of everything, so as to save all that can be saved. If we should get into an open quarrel with the authorities, we should scare away multitudes that are now imprisoned and that we shall ultimately get at. We are like a steamboat, which is bound to turn out for everything. We must do anything to avoid a collision. We have plenty of sea room.

I hope the Community will have a good flash of healthy love before they quit.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

July 15, 1852.

Hubbard offers to settle for \$350. I offered \$100. I thought I had better report to you before taking any further action. My opinion is that he would settle for \$100., or \$200 at most, rather than go to trial. But I would by all means pay the \$350. if that would end the indictments.

NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

July 17, 1852.

Hubbard's demand is not so unreasonable as we were led to expect, and the negotiation appears to have been conducted in a good, peaceable spirit. He is willing to reduce his demand.



I propose then to settle thus: We will give him \$150 now on the receipt of a certificate from him such as you proposed, honorably discharging all of us from further claims and expressing his wish that the indictments be dropped; and we will give him \$150 more, if by that certificate and other influences which he and his family can command, those indictments shall be stopped so that we shall have no further trouble. This is \$150. for half a peace, and \$300 for a whole peace, which I think the Hubbards can give us if they are disposed.

It seems to me the likeliest way to quash those indictments is to set the Hubbards to work as our attorneys, and pay them well for it. But perhaps even this will fail.

By the way, what security have you that the indictments will be dropped even if the Community disperses? Garvin has not explicitly promised anything. His language was, "I will see how you get on," or something to that effect. And even if he had promised, we know how he got off from his first engagement. In the mood of his last talk it would be just like him to pursue us after the dispersion, and collect the bonds or force a trial. If he will not hear you respectfully, would it not be well to get Whipple Jenkins or Mc Intosh to see him and ascertain definitely what he intends to do? For if he means to prosecute at any rate, we need not trouble ourselves to disperse, but may turn our attention to getting ready for trial. If he engages to let us alone on condition of dispersion, then I should be in favor of commencing the movement immediately. God will make a way for us through the Red Sea of scoundrelism. I shall trust the whole matter to you and Mr. Burt. But take care not to leave any loose ends.

If you settle with the Hubbards and get their certificate and influence in our favor, and then on top of that are able to convince Whipple Jenkins or whomever you employ, that there have been no illegal proceedings in the Community since last Spring, and also to show that the people around us respect us and do not wish to have us broken up, you make a strong case for Garvin's reconsideration. I wish you would get Timothy Jenkins' leave to report his views of our case. It would almost be worth while for Mr. Burt to make a trip to Washington, if you see that anything can be done by it.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

July 22, 1852.

This morning I wrote a note to old Mr. Hubbard requesting him to call. At 11 o'clock he came with Dexter...

When I had read your letter to them the old man said he thought his offer to settle was low enough. They both said they would sign such a paper as we wished. They would not give much to have the Tryphena matter settled unless the indictments could be settled too, because...the door would be left open for future difficulty. They didn't want to have anything conditional, but were ready to do what they could to end the indictments now.

I then proposed that Dexter should go with me to Utica tomorrow and use his influence to have the whole settlement made now. I proposed further that we should employ Mr. Whipple Jenkins to go with us, as he might get access to Garvin when we could not. The Hubbards consented, and Mr. Burt and I went to Vernon this afternoon.

We found Mr. Jenkins in a half-hearted state, fearful of

losing his reputation by engaging in the case. We told him frankly our position, but did not urge him. He finally asked the privilege of thinking of it till Monday before deciding. We consented on the condition that we should be free in the meantime to pursue any other course we might think best...

We have not made up our minds yet what we shall do precisely. I know that God will help us. I say to our folks, "Let us be prepared to scatter, every one of us, and than all that comes short of that will be clear gain."

MRS. M. E. NEWHOUSE TO LEMUEL H. BRADLEY.

July 23, 1852.

The present state of the Hubbard matter is that Hubbard has offered to settle for \$350 and "ground arms," as he says, permanently. The old man and Dexter will give a written pledge to that effect. They decline accepting Mr. Noyes's offer, preferring, as they say, to have the whole matter squared up before settling.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

July 23, 1852.

"Samuel B. Garvin, Esq., District Attorney: We, the undersigned, having understood that a prosecution in behalf of the people against several of the prominent members of the Oneida Community had been commenced and is now pending, beg leave to say, that in our judgment, if there has ever been any cause for such a prosecution, it has been wholly removed, and does not now exist, and in our opinion it is not demanded or deemed advisable, on the part of the people at large out of that Community best acquainted with their present management and conduct, that the prosecution should be further carried on against them, and we recommend that it be discontinued. Dated, July 23, 1852."

" The above is a copy of a petition drawn up by Mr. Whipple Jenkins, which he thought we had better have signed by the most influential men at the Depot, Castle and Vernon. Mr. Burt and I took it to the Hubbards this morning, and they both signed it without hesitation; and Dexter offered to take it down and ask Dodge and Root to sign. About 3 o'clock he returned, saying that Dodge utterly refused to sign it, and that Root wanted others to sign it first."

It so happened that Hon. Larkin G. Mead, Noyes's brother-in-law, of Brattleboro, Vermont, who had given invaluable counsel and aid during the troubles at Putney, came to the Community for a visit just at this time. He immediately began casting about for a chance to help. Remembering a former school-mate, Dolphus Skinner, brother of John L. Skinner of the Community and an influential man in Utica, he called on him and discussed the situation. Mr. Skinner agreed that further prosecutions were not needed and would do more harm than good; and he promised to talk the matter over in this light with District Attorney Garvin and Judge Root, both of whom he knew.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

July 24, 1852.

Yesterday a dark cloud seemed to hang over the Association, but today the sun shines again. On our way home from the Depot last night Mr. Burt and I called on Mr. Root, and made a frank disclosure of our position. He said at once, " The people in this vicinity will not consent to have you disperse." He then took the paper and signed it heartily. He said he was sure that Garvin

never would bring us to trial. After our return Mr. Burt took the paper to Mr. Downing, who signed it without hesitation. This morning Mr. Burt and I went to the Depot and presented our paper to the leading men, who signed it cheerfully and heartily. The following are the names of those who signed: O. P. Root, R. Downing, J. C. Sloan, J. M. Messinger, J. C. Thompson, H. J. Wetmore, S. Riverburgh, B. B. Stoddard, John C. Sherwood, Noahdiah Hubbard, Dexter Hubbard, J. Newton Messinger, Erasmus Stone, Sidney J. Breese, S. H. Goodwin, S. Kenyon, Niles Higginbotham, Edmond Hills, Daniel Lamb, Robert J. Stewart, John W. Allen, James Tomlinson.

While in the Post Office at the Castle on our return we learned that Hon. Timothy Jenkins had just returned from Washington. This truly looked like the interference of the invisibles in our favor. We went at once to his office. He received us very cordially indeed. We told him just our position and showed him the paper without asking him to do anything for us. He said that Mr. Garvin never would bring those indictments to trial - that we had got the names of the very first men in this neighborhood. He advised us to get Whipple Jenkins to go with us to Utica. We told him how he felt about it, and that he was to give us an answer Monday. He said he should see him this afternoon, and would advise him to go. He added: "People are ready to get hold of anything to injure a public man, but if it is necessary I will interfere and stop it." He advised us to make no preparation to disperse; said there was not the least necessity for it. He then went into a free talk about our affairs. He said it was a public benefit to have us here, and gave as one reason the attention we are giving to horticulture - more than any single man

could afford to give. He said that he should turn his attention more to that business when he got through at Washington, and thought it would be a great help to him to have us here. He came home to attend the Commencement, as his sons both graduate, and is to return next Friday.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

July 28, 1852.

Mr. Burt and I went to Vernon last evening, found Mr. Whipple Jenkins at home and that everything had been arranged at Utica to our satisfaction. Mr. Garvin gave his pledge that the indictments would be ended at the next Court. At first Mr. Garvin was quite hard and determined to prosecute. Then he wanted time to think the matter over. But Mr. Jenkins told him that the question must be settled now; that he lived nearer us than Mr. Garvin did, knew us better, and knew better how the public felt toward us, and that he should demand that Mr. Garvin take his statement. He left Mr. Garvin with good feelings. Mr. Garvin told him about his treatment of me. He thought that Mr. Garvin had acted honestly in the matter. From all that Mr. Jenkins said I couldn't help thinking that Mr. Garvin requested him to see that we had good feelings toward him. We were satisfied with this explanation.

You will see that we get a great deal better terms now than we should have asked when Mr. Garvin turned me out of his office. I was about to make a bad bargain, and was sent home for further instructions. We are now at full liberty to remain here and have as many more as we choose. When I reported the other day that we had already reduced our number nearly one-half, nobody was pleased

with it. The people, so far as we are known, do want us here, and are determined that we shall stay...

Old Mr. Hubbard called here this morning on other business, and was much pleased to learn that this matter was settled. He said he was glad on Tryphena's account, she would feel so much better to know that we had settled and were good friends.

VICTORY OF THE 27th.

July 28th, 1852.

Noyes: What has saved us ? To the view of faith we have been saved by a manifest and sublime movement of the armies of Heaven in our favor. God has saved us with no thanks to Hubbard, Garvin, or any of the men who have abused us. They have let go of us not because they feel a better disposition toward us, but because their hold has been broken by God Almighty. He has vindicated us, and brought us out white as snow before the surrounding public.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Ronw, N. Y., Sept. 14, 1852.

After dinner I went to the Court House. Mr. Garvin treated me with all the kindness I could ask. At the first moment he could he invited me up into the Court Room. After he had talked about five minutes with the Judge and Clerk in a low voice he came where I was sitting and took hold of my arm. We walked out of the room together. As soon as we were seated at his desk he said, pleasantly: "The Court say you must pay \$20 costs." I made no reply, but threw down a \$20. bill. He handed me his receipt and said: " You can get a certified copy of the Nolle Prosequi from the Clerk of the Court. " I have been thus particular to

show you that we have not only got out of the clutches of the law, but that there has been a great change in the public mind toward us. We sold one Rustic Seat and three bushels of potatoes in Utica for enough to pay the bill. We won't find any fault with the authorities for indicting us, so long as they only charge \$2. each and take their pay in potatoes at a shilling a peck. Providence has favored us with a good crop of potatoes this year, so I think we can live well and grow fat while the potatoes last.



OUR PLATFORM.

JULY 16, 1851 - OCT 25, 1852.

Sovereignty of Jesus Christ dating from his resurrection and manifested at his second coming.

Co-sovereignty of the Primitive Church raised from the dead at the second coming.

Union with Christ and Primitive by faith and love.

Unity of all believers in this world and in Hades with the one kingdom in the Heavens.

Resurrection of the spirit resulting in salvation from sin and selfish habits.

Resurrection of the body preventing or overcoming disease, renewing youth, and resulting in the abolition of death and loosing of the captives in Hades.

Community of property of all kinds with inspiration for distribution.

Abandonment of the entire fashion of the world especially marriage.

Encouragement of love and limitation of propagation.

Dwelling together in Associations or complex families.

Home churches and home schools.

Meetings every evening.

Lord's supper at every meal.

Cultivation of free criticism.

Horticulture the leading business for subsistence.

A daily paper as the gathering point for all separate Association.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHRISTIANITY.

Article by George W. Noyes, O. S., 2: 62, 65, 70.

January 8 - 15, 1853.

We have insisted that the marriage question is to be settled not by experiments of expansion or contraction, as polygamy, divorce, Shakerism, but only by death. The only alternative or modification of the marriage system which the Bible anywhere recognizes is a resurrection state in which "they" neither marry nor are given in marriage." The only question that remains is, whether the commonly recognized form of death is the only one. And here we have expressed the opinion that it is not - that there is a better and more effectual way of dying than to be sick and call in the undertaker. It seems to us that the very sum and substance of the gospel of Christ is its ability to put us on the other side of death and in possession of the privileges of a posthumous state, i. e., freedom from sin, from law and evil relations of every kind. Paul everywhere assumes this, and his only labor was to develop to the minds of the church the consequences of that change. Christ stands in the place of death to those who receive him. This is the meaning of Paul's great doctrine of "Christ crucified," which to the Jews was a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, "but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."

We get the simplest and surest idea of the gospel as a radical organizing force by fixing our attention on the cen-

tral fact in its history, the death and resurrection of Christ. A man who had lived in this world for a time and gathered about him a company of disciples, died; and in a short time afterwards arose from the dead and reappeared to his disciples; and this resurrection-man by the distribution of a spiritual influence became the head of a church. The church, having as it were dropped their own lives and taken his, claimed his death and resurrection as their own. The assumption of a posthumous state and position in this world involved ultimate consequences of the profoundest character, and it is a matter of history that the Primitive Church did claim on the ground of their identity with Christ emancipation from the Jewish law. But the Primitive Church did not develop all the consequences of their constitutional principle. The apostles did not wish to spend their force or that of their hearers on secondary elements. Hence they chose not to place themselves in a direct quarrel with slavery or with civil governments. Of all the recognized institutions of the present world probably the only one that was directly attacked by the Primitive Church was sin. They struck at the root, and neglected the branches. But the constitutional principle of Christianity was a growing, expansive thing, which must finally break up everything foreign to the resurrection. A resurrection vortex was then formed, around which all men and institutions from that time began to circle, and into which they must all sooner or later plunge. Those that belong to the heavenly state will survive; those that do not will go down.

The Primitive Church did attack one institution growing out of sin, and that was property. The account, therefore, to speak accurately, stands thus: The Primitive Church, standing on the constitutional principle of unity with the death and resurrection of Christ, subverted first of all and chiefly sin; Secondly subverted the ecclesiastical system of Judaism. So far they made thorough work. Then thirdly they practically manifested temporarily the resurrection-principle against private property. Fourthly, they advised against marriage, and were averse to entangling themselves with it except so far as was absolutely necessary. Fifthly, they left slavery and civil institutions in general undisturbed.

NOYES:- I have gone through a regular course on this subject. I began with salvation from sin and the second coming, came from that to the abolition of ordinances and legality in general, then to communism and emancipation from marriage, and finally to emancipation from death. All of these doctrines grow out of this central one of the cross of Christ. I have labored round and round this doctrine spiral-fashion for many years, and that little article for the first time preaches it plainly and satisfactorily. It is the best thing that has come out since 1834. It is just what I have wanted to bring out, but George has brought it out better than I should have done.

I have known perfectly well the central nature of this truth since I began, but I have had hard work to make anyone else appreciate it until now. All these other doctrines are

but spokes to the wheel. At the end of 1852 we finished our discussion of salvation from death. Then came the time for us to put the hub into the wheel.

SPIRITUAL VENTILATION. \*

HOME-TALK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1851.

I think the attempt to bring up a family in seclusion is impossible, however beautiful in theory. And it is right that it should be so. God's object is the education of mankind, and whatever individuals gain is an advantage only so far as it goes to benefit the mass. Persons brought up in that way could not have a wholesome, robust life either spiritually, morally or physically. The effect would be the same as to live in a close room without ventilation. The only way to be healthy is to harden our nervous system and not be afraid of the surrounding elements. As children grow toward maturity their social nature demands exercise, and there is an absolute necessity for their taking a place in the world. So the individual results at last go into the general mass. And the more perfect the seclusion has been, the more disastrous the consequences are apt to be.

The circumstances of our Association have in some ways made us liable to this same mistake, but the tendency of God's dealings with me has been to counteract that liability. In the first stages of my education I lived in close seclusion from the world, but as I advance God more and more calls me

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\*This talk was inspired by a letter from Mr. Delatre to his son Herbert.

to face the world and not be afraid of it. We must calculate that ultimately we and our children will be turned back into the world, that we may spread abroad the truths that we have attained. So long as we are in a state of seclusion we are liable to certain diseases. One point, in respect to which I wish to have the good sense of the Association directed, is that of our peculiar social doctrines. It may be necessary in the early stage of our experience, that there should be a kind of secretiveness. But I want to have all feel that this is only a military measure, not a permanent principle of the Kingdom of God. There will ultimately be nothing of the kind, but the direct contrary. It is very desirable that the Association should feel free to make known their principles on all points, and have no secrets. I wish that they would treat Tryphena in such a manner that they would be willing to have the whole world know, and that they would allow the opinion of the world to come in as one consideration to modify their treatment. We need all of God's teachings and the pressure of social influences to keep us right. There is a great deal of good sense in the world, and I want all the help I can get from it. I think the time has come for us to become slowly a little more confidential with the world.

The peddling scheme is one of the best measures we have ever introduced in the Association on account of its ventilating qualities. It is giving the men that have engaged in it more ruggedness toward the world. The trouble now in the Association is lack of ventilation. The world will not hurt us after we get a little indurated. My experience has been very satisfactory in this respect the last year. The true

policy for us now is to feel friendly towards the community around us, and do business with them as though they were one with us in everything.

We shall not signalize ourselves by destruction but by quiet construction. Whatever destruction is necessary will take place gradually. I do not want to have these old institutions vanish in a moment. I like Paul's prayer: " I exhort, therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty."

( 1 Tim. 2: 1, 2.) That is a prayer that foolish fanatical folks have no taste for. They would pray for the destruction of the powers that be. We shall find that these powers will crumble fast enough.

I do not wish to have the least spiritual members of the Association catch at what I have said, and run into gossip with the world. But if the strong, spiritual members give scope to God, I believe that he will lead them to ventilate more. All the real good sense and civilization there is in the world is on our side.

INDUSTRY AND FINANCE.AUGUST 1851 to AUGUST 1854.ONEIDA JOURNAL.

August 16, 1851.- Notice was given at the dinner table that the new flouring-mill be started at about four o'clock. Accordingly nearly all went down to see it. They were satisfied beyond their expectations with the performance of the machinery. G. W. Noyes writes: " We all felt that the subjective profits of building this mill were the most valuable thing about it. A great deal has been done in the way of spiritualizing the labor department. Organization and unity have been introduced among the men, and the professional spirit has been broken up."

August 18, 1851.- Young Mr. Mc Gregor called to-day, and says the work we did for his father's grist-mill gives entire satisfaction. This was a job amounting to \$80.00 for fixing the shafting, the first job of any importance done in our machine-shop.

August 25, 1851.- Mr. Nathaniel Potter of Erie County came to instruct our men in making his patent bee hives.

September 20, 1851.- Notice was given last evening that there would be a general bee on the swamp northwest of the house. Accordingly at 2 P. M. all assembled under the Butternut Tree, men, women and children, even our visitors having arrayed themselves in short dresses and old clothes; and with fife and drum all marched to the scene of attack, followed by horse and ox teams. The stumps and logs were drawn into piles, filled up with brush, and set on fire. It was a jolly time, and long to be



remembered as our first bee in clearing up the swamp.

October 9, 1851.- The prospects for business are opening more and more. Mallory and Hall are champing their bits for action at the mill. It has been suggested that we shall soon need a shop of our own at the Depot to sell our flour, vegetables, shoes and other productions.

October 18, 1851.- Our blacksmith-shop has taken a new start in business lately. The grist-mill too is doing a good business. Martin Kinsley has gone in to assist. Our mill has already gained the reputation of being the best one in this region. We have received an order from the Depot for from 10 to 15 bbls. per week. Our customer tells us that our flour sells the best, and at 25¢ per bbl. extra.

October 20, 1851.- A new order from Oneida for 7 bbls. of flour. It was decided to have Daniel Knowles go into the mill, and for the present to run day and night. Our flour is put up in bags and gives employment to some of our women.

October 20, 1851.- Mr. Miller says in a letter: "I sold the Seymour mortgage without difficulty for \$900. This gives us all the money we want both here and at Brooklyn for the present. It will enable us to carry on all our business successfully, besides paying our debts. How manifest it is that God is prospering us ! I won't ask him to show me one day ahead how I am going to have money or food."

November 17, 1851. Noyes writes: I think the pedlars should confine themselves pretty strictly to their business and not take it as a proselyting operation. It is not fair to do so. I want to be able to say to the world, we are honest in this thing as well as in all other things. We do not go out as peddlers

and take advantage of that profession to steal in as preachers.

WALLINGFORD JOURNAL.

December 31, 1851.- Among the products of 1851 mention is made of 1650 brooms, worth \$184.25. This industry was carried on at the old log house by Mr. Thacker as foreman, assisted by W. H. Perry, Samuel Lord, and Daniel Abbott, with occasional help assorting the broom corn. John Leonard assisted in making the machines.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, January 24, 1852.

The traps are going ahead finely. They have commenced one thousand. Five hundred of them will be ready for market in a few days. I think we shall have some very nice traps. We have made great improvements, so that we can make them much cheaper than Mr. Newhouse used to. For one thing, we have made a machine for bending the jaws. They are bent in an instant and are all exactly alike. Mr. Newhouse used to bend them all with a hammer. I think we shall make this a very profitable business. Has anything been done about selling them in New York? We keep an exact account of the cost, and when the first 500 are finished I can tell you what it is.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, January 29, 1852.

I have just finished our annual inventory. You will see that, notwithstanding the burning of the store and printing-office, the sinking of the sloop and all the expenses attending it, using money with perfect freedom, and publishing a free paper, we have during the year increased our property \$778.62. It is true that the Wallingford property has been added to the inventory, but this is as it should be.

In the place of the store the peddling business has been introduced with splendid success. We can make more with a capital of \$300 in this business than we could in the store with a capital of \$3000.

We have kept an exact account of our expenses for board the past week, and find that it cost 50¢ for each individual. We buy less than half of what we use, which is a great improvement on former years.

In February, 1852, Mr. Miller sold 250 traps in New York. The Oneida Journalist said: "This is quite a business and opens up."

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE BROOKLYN FAMILY.

Oneida, February 8, 1852.

I went down to the mill this morning immediately after breakfast to mark a load of flour for Putney. The scene I witnessed I am sure would have pleased you much. The mill

and machine-shop hands were all busy: Mr. Perry and I marking flour; Mr. Kellogg and his team at the door ready to take it away. At the Burt house half a dozen farmers were putting up oats to be sent away this morning. Just across the street in the log cabin another company were employed making brooms to finish out the load, and in front of the door were Mr. Carr and others loading the brooms.

### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

February 10, 1852.- Mr. Ellis, with Mr. Hatch and John Leonard for apprentices, is engaged in making rustic seats.

March 23, 1852.- Near the close of meeting Sunday evening Mr. Reynolds spoke expressing his confidence in the Association. As he concluded, he rose up saying he might as well join the Association now, and emptied his purse on the table. There were \$143.20 in gold and silver. He was invited to help wash, and was toasted this morning by the ladies. Henry G. Allen was awakened this morning by the merry song of the washers. They arose at four and finished about eleven.

### ITEMS BY HARRIET A. NOYES.

Brooklyn, March 25, 1852.

Mr. Noyes was speaking to-day of the trap business. He said he was pleased with it on the principle of exterminating wild beasts. Rats are the wild beasts we have here, and these traps are good to catch them. We have been much troubled with rats. In the night they play their pranks all about the house. Saturday night a rat got into Mr. Noyes's room and kept him awake all night by jumping on and off his table and then hiding in the fire place. The next night a trap was set and the fellow caught.

HENRY W. BURNHAM TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, May 6, 1852.

Dear Brother:-

I am still thinking about going west, and as my thoughts are taking more of a serious turn I have concluded to lay them before you and, if you think best, before Mr. Noyes.

To begin with it seems to me that if Mr. Miller remains here through the summer there will be no necessity for my presence. The responsibility of disposing of things at Oneida naturally rests on him, and would if I were to remain. The Idea, however, of cooperating with him would be attractive if this is my place.

If it was thought best, I could visit the Howards at Perrinton, Ellis and Delatre at Drummondville.

I see by The New York Times that a railroad has recently been completed between Toledo and Chicago, a distance of 400 miles. This, I should judge by the map, would carry me within 20 miles of Geneva, where Maria Clark lives, and directly on my route to Seba Bailey's, who lives perhaps 25 miles further. He has, from his first introduction to us through the paper and that without the advantage of personal acquaintance, adhered closely to our cause. He has for a long time expressed a wish for some of us to visit him, and particularly in his late letter to you that we should do so this summer. From what I can gather he has been instrumental in turning the attention of quite a number toward us. I have an impression that a missionary among them at this time might do good service....

You have before you one side of my proposal. The next suggestion is to take along three or four hundred traps and a good quantity of silk for sale. As to traps Mr. Newhouse says that Chicago is a good place to sell them. A dealer residing there, who is acquainted with his traps, has offered to buy on a large scale. This intelligence I get from Mr. Burt. The silk would probably sell for a higher price in that region than here, and Mr. Miller suggests that it be sold principally to merchants.

Charlotte says that I shall want a companion, and I have thought of Mr. Carr as a suitable person. He was reared at the west, I believe, is familiar with its geography and habits, is a lucky peddler, and would be, I have no doubt, a lively companion.

You have now my cogitations in full, entirely submitted to your consideration. They are approved by Mr. Burt, Mr. Miller and Charlotte, and Mr. Carr is ready.

With love, HENRY W. BURNHAM.

GEORGE CRAGIN TO HENRY W. BURNHAM.

Brooklyn, May 10, 1852.

Dear Brother:-

Your proposal to go west accompanied by Mr. Carr was laid before Mr. Noyes after his return from Wallingford. He favored the plan, and proposed the following notice to be published in the next Circular:

"Notice to Western Friends.

Henry W. Burnham and Mr. Carr of the Oneida Community having occasion to go west on business will be at Chicago, Ill.,

and vicinity about the first of June. Wishing to make themselves useful to believers in that region but not intrude upon them, they take this method of giving notice of their visit in order that any who desire a call from them may have an opportunity to inform them. Letters addressed to Henry W. Burnham, Care of Seba Bailey, Grand Detour, Ogle County, Ill., and mailed any time in the present month will find Burnham and Carr at the end of their business tour, and will determine their subsequent movements."

I am much pleased with Mr. Noyes's suggestions about circulating among believers. He said he never had any fellowship with the old policy of Perfectionists in thrusting themselves even upon their friends without an invitation. He is decidedly favorable to having business of our own, too, as you propose. You will do well to take Bereans and Circulars.

Affectionately,

GEORGE CRAGIN.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

May 20, 1852.- Brothers Burnham and Carr left to-day for Chicago via Drummondville. They took with them \$153 worth of silk and 343 traps, their baggage in all weighing 400 lbs. We all feel much interested in their mission. It is particularly a Community move. May God speed them, is our prayer.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, June 2, 1852.

Enclosed you will find two letters from Messrs. Burnham and Carr. I have been much interested in that mission and in their letters, but my impression is that they have got into a discouraged spirit about business, and are hurrying through too fast to the end of their journey. I cannot help feeling that Mr. Burnham has allowed Mr. Carr's business experience to take the lead of his inspiration; that they think too much of going by the quickest and cheapest route, and not enough of the business part of the mission. They seem to think the country is supplied with silk, and there is but little use in trying to sell. I think there is no reason for this, and that so far as they have tried to sell they have had good success. I wrote my impressions to Mr. Burnham yesterday, and thought I would keep open with you.

LETTERS FROM JOHN R. MILLER.

Oneida, June 5, 1852.

To Putney:- Mr. Burnham writes that they sold the traps in Chicago at \$4.50 per dozen, and the prospect is that we can sell there at that price all we can make. I am satisfied that Chicago is our market for traps, and that we can do a good business in that line.



To Albert Kinsley:- Their customers were much pleased with the traps - call them the nicest in that market. They have sold over \$60 worth of silk, so you will see they are having pretty good luck, their total sales amounting to about \$200.

To Noyes:- I shall be in favor of having all the traps we can, say four or five thousand, ready for the next spring's sales. The stock for a thousand traps would cost less than \$50, and they sell for \$375, so you see most of the investment is our own work. I think it will be well for us to keep stock on hand, and let our blacksmiths work at this business when not otherwise engaged.

I shall expect money from the peddlers the first of the week, and shall then forward some to you..At present we havw about \$2. in the Treasury.

I received a letter from Mr. Mead night before last saying that they would probably have money in a short time now, and could let us have the \$1000 we have talked of. My first thought was that we could do without it, but then I thought we had better take it. That will supply Brooklyn and Newark, buy wheat for our mill, and give some more capital in the peddling business.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

June 11, 1852.- Since the last record the care of God has been especially over us in respect to our finances. A week ago last Monday we had \$180 to pay, and no visible means of raising such a sum. But God helped us by his providence. Old debts were paid, sales of superfluous property were made, and to our astonishment we had at night the sum required and \$1.53 over.

CHARLOTTE MILLER TO HARRIET SKINNER.September 29, 1852.

(After describing a call from a Mr. Webster Mrs. Miller adds:)  
 He leaves tonight, taking every dollar in the treasury to send him home. I write this ( Mr. Miller says he hates to have me ) just to show that we do from time to time come down to the bottom. That is always the sign of a special influx. The more the demands the more we have. This was never more true than it has been this summer. All pretensions to being our own keepers or anything but receivers of daily bread are taken away.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.Oneida, May 24, 1852.

Dear Bro. Cragin:-

I proposed to make a note for \$250 payable at the Bank of Vernon in 90 days, signed by Mr. Burt and myself, and, if they had any doubts about it, endorsed by Mr. Leete. When I presented the note to the cashier, Mr. Case, , he said he would rather wait and lay it before the directors. "There is some prejudice against your Community, " said he, " and I presume some of the directors partake of it. The two last notes I discounted on my own responsibility. I consider the note perfectly good." After putting the note in my pocket I had a pleasant talk with the Cashier about the Community, but said nothing more about the note. Just as I was ready to leave he said: " I will take that note." I told him that I had no wish to have him take it if the directors didn't consider it perfectly good; I would get an endorser. He said: " I consider the note per-

feetly good, and if the directors are not satisfied I will endorse it myself." I left with the feeling that God had unlocked the Bank for us against the will of the directors.

A TRUE REASON FOR LOVING LABOR.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, JUNE 27, 1852.

If I can give a good reason for devoting myself to intellectual pursuits instead of ordinary labor, I can feel justified in going on as at present. But I will not have any laziness in my heart. If I cannot get rid of that in any other way, I will go to making shoes with John Smith. I believe that secretly laziness is the motive of many who take advantage of their opportunities to shirk work and become "gentlemen," and I know what a curse it is.

I have set up Harriet A. for my model in regard to service. I envy her readiness for anything and everything. She had opportunities that would have allowed her to be quite a lady. But she has chosen a course which is not only useful to the Community, but also to herself.

The four and twenty elders in Revelation "cast their crowns before the throne." That is what all those in high places must do. My face is steadily set in that direction. As fast as I get crowns I shall fling them at Christ's feet. Life is a growth, and I cannot make sudden changes. But I am growing toward the simplicity of service, away from everything that distinguishes a gentleman from a commoner

To work under law is bad, and not to work at all is bad.

But to work under inspiration is good. With inspiration every kind of work is good, and there is no important distinction between them. In Fourier's system unattractive labor was to receive a higher rate of pay. But if we get a firm hold on inspiration, I cannot see where there is any unattractive labor.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, August 19, 1852.

Enclosed you will please find \$25. I felt an instinct this afternoon to send you this amount, and proposed it to Mr. Burt and Charlotte, saying that we would trust God to take care of us. While we were talking on the subject and all were hearty in sending it, a letter was handed me from Albert Kinsley with \$50 enclosed.

STATE OF THE SCHOOL.

DECEMBER 22, 1852.

The Brooklyn family numbers 27 members including children, and is mainly employed in publishing THE CIRCULAR.

The Newark family numbers 13 members, and is principally engaged in machinery. Its shop employs about 8 men.

The Oneida Community comprises about 130 residents, who are occupied with gardening and farming and, to some extent, with manufactures, merchandise and milling.

The other three Associations are mainly agricultural, tending toward fruit-culture and gardening. Wallingford has a family of 17, Putney 15, and Cambridge 6.

Total number of members in the six associated families, 208.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, December 27, 1852.

I have this morning paid our last debt, except about \$800 State debt, which we can pay at our convenience. We have been through all sorts of financial experience, but I think this is the first time we have been free from debt since the commencement of this Community.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION.

JANUARY 15, 1853.

The following is a statement of the different kinds of business at Oneida with the distribution of men to each:

Grist-mill	3 men.	Steel Traps	4 men
Saw-mill	2 "	Silk Peddling	4 "
Rustic Seats	5 "	Shoe-shop	2 "
Broom-shop	5 "	Miscellaneous	9 "
Teaming	4 "	Kitchen	2 "
School	1 man.	Children's)	
		Dept. )	1 man.

These several trades have grown up quite naturally in the Community, and afford a pleasant variety adapted to the different tastes and faculties of the members. Changes are frequently made, so that persons can go through the whole circle of employments if they choose. As Spring opens several branches will be dropped, and many of the men will go into gardening and building operations. Several of the trades were brought in along with the other private attainments of members and, being adopted by the Community, have thus far proved pleasant and successful. The Community received a silver medal at the New York State Fair for specimens of their rustic seats. It is proposed to make \$1000 worth the present winter. The steel traps are ordered in large quantities by hardware dealers to supply the trappers of the Far West, the pioneers of civilization. In the Silk business several men are constantly employed in traveling, not on foot as formerly, but on different lines of railroad, supplying merchants and others in the villages. This brings us into contact with business men, and affords a good recreation for those who wish to go out. The trips are generally not over a week, and by that time the men are glad to hie homewards. The women of the Community are principally occupied in household affairs and in the needle work necessary to supply the other Communities with clothes. In summer they mingle freely in the outdoor labors of the garden and farm. The children all attend school.

7 LECTURES ON SOCIAL FREEDOM BY J. H. NOYES.

FIRST LECTURE, NOVEMBER 26, 1852.

A true confession of Christ gives control of the passions, and is a necessary preparation for study of this subject. Perfect contentment with the minimum, bare salvation, is the qualification for the maximum, a state where every passion will have its perfect development. All our advances toward the maximum will be by God's gift, not by our own right.

SECOND LECTURE, NOVEMBER 29, 1852.

Oneida has come up out of great tribulation, and I would gladly have then manage so as not to get into it again. For this purpose we should study our experience. We have just discovered that Harriet Skinner came under a dreadful influence in her dealings with Tryphena. When I see such an effect from a long-past cause, I realize the necessity of inspiration to understand the scenes we go through.

We must connect our sexual experience with that which is sacred. In the world there is a great gulf between sexual love and divine love, and so long as this exists sexual love must be profane. Our social theory is an important means of grace, to be put into the same category with the Lord's Supper. We propose to the world two institutions, the daily press and local associations, which constitute the service of the word of God. But the Bible Argument shows that Association is impracticable without our social theory. Fatal stumbling-blocks will inevitably

arise from exclusiveness and marriage spirit. Thus our social theory takes on all the sacredness and importance of the institution of which it forms a vital part. If Association is a means of grace, then our social theory is a means of grace.

But let us go farther. We have found by plenty of experience that our social theory is exactly adapted to producing conviction and conversion. Whoever comes among us with the intention of becoming a member at once finds himself brought to the point of giving up all those things that the ministers told him he ought to give up, wife, children, property. Then our social theory is a means of grace not only in the negative sense of giving up the world, but in the positive sense of producing in us a Community spirit. If the Primitive Church could discern the Lord's body in the meat and drink of the Lord's Supper, how much more naturally can we discern the Lord's body in each other, and in all our interviews receive each other as members of Christ ! By giving us means and occasions of communion one with another and with Christ our social theory fulfills the law of love which binds us exclusively to God.

The great danger in the administration of our social theory is that the least spiritual are apt to be the most active and get the most influence. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." When I was at Oneida I felt the responsibility of taking the lead myself; and I know that things cannot go right until the most spiritual do take the lead.

Kindred to the above is the danger that the women will take the lead. It is a false situation where the women get the lead in such things.



Another danger arises from the fact that the young are the most attractive. It is so and cannot be helped. But if persons follow simply their attractions, they mingle too much with those that have life and magnetism but lack discretion. Yet our law is that the young should mingle with the old. So there is a necessity for inspiration that adapts itself to present conditions and discerns when evil effects are developing.

Let them at Oneida not be in a hurry. If they will hold still a little while and keep their hearts open to me, I think I shall be able to help them. I do not see any better way than to give them a course of lectures. Standing at this distance perhaps I could have more freedom than if I were there. It will be good for Oneida to study the Table Talks with a special reference to our social theory.

Oneida should not think that I distrust them. I feel great confidence in them. Inspiration is flowing there. We have had Association criticisms. Now let us rise into Association courtships.

### THIRD LECTURE, DECEMBER 4, 1852.

I am seeking the secret of happiness, the play of the passions that makes people perfectly happy in heaven and can make them so on earth....

The great difficulty as things are in the world is that happiness generates a desire for more happiness of the same kind. A man can go to work to make money. When he has made as much as he would once have thought enough, he finds that he has generated a desire for more; and when he has got more he wants more still.

Desire constantly outruns enjoyment. There is no happiness in this. We must learn the secret of enjoying more and desiring less. This is nothing more or less than the attainment of contentment. God wants us to appreciate the good we have to such an extent as will reduce to a moderate amount our desires for good that is absent and future.

To be securely happy we must have the power to withdraw instantly from any specific form of enjoyment and turn directly to some other form of enjoyment. This power is something like the reciprocating feature of a steam engine. The steam acts first on one piston, then there is a shifting of valves and it acts on another piston. And the alternation is entirely automatic. The same force that drives the pistons shifts the valves. Similarly a man acting under the full force of passion may be connected and regulated by an inner law so that his operations will be safe and effectual...

God made us to enjoy everything in succession. If we try to get all our enjoyment from one thing, we shall find ourselves out of gear with the universe.

We have found in the Association that when a man's amative-ness is excited he can withdraw but it is a hard job ! The steam is not cut off short. His passions do not go "click, click" like a watch. Herein lies the whole trouble about jealousy. If a man could control himself so as to withdraw the whole force of his life from that particular channel, and turn it instantly into some other channel, he would never be jealous.

We must not think that it is right to pursue some particular pleasure till we have exhausted our susceptibility in that direc-

tion. We must learn to withdraw in the midst of pleasure, when our susceptibility is at its height, not only without pain but with positive enjoyment. This is carrying contentment to the mountain tops.

My rules for happiness are these: Make desire subordinate to enjoyment, and break up habit.

#### FOURTH LECTURE, DECEMBER 19, 1852.

There is much dispute in the world about "Solomon's Song." Some think of it as a bawdy song, and wonder that it is in the Bible. Others say it is an inspired poem descriptive not of sexual love but of love between Christ and the Church. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians speaks of marriage between man and woman in the same terms as between Christ and the Church. He says: "Husbands, love your wives even as Christ also loved the Church." Love makes man and woman members of each other, and in the same way makes us members of Christ. In Paul's mind there was evidently no impropriety in transferring the view from one to the other. So I should say that Solomon's Song was a beautiful description of love between man and woman; and also a most poetic symbol of love between Christ and the Church.

The question that now arises is this: If the images and suggestions of love between man and woman are really unclean, are they fit symbols of the love between Christ and the Church? I believe that we have in Solomon's Song the true, literal treatment of the human form, and that it is not unclean. The best taste will lead us to glorify the works of God in that way. In fact the poetical treatment of the human form in connection with human

passion is strictly holy and according to the design of God. We must expel from our minds the base associations connected with the human form before we shall be fit to receive Solomon's Song as a symbol of the love of Christ.

Artists contrive to hang a veil over the central parts. A free spirit will throw aside that veil, and introduce poetic conceptions to the very last act. That is where we must seek the source of all poetry.

If you examine yourself you will find that one of the most difficult things in the world is to represent the sexual act in a way to satisfy your sense of beauty. Suggestions from below prose, down in the regions of the Devil's poetry will thrust themselves in. It would be worth years of labor to get the imagination righted in this respect. If we gain that, we shall gain fellowship with heaven.

Solomon's method of exalting the human form is to seek out beautiful comparisons as those brought together in his book.

It would be a valuable exercise if each one of us should write down the most savory, clean, wholesome objects to which the sexual organs can be compared.

If we wished to show our position on our social theory, I would take as my text the story of Shadrach, Mishach and Abednego. The fact is, our social theory is a furnace that has always burnt folks. It is calculated to burn them. But in the case of these men a fourth person was there. They trusted in God, and had a good time undoubtedly - a first rate time - because they had Christ there with them. The smell of fire was not on their garments.

That is almost literally true of us both externally and internally. We enter the furnace, and are not consumed.

I suppose there is a veiled allusion to sex in the description of the river and tree of life. John says he "saw the holy city coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." There is a curious mixing up of ideas; a city, and yet it is a bride. The tree of life has twelve manner of fruit, and yieldeth its fruit every month. That seems to me to relate to the laboratory of love, the sanctuary where life begins. And there are allusions to the same things in the interior of the temple, in the ark of the covenant, and the cherubims of glory, which Paul saw but could not utter, when he was caught up to the heavens. There is a preparation for all these things in sanctifying our imaginations.

I for one was brought up in the "nurture and admonition" of the Devil on this subject. But you cannot say anything about these things in the presence of children. And since that branch is not taught in schools and families, the children form schools among themselves, and the Devil volunteers to teach them.

As a postscript to this discourse I will offer an illustration of my own. As a man is said to know a woman in sexual intercourse, why may we not speak of the telescope with which he penetrates her heavens, and seeks the star of her heart ?

#### FIFTH LECTURE, DECEMBER 24, 1852.

Christ's answer to the Saducees about marriage in the resurrection brings to view the most important factor in the working of our social theory. He says: "Ye do err in your hearts not knowing

the Scriptures and the power of God." The power of God ! That is what we must know to understand Bible Communism. That alters the whole problem. People who understand the power of God may reasonably expect to find things easy which to others are difficult or impossible.

SIXTH LECTURE, DECEMBER 26, 1852.

If we confess Christ, we must insist upon having the first result of the confession of Christ. It will make every one free, unembarrassed and bold. The very fact that Christ is in us all makes us the most intimate friends. I do not wish to force social freedom, but on the other hand I do not wish to have it obstructed by unnatural contraction of the heart. I want "faith that worketh by love" to have free play. This is a quality of character that I very much covet, and I should like to have examples of it held up to view. I can think of one person, Mr. Mead, who has a freedom and boldness combined with decorum in mixing with men and women that is highly valuable in society. It is a pleasure to him to get into the cars and become acquainted with everybody; treat men and women in the most familiar way, and yet not be impertinent. He simply acts out his social freedom. I don't know as we shall become as skilful as Mr. Mead right away, but we can all acquire a great deal more of that faculty than we now have.

There are certain persons who have a natural talent for that kind of music, and there are others who do not have so much. If you let things take their natural course, this first class will branch out and occupy the whole field, while the others become merely passive. I don't believe in that state of things. I belong myself to the bashful class, and I will head an insurrection

against the aristocracy. Let us claim our right to a part in this talent for making fun.

We must bestir ourselves. If we are going to take the lead of a daily press, and become the center of public opinion, we must feel at home anywhere and everywhere, ready to go into society and teach everybody.

SEVENTH LECTURE, JANUARY 15, 1852.

Since reading Greeley's article in The Tribune, this morning, I have felt a strong desire to do justice to our women. One great point in dispute between Greeley and others is the comparative responsibility of men and women in regard to chastity. Greeley takes the ground that women have the special charge of chastity, that they ought to have it, and that they ought to bear the heaviest portion of blame if they go astray. I go clear over to the opposite side and insist that man is more responsible than woman. Man is bound to take care of himself and of woman too. If men are chaste, you need not trouble yourself about the women. That is the doctrine embodied in our social theory, especially in the distinction between the amative and propagative departments. It is impossible for a woman to exercise sufficient influence to protect her there.

In the stand that we have taken before the world the women are the sufferers more than the men. The world condemns sexual offenses in woman more than in men. The fact that the women have so loyally and faithfully stood by us in this fight calls for thanks.

I feel bound as a Christian lover to see that I do not injure any woman morally nor physically. A man must secure a

woman from fear. He must win her confidence, because he has the power to do her mischief.

I vow to the Lord before you women in the name of all the men, that we will do the fair thing by you. We will try to understand and appreciate you, and remove the torments and encumbrances between you and the men.. We will make room for you, and you shall have all the chance you want. Before God here tonight we give you free papers.

If men know their interests they cannot take any other course than this. You can never have any satisfaction in love as long as women are under bondage to fear. Every disadvantage you put upon women is a damper upon their love. If you make women your slaves, you will have to put up with pretty poor fodder in the love line.



ADMINISTRATION OF COMPLEX MARRIAGE.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Brooklyn, June 11, 1849.

Another suggestion of Mr. Noyes's: That if Mr. Bradley is in a good state (as I should judge he is by what is said of him in Sarah Burnham's note), he have liberty with Ellen and Philena if he wishes it. Sarah ( Bradley ) will no doubt be pleased to help her husband to fellowship with others. You must be the judge of Mr. Bradley's state, and have an eye to things. Also hint to those girls that they exercise some conservatism, and not allow themselves to be made too free with by all sorts...

Since the receipt of yours, Mr. Noyes says I may say to you privately, that although he does not invite Ellen, yet if she chooses to come, and circumstances make it expedient on her own responsibility remember, she may come if she wishes to.

With regard to the state of things between you and me, I am well satisfied. God has our hearts in his power, and I have no complaint to make of his administration. When he thinks best he will give me that attraction which you desire; and until he does think best, as there is some excellent reason for withholding it, let us say, " Thy will be done."

JOHN R. MILLER TO HIS WIFE.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Brooklyn, July 26, 1849.

Dear Charlotte:-

Your letter of last Saturday was received this morning, and I need not tell you that it gave me unspeakable pleasure.

Furthermore, it did me a great deal of good, as I will explain when I see you. You must not for a moment think that I intended to find fault with you for not writing me sooner. Instead of complaining I feel very thankful that you have written me as often as you have.

When I said I had " a thousand things to say to you," I was in great distress of mind, and my heart was full of things I wished to write you, but did not feel free to. I have thought lately that I would write you regularly once a week and no more, but I cannot endure it. I want to write you twice a day, and should if I followed my own feelings, for I always have enough to say. I should not fail to write you once a day, if I could make up my mind that it was not foolish. What do you think about it ?

I feel an interest in all you do, say or think, but I have not the least curiosity to pry into your affairs. And here let me say that I have the utmost confidence that you will do exactly the right thing.

You did not exactly like my warm love letter, did you ? Perhaps I was a little too free in expressing my feelings toward you, but I wrote just what was in my heart, and I cannot say that I am sorry for it. When I write I am obliged to keep my heart closed, for if it once opened there is no knowing how much would rush out.

You ask how I get along. Since I wrote last I have been quite sick. One day I thought that I must go to Oneida, that I could not possibly stand it any longer. I proposed it to John. He left me at perfect liberty to do as I pleased. I

thought I would wait a little longer, and finally gave it up. For a week past I have really felt that it was doubtful whether I lived or died. But today I am quite well.

There has so far been nothing particularly interesting in my private history. The first week I was here I went to bed between eleven and twelve o'clock, and got up at half past four in the morning. The last week I have retired about the same time, but get up precisely at five. I do not think I have slept over two hours in twenty-four since I left Oneida. I have tried to sleep in the daytime, but have found it next to impossible. I hope to improve in this respect. I suppose one reason why I could not sleep was because I was so lonesome. I have had no company except one night and part of another when I was the sickest and it was hardly thought safe for me to stay alone.

And now I am about to make a confession. There is a lady in the block opposite with whom I have been perfectly charmed. I have looked at her for half an hour at a time, and could hardly keep my eyes off from her. She is decidedly beautiful. She has been at her window while I have been writing this letter. Don't you think I am getting in love ? Now for the secret of the story: The peculiar charm is that she looks like you. She wears a dress which at this distance looks like your gingham. Her hair is combed like yours, and when she sits with her face partly turned from me I should almost be ready to swear that it was you. I could not muster courage enough to look at your likeness till I had been here more than a week. Now I take great pleasure in looking at it.

I hope when you write you will always tell how the children are. Give my love to them and kiss them for me.

I do not think I shall write you another letter like this.  
I will endeavor to have them "Community letters."

No more, so good night, dearest C.

Yours as ever, J. R. M.

THE MARRIAGE SPIRIT.

AUGUST 30, 1849.

The good luck, good health, good feeling, which we find among us, attends the Community spirit, the spirit that cleaves to and acts out the principles of the Report we have published. If there is a good spirit here, as those who come here testify, it is the spirit that acknowledges God as our owner, and resolves us all into one family. But this good spirit has worked its way in the face of tremendous opposing forces. We cannot judge what would have been the result if our principles had been unobstructed. There has been thus far only a half-way surrender to the truth we have proclaimed. If a man comes into this Association with a wife that he has to watch and reserve from others, he has brought a cask of powder into a blacksmith's shop. It is the business of the shop to make sparks, and no wonder he is miserable. But it is not fair to charge his unhappiness upon our principles. I say to such persons: "If you cannot be persuaded to be rational in this matter, I will be patient, and insist only on keeping the theory clearly before us." Sometimes a ship coming into harbor against wind and tide sends a small boat forward with the anchor; then when the anchor is fastened warps up to it by pulling on the cable. We will take our theory as an anchor and warp up to it as fast as we can.

Our theory is that there is no marriage in heaven. Not merely this Association but Christ himself has made this declaration. Even if the Association goes to destruction, God will find a way to break up marriage. Death at any rate will end marriage. This Association preaches Christ as having the prerogatives of death, and invites you to volunteer in that course to which you will be dragged at death. A people who have learned that they need not wait for death to be delivered from sin should expect to learn that they need not wait for death to be delivered from those things which are built on sin, that is selfishness and exclusiveness. The family relation of brothers and sisters is to take the place of the artificial relation of marriage. I am anxious to see these principles fairly tried, but we cannot do this so long as the Association, or a part of them, are holding back.

I am convinced by experience and observation that God does not favor marriage. Love is an infusion from God, and I believe that there is very little warm, genial love between the married pairs in the Association. The parties are not to blame; God does not send his love in that channel. Almost every married person in the Association is in love with somebody besides their married companion, and they are sensible of an electricity about it not to be accounted for by the working of their own spirits alone. It is the free love of heaven, and it is directed by the living God.

Marriage has a proper place in the Association. It establishes our rights against the world, the same as the law of property does. You avail yourself of that law to say to the world:

"This is mine." Then you turn to the Association and say:  
"This is yours." We make the same use of marriage. By marriage you place yourself and your partner in a position where you are protected from the interference of outside society. Moreover marriage for the present may be the best method of introducing the sexes to each other. The time may come when we shall have wit enough to invent fashions that are more natural and beautiful. Meanwhile the world offers us a convenient method, and we will avail ourselves of it. I have never assented to any marriage that gave one an exclusive right to another. All our marriages have been matters of convenience and policy. Marriage may be wise in some cases for purposes of care and oversight. Besides these reasons I see no further use for marriage.

The principal ground of exclusive companionship does not exist in this Association. In the world a woman secures her support and protection by marriage. A man becomes responsible for her, and on that ground claims a right to her exclusive affection. But there is no woman here who is dependant on one man for support. Another ground of exclusiveness in the world is the idea that a woman who has once married has lost her attractiveness, and her husband must love her and take care of her, for she has no other chance. But this is not true here.

While a man stands in the ranks of society as a candidate for the favors of the other sex, he is under the strongest stimulus to cultivate amiable manners and honorable ambition. He looks well to the quality of his goods. But when he is sold in marriage, there is an end of all care about quality. He has got a woman, whom he has a right to make his companion whether she will or no, the right of a master over a slave.

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I should be glad, at any cost, to see this whole Association come on to courting ground; to see every man put himself into the market for what he is worth. There would be a good deal more attention to qualify. A man who has a wife has the privilege of being lazy; he has all that is necessary to satisfy his sensual appetite and social craving, and he is contented, though he may be as poor as poverty. He is in no condition to do justice to other women. It costs something to court another woman, and he cannot pay the price. But the real happiness and beauty of love lies in the courting attitude of mind. This shrinking back from the energy necessary to become attractive is the natural outworking of the marriage system. Let us all come into the market with no rights or claims. Obtain love by love and by presenting attractiveness. "Owe no man anything but love." Never think of paying that debt once for all. God rewards every man according to his works. Marriage is a refuge of lies that people cover themselves with to get a reward that they do not earn.

All that we need to be a healthy, happy community is to let God's love have free course among us. God's love is not contracted and egotistical, but expansive and universal. God loves the whole Association without respect of persons. All secondary affections based on marriage and kindred must submit to the primary and take their place at last by the favor of the primary. False love, whether manifested in the form of licentiousness or the marriage spirit of philoprogenitiveness, is characterized by a feverish, groveling anxiety for one's own pleasure and an evil eye on the pleasure of others.

Love between the sexes is not a mere privilege or luxury but a debt. Every man as such owes a debt to every woman, and every woman as such owes a debt to every man. You may say it is impossible for a man to stand in love relations with every woman. How do you know? Eternity is before us. If you cannot pay down, perhaps God will hold a note against you toward every woman to be paid on demand. Dare you put yourself in a condition which precludes you from paying your social debts, and dare you put anybody else in that condition? A man who has the marriage spirit is precisely in the condition of a fraudulent debtor; he has given all his property to one preferred creditor, and is cheating the rest.

There are men in the Association who have talents for social music and ought to be glorious distributors of God's love, but who are crippled by daintiness and cramped and made miserable by marriage adhesions. Then there are women who can and should love the whole Association, but whose husbands stand watching and jealous and grumbling if their wives pay a cent to anyone but themselves. Many persons are not only precluded from paying their just social debts, but are starved; and society is not only deprived of their love but of their efficiency. A man is not a man unless he is in the free exercise of his affections. True love is essential to health. It is the fire of life.

You will not be excused on account of daintiness from paying your social debts. You may say you have no taste for anybody but your wife. But your taste may be diseased. God will not have those in his kingdom who cannot love all that he loves. Christ loves us not with distant benevolence but with intimate union.



I have not only no right to refuse paying my own debts, and no right to hinder others from paying theirs, but no right to allow anybody to make me a fraudulent debtor. Every man must give an account of himself to God, and those who are held in a fraudulent position by selfish partners must still pay their debts.

While the world is predicting that our principles will result in confusion and licentiousness, the difficulty has actually been on the other side. It has not been enough to set the doors open; we have had great labor to get folks to come out of their cages.

NOYES TO THE ASSOCIATION.

NOVEMBER 8, 1849.

I find in my heart commendation and gratitude toward the Association for its faithful observance of that part of our social theory which relates to propagation. Our principle of Male Continence makes a large demand, especially in our present incipient stage of education, on self-control and self-denial, and is doubtless the occasion of some trials and temptations. It would not have been strange if instances of violation had occurred among us. But I am thankful that we are able to say that no involuntary, unwelcome impregnation has taken place in this Association during nearly two years of its existence. The Association will also allow me, on behalf of myself and others, to tender thanks for the respect and kindness with which those strangers which have come among us contrary to law(though not by chance) have been received.

JOHN H. NOYES.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO THE BROOKLYN FAMILY.Oneida, November 26, 1849.

Did ever the telegraph convey such electrifying news ? The rebuke and reproach are taken away indeed, when they had produced the desired effect, that of expelling frivolity and cant. This has been a sober week, and the spirit of judgment has been active and searching in many directions.

Our meeting this evening was extremely interesting. The news was reserved until after the reading of a confession from Mrs. Ackley and remarks by Mr. Hamilton; and when the audience could fairly catch their breath it was responded to by clapping of hands, laughter and exclamations of joy, with episodes of embracing and kissing between Mother and Mrs Campbell and Mrs. Seymour. After a second reading Mr. Hamilton called attention to the coincidence between the date of this crisis with that of the flight from Putney two years ago.

Mr. Hamilton then related some of his experience the past week, which proved that God had not only carried the Association through a dangerous crisis, but had placed a man at its head whom he could make behave well, not suffering him to be puffed up or swayed from his upright course. Mr. Burt expressed his satisfaction with Mr. Hamilton's position, as one which bore decidedly on W. H. Cook's ambition to attain the same place.

There was a general looking back to the events of past years. Mr. Hamilton related the manner in which his confidence in John first began, was destroyed by the Wilders, and again restored and confirmed by John's writings. The effect on the whole was exhilarating but quiet and serious.

My heart appreciates brotherly love more and more, and my union with John is becoming more satisfactory.

I am yours forever, CHARLOTTE.

MARY E. CRAGIN TO THE ONEIDA ASSOCIATION.

Brooklyn, November 26, 1849.

I have thought it might not be uninteresting to you to know some of the exercises of mind through which I passed before my deliverance. When Mr. Noyes came home, and wished me to dismiss the Association from my mind, and quietly sit down and wait on the Lord, although it was just what I had been wishing and praying for, yet I found that while I could seclude my body I could not separate my spirit, which had a strong centrifugal tendency. I prayed God to separate me from the spirit of flattery and false love at any cost, for I was anxiously seeking fellowship with the Primitive Church, but found myself fettered and bound in a descending direction.

About this time Mr. Noyes wrote his first note to the Association. When he read it to me I felt as though I ought to tell him that I had reason to suspect myself, but I was so unwilling to believe such a thing, so sure that I had been careful and that all others concerned had been equally so, that I laughed at my own fears. But I could not get rid of them by the efforts of my will, and at length gave it up and asked God to hold me in suspense just as long as he pleased, or to make me believe it, or to make it true if I could not learn the lesson which he wished me to in any other way. From that time the conviction fastened itself on my mind, and I mentioned it to Mr. Noyes. Then I went through the most terrible ordeal of criticism which I ever did. I disclosed

to him all the secrets of my heart and abode the judgment of God. For two days I was in great doubt whether Mr. Noyes had strong enough hold of the center of my life to break the snare which held me, and I felt myself hanging over hell at God's mercy. Before I got through I was much more anxious to learn the lesson which God had set me than to be released from the consequences, and said in my heart, I will not accept deliverance until this lesson is learned. I prayed God for repentance which needed not to be repented of, and he gave me that which wrought in me clearing of myself, indignation, fear, vehement desire, zeal and revenge. He has made me sincere, and in your thanksgiving to God on my behalf I pray you to thank him for this more than anything else. For this sincerity has brought me to Him. I find the same love in my heart, the same sober, earnest tone which I had when I was first married to God at nineteen years of age. God has brought me back to my first love, and in doing so he has displayed the nice skill and fearlessness of a surgeon and all the attractions of a lover. While he cut me loose from idols mercilessly, he charmed me with love. He has wiled me into sincerity by making me feel that every time I open my heart and let in the light upon the secret places, it lets in his love upon me. And now I ask for nothing else, need nothing else to make me happy and lovely. This beautiful sincerity is making me true to my inner instincts, true to my real self which is the voice of God in me. Sincerity will save me from flattery and false love, and will make me single-eyed. I shall be such a lover of true pleasure that I shall put up with no shams.

Ascending fellowship will charm beyond all possibility of being seduced by those below me.

In looking back at the dealings of God with me from my youth up I see that he is in earnest in his love. He never forgets the covenant he made with me then, and all he has put me through has been necessary to bring me where I could rejoice in his love and appreciate his faithfulness.

The agony of heart through which I passed at Oneida in view of the probable consequences of false love, and the terrible judgment through which I was delivered cause the question to spring involuntarily, What shall I render to the Lord for all his goodness to me? My heart answers, I will render sincerity. I have no secrets from those above me. I will be true to my inner instincts at the risk of being singular and unpopular. He who has proved himself my best and most faithful lover shall have my whole heart; to him will I abandon myself without looking over my shoulder. I love Mr. Noyes because he knows more about God than I do, and can teach me how to please him, and I reverence him as God's agent in bringing me to him.

I must say a word about the second note which Mr. Noyes sent you. I felt when he read it to me, that my death-warrant was signed. I gave up the life of the body for the sake of my spirit, and gave up all the love I had from you, and was willing to be an outcast from the church as I have long been from the world. To my utter surprise I found myself in an ocean of tenderness and love. Oh, by this love let me implore you to be sincere, be true to your instincts, be sober, be in earnest, love truth better than your life, if you would be happy and

have fellowship with God.

There is a hymn in the Lyre which expresses God's dealings with me, which perhaps you will like to sing. It begins: "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord."

I wish you a joyful thanksgiving.

Truly yours,

M. E. CRAGIN.

GEORGE W. HAMILTON TO NOYES.

Oneida, November 28, 1849.

The day you left Oneida I was in a tumult of feelings. The advice you gave me served to quiet me and cause me to look at my character to see if I could find the spirit you said I was possessed of. I saw very plainly that you had hit the mark. That evening I stayed in my room, and had more heart-felt fellowship with Christ than ever before. I gave myself up anew to God, willing to take any position he would put me in. I can say this without any cant. I found a frivolous, pleasure-seeking spirit in me, and was surprised that I had not seen it before. The next day I prayed God, if he could not free me from those spirits in any other way, to take the love of the Association from me entirely. That evening I read your Religious Experience, and it seemed to me that I could swallow every word of it. I have never felt such a strong desire to read your writings as I do now. Friday evening I was thrown into trials and suffering. I felt as though I was nearly enveloped by the Devil's spirit and could not be saved. All I could do was to confess Christ in me, and say, I am God's property. I find that every part of my character is being judged.

The other evening I was cut up by your sending for Philena Baker. But I can thank God for it, for I feel it is cutting into the egotism I am possessed of. I have been trying to pass myself off for more than I am worth, but God has detected the spirit. I can now say I do not wish to be appreciated for more than I am worth, and I do not want any love but that which God directs. My desire is that God will carry out the work he has commenced in me, and I am confident that he will do so.

In looking at the proceedings of yourself and Mrs. Cragin in this late affair I could not help being forcibly struck with the way that both of you took it. My confidence has been greatly increased in you. I have never loved you before with such pure and sincere love. I would like to thank you for the criticism that came from you. I rejoice heartily in Mrs. Cragin's deliverance from danger, but pray God it may not be the means of my forgetting the lesson that he set before me. I would take up with Mrs. Cragin's advice, to sit at the feet of Jesus and learn.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO MARY E. CRAGIN.

DECEMBER 15, 1849.

Your letter concerning George Hamilton will receive our earnest consideration. I am persuaded that what you have suffered in this affair will prove a bulwark of salvation to those who are behind. I think I can see the similarity between him and Helen Noyes. In her case I know that I was dazzled by a superficial glare of beauty, and was drawn into a flattering spirit toward her.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

March 2, 1850.- Just as our men were through their breakfast, the cry of fire was heard and the blaze and smoke of a burning house was seen in the direction of Mr. Hubbard's. All sallied forth, and arrived on the spot just in time to save Mr. Dexter Hubbard the loss of his barns, worth several hundred dollars. George Hamilton took a position on top of the barn, where they had to throw water on him to keep him from burning.

As George Hamilton was the hero of the morning, "dauntless in fire," so he was the bridegroom of the evening, "gallant in love." Just before meeting Mr. E. H. Hamilton received Brooklyn's approval of George Hamilton's marriage to Philena Baker, and communicated it to the parties, both in a state of innocent simplicity till then. A beautiful spirit of unity and sympathetic happiness pervaded the ceremony.

Note by Noyes: This was in the transition period of our social system, before we had entirely abandoned marriage; but the knot was not tied very tight.

NOYES TO E. H. HAMILTON.

Brooklyn, March 4, 1850.

I have not overlooked or forgotten the suggestions that have been made from time to time in regard to the wishes of the unmarried young men. I have reflected much on their position. In fact the problem which I undertook to solve last fall in relation to their admission to the freedom of the Association has been continually before me. I have had plenty of good-will for removing all difficulties, but having no special



inspiration on the subject I have refrained from writing. I find that in a difficult spot the best thing I can do is to stand still; and evidently the transition of the young men from the hot blood of virginity to the quiet freedom which is the essential element of our Society is emphatically the difficult pass in our social experience. I have not much new light on the matter now, but after receiving your application for advice in regard to mating George Hamilton and others I have thought it best to state distinctly the difficulties which have constrained me to stand still, that you and others may act fairly in view of them and may understand the spirit of my administration in this respect hitherto.

In the first place, experience has shown that the usual "sale and delivery" of the woman to the man through marriage is highly objectionable. We have distressing examples of the effect of initiating young men. The spiritual collapse of Julia Hyde and Sarah Dunn, perhaps also of Sarah Campbell, Mrs. Worden and Louisa Waters may be mentioned. I surmise that the possessive feeling, when it gets a foothold in the midst of the counter influences of such a society as ours, by no means abates its usual energy. The Husband's ownership of the wife seems stronger in these cases than in the cases of those who brought wives into the Association. The past warns us against sale and delivery, and though I approve of your motion for mating George and Philena I protest in advance in the name of the Association and on behalf of the weaker party against such appropriation as in former cases has disabled and almost sunk the women. Here I stood last fall. Here lies the secret of

my dealings with Fidelia and Abram. Here I stand still. The weaker party needs protection from the untamed lion; and if the amateness of the young men is not civilized enough to be safely trusted, the Association is bound to protect the young women. I am willing, as I have been, to suffer odium in this quarrel.

On the other hand the plan proposed last fall of introducing the young men to the freedom of the Association through the more spiritual women has been attended with difficulties. Mrs. Cragin lost her equilibrium in the attempt to carry it out, and there appears to have been an unhealthy excitement in Perkins and perhaps others, which has ended in grudging and discontent.

So then whichever way we turn we meet a difficulty. What precisely is the difficulty? It is nothing more nor less than the fiery, ungovernable condition of amateness in men whose ardor has been stimulated by the unnatural training of the world but not drawn off by marriage.

This difficulty is by no means so formidable in the case of the young women. Amateness in them is naturally less ferocious than in young men. The danger of pushing love into ownership as well as into undesirable propagation is by the position of the parties chiefly on the side of the men. How is this difficulty to be overcome? It cannot be conjured out of the way by any civil request, nor by any ingenious modes of mating. It must be resisted, like all other forms of uncivilized passion, wisely but firmly and heroically,

and success must be sought and patiently waited for in the growth of spiritual strength in the Association. As we become mighty in the power of the resurrection we shall be able to hold the passions even of young men quiet, and introduce them to the freedom of love without danger. Till then we must try experiments and wriggle through our difficulties the best we can; and in this transition period the young men must consider the difficulties, be patient, and help as much as they can by self-discipline. I sympathize with them, and would be glad to see them all enjoying the full freedom of love, but while trying to do justice to them I must look out for the interests of the Association. They cannot possibly enjoy the freedom of love till they have conquered themselves; on the contrary they are liable to be themselves the greatest sufferers from the perils of the crisis which they are so eager for. I demand therefore for their own sakes that they give us time for study, and themselves time for self-improvement.

Possibly the true solution of the problem, so far as it can be solved by social contrivances, will be found in a combination of the two plans, namely, introduction to free love by the ascending fellowship, and mating horizontally. This combination was tried in the case of Abram and Fidelia, and the results are the best we have had yet. If all the young men will court as well as Abram did, they will have no difficulty so far as my feelings are concerned in obtaining a free relation to the church and the special companions they desire.

With these observations I leave the whole matter to your discretion.

CASE OF WILLIAM H. PERRY.NOYES TO WILLIAM H. PERRY.Brooklyn, April 24, 1850.

Bro. Perry:-

Mr. Leonard has reported to me facts which show that your amateness is in a bad state, and I am bound for the church's sake as well as for your own to deal plainly with you.

Your sexual history previous to your connection with us reveals unusual corruption. Though you had been a church member and a Perfectionist, you had been a secret whore-monger and had several times contracted the venereal disease. Without any disclosure of these facts, and of course without any hearty repentance of them, you availed yourself of our free principles and exposed two of our women here at Brooklyn to the poison still lurking in your system. Self-seeking and concealment thus far marked you as an unclean man. Your secret was drawn from you, and you passed through a judgment which I hoped would give you a new sense of the sacredness of love and make you an honorable man toward the other sex. But it now appears that, in the face of my counsel, and in the face of your own conscience (since you found it necessary to walk in darkness), you have dealt with Mrs. Smith as you dealt with Mrs. Whitfield and Mrs. Langstaff, exposing her to distress and distrust if not to disease. Sensual self-seeking and concealment are as manifest here as heretofore, and you have now added to them gross insubordination. You are not a safe man, and you will not be till you have had a far deeper work of repentance, and have thoroughly laid to heart God's

judgment of whoremongers. In view of this discovery of your character I see why I have not been able to forward your negotiations with Mary Mabie. As an honorable man I cannot advise you to offer yourself to her in your present condition. You are diseased in spirit if not in body.

Now is the time to overhaul your accounts and make a thorough settlement. The act in question is not the thing to be judged. It is the spirit betrayed in that act. That spirit has blunted your sense of honor in love, and you must get rid of it or your place will be without among dogs and sorcerers. God does not tolerate it, and you shall not bring it in among us if I can prevent it. If you ask what you are to do, I answer: Turn away from all women to God, judge yourself, and open your heart to the church. If you are faithful you will find business enough of this kind to occupy you for some time. Moreover I counsel you now and forthwith to apprise the whole Association of your past history. Such a disclosure is due. We must demand such disclosures from every man who proposes to enter our circle, otherwise we are open to all the plagues of licentiousness spiritual and physical. Every woman ought to know your condition as evinced by the facts which I have referred to. Every man ought to know women have had intercourse with you. If there is one thing above all others that ought to be prized in such a community as ours, it is perfect frankness, especially in sexual matters. Our only hope of safety lies in throwing all open to the light and allowing spiritual criticism to do its work. God will insist that sincerity shall go before liberty. Expose yourself to

the "Flaming sword that keeps the way of the tree of life,"  
and you may yet win our confidence.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN H. NOYES.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 27, 1850.- The Holmeses of East Hamilton, after a week's trial, have decided that they are not ready to join, and must leave. They were scared away by the requirement that husbands and wives should sleep apart.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO MARY E. CRAGIN.

Oneida, April 28, 1850.

If ever there was an illustration of Paul's philosophy, a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, we are seeing it now. A spark of hell-fire has come in through Mr. Perry that would sweep the Association if it was not quenched. The engines are at work to-day in good earnest. Mr. Perry received John's letter Friday evening. He communicated it to Mr. Burt, and Mr. Burt to George and others. Last evening George called a meeting of the leading members, read the letter and brought out facts showing that a licentious spirit had been disclosed in other quarters. Mrs. Smith confessed yesterday that she had been with Hyde without Mr. Skinner's knowledge while she was professing to confide everything to him. This brought Hyde into judgment. Julia and Jane confessed that he had been trying to seduce them, and he confessed to Julia that night before last he was with Mary Pomeroy during the evening meeting. It appears that he has been completely drunk with sensuality for some time, and all the while in special fellowship with Mr. Perry.

Hyde, Mrs. Smith and Mary Pomeroy have of all others in the Association been close to Mr. Perry, and have had a thorough run of his spiritual disease. You can see what a mean transaction that was between Hyde and Mary Pomeroy, because it is notorious that he has a great repugnance to her.

It was thought best, as Mr. Perry had consented, to read John's letter before the whole meeting and invite the spirit of judgment. George said that this spirit of licentiousness was imported by Mr. Perry from New York City, and was foreign to the Community. Hyde came out with an apparently broken-hearted confession of being under its influence and forsaking it. Several confessed what struggles with that spirit they had lately been through, and George said he believed the whole Association had felt it. The evidence that it had been withstood in a good measure was encouraging.

This forenoon the Association met by appointment. There were some circumstances that connected Mr. Perry directly with the present disorderly state of the children. He was observed this morning to be fondling Ellen Lord in an unbecoming way, and Ellen Lord and Ann Eliza have been identified as the leak among the children that lets in the pleasure-seeking spirit. They have lately had all the appearance of girls brought up in the city, roving about, calling at the store and shops, and spending their time in the streets. Mr. Perry has been in the way of giving them sweetmeats at the store. Mr. Carr said that he had been obliged to criticize Mr. Perry sharply several times for coming to him with the complaint that the center of the Association monopolized the amative privileges. Testimony

is pouring in about Mr. Perry. He has been in love with Sarah Johnson, or rather has been trying to seduce her. She came out in the meeting with a desire to separate herself from his spirit. He was not present at this meeting, but we were scarcely out when he was seen to give Ellen Lord a bunch of wild flowers; then Philena told that last night, as she was washing her hands at the sink, he came along and said he wished somebody would wash his hands. She did not know that he was under special criticism, and playfully told him she would. When she had washed one, she felt an involuntary disgust and told him he could wash the other himself. But he wanted to pay her, and forced her to receive a kiss. This after John's letter, you see. Mrs. Smith has come out openly to him, and seems disposed to take sides with the judgment of God, though it is hard. She has been tempted from the first to excuse herself and throw the blame upon the Association in one way or another. Finally she said that George, Mr. Skinner and the rest of us made a serious matter of her affair with Mr. Perry, but she could not see what harm there was in it. This spirit of blindness and confounding false love with true has been like a nightmare on us all; we could feel that city spirit which attaches no sacredness to the expression of love. Charlotte said that this practical lesson was to be learned by the whole Community, that all amative expressions not proper according to common rules should be reserved for true inspired love, but that lascivious freedom characterized the common interchange of those under rebuke.



About a fortnight ago Charlotte went through a judgment and self-clearing about her connection with Mr. Hyde, so that she was in a condition to criticize him in a way that she never has been before.

Altogether this affair has let in the judgment most seriously. It has thrown Mr. Hatch and Fidelia into the fire for things that have come out about their freedom months ago. And Charlotte says it will throw Mary Pomeroy into perfect obscurity for a while; she is taken out of the kitchen. Mrs. Smith, who has been in the kitchen, has expressed her inclination to retire from observation, but Charlotte advised her to keep herself as much in the light as possible; if she retreated to her room in a spirit of pride and hypo, it would be bad for her. Mrs. Smith takes the advice and is very meek.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

April 28, 1850.- Two meetings were held today to dispose of Mr. Perry's case. Further investigation showed a lack of subordination to Mr. Noyes and the Association, also an absence of sincere repentance; and it was determined by a general vote of the Association that he be expelled from our body until he make a full proof by deeds that he is cleansed from that false spirit.

July 2, 1850.- Mr. William H. Perry on the advice of Mr. Noyes, returned to Oneida. Mr. Noyes stated that Mr. Perry had given proof of his subordination and faithfulness, and that he with the other members of the Brooklyn family could unanimously recommend him to the Association.

(Conclusion of Perry Case.)

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO MARY E. CRAGIN.Oneida, May 18, 1850.

I thought I would communicate to you some thoughts which have been passing through my mind today, as they might perhaps be suggestive in some way to John. It seems to me that what he says is true, that amateness in the Association is in a negative state, and that a heaven-inspired activity of the affections is needed. This negative state is not natural or healthy, and I have thought there was something like a mutinous feeling in several members, the feeling which possessed Mrs. Smith and Mr. Perry, that the center monopolized the amative privileges, and they had a right to help themselves. These persons, I imagine, feel some like the hungry canaille of Paris in the time of the Revolution. There seems to be a great stricture. Amateness has been under so much judgment that the sexes are more divided, if anything, than in the world. As Charlotte says, all criticism and no love does not work well. It seems as if there must be some way by which the extremities can be warmed and vitalized. At present the men keep bachelors' hall, and the women are kind of forlorn. I think of you as the mainspring of love, and have anticipated your return as a season of quickening and improved circulation.

May 20, 1850.-

Brooklyn's response to Harriet Skinner's appeal was to send Mr. and Mrs. Cragin and Harriet A. Noyes to Oneida for a visit of ten days. They returned to Brooklyn with several others of the Oneida family on May 31st.

CONVERSATION AT ONEIDA AFTER READING NOYES'S  
LETTER ABOUT MR. BURNHAM'S CASE.

JUNE 6, 1850.

G. W. N.- This is an encouraging letter, but it has a degree of criticism in it. I am sensible that the criticism is just, and I am prepared to act heartily on the suggestion made. I should like to have perfect freedom of expression on this subject.

E. H. Hamilton.- I consider this criticism just, not only with regard to others but with regard to myself. I have found that what Mr. Noyes calls the rooster spirit has occasionally worked into my experience and has hindered the perfecting of my relation to the Association. It has stood between myself and him, and I am thankful for this frank offer of himself to us as a free gift from God. He is in deed and in truth our brother, and this feeling of fear that we have been under is false. He is not a man to be feared but to be loved. I have had a good deal of conflict with a temptation to think I was overshadowed when in his society. But I thought last night, that before I left Oneida I should like to give my testimony on this subject. Instead of being overshadowed by him I have been prospered. All my prosperity in love has been owing to the inspiration and guidance I have received from him. I for one feel like opening my heart to him, and I hope the Association will appreciate him as a gift from God to lead us through the difficulties that lie in the way of true free love.

Isaac Seymour.- Formerly I regarded him as a distant oracle, but I have lately regarded him as a brother.

Henry Seymour:- We need to wake up to a sense of our obligation to Mr. Noyes. If we remember that he has been the means of delivering us from the evils we were subject to in the world, and also of showing us the glories of free love, we cannot feel too thankful to God for the gift of Mr. Noyes.

Jonathan Burt:- Those suggestions of Mr. Noyes came home to me as the out-gushing of a large heart, and though not given in a spirit of complaint they are a severe rebuke from God. His feelings toward us now, as they ever have been, are those of a tender brother, and I invite him with all my heart to be free on this subject.

Henry W. Burnham:- This discussion is very timely. It is quite evident that there has been a stoppage in this department. In this letter we have the key to the mystery. I feel anxious that the whole Association open their hearts to the leaven of his spirit. Without the life and strength of true love we cannot prosper. I feel barren, and I want to apply heartily the truth that Mr. Noyes is our brother. He is a bright spot that we can look to in our temptations and trials.

Albert Kinsley:- I feel that the criticism is just, and I wish to clear my heart of everything that stands in the way of the life and inspiration of God, that I know flows through Mr. Noyes to us.

John L. Skinner:- I desire that there may be a better appreciation of Mr. Noyes as God's gift to us, and I hope there will be an expulsion from the Association of the spirit of jealousy and fear of him in relation to love.

George W. Noyes:- I do not know as there need be any reflections cast upon the past. I am perfectly satisfied that the Association stands higher on the scale higher on the scale of spirituality than ever before, and that we have a sincerity and earnestness that will enable us to do justice in this matter. I know there is deliverance for every one of us, and I thank God that the crisis has come.

Otis H. Miller:- I have unbounded confidence in Mr. Noyes on this subject and every other.

William H. Woolworth:- It is all-important that we appreciate Mr. Noyes's character as a brother and as a pioneer. I am conscious that my love for him is increasing. It is cheering to me that we have such a leader.

Amasa W. Carr:- I esteem it a great privilege to avail myself of Mr. Noyes's experience in love matters.

Several other men expressed themselves as appreciating Mr. Noyes more and more as a brother and leader.

#### NOYES'S REMARKS ON MR. BURNHAM'S CASE.

JULY 2, 1850.

I surmise that the root of Mr. Burnham's difficulty is the same as Mr. Bradley's at Putney. Mr. Bradley had made a surrender of private claims to his wife so far as fellowship was concerned, but when he learned that Mrs. Cragin was to have a child by me he began to act like a madman. On the point of propagation he was quarreling with God. The Community spirit had not pervaded that recess, and consequently there was a chance for poison to work out into all his social relations. Mr. Bradley finally came over to a right view of the

matter, and was happier for it. I imagine there was a great deal of secret quarreling with God on account of that child, and I would inquire whether that same supposition did not enter Mr. Burnham's mind, that I might possibly intrude on his private interests. I stand as the champion of the right of every man to have children by those he loves. That right is not yet won by a good deal.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

July 10, 1850.- Mr. Newhouse, who has been suffering from jealousy and the marriage spirit in its intensest form for some time past, gave way to his feelings and committed an assault upon D. P. Nash and Mrs. Newhouse as they were walking in the garden after meeting. He followed them, and violently demanded an explanation of their course, telling them that murder was in his heart. Mr. Burnham, hearing the noise, came to their rescue. He drew Mr. Newhouse away, and slept with him all night.

July 11, 1850.- Mr. Burt and G. W. Noyes have labored with Mr. Newhouse today. By some exertion he confessed his faults in the meeting, and wrote a communication to Brooklyn exposing his past life.

#### GEORGE W. NOYES IN THE ONEIDA JOURNAL.

July 16, 1850.- The body has been under considerable pressure for a few days past. I called out Leonard Dunn, who has been suffering from the marriage spirit. He frankly expressed himself, referring the cause to that Burnham Report. He has never been tempted with murder in his heart toward Mr.

Noyes. He has written a note to Francis Hyde judging the spirit. Mr. Isaac Seymour confessed his difficulty with that Report. He did not see any right or propriety in Mr. Noyes's assuming peculiar privileges or a peculiar interest in propagation. This brought down a regular tempest upon him from Mr. Burt and others, and he backed out in a rather dragged condition.

There are of course occasions of trouble enough of other kinds, and well there may be so long as confidence is not eternally declared in Mr. Noyes. How can we expect God to be very much at home with us while Mr. Noyes cannot ?

July 17, 1850.- Mr. Burnham made a confession acknowledging the truth of the Report on his case, and making a full surrender of his wife to the church of God and Mr. Noyes.

July 18, 1850.- At a meeting of the men the report of Mr. Noyes's discourse called out by Mr. Newhouse's confessions was read. G. W. Noyes spoke with earnestness and power, urging the necessity of carrying sincerity clear through to the bottom of our hearts. If the surrender of our rights to God was not carried through to that ultimate point of an entire surrender of our wives, the Association must fail. Evil-thinking and distrust of Mr. Noyes such as was brought out by old Mr. Seymour must be thoroughly expelled. We should not get free from troubles and distresses till we got a sincerity and confidence in Mr. Noyes that would invite him heartily here and make a genial home for him among us. Others agreed with this. Mr. Newhouse said he was thankful for Mr. Noyes's criticism.

July 21, 1850.- A free meeting in the evening, in which the spirit of truth seemed to be present. Mr. Isaac Seymour confessed himself wrong in his doubts of Mr. Noyes. He said that, having such abundant evidence that Mr. Noyes was called of God as a leader, he ought not to doubt him in specific things.

October 17, 1850.- A daughter, Grace, was born to Mrs. Kesiah Worden this evening. Mr. A. C. Smith is the father. This is the first accidental birth, or falseness to our principles. Both parties have had a sincere criticism for their unfaithfulness to Christ and the truth.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO MARY E. CRAGIN.

Oneida, March 6, 1851.

I have been wishing to write to you, not out of a desire to burden you with complaints ( for I truly feel that I have all and abound). but rather to express to you, and through you to John, the increase of my first-love devotion to him - the gratitude that melts my heart for his loving kindness and patience, the loyalty that gathers strength constantly from a remembrance of the past, and will, I am sure, reign over all other affections. You guessed rightly that his expressions of love and commendation toward Harriet and me would be joyfully received...

I think that under Mr. Cragin's spirit a far more genial feeling prevails, yet there is a great deal of what may be called loyalty to Mr. Hamilton as a man, that sets him up as the standard of character, and is cold, cramping and distrustful toward others who are his superiors in many things. This spirit



crept over me. I was in a spiritual contest much of the time to keep in fellowship with him as a co-worker, and yet keep my independence. I remembered your advice to be sincere with him and not submit to his claim of right to favors. The first time I had a collision with him I told him that I did not think he ought to expect Harriet and me to follow his lead without consultation, and that it would be the worst thing in the world for him to be in circumstances where he could break down all opposition. He said he had an impression that Harriet and I walked in the letter of John's instructions, but did not get at the spirit as he did. The last difficulty I had was in reference to Consuelo. He had her up in his chamber about a week. Susan took care of her under his directions with Mrs. Hatch in consultation. I broke through a spirit which made me feel small and tempted to evil-thinking about his movements, and went up and told him how I felt. I said that I believed it was more healthy for him and me to work together than for him and Susan and Mrs. Hatch; that I was not tempted to flatter him, nor he me; and that my spirit was a necessary mixture with his. He acknowledged that I was right, and changed his policy.

I welcomed Mr. Cragin here with much joy, for I was in a rather haggard condition. Since then I have had an increase of hope and fellowship with John, Mr. Cragin, Mr. Burt and others. When Mr. Hamilton left, there was a clearing out of all old grudges, and we parted with peace and fellowship so far as our personal relations were concerned. I saw clearly from the confessions of Philena and others and from my own feelings, that there was a spirit here that would belittle Mr. Cragin and indeed

almost any other man as compared with Mr. Hamilton. The other day I had a free conversation with Susan. She acknowledged that loyalty to Mr. Hamilton was what John had more difficulty with than anything else, and that she thought Mr. Hamilton knew that he could always find a home in her heart if he was cut off everywhere else. She had hated to have him criticised, particularly by a woman. She knew that Mrs. Hatch almost worshiped him.

### FEAR OF CRITICISM.

HOME TALK BY NOYES, JUNE 23, 1851.

We proposed last evening to pursue the subject of the fear of criticism in its bearings on love. There is no point on which the Devil seems nearer almighty. But I expect to beat the Devil there at least, no mistake about that. I must go back to foundations, and show the tremendous importance of love. Love is more interesting to me than all the sciences and arts. God will give us but little instruction in smaller matters until we have attended to the more important ones. We may say that love more than anything else has come under criticism, and the best thing we can do is to do nothing about it. I have suffered as much as anybody, but I shall never forget that love is life. To be turned away from it by fear of criticism is to be turned away from the tree of life. Let us meet criticism, the "flaming sword" which God has placed "to keep the way of the tree of life."

I find myself in a state of simplicity and freedom, and I act it out from time to time, but there is little response.

The work of breaking through barriers to fellowship is left to me. But unless others take hold with me the barriers are not permanently removed. The Association generally seems to have betaken itself to the passive virtues. They have ceased to do evil, and have become very dutiful and obedient. But "cease to do evil, learn to do well" is the order of God.

We have had difficulties both in individuals and in the Association. But instead of hiding from one another and from God, we should say, "This experience has given us safer and better grounds than before. We will take a new start and perfect ourselves in this science."

This discouragement that has spread itself over the Association proceeds partly from fear of criticism, and partly from laziness, a shrinking from difficulty. Personal enthusiasm has dwindled down to nothing. There are but few cases of attraction among us. Perhaps this is necessary in the present transition stage. The head members of the Association are hardly out of this trouble themselves. Let us have an end of this matter without further jaw. A more manly stand must be taken, doing all things in the name of Jesus. The spirit of heaven is wrestling with the spirit of darkness that is brooding over the Association, and will be cramped up neither by the men nor by the women. Greeley's spirit about going to sea is the spirit of the Association on this subject. They have been seasick, and have come to the conclusion that it is best to "reduce this intercourse of the nations." You may say, if you please, we have had one hard voyage, but I am going to sea again, let who will puke.

Women need not think they are going to sail into heaven as pinks of propriety. What is considered propriety here is impropriety there. I would advise all to adopt the motto "Evil to him who evil thinks," and make each other free to commit improprieties. Cultivate sincerity. Whenever in a sincere spirit you cut through the spirit of the world on this subject, you will hear all heaven shout.

#### CRITICISM OF MR. HAMILTON, JUNE 24, 1851.

Mr. Hamilton: I am greatly implicated in this spirit of fear of criticism. It has lately worked in me a feeling of barrenness, a feeling that I had created great expectations toward me, and had not fulfilled them. I felt as though Mr. Noyes stood ready to criticise me all the while.

Noyes:- I never had any such evil thoughts as you describe. I think you are a hard critic of yourself, and would fare a great deal better in my hands.

#### DIFFICULTY IN CARRYING OUT THE SOCIAL THEORY.

##### HOME-TALK BY NOYES, JUNE 25, 1851.

A change has come upon the Association, a sort of stoppage, fearfulness, discouragement; a feeling that the social theory is a good thing but not feasible. If that spirit has carried away everybody else, it has not carried me away. I have the same confidence and interest in that theory that I ever had. I shall not be turned aside from a straightforward course of serving Christ with my amativeness. I have a perfect consciousness of safety and feel well able by the grace of Christ to avoid both licentiousness and legality. But the Association

has got into a fog. Mr. Hamilton mentioned my advice to him to "beware of novices." Mrs. Smith (wife of "Smith" who was on the sloop - G. W. N. ) and Mr. Perry were novices, persons who had not learned to walk in the spirit, yet they took the lead in love matters. They brought in the spirit of daintiness, exclusiveness, secretiveness and shame. There is need again of classification, making a distinction between those who walk in the spirit and novices. There should be faith enough in the spiritual class to take the lead, not by suppressing and withdrawing, but by filling the market with the true article. If our leading men like George, Hamilton and Cragin are discouraged and afraid to stir, and the novices are active in the outward parts of the Association, you are in a state of fever, sick and weak within and hot on the outside. Somebody must get faith enough to make amateness public property. I must have men enough of this character to monopolize the market, or all will go wrong. Let us take no counsel from fear. Mr. Hamilton is in a wrong state, legal, discouraged, fearful. It shows itself in his countenance and the tones of his voice. There must be good sense enough not to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire. Jump onto the hearth. If you get out of the way, try again. Up and at it, trusting to the grace of God, who giveth liberally. This talk is adapted to such cases as I have mentioned, and probably to Harriet Skinner and many more in the Association.

I am bold to say in the name of Jesus Christ, that so far as any outward thing is concerned, the use of amateness is what is going to drive the Devil out of the world. I mean to learn the trade, and beat the Devil on that point. Without

purity in that department you cannot approach the Holy City. As at the beginning, they are naked there and not ashamed.

The Devil has "done his darndest" to swamp us in both ways, by licentiousness and legality, and we have beaten him. We shall certainly have an Association that is free and pure, able to stand against all the wiles of the Devil. We have endured persecution and obtained toleration; and we shall have purity, freedom and money.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO NOYES.

ONEIDA, JUNE 28, 1851.

Dear John:-

I felt like writing to you this morning, and now come to write the day of the month I see it is the anniversary of the day on which we were married. It is very much such a day as that was outwardly. I should like to celebrate the day with thanksgiving to God for permitting me to fill the station that he called me to at that time, and for the measure of faith he has given me in overcoming the marriage spirit. I thank you for your love and patience. Your spirit of freedom from care and looking on the bright side of things rises up in me from time to time above all dark appearances, and I enjoy myself very well here....I feel like going against the fear of criticism, and opening myself to you in all my thoughts. Yours for the service of God,

HARRIET.

COMMENDATION OF MR. MALLORY.

HOME - TALK BY NOYES, JULY 22, 1851.

We are about sending Mrs. Mallory home to Oneida. One reason is that her eyes do not stand the chain work very well.

But the principal thing that led me to the proposal was this: She and Mr. Mallory have been separated for a great while, and I thought, if the trial had gone far enough for their good, that I should be very glad to have Mr. Mallory see some of the beauties and benefits of our system. I do not feel disposed to interfere with or break up permanently any affection that has a soul in it. Mr. Mallory stands out in my mind as an instance of faithful submission to the truth which is highly commendable. He has been put to a hard trial in being separated from his wife. Yet we have heard no complaints from him; on the contrary he has gone through with it with a hearty good will. It seems to me that he has proved himself a man in whom loyalty to God is stronger than any other affection. I should be glad to have Mrs. Mallory meet him with new confidence. Let the Association, if possible, get them into a new honeymoon, cautioning them not to get sticky.

THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE ASSOCIATION.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, JULY 22, 1851.

Mr. Mallory's case led me to look at the state of the Association with regard to jealousy. We used to have a great deal of difficulty with it, in such cases as Mr. Bradley, Otis Miller and Mrs. Hatch. Where is it now? "Echo answers, Where?" It is not to be found. There may be smouldering embers, but I am not aware of them.

To look a little further, I feel free from a certain special jealousy that existed toward me. There was a pretty general feeling that I had special privileges, and was getting the women's affections away from the other men. That feeling has all vanished...

Mr. Miller was long in a touchy state where it would not do to order Charlotte to any particular post without reference to his feelings, and so it was generally. But now, if you should order any husband or wife in the Association to a post separate from the other, I do not believe there would be any objection. There is a good spirit among us which is showing itself in various symptoms of health. It has not yet brought on much active freedom between the sexes in a still and safe way, but it will last.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO BROOKLYN.

Oneida, July 30, 1851.

After hearing particulars of the late important event(sloop was sunk) we went right on with the matter in hand, the routing of the old maid spirit and prayer for a revival of love. Old imaginations had stepped in between Mr. & Mrs. Newhouse, and Mr. Mallory in a wilful way was suffering his wife's past treatment



to hide her present love of him. In our morning meeting Mr. Mallory was thoroughly criticised, and toward night he wrote a letter to Mrs. Skinner and me, saying that he knew that obedience was the way to the tree of life, and that he thankfully submitted his will to Mr. Noyes and the Association. Finding that Mr. & Mrs. Newhouse were ready to join with Mr. & Mrs. Mallory, we concluded to celebrate the marriages and have some bread and butter and honey. I was delighted with the turn things had taken, and thought there would be a simultaneous burst of joy in the Association. Well, when George introduced the subject in the evening meeting by reading Mr. Mallory's letter, and a few of us had expressed our sympathy with it, there was a dead calm and such a heavy spirit that it seemed like lifting a great weight to speak. Then we turned about and endeavored to show up that spirit that would not sympathize with love or receive love itself. The situation showed the Association more clearly than ever before the dry, barren spirit they were in, and one after another came out against it. Mr. and Mrs. Kellogg's case was mentioned, and it was thought a good opportunity for them to carry out what had been proposed to them some weeks ago. After a manifestation of will on Mr. Kellogg's side, and shyness on Mrs. Kellogg's, George said to Mr. Kellogg: "Will you accept of love ? " He answered: " I will try." "But will you ? " said George. "Yes, I will," Mr. Kellogg replied. So they joined the marriage. George said, " Fetch on your cake," and all were treated with bread and butter and honey, the three couples sitting together. After this the three couples went into Mrs. Newhouse's room and conversed in appreciation of love and

against the opposite spirit. They then retired to their rooms. The next morning they were quite free in their reports. Mrs. Kellogg said she had entirely new experience; Mr. Kellogg said that he was quite refreshed; Mrs. Mallory that their experience was very satisfactory, etc. I have heard a number confess that they had had an increasing attraction for their husbands or wives lately, but were afraid to speak of it for fear it was of the old exclusive sort.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO BROOKLYN.

Oneida, September 18, 1851.

There is a gradual warmth of life diffusing itself through the Association that seems healthy and true. Criticism is at work in some cases, and the fear of criticism and of the ascending fellowship are under judgment.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF AMATIVENESS.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES, SEPTEMBER 20, 1851.

It appears from the report received this morning from Oneida, that we are to have a little more difficulty with amativeness. As the free spirit begins to circulate again after the chill we have been under, the Devil rallies his forces for another skirmish. I think that a healthy spirit is on the whole prevailing in the Association, though there are symptoms of disease in particular members.

I want to assert in a distinct and somewhat extended form the principle which lies at the foundation of our social system. It is that in all safe, healthy fellowships the ascending fellowship must prevail. Though we may be baffled, slandered and

abused, we shall at last establish the principle that the way to induct the young into a true state of amateness is to have them mate with older persons. There is a natural attraction between superiors and inferiors, the old and the young, the spiritual and novices, and it is an attraction that is necessary and desirable for both. The time will come when a young person, with no forcing, will naturally be led by the hand of some older person in matters of love; when the idea of persons that are not spiritual embarking on the tempestuous ocean of amateness without a pilot will be regarded absurd.

Another principle which I wish to suggest is that of intellectualizing love. I well remember that as the Lord led me along in my love for Mrs. Cragin one of the first symptoms was a strong instinct in me to intellectualize her. I wanted her to educate herself and become a good writer, and I insisted that she could learn any of the sciences. That element ran through our whole career together, and the results were most splendid. Little facts that are occurring just at this time remind me of this principle. We have an attraction going on between William Hinds and Harriet Worden, (Aunt of Harriet M. Worden,) and it manifests itself in their sitting down together to study. They are not ashamed to show that they are attracted to each other. It is a beautiful example. There should be first a marriage of hearts, next a marriage of intellects, and last a marriage of bodies. When persons fall in love, I would suggest that they manifest it not by sneaking around flirting in their chambers, but by quietly seating themselves in the parlor at study.

CRITICISM OF MRS. WORDEN, SEPTEMBER 30, 1851.

Christ must control the attraction of the young. The whole war at Oneida was upon this point. Hyde withdrew from the Community spirit, and sought to introduce secret love between the young. I at last outgeneraled him and drove him out of the Association. Now I am driving his spirit out as fast as I can. It is the working of that poison that has caused all the troubles of the Association. It is that spirit that is now tormenting Mrs. Worden. It is that spirit that has made Tryphena crazy.

COMMENDATION OF HARRIET A. NOYES.

FAMILY-TALK, DECEMBER 13, 1851.

Noyes:- I feel myself in better relations with Harriet than ever. She has gained a power over her feelings that makes her cheerful and happy, and she is a great help to me in the household. She is quiet, peaceable and faithful. I like her very much - not as a wife; I don't care anything about her as a wife - but as a co-worker in the Kingdom of Christ. Marriage between us has certainly worn out in the right way. New and better relations have come in. I have not had much to do with her for a good while. She has gone on independently, as I have desired she should. But I watch her, and see that she walks in the spirit and helps me.

Harriet:- I feel very thankful for this expression of confidence. It shows that looking from the outside you cannot take a correct view. When looking from that direction it seemed as though I was going farther away from you.

Noyes:- You need not be any concerned about that.

Harriet:- I have felt my heart drawn out toward Mrs. Cragin a good deal of late, with a desire to be a help to her and to you.

Noyes:- Well, I can say that you do help me, all of you. I feel that a spirit of faithfulness and obedience to the truth prevails in the family. There is a growing sympathy toward me, which is right.

NOYES TO JOHN NORTON.

Oneida, January 22, 1852.

Bro. John:-

Seeing in a letter from Mrs. Sarah Campbell some account of your trials and criticisms I thought I would say a few things to you by letter. You say you cannot forget Helen. I do not wish you to forget her, nor to love her less. But cannot you love her without claiming her, and quarreling with us and with God about her, and almost shooting yourself on her account ? This is not the right kind of love. It is not strong enough. When you love her thoroughly with the love of God, you will be thankful that God made her, not for you but for himself, not to be used up as Hyde is using up Julia but to grow forever more and more beautiful in His garden; you will be thankful for the acquaintance with her which God has already given you, and for the hope of future more intimate fellowship; you will be thankful for her privileges here, for her love toward others and others' love toward her. I cannot forget Mrs. Cragin. Yet I will not quarrel with God because I am separated from her, nor shoot myself, nor do anything of this kind. On the contrary, I will be thankful for the past, and patient and hopeful for the future.

You and George Hatch both love Helen. With that old, greedy, worldly love how would you ever reconcile your respective claims ? Do you not see, that it is best she should be here away from both of you till you both learn to love her in the Community spirit ? You have a good opportunity to learn the great lesson which I learned long ago by the same kind of experience you are now going through, that God owns all things, even our sweethearts and ourselves. I trust this lesson will make you young men now, while your hearts are fresh and pliable, devoted to the principles of free love, that so you may be saved from the distresses and insanities which you see among those who have come into the service in later life. Your wing of our regiment has been troublesome to us in past years, but I expect to see it pressing into the front rank of loyalty and self-conquest. Write me, if you please.

Yours truly,

JOHN H. NOYES.

(The Helen mentioned in this letter was Helen C. Noyes.) -G.W.N. )

#### FOUR YEARS OF COMPLEX MARRIAGE.

#### HOME-TALK BY NOYES, MARCH 9, 1852.

The impression made upon me by the budget of testimonies read last evening is that there has been a great amount of abstinence in the Association. There has been serious self-denial in such cases as Mr. Perry that is highly meritorious. Many have undoubtedly been robbed of the freedom that we have enjoyed in the world. I feel too that there has been no constraint; all has been done in a joyful, patriotic spirit. I pledge myself to see that all who have been faithful to our principles shall have an hundred fold. I feel like expressing myself in the

language of Isaiah: "Let not the eunuch say, 'Behold, I am a dry tree.' Even unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters. I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off." (Is. 56:3-5.) There is time enough to have all these accounts settled. I feel very thankful to the Association as well as to God for the results these papers disclose. I am satisfied too that there has been a great deal more happiness on the whole than if there had been more sexual intercourse. There has been in reality no loss. But I can conceive of a state of things in which there would have been more positive gain. Like Mr. Mallory, I do not regard the state of things during the last four years as in any measure an example of the heavenly state, but only of a transition state toward it.

We will now square up all accounts, close the books, and wait on God for a new start. Our next voyage may be much better than this.

A statement of the amount of sexual intercourse among us as compared with that in the world is the best showing we could make. We have developed principles that look radical and licentious. These testimonies establish the conservative nature of these principles. Now we will go on in the fashion of the world for such a time as God pleases, devoting ourselves to establishing a character in the eyes of the world for continence and good behavior, and so fairly work out our freedom.

This disclosure shows that a great amount of good has been done by our principles. Many have been saved from bondage,

health has been secured, and the troubles of the flesh prevented. I am delighted to see so many distinctly express the fact that our principles have led them to regard their social nature as sacred. I already see a great harvest of good, but we will turn it all under, calling it seed grain, and wait for a much larger harvest in future. I am encouraged to go on with our principles and practices as soon as it is judicious and we get advice to that effect from the heavenly church.

HENRY W. BURNHAM TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, March 24, 1852.

Young Shedd came here last night. Whether his presence had anything to do in developing the following fact I do not know. Kesiah Worden this morning reports a secret Mrs. Morgan disclosed to her about a year ago, viz: that previous to her coming here she had connection with this Shedd. This, I thought, threw light on the whole matter. I told Morgan about it, and Fanny talked with Mrs. Morgan. He was as hard as a millstone, and justified himself by insinuating that, when the whole truth was brought to light, you would be found to be a bad man. I asked him what he meant, and he refused to tell only that he and his wife were ready to face you. I came back to the house feeling almost used up. Just before dinner he came to my room and said he was ready to tell his story. Accordingly after dinner he and his wife came in, and before a number of us said, that some little time previous to Mr. Morgan's coming to the Association Mrs. Morgan had taken the venereal disease, and that it was traceable directly to you. They corresponded about the matter while he was here, and during that time she consulted a doctor in Leverett. I asked



if that was all, and they both said, yes. She reports that she is now clear from that disease, but was not until after her connection with the Association.

March 25.- Dear brother, don't think that your reputation suffers any from recent disclosures. I verily believe you were never appreciated in the Association as now.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO FANNY LEONARD.

Brooklyn, March 26, 1852.

John and Mr. Cragin are talking about the Morgans and venereal disease. John says: "I have had my eye on this disease from the beginning. I knew that Satan would do his prettiest to get that thing going. The world predicted it. But I am inclined to think that the spirit of the Association has cured that disease. I am persuaded that it breeds in darkness and shame. Let the Association go into an inspection, as we did in the itch. I can report myself sound. I have got back from the voyage safe. "So have I," say Smith and Cragin. It was remarked that Mr. Cragin's faithfulness had saved the Association from the disease.

John says: "If Mrs. Morgan had not confessed her connection with Shedd, her story would be more plausible. But that fact, taken together with the fact that she is cured by coming to the Association, and that Cragin never had it, makes the case very clear. The Lord had a meaning in Shedd's coming to the Association. I should advise not to quarrel with Mrs. Morgan. Read to her that part of Mr. Cragin's letter that refutes her charge, do it gently, and then take no responsibility for either Mr. or Mrs. Morgan.

JOHN L. SKINNER TO HIS BROTHER ALANSON.

Oneida, March 30, 1852.

The actual amount of sexual intercourse in the Association for the last two or three years has been scarcely one seventh (and many of the members judge it has been hardly one tenth) of the amount that occurs in ordinary married life in the world. This statement is verified by the testimony of all the married men and women of the Association. They all state moreover that they have had intervals of several months at different times of total abstinence from sexual connection. The ordinary practice in the Association is for men to sleep with men and women with women.

The amount of smutty talk or indecent behavior of any kind is far less in our Community than in ordinary society that is called respectable in the world; so much so indeed that these things are scarcely seen or heard of among us.

The effect of the principles and practice of our Association on the passion of amativeness, instead of making it irritable and ungovernable, has been to produce the opposite result, that is to quiet, civilize and purify it.

One member writes thus: "Previous to joining the Association my amativeness was in a very excitable state. I was to some extent addicted to the practice of masturbation. I can say with a thankful heart, that the influences of free love have cured me of that evil and made me entirely free from inordinate excitement." Several other members, who were formerly addicted more or less to masturbation, testify that they have experienced an effectual cure of that evil since joining the Association.

### INTRODUCTION TO THE BAILEY AFFAIR.

Mr. Seba Bailey of Illinois had long been a subscriber to the paper, and was regarded as belonging to the inner circle of outside friends. There had been some talk of forming a Community in the West, and it was thought that the Bailey family might be the natural nucleus. When Messrs. Bailey and Carr projected their trip to the West they planned to make the Bailey home their headquarters for a time, and notice to that effect was sent to western subscribers. On their arrival Messrs. Burnham and Carr learned that steps toward a western Community had already advanced farther than they supposed. Mr. Bailey had, with Mrs. Bailey's consent, had a child by a young woman named Olive, and Olive was about to be married to Mr. Conant, a member of the Bailey group. The child, a daughter, was named Virtue Conant. She was brought to the Community with the rest of the Bailey-Conant group when they joined in March 1856 after Mr. Bailey's death. At a later period Virtue was a much-beloved sweetheart of Dr. Theodore R. Noyes.

### NOYES'S JUDGMENT IN MR. BAILEY'S CASE.

JULY 1, 1852.

I have purposely abstained from forming any hasty judgment in Mr. Bailey's case, for I knew that sympathy with the world's exaggerated estimate of such things would be likely to affect my judgment at first. I know that I do not now approach the subject with any disposition to condemn. I feel perfectly good-natured and established in the charitable attitude that Christ has set us an example of; and the higher and lower adultery occupy their true places in my mind.

With these preliminary remarks I will no frankly state how the case strikes me. In the first place I like the faithfulness and frankness manifested in this letter, the evident disposition he shows to submit himself to the criticism of the church and abide its decision. Then there are some things in his account of the transaction that look as though God was taking measures to cover his retreat. The fact that the woman found a man who was disposed to marry her under such circumstances is a striking one.

So far the case strikes me favorably. On the other hand there are several things that I do not like. For one item I do not like the fact that he was not in frank, confidential communication with the church before he took this course and at the time. It produces an inevitable temptation to distrust when we find that he has been making important moves under the cover of our principles without acquainting us with what he is about. Mr. Bailey ought to be a pillar in the church, a man that we can have perfect confidence in, but after this affair several repairs will have to be made to give us that confidence.

Another thing that I do not like is that, according to his own account, he acted under the instigation of women. His wife and the girl moved him. He puts this fact as though it was in his favor. It would have been against the proceeding, to be sure, if his wife had been opposed to it. But the fact that his wife was in favor of it and urged it reminds me of several cases we have known where men were pushed into foolish moves by their own wives. In general I have settled it as a principle that men should not justify themselves by the urgencies of women. It is

going wrong end foremost when such things are proposed by women. I should have more confidence that Mr. Bailey acted by inspiration if he had taken the initiative himself. As the case stands it looks as though his principal inspiration came from women, and that is rarely safe.

Again, the thing proposed was not judicious. It was a woman's plan, one that could proceed only from a reckless affection, not from a true judgment. Olive was going to be separated from him by request to have a child by him. It was venturing out into a stream where they had reason to expect a shipwreck.

I have not been talking about the morality of the act. I am looking at its wisdom. When our measures come from Christ they turn out to be wise. Good generalship will be manifested in them. I do not think there was a proper regard for the results of their action when they placed themselves in a situation to stir up the wrath of her relatives and of the world.

If Mr. Bailey's position is truthful and God protects him in it, I shall certainly be glad to see him get out of his difficulty without injury. But my impression is that they will suffer. If so, they will get good out of it by being humiliated.

In the honest spirit which Mr. Bailey seems to have I do not wish to judge him. I wish to have him judge himself. Let him reread the last paragraphs of the Bible Argument, and if he thinks he is right up to standard I will not quarrel with him. Of one thing I am certain, however, that Christ will not be responsible for anything he has not authorized. Everything that is done under mere natural impulses will be criticised.

I must confess that Christ has not instructed me to expect

that persons outside of our circle will have independent inspiration on this subject. So far as I have received instructions they teach me, that for the sake of unity Christ has committed the charge of this whole subject to me. Persons who undertake to go before me or aside from me without consultation will find themselves beyond their depth.

The question is not one of morality but of expediency. I imagine that Mr. Bailey acted more from a social than from a military point of view. If he finds that he cannot fairly claim inspiration in the whole matter, I hope he will have the good sense and patriotism to acquit Christ of responsibility, and acquit us publicly.

This proceeding will tempt him to concealment and self-deception. Love is a great hand to cheat in the world, and it is a high attainment among believers to get deeply in love and yet be truly honest. I would say to Mr. Bailey: "Be sure to get your vindication honestly, do not let your wishes swerve your judgment, swear in your heart that you will have the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth on this subject."

Persons in such circumstances are liable to misjudge their own attainments, and imagine that they can sail smoothly where we know by a good deal of experience that skilful navigation is needed. If they can sail along smoothly in this sea, that are entirely in advance of us.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR REGULATING  
INTERCOURSE OF THE SEXES.

Home-Talk by Noyes, September 22, 1852.

The first thing to be done in exchanging the fashion of the world for that of the Community is to put off entirely the marriage spirit, which claims private property in love. Civilized amativeness is as unselfish in respect to love-property as in respect to any other. The Community must learn to put hearty sympathy into the very place where jealousy usually manifests itself. In suggesting the following general rules I assume that this preliminary conversion is past.

1.- The sexes should sleep apart. Their coming together should not be to sleep but to edify and enjoy. Sleeping is essentially an individual function that precludes sociability. Probably the truest fashion would be not only for the sexes but for those of the same sex to sleep apart. We need not insist upon reform to this extent until convenient, but for the sake of love it is best that the sexes should ordinarily sleep apart. Over-familiarity dulls the edge of sexual passion.

2.- Proposals for love interviews are best made not directly but through a third party. This method is favorable to modesty and also to freedom. It allows of refusals without embarrassment. If the third party is a superior, one in whom the lovers have confidence, calm wisdom will enter, as it should, to give needed advice and prevent inexpediencies. The third party will also be helpful in arrangements. This method excludes selfish privacy and makes love a Community affair.

3.- Short interviews will be found the best. Lovers should

come together for an hour or two, and should separate to sleep. If they part before over-excitement, they will think of each other with pleasure afterwards. It is an excellent rule to leave the table while the appetite is still good.

4.- It is not according to truthful taste to spend much time in talk. The tongue has its field to itself all day. Why should not the other members have their turn? I imagine that the impotence, which some of the men complain of, may be connected with over-activity of the tongue.

5.- Cultivate the habit of sagacious, reflective observation. In the midst of passion watch for improvement. So shall the spirit of truth go with you and perfect you in the heavenly art.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, November 25, 1852.

When the Report came, "Advice from the Concentric Convention," it seemed to be accompanied by a spirit that drew all hearts upward to seek fellowship with Christ and the Primitive Church. There was no longing for the things that were behind. I felt distinctly that the Community offered up their amateness to God, and that he accepted and was well pleased with the offering. There was a spirit of quietness and rest on this subject that was truly delightful. There was no turning towards husbands and wives, as in the "Coup d' Etat," but we felt called by God as to a fast.

This was the experience of the Community for about three weeks, when our amateness seemed to be returned to us purified and refined. I should judge that there was as much life in that direction as ever, though peaceful and quiet. The fast was a sincere



one, but it has ended in heart though not in form.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, November 29, 1852.

Before coming here Mr. Howard was very much in love with Emma, and told his wife several times that he would like to have an interview with her. It put Mrs. Howard into some suffering, but she thought it was right, and proposed it to Emma, who consented, and it accordingly took place. They told me of it with some trembling for fear they had done wrong, but I thought they had a good spirit about it, and told them that I would endorse it, which seemed to set their hearts at rest. Mrs. Howard told me she had no idea that it would cost her such suffering to give Mr. Howard up. She thought it would be a relief to her to have him free, but she found that she didn't know what it was to die. She didn't sleep any for nearly a week, and cried a good deal of the time. It brought fresh to my mind our first experience at Putney, and I heartily thanked God for freedom. I was glad that the deed was done, and that Mr. Howard had taken the lead in it.

OUR VICTORIES.

Hone-Talk By Noyes, November 21, 1852.

If we were to examine ourselves, we should be astonsihed to find what victories we have gained almost without knowing it. Take for example our social system. I do not know how it is with others, but the feeling of exclusive love with me is a thing gone by. It is as far off as the shores of the Old World. And I do not hear anything of it in the Association. I have a quick eye to detect anything of that kind in myself or anybody else, and I do not see anything in our Association but what makes persons

just as free and polite to one another in sexual privileges as in any others. We have the same freedom on that subject as on eating and drinking, taking walks, or any other kind of enjoyment. Thus we have got where we possess our amateness instead of being possessed by it. There is not only no quarreling among us, but there is no temptation to quarrel. All troubles too about involuntary propagation are at an end...

A lighter work is given to us than was given to the Primitive Church. It is for us to get the victory over enjoyment; they had to get the victory over suffering. Christ kept his heart steadfast through enormous suffering, and his righteousness was fulfilled in that department. The Primitive Church followed after, and filled up the measure of his sufferings. There is as much temptation to nervousness in enjoyment as in suffering, and as much need of faith. We must lay hold on the faith of Christ and the Primitive Church, and let their glory go forth into the world as the fame of their suffering has. They are through with shipwrecks, judgments, stonings, and whippings. They want to see some fun in this world as well as shouldering crosses and traveling through the world dripping with blood.

There is a growing spirit of faith in me that turns every way. The enemy is on the retreat, and I feel like putting on the cavalry. It seems very silly, after all that has been done for us, to be cast down by any bad experience we may have. When in trouble, if you drop all care and fall back on Christ, you will find in your heart a deep consciousness of power that makes no demonstrations nor requires any. It looks into the chaos of the Devil's creation with a kind of exultation, as an old salt

does when he sees the wind come in a gale. He says little, but proves by deeds that he is competent to take care of the situation.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, December 28, 1852.

Mr. Noyes's remarks about exclusive love are full of encouragement. I did not realize till I read that Report, the victories we had gained in that respect. I think I can say sincerely with Mr. Noyes, that exclusive love with me is a thing gone by. Two years ago we were obliged to act with constant reference to exclusiveness. We had to have our watch constantly on duty to prevent our social building from being burned up by the fire of jealousy. It was the great labor of the Association. Now it is not thought of, except in the case of new members. It never enters our heads that we can offend anyone by the expression of love. This is truly one of the "greater miracles."

### A TILT WITH TOBACCO.

Newspaper sketches of the Oneida Community in its day seldom omitted to mention that the Community abstained wholly from tobacco. But during the first five years of its existence the Community had its full quota of smokers and chewers. More than half the men, including some of the most prominent, upwards of forty by actual count, were, as they put it, "wearing the chain." Spittoons were in every public room. Tobacco was bought in Brooklyn by the half barrel along with other subsistence stores. The selection was entrusted to a brother of the Founder, who was thought a man of good taste. "But in the year 1853," wrote Harriet H. Skinner, "The chains fell off." The Community awoke one morning and found themselves rid not merely of the habit but of the appetite. The psychology of this change is revealed by contemporary documents, and forms one of the most interesting episodes in the history of the Community.

### TOBACCO EXPERIENCE OF JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES.

#### Founder of the Oneida Community.

My father always chewed in the daytime and smoked evenings. My mother took snuff during my early years, but set a good example afterwards by breaking away from this habit. A cousin older than myself, with whom I worked and slept all through my boyhood, was a steady chewer. My associates and room-mates at an academy which I attended when I was eleven years old thought it smart to take snuff and smoke, and I learned of them to enjoy a little excitement in these ways. But my grandmother, with whom

I boarded (good soul ! ),reprimanded me faithfully for drinking too much tea and for carrying a snuff-box, and I was temporarily frightened back into steady habits.

But my term of slavery came at last, probably in my thirteenth year. In vacations, pleasant as home was, I had hard work to kill time; and once when I was complaining of this to my mother, she suggested, not exactly as advice but rather as a sagacious reflection, that tobacco was what I needed. I took the hint and found something to do. I remember well the very place out in a lane between the house and the barn where I tried my first chew. It made me very sick. Dizzy and trembling I ejected it, and almost renounced the attempt to find comfort in this terrible way. But I did not vomit. This rather elated me. I soon felt all right again, and was ready for another chew. After a few trials my stomach and nerves submitted to their new master, and I entered into a life of slavery which lasted, with some brief intermissions, till my forty-second year when Communism set me free.

The general course of my life with tobacco was that of the man who has a quarrelsome wife, and can neither live with her nor without her. The habit was always encroaching, and I was always resisting. There was a regular succession of quarrels, regularly followed by reconciliations. The number of chews or pipes per day would steadily increase till intolerable disorders of the stomach and nerves would set in. Then would come a sharp struggle between reason and appetite, and I would get back to moderation to begin the same course over again.

Sometimes these quarrels would proceed to the extremity of an attempt at divorce. I remember on one occasion, when I was

lodging in the third story of the Seminary building at Andover, my conscience got so stirred up that I determined to break off all relations with tobacco. I had a hand of Cavendish in my pocket. Raising the window I hurled it out as far as I could. A storm of rain was drenching everything..It was Sunday and the stores were shut. I had no more tobacco, and apparently no possibility of getting any for that day at least. Can the reader guess the sequel ? Just at dusk, when the old love began to whisper most seductively and conscience began to relent, I went out in the rain and searched the ground patiently for that hand of Cavendish, and found it ! The "lover's quarrel" was made up, and I passed a pleasant evening with the poor half-drowned plug.

The pitch to which tobacco-slavery carried its exactions is truly astonishing. I often watched and speculated on its encroachments, and always found that it was satisfied with nothing short of a devotion that would have no pleasure in anything without it. The old tobacco-user must think of his idol and provide for its accommodation when he sits down to study, when he visits his friends, when he takes an excursion, even when he goes to a religious meeting. The wise say, " We must eat to live, not live to eat;" but tobacco, when it fairly gets the upper hand of a man, says that he must live to chew and spit ! I have often seen the time when the principal charm of a good meal lay in the quid of "fine cut" that was to come after it.

But religion did at last conquer. When I was in the Seminary at New Haven, prayer and Bible influence strengthened me till I broke away from tobacco and escaped. The struggle was long, and sometimes it seemed doubtful whether I should not sell my soul for the morsel that was so sweet to roll under the tongue;

Mr. Burt and George that they confess Christ in chewing tobacco.

I feel a sickly spirit in respect to that habit. Whatever there is of bad in it we may as well put into Christ's hands to correct. He is prepared to take charge, and is not afraid. We can dispense altogether with the services of the Devil.

Christ does not forbid the use of tobacco. On the contrary he claims it as his property. His policy is to take possession of tobacco the same as of food and music. But we will not set up any barriers to prevent him from changing our course and breaking up habit. The first step toward abolishing the tobacco habit (if it is to be abolished) is to give Christ charge of it. We must have faith enough now to do that. We will chew tobacco heartily as unto the Lord, and insist that Christ shall have his way in everything. Then if there is anything evil in the habit, Christ will cure it. Let it be a Community matter. In this way those who do not use tobacco can sympathize with those who do. I would exhort those that do not use it to have compassion on those that do, and not think evil of them. Let us see if there is not a way for those that have this habit to be as clean and free from condemnation as those that do not have it. I offer myself as Community property in dealing with this principality.

I feel that all things are lawful for me, but not all things are expedient. Is the use of tobacco expedient? I think we shall have to be redeemed from it. Is this to be done by such means as Greeley and other legalists would recommend? I think not. I can understand Mr. Burt and George a great deal better for using tobacco myself. I have been an old soldier in

this war, and can brag some.

I shall never cease to watch tobacco as a tremendous principality. It is altogether more difficult to deal with than rum. It is far too subtle to be conquered by law, but it is not too subtle for Christ.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES.

MARCH 5, 1853.

The gospel method of reform is to take persons just as they are, in bondage to whatever evil, and set before them ultimate complete deliverance as the hope of their calling; then in such gentle, moderate ways as can be used without legality begin to assume control. This is a combination of the two methods that are used separately in the world. On the one hand legal reformers set before people a rule of present action and summon them up to immediate attainment. On the other hand liberals deal moderately with the passion to be overcome but have no hope of their calling toward which they are moving...

There is a principle which makes it necessary that deliverance from evil should be gradual. If you cut any evil short off, you will cut away more or less good with it. Where the life of individuals is combined with evil principalities the process of separation requires nice dissection. If we cut ourselves off from the use of tobacco at once by pure force of law, we shall find that the mischief is in us in a latent form still. It is the truth that makes us free.

We may fix our ideal by the calculations of absolute truth without any interference from present infirmities. Then we will make up our minds to attain that ideal without law if it takes



forever. The ideal will work itself into our life in many free ways and leaven the whole lump.

This method of reform precludes self-condemnation.

The very fact that we are bound for a perfect ideal and keep our eyes on it brings us justification.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES.March 27, 1853.

"It is good that the heart be established with grace and not with meats." The whole world are establishing the heart with meats, that is, seeking comfort from outward things that stimulate and soothe. Eating and drinking are the primary, universal method, but as the world has grown older it has found ways of stimulating the flesh more powerfully, the two greatest methods being by opium and tobacco...

It is impressed upon my mind that the time has come for us to discuss freely and thoroughly the subject of tobacco. For my part I am ready to deliver tobacco-slavery up to judgment. We are coming to a crisis that I have been looking for, when the truth, not law, shall make us free. I do not want to put any one upon a violent effort to get free from the use of tobacco, but I want every one to consult the Spirit of Truth and charity faithfully before God about it.

I think there is considerable credit due to those who do not use tobacco for keeping quiet and not judging those who do. The women have shown wonderful patience and willingness to accommodate themselves to things as they are.

Legal opposition to stimulants, and bondage to them, are much the same in essence. Law is effectual for a while, but has to be repeated and re-enforced, and is just as sure to fail at last as any other stimulus/

I am charged with Christ's treatment of such vices. There is no harsh criticism in him. He is heroic and helpful, and asks nothing from us any faster than he strengthens our hearts. Tobacco stimulates the flesh and drowns the wpirit.

Christ stimulates the spirit till it overcomes and drowns the flesh.

You will find that your want of tobacco is not a merely natural want; it is a positive supernatural injection from a spirit with which you are in rapport. Your life is being sucked by some evil spirit that has the benefit of your tobacco-chewing.

I would propose that the Association contemplate as the hope of their calling the entire breaking up of this bondage. I am in no hurry about measures. If we have a faith that leads to the end, we shall be warping up to it in one way or another.

To come to something practical I would recommend first, that those who are free from tobacco should keep their freedom; second, that all who can drop the habit without any serious quarrel with themselves should do so; and third, that those who are thoroughly enslaved should fast next Sunday. As a means of grace let's quit it for one day, and give attention to the Lord's mind about such matters.

In accordance with Noyes's suggestion, April 3rd, 1853, was named as a day of fasting from tobacco. The effects of the fast may be seen in the following letters and talks.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.

Brooklyn, April 4, 1853.

We had a very pleasant fast yesterday. Most of us went without our dinner to sympathize with the tobacco men.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.Oneida, April 4, 1853.

This is the second day of the tobacco fast. We were conscious yesterday that we had to contend with a great principality and, though we felt happy and strong, still we had to fight. Last evening we had an interesting time telling our experience. Some are chewing today and some are fasting. All are free.

HARRIET A. NOYES TO JOHN R. MILLER.Brooklyn, April 5, 1853.

On hearing what you said about the tobacco war in your note yesterday, Mr. Noyes said he wanted now to see the Community rid of tobacco in the right way. He suggests that abstinence be not carried so far as to produce a reaction; that no one leave off with the nervous system in such a state of want that hereafter the remembrance of tobacco would be pleasant and a temptation to return to it sometime; that we make up our mind that God can take away the appetite. He himself has not kept up the fast, but used some yesterday and today. He says: "Watch for things that you can do to cross the spirit in a frisky way." When the suggestion comes up to take tobacco, he says to it: "Now do I want it ? Am I not happy enough without it ? Would it not spoil the enjoyment I now have to take it ? " We gain on the spirit every time we argue with it in this way.

REMARKS BY NOYES.April 5, 1853.

I am distinctly sensible of a change in the general

atmosphere and in my own feelings about tobacco. I think the agitation of the subject and the fast have already resulted in weakening the tobacco charm....

We shall be delivered from bondage to tobacco and all such external excitements by having such an abundance of <sup>the</sup> fresh life of God that we shall not feel any need of them.

Poverty of life is the soul of vice.

If our hearts are open and fearless toward God and man, free from legality, this bondage to tobacco will drop off from us like a dry snake-skin. If you flay a snake while his skin is firm, he dies in the operation; but if you let him alone, a simple, genial, vital action will go on until the skin dies and he runs out of it.

I thank God that he has not allowed us to quit the use of tobacco in a premature way. He has reserved this habit on purpose, that we may work out the true philosophy of reform with a chance to experiment. It is worth everything in such studies to have a concrete case on hand for illustration. We shall find that all habits are under the same system of spiritual laws that governs this.

JOHN R. MILLER TO HARRIET A. NOYES.

Oneida, April 7, 1853.

There is but little tobacco used here now. Several have left off entirely and others use it moderately. We keep the thing in the light by telling our experience in the meeting every evening. I have just taken a quid since I commenced this paragraph, which is the third I have indulged in since the day before the fast. I stand midway between the ultras and the conservatives, so you may judge the state of the Community on this subject.

JOHN R. MILLER TO HARRIET A. NOYES.Oneida, April 8, 1853.

Mr. Noyes's tobacco talks are very interesting. I am satisfied that he has got the true principle. I left off entirely for three days, when I commenced again because I felt that I was coming under a spirit of legality. Mr. Woolworth's and Mr. Thacker's experience was the same.

BROOKLYN TO ONEIDA.

Many, and those the most inveterate, have broken off. Messrs. Kinsley, G. W. Noyes, Leonard, Hamilton and others have quit, and find pleasure and sport in it. They feel free to use tobacco when they want to. Mr. Leonard says he has taken a chew twice since he gave up the habit, but for the most part the appetite is gone. Mr. Noyes has not quit entirely.

By the first of May 1853 a large majority of the "tobacco slaves" had already been liberated. A half dozen or so remained still in prison rather than give undue advantage to legality. The battle now died down for a few months, while fresh psychologic reenforcements were being brought up. On the first of the following December Noyes again raised the flag of rebellion, and this time it was not furled until every "captive" was free.

HOME-TALK BY NOYESDecember 1, 1853.

If you want to be saved, you must "put off the old man with his deeds." You must put him off; not merely put off his deeds leaving him there to bring forth another set of

deeds as bad as the first; but put off the old man with his deeds, and chiefly put off the old man that you may put on the new man. Here there is no legality and no quackery, but sound truth which we must learn to handle aright.

Communism is going to be a powerful auxiliary of Christ in enabling us to put off the old man with his deeds. I was interested in that experience of old Mrs. H. related in a recent letter. She had been thirty years attached to her pipe, but when she went to Putney she found herself in such close relations with persons who did not like smoking, that in order to make harmony she gave it up. That is an illustration of the natural effect of close association. Whoever enters Communism understandingly must go through a washing and scrubbing that will end in his being purified of everything that is disagreeable to those around.

Another principle that will cooperate with Christ is this: The line between what we shall eat and what we shall not will not be between clean and unclean, nor between meats and vegetables, nor between bolted and unbolted flour, but between those things that are adapted to Communism and those that are not. I should like to see that principle clearly defined, and as fast as possible put into practice among us.

Still another foundation principle is, that the things best adapted to Communism are the cheapest. We should put ourselves on a scale of living that is accessible to the greater part of mankind. Luxuries will either be cut off by Communism, or they will be taken into the Church and given to all.

The fact that tobacco is not a Community element is weaning me from the appetite more than any motive I have ever had. This Community motive will root out the love of tobacco, liquor and everything that isolates and separates. Paul worked upon this plan. He said on the one hand, " Let no man judge you in respect to meats and drinks," and on the other, " If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth."

I shall content myself with these two motives of reform, Communism with Christ and Communism with one another. I believe they will work out every problem of morality.

With this inspiring tocsin the men of war in all the Communes rallied for a last desperate assault on the tobacco bastille. Soon a breach was made. And the remaining captives came forth into the light of day. Noyes and Daniel Nash at Brooklyn, we are told, left the crumbling walls without injury on the very day of the above Home-Talk; Miller at Oneida "signed himself free" on December 7th; all but one at Oneida were away on the 14th; George Hamilton and Seymour Nash at Newark made their escape on the 18th; Daniel Hall at Putney took his last chew on the 19th; and when on the 23rd of December 1853 a message was flashed to Brooklyn, " Oneida uses no tobacco," a shout of victory and thanksgiving went up from all the Associated Communes.



TEA, COFFEE AND OTHER STIMULANTS.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

March 20, 1852.- The family unanimously resolved that we would for the present pleasurably abstain from tea and coffee. Mr. Noyes said he would allow no legal restraint in the matter, neither would he submit to the tyrrany of habit.

April 2, 1852.- Putney and Wallingford have unanimously abolished tea and coffee for the present at least.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, January 18, 1854.

Dear Brother:-

We contrive to enjoy our fast from tea and coffee, though we find that we were more in bondage to it than we were aware of. It has really been a more serious matter than leaving off tobacco. We are confident that it will be profitable, and our experience has already convinced us that a fast of this kind was necessary. I have no quarrel with tea and coffee, and believe that they are among the good things that God gives us, but I will not be brought under the power of any. I think there were not more than a half dozen cups of tea drunk last night, and the same number of cups of coffee this morning, though it was passed to all and all were made free to drink it. I noticed this morning that a cup of coffee was carried the whole length of the long table without finding market. It is interesting to see a whole Community cheerfully consent to any such self-denial for the truth's sake. The spirit I have seen manifested

on this subject has given me a new love for the family.

A GIRDLING AXE FOR THE COFFEE TREE.

Home-Talk by Noyes, January 20, 1854.

The gospel method of reform may be compared to the girdling of trees... A tree is dead when it is girdled, though it may stand for some time and look like a live tree... This is the way we handled the tobacco principality. We girdled it last summer, and this winter the wind blew it over. Now what do you think of the expediency of girdling the love of tea and coffee ? They seem to have trouble with that tree at Oneida. They are daily finding out that the tobacco spirit has run into the coffee-bag.

I confess I had an apprehension, when the tobacco question came up, that it would not end there. My theory has been that narcotics and stimulants are naturally connected, and I have thought that when the Lord called us to quit tobacco he would probably be looking toward a general breaking up of the use of such things.

People resort to narcotics and stimulants mostly because they have nothing else to do that pleases them. Now as God is more and more putting into our hearts the great purpose of establishing a daily press, it will be easy for us to quiet our sensual appetites. I have coveted a state in which I have no attachment to anything, but could live comfortably on parched corn; at the same time I would be free to use the luxuries of the world, if they came to hand.

I believe that the Lord will show us and help us to do one thing after another that will directly contribute to the success of our enterprise. I have such an ambition for the

work before me that I shall go into any kind of temperance that seems necessary, from attraction and not from legality.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, March 9, 1854.

Dear Bro. Noyes:-

The report of your remarks on the subject of prayer met a warm response in my heart and in the heart of the Community. On reading it I felt a desire to tell you some of my experience about leaving off tea and coffee.

During a fast from these drinks of a week that we kept here some time since I suffered a good deal in my body, and had a hankering for coffee till the last day of the fast, when I gained a victory over it, and commenced drinking again from choice and not from necessity. Since that time I have held the habit loosely, bearing in mind constantly that the tea and coffee trees were <sup>both</sup> girdled and must die soon. I seldom drank but one cup and sometimes less, but notwithstanding all my crowding the other way I was conscious of a growing appetite for both drinks, and never enjoyed them better than I did after the fast. I had it constantly in mind that I should follow the example of the Brooklyn Commune joyfully, let it be what it might and come sooner or later, but I had no instinct to lead in the matter. When we learned nearly a week ago that the Brooklyn family had abandoned the use of tea and coffee, I made up my mind at once to do the same. I confess it was something of a trial and seemed anything but attractive. The next morning I awoke early, and was up some time before the bell rang, with an unusual appetite for some coffee with my

breakfast. I knew I could go down to the table and willfully refuse to drink it and put myself under law, but this I could not bear to do. I went to God in earnest prayer for deliverance with a determination not to go to breakfast till I could go a free man. It was nearly eight o'clock when I went down, but my appetite for coffee was entirely removed, and I have not enjoyed my breakfast so well for a month as I did that morning. I have enjoyed my meals better ever since, and have not had the least appetite for tea or coffee.

In my meditations that morning I felt clearly that there was no need of suffering in my body as I did before, and I asked God for such a victory over habit that I could make any change that was called for and not suffer by it. I have been conscious that my prayer was answered, for I am not aware of the least suffering in consequence of the change.

During our fast of a week I wanted something for a substitute and sometimes took hot water with milk and sugar, and sometimes milk, but this time I have taken pure, cold water, and have had no appetite for anything else...

Your loving brother,

J. R. MILLER.

WRESTLING WITH DISEASE AND DEATH.

On September 16, 1851, Tryphena Seymour, daughter of old Mr. Hubbard and wife to Henry J. Seymour, a member of the Oneida Association, began to show symptoms of insanity, or what some termed hysterics, crying nights, wandering about, frightening the children, and talking incoherently. Her husband looked after her. He gave her a "short lesson in geometry," and told her not to leave her room before dinner. She was afterward in the garden and kitchen. He criticised her for her disobedience, and punished her a little, rapping her on the cheeks. But she grew rapidly worse, and for three days he could keep her from raving only by a continual use of the word of command and a slight use of the rawhide. It was difficult keeping her so, and soon she broke out again. He tried to make her yield by whipping and talking. In a letter to Harriet a Noyes he writes: "The responsibility of all the chastisement she has received belongs entirely to me. I give myself to God for direction and criticism. I should be thankful for help in reading the lesson God is giving us."

At this crisis Noyes sent his wife to Oneida with the following word to Mr. Seymour: "If Tryphena continues insane, your true course is to go in a manly way to her relatives and report the case. They know her tendency to that disease, and will not be likely to blame you or us, if you deal with them wisely. After consulting them, if there is no favorable change, take her to the Asylum at Utica. The case is beyond our power.

I advise abstaining from all harsh treatment. Perhaps the proposal of sending her to the Asylum will quiet her. Perhaps Mr. Burt will be able to break the spell. At all events God is over all. Trust in Him and fear not. All the threatenings that are coming upon us constantly end in smoke. Our forebodings are daily reversed. It is darkest just before day. God bless you.

JOHN H. NOYES."

HARRIET A. NOYES TO BROOKLYN.

Oneida, September 25, 1851.

Mrs. Tobey started in the morning for home direct. She and Mrs. Howes had been expecting to go next Monday by way of Brooklyn, but she got so afraid and in such close corners about Tryphena that she went off without ceremony. She was afraid to go to Brooklyn and afraid to stay here. because if she was crazy she would be whipped. She has been crazy, and the folks here felt that it was good for Tryphena that Mrs. Tobey went away. It seemed to clear the atmosphere, and Tryphena was more composed. Mrs. Tobey was tried too on financial matters. Mrs. Howes thinks that was the main thing.

I went in to see Tryphena soon after I arrived, and although she did not recognize me, and went on with her idiotic talk, I addressed myself to her inner man and paid no attention to her outer man. I set before her the truth and what you proposed doing for her. Then I told her to lie down composedly and think of it. Mr. Burt had just arrived, and he said that after we had seen what effect my talk had he would try her.

Mr. Burt did not succeed in getting money, and yesterday morning, after Mrs. Tobey left, the Association had not a cent in the Treasury. I do not find any special fear about Tryphena's case here. I think Henry Seymour is learning a good lesson. All seem quite engaged in business. They have passed a resolution to contribute on the first of every month \$25. to Brooklyn. It is 50¢ to a man. Horace Burt earned his yesterday at the buzz-saw and handed it in to the treasurer. He is quite bright, so this case stays cured. Also Harriet Hall.

This morning Mr. Burt talked to Tryphena very kindly but without apparent effect. Mr. Seymour then said he felt prepared in spirit to go to her father's and tell him about her, confessing the truth of his treatment of her. Some queried whether it would not be better to put it off a few days on account of black and blue spots on her body. But I felt that he should go now, and tell them frankly that he had tried soft measures, and then he had tried controlling her, and had even held her mouth and whipped her, if he found it necessary. Accordingly he and Mr. Burt went over to Mr. Hubbard's. They found there an aunt of Tryphena's, who was coming here tomorrow expecting to find her well. Here we saw the wisdom of Henry's going over there today. At first Tryphena's father spit out his wrath, but her mother checked him, saying it was no time to talk so now; she would forget all the past, and see what is best to do. When Henry informed them of all the means he had taken, her mother inadvertently exclaimed: "You ought to have been whipped yourself." He made no reply, but afterward said he had used his best judgment and done as well by her as he knew

how. She then told him she did not wish to cast any reflections on him, but wanted to do the best she could now. Soon after Henry's return Dexter Hubbard, his mother and aunt came over and saw Tryphena, and proposed to have a doctor sent for to give his opinion whether her situation was owing to sickness, or whether she was a fit subject for the insane asylum. The doctor came, and the result of their consultations was that Mr. Burt, Mr. Seymour and Dexter Hubbard took Tryphena in a carriage to Utica.

HENRY J. SEYMOUR TO NOYES.

Oneida, October 2, 1851.

Dear Brother Noyes:-

What you say to me and about me is most consoling. It is true that I can learn much from my experience, and see much to criticise in what I have done. My prayer and endeavor is to shield you and the church from the imputations which the world is heaping upon you. I pray for wisdom. Without Christ I can do nothing. With him I can do all things.

With much love,

H. J. SEYMOUR.

REMARKS BY NOYES.

Brooklyn, November 10, 1851.

I should like to say of Mr. Jonathan Burt ( and have it sent to the Association ) that I have not seen the smallest symptoms of insanity in him since he has been here, and never saw him when his mind and spirit seemed to me more sound. The only oppressive influence I have felt from him has been connected with tobacco, and that has passed away since our tobacco talk



a few evenings ago.

I should recommend to the Association not to be frightened by this squall of insanity. Fear oftentimes begets the very thing it fears. They will soon begin to see that the spirit of insanity is not almighty; it is on the retreat.

The position of things at Oneida was so critical, and Mr. Burt's position was so central, I wanted he should have a means of escape if there was any danger of his getting off the track. I should say now that the circumstances in which he is placed would naturally worry him, and I wish, when there is any such tendency, he would free to slip away from the Association and come down here.

#### ONEIDA JOURNAL.

December 28, 1851.— For the last two weeks Mr. Joslyn has been growing worse. He seems possessed by an insane spirit, is continually telling what the spirits say to him, talks about the angel Gabriel, etc. There is some talk about taking him to the Asylum. Referred his case to Brooklyn.

#### INSANITY.

#### THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES 1:34.

January 4, 1852.

Perfectionism has been hitherto remarkably free from the reproach of causing insanity. Within a few months past, however, it must be confessed that the spirit of insanity has made several apparently successful inroads upon us. One case at Oneida passed beyond the control of the Association, and was committed to the care of the Utica Asylum. Another case there

has more recently been threatening a similar termination. The family at Putney is also at this time troubled with a case of monomania. These afflictions are calling our attention to the stronghold of the spirit of confusion.

JOHN R. MILLER TO NOYES.

Oneida, January 22, 1852.

Mr. Joslyn ran away between ten and eleven o'clock last night. Mr. Morgan and George Hamilton went after him with a sleigh, found him near Dr. Gould's in Oneida, and brought him home. While they were attempting partly by persuasion and partly by force to take him back with them in the sleigh the Presbyterian minister, hearing the commotion, came up and inquired into the trouble. The next day he wrote a brief account of the affair for publication in the Oneida Telegraph, but at the request of Mr. Burt and Mrs. Joslyn, who called on him and explained the circumstances, he requested the editor to withdraw the article, which was done.

TABLE TALK BY NOYES.

March 2, 1852.

We are now evidently in a transition state. The subject that has engrossed our attention for five years past is the sexual relation. We have now in the late movements committed the decisive act which launches us on a new course. But the transition has been going on for some time; it dates in fact from the death of Mrs. Cragin. Since then the central subject of interest with us has been victory over death. Marriage and death are the two great principalities to be overcome. Mrs.

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Cragin went hand in hand with me in the attack on marriage, and now she is put on the other side of the veil that she may go hand in hand with me to the final victory. In consequence of her death we have come into a realizing view of Hades on the one hand and the world of the resurrection church on the other. At about the time I came back from Esopus Dr. Graham died, and I commenced a new treatment of alimentiveness. Our labor since that time has been to sanctify the table. We are coming into reconciliation with matter, so that we can eat and drink in the name of the Lord Jesus. Our new views of the spiritual world have resulted in the Concentric Convention. We are in our proper vocation here at the table in removing the causes of death. It is here that the decisive victory is to be won.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

April 5, 1852.— Mrs. Miller mentioned to Mr. Noyes that the report Fanny was making would prove that our women, instead of contracting any of those peculiar diseases common to the sex, had been cured of all former complaints.

Noyes: " That is splendid ! That is worth a thousand dollars to me right on the spot. To think that with our new social life, and the hazards, and the predictions, we should come out cured even of old complaints, is a miracle. It is worth telling of ! "

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO HER MOTHER.

Brooklyn, July 1, 1852.

John is particularly engaged in the conquest of death. He says, if Christ is going to be elected, we must have death

out of the way. It is John's idea that believers everywhere should ratify the nomination by Kossuth. He says he is going out to stump it. He is going to try his voice in the field of public speaking. He means to get his liberty or die.

John said last night, that he saw no kind of use in your going to Hades, you would have to come back so soon. It was so near morning, you had better not lie down at all.

REMARKS BY NOYES, JULY 4, 1852.

The Lord seems to be suffering my old thorn in the flesh to operate upon me to some extent, no doubt for good purposes, and I have to request that I may be freed from any necessity of talking on stated occasions at the table or in the evening. I prefer that the family undertake to edify themselves for the present and give me an opportunity to rest. I think it would be for the benefit of the family as well as myself that this change should take place. If visitors come, do not expect me to take the brunt of conversation. Let others step forward and entertain them. What is needed now is a breaking up of habit not only in myself but in the family in respect to looking to me for discourse on all occasions. It is a bad habit and might produce disease. My health in every other respect is good. This trouble is a signal to me, as it has been before, to turn away from too much communication by word of mouth. I count it a good sign for the paper.

LEMUEL H. BRADLEY TO MRS. NEWHOUSE.

Wallingford, July 17, 1852.

Mr. Noyes is with us yet. He said at the tea-table this afternoon: "If I stay here I shall grow fat. With no letters, no newspapers, together with fine sport in swimming and fishing, God is giving me rest and refreshment. My throat troubles me but very little now." He said to me the day he came here: "Extremes meet in my case. While I am fleshy my throat is worse than it has ever been. I am going to have a fair fight now, and if I beat this time the Devil will have to give it up." So you see he has beaten the old scamp again.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

July 25, 1852.— J. Philander Abbot, a member of the Oneida Association, died of consumption on the 20th inst., aged 20. This is the first death of an adult that has occurred at the Community since its commencement in November 1847. As the day dawns we smile over those that fall asleep, reckoning that their slumbers will be short and their dreams pleasant.

NOYES TO GEORGE W. NOYES.

Wallingford, August 10, 1852.

Dear Brother:—

In this green, quiet retreat I have leisure and favorable circumstances for inquiring into the causes of our maladies at Brooklyn. My motto is: "For every evil under the sun there is a remedy or there is none. If there is one, seek it, and find it. If there is none, then never mind it." In my seeking I have taken a hint from the following symptom-fact in my own experience: Yesterday for the first time since I have been here I took up a Tribune and skimmed it through. My throat and lungs had been in a comfortable

improving state, but before I got through the paper they were smarting with the old irritation. To-day I repeated the experiment with the same result. Reflection on these facts has satisfied me that newspaperism is the inlet of many of the plagues we suffer. Why not ? The acrid selfish spirit of the Devil's world is the element of all disease, and certainly the newspapers represent and circulate it. True, we have the promise that we shall "drink any deadly thing and it shall not hurt us," and accordingly we find ourselves alive and able to doctor ourselves after having breakfasted, dined and supped for years on newspaper poison. But it is good to stop and consider the experiment, that we may not tempt the Lord. It has undoubtedly been our duty to acquaint ourselves with the newspapers for various objects. Our profession and projects have demanded the sacrifice. But let us not forget that it is a sacrifice to plunge thus into the depths of Satan. Have we not gained the general information and the literary helps that we needed, at least enough to last us for some time ? I would suggest, by way of experiment, a fast from newspaper fare. Do for once clear the nasty sheets all out of the sitting-room, and, if possible, out of the house. Try it for a week and see if you don't all feel better. Why should we not make up our minds to quit the literature of the world, and turn our whole attention to our manifest business of creating a new literature that shall be a medium of life and joy ?

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO CHARLOTTE A. MILLER.

Brooklyn, August 11, 1852.

Dear Charlotte:-

We have just arisen from the dinner-table, where we had a refreshing laugh in reviewing a scene which occurred in the parlor

this morning after reading John's letter. We gathered up the papers in the sitting-room, and had a game of ball with them. George expressed his disgust by kicking one of them, whereupon others joined, and flung and kicked the papers about the room right merrily. Although it lasted but a minute or two, it was an expression of feeling that cleared the atmosphere. We thought Greeley and Bennett would have stared to see their papers treated so.

SARAH K. DUNN TO BROOKLYN.

August 11, 1852.- We are having quite a battle with consumption. Mrs. Olds is quite feeble, and others have had consumptive symptoms. But we are bright and happy in the midst of it all. Mr. Noyes thinks we are facing consumption this season in the same way we did insanity last year. If we can overcome consumption, we can death, and he advises all to confess Christ in their lungs.

August 31, 1852.- Mr. Miller in a letter to Mr. Cragin mentioned the death of Mrs. Olds.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

Oneida, August 16, 1852.

Dear Harriet:-

The funeral of Edgar Ackley took place this afternoon. Sarah Dunn and I marched right into the bedroom (the same that Philander died in and that Mr. Joslyn had occupied) after we returned, following up a suggestion from Miss Burgess that the room and the wing to which it was attached was probably haunted by Mr. Joslyn's old Hadean spirits, and determined to exorcise and fumigate it. We commenced taking down the bedstead and removing things from the room, Mr. Ackley helping, resolved that we would scent out the mis-

chief and get up a general mob that would turn these evil spirits out, and the dolefuls too, before Mr. Miller came home. We took down the curtain that hung before the shelves, and lo ! an Old Hat, which everybody recognizes as Mr. Joslyn's, the one which he wore constantly in the house and out, while in deep consultation with those foul spirits. We threw it onto the floor, and while we were talking of burning it, Mr. Ackley gave it a kick. The rest of us joined in and finally kicked it downstairs into the kitchen. Mr. Ackley then kicked it into the furnace and it was burned up. The laughter and excitement gave a completely new turn to the feelings of Mr. Ackley and the house generally. As a still further purification of the wing we resolved to have our evening meeting there. An hour was passed in testimony. The experience of those who had roomed there and had been troubled with bad dreams and bad sleep was related. There was some criticism of the spirit that Mrs. Olds was suffering under. Then we read the 91st Psalm and some others. Mr. Burt was full of unction, and the old revival spirit seemed to circulate from heart to heart. It was half-past ten, and we were closing the meeting with singing "Sherburne" when Mr. Miller came in. A supper for all with coffee etc. after the old Putney fashion followed and ended the day with peace and thankfulness.

NOYES TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Wallingford, August 19, 1852.

I was weighed yesterday, and found that I had gained three lbs. since I have been here - present weight 165 lbs ! That does not look much like consumption.



CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO BROOKLYN.

Oneida, September 2, 1852.

Dear Friends:-

We are happy to record that there are no invalids among us.. Harriet Hall is better in spirit and body than I ever knew her. This has been the case for several weeks. She is very edifying, and we love her very much. She is in the kitchen, and works heartily and usefully. Her case is a Gibraltar the Devil will never be able to take.

ERASTUS H. HAMILTON TO ONEIDA.

Brooklyn, September 15, 1852.

At the supper table Mr. Noyes said: "Mr. Hamilton, I recommend that you write to Miller and Burt to take hold now and get the indictments against them for disease and death removed. According to accounts the Devil has been crowding them hard with these indictments. "

GEORGE W. NOYES TO CHARLOTTE A. MILLER.

Brooklyn, October 9, 1852.

In conversation last night John remarked that there were four lines in the army of death: 1: acute diseases; 2: chronic diseases; 3: insensible diseases manifesting themselves in old age; 4: death itself. We met the first line in dysentery and cholera in the first years of the Association, and broke it. The past summer we have got a victory over the second line. John said it had been one of the hardest seasons he had ever experienced. When he went to Wallingford his throat and lungs were very bad, but he got a new baptism of faith and will against it, and feels that he can put it down. I have been in a steady skirmish with chronic troubles for the last year, and had a crisis soon after

John came from Wallingford, which I think amounts to a decided victory. All the crazy ones have got well, and those at Oneida who have suffered attacks seem to be better.

SARAH CAMPBELL TO ONEIDA.

Brooklyn, December 18, 1852.

It is quite a time just now. Some have colds, one a boil, and Mr. Noyes's throat has troubled him of late. He remarked last night that we thought we were having a hard time, but we were not. The Devil was having a hard time, and we were having a good one. There was no need of a sick spirit.

Saturday evening, 8:15. As I was looking out of the parlor window into the printing office I thought how I should like to paint the lively scene to you. I will try: Elizabeth is at her old post, laying on papers; Ellen by her side taking lessons; John Smith in Abby's place; Mr. Leonard by his side; Anna Maria standing opposite looking on, bright and happy; Mr. Hull turning wheel; now Mr. Carr steps into his place and gives it new force; there comes Mr. Noyes out of the office with new paper in hand, and sits down in the corner to peruse it; Sarah Dunn and Sophronia have just gone in; Henry and Sarah Johnson now turning wheel they salute me through the windows; so does Ellen. Suffice it to say they all look very cheerful. There has been quite a lightning up in the atmosphere since last night. Mr. Noyes seems lively, and all around tells that it is easy to do God's will. It is nearly time to fold papers, so good evening.

HOME-TALK BY NOYES - DECEMBER 22, 1852.

I will not criticize Wallingford now, because I criticized them enough while I was there. I remember my visit with a great deal of pleasure. There was a drawing out of my mind into a new love of science which characterizes the place; and withal I had some of the severest and at the same time most precious experience I ever had in relation to sickness, both in my own case and in the case of Victor and Theodore. I date a new era in my own health from my visit there, so that the thoughts of Wallingford are very pleasant to me. I feel healthy and growing in spite of adverse influences. I had a pressing time a while ago with my throat, but I feel stronger now.

A DIALOGUE.

MAY 11, 1853.

Q:- You have just returned from Oneida, I understand. How is the health of the Association ?

A;- Very good.

Q:- Haven't they any sick ones there ?

A:- No, none that are confined at all.

Q:- Did you see Harriet Hall ?

A:- Yes, She was about, as busy as any one.

Q:- Don't they employ a doctor ?

A:- Not at all.

Q:- One of their members was formerly a doctor, I believe. What does he do ?

A:- He was tending the circular saw when I was there; but he goes from one business to another, making himself "generally useful," as the phrase is at Oneida. He is called upon to pull a tooth occasionally, and is always ready to sew up a cut or do any little office of that kind when asked.

Q:- His materia medica is all thrown overboard, I suppose.

A:- Not a pill or potion left.

Q:- Where there are so many children I should think some of them would be ailing. Don't they have colds ?

A:- I heard no coughing and very little complaint of any kind. I was told that the children had been almost entirely free from colds the whole winter.

Q:- What do the Association live on ?

A:- Common vegetables and fruit; good bread of all kinds; tea and coffee; fish, salt and fresh; some salt pork; and once in a great while a dinner of fresh meat.

Q:- I see they are not Grahamites. Are they Hydropathists ?

A:- No, they are too busy for that. In short the question of health is very much neglected there. You seldom hear it mentioned in any way. They seem to be so much taken up with other things that they forget to be sick.

#### BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

February 19, 1854.- Mr. Noyes got up and ate his breakfast as usual. But he soon asked Theodore to make a fire in his room, and wrote on a paper that he had resolved not to talk at all and see if his throat did not gain by it. He quit talking on the principle of non-resistance; he could go on as he had done, but it would be a continual strife with the Devil, and he did not care enough for the privilege of talking to quarrel about it.

February 21, 1854.- A hard day in the family. Almost every one had a headache. Nevertheless we finished the paper between ten and eleven in the evening, and all felt better. Perhaps some principality opposed us that wished to hinder the publication of Morality of War and Cheerful Views. Mr. Noyes thinks those articles are grand and just what are needed at this time.

February 22, 1854.- Mr. Noyes continues his fast from talking, though I judge from his actions that he feels better. His advice

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on paper to the editors is to avoid combativeness. "Do not drink in Greeley's spirit. Charles should keep out of the Nebraska pow-wow. Mr. Pitt should keep his temper about antichrist. All should go back and examine the grounds on which I acted in renouncing allegiance to the United States.

February 25, 1854:- Mr. Noyes's throat is better. He says it does not trouble him any, but still he feels like keeping his fast until he has a clear instinct to mingle with the family again. The paper went off very easily today. G. W. Noyes and others came from Newark. George has gained four pounds in flesh. He is doing a good work in Newark. He electioneers for the paper wherever he goes.

March 1, 1854:- Mr. Noyes wrote that he had received much benefit in respect to regulating that which goeth out of the mouth, and he was now inclined to avail himself of this opportunity to take a step forward in respect to regulating that which goeth into the mouth. He requested therefore that no more tea or coffee or beer or meat be brought to him. He said this should not be considered as making a rule for the rest of the family. He thought it best to have these articles on the table, certainly as long as Larkin remained with us. (There is prospect of his finding another boarding-place soon.) As Mr. Noyes was boarding by himself now, he felt free on this first day of spring, with a view to clarifying his brain for a good time of working on the paper, to make a change of diet, which he had long contemplated as to come in connection with the breaking of the reign of tobacco and other unnatural stimulants. Quite a number of the family were ready to join him in giving up the use of tea and coffee.

Mr. Noyes says that this is evidence of the need of a change in our diet.

March 5, 1854:- After fasting from speaking for two weeks Mr. Noyes last evening sat in his old "Hone-Talk Corner," and spoke as follows:

"Before I returned upstairs I had been thinking of the difficulty in my throat, and one day while walking the street it suddenly flashed upon me that what I wanted was to stop talking so much to man, and talk more to God. That is undoubtedly the difficulty in all other cases. You may seek help by changing your situation and circumstances as much as you please, but you will find at last that the only way to get help is to retire from the earth and earthly things and get more intercourse with God. Mere criticism and trying to edify one another is not enough. Our conversation then is horizontal. There will have to be a great deal more prayer. I don't know but in our social meetings there will have to be exercises of that kind. I think there is too much reading and not enough prayer in the family. The tone of the family is not healthy on that account."

Mr. Noyes proposes to go to Wallingford to-morrow morning, to rest awhile and get out of the city atmosphere. Mr. Seymour will accompany him.

March 6, 1854.- Mr. Noyes wrote:- My impression is that the family here in the city won't gain much by leaving off meat and taking up milk two or three times a day. The milk in these markets is as suspicious at least as the meat. Let that reform come along naturally, as I think it will, when we are more cleared of the old hankering for stimulants. But you may as well make

thorough work now in the drinkables. At any rate I shall recommend to Theodore to learn to love cold water as ordinary drink, instead of tea or coffee or milk, or even warm water. Let those who are disposed try it a while. We will prove all things and hold fast that which is good.

JOHN R. MILLER TO GEORGE CRAGIN.

Oneida, March 15, 1854.

I was very thankful for the interest you manifest in my health, and also for G. W. Noyes's very kind note. They quite touched my heart. I can assure you that I shall give heed to the advice. I have already found great advantage in living very temperately, and quite often going without a meal. My living for the past ten days has been generally a small piece of toast three times a day, usually of brown bread, with a glass of cold water. For a few days I have given this up, and ate something which I found on the table. At the same time I have abstained from talking as much as possible. My health is greatly improved, so that I shall be able to do all that belongs to me, I am sure. I shall endeavor to be economical of my life.

On May 5, 1854, Mr. Miller arrived at Brooklyn for a short visit. Up to this time his letters have been full of business. He has been pushing the peddling enterprise, which has shown unusual profit this spring. At the same time he has been opening a market for rustic seats in New York, and for carpet bags in Utica, Syracuse and other near-by towns. There are frequent references to "providential" receipts of money needed to pay the running expenses of the six Associations and support the tri-weekly paper in Brooklyn.

G. W. N.

JOHN R. MILLER TO HIS WIFE.

Brooklyn, May 8, 1854.

Dear Charlotte:- I have spent three days here very pleasantly and, I think, profitably. Mr. Noyes is full of enthusiasm in The Circular, the Bible games, the carpet bag business and whatever he undertakes. The morning after my arrival I arose at half past five and was quite surprised to find Mr. Noyes up and busily engaged in putting things in order for the day. The parlor had been swept and made ready for use, and George had gone to New York on business.

This morning I joined the washing-bee. We washed two hours before breakfast, and I enjoyed it much. I have entered right into the business of the family and endeavored to make myself generally useful. I joined our bee in making carpet bags. Saturday night I worked awhile at the press, and then by Harriet Skinner's invitation helped Harriet A Noyes address the Circulars, and shall continue it while here. I find plenty of employment. It is a poor place here in which to be idle. I am thankful for the privilege of making this visit.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

May 14, 1854.- Mr. Miller has been here over a week. He is considerably under the spirit of disease, looks thin and seems rather low-spirited. Mr. Cragin just proposed that we criticise the spirit that is upon him. He with George and Mr. Skinner advised him to do just as he would advise another to do in the circumstances, turn his mind away from himself, and get hold of something new.

Evening:- Mr. Miller has gone to bed feeling quite indisposed.



May 15, 1854:- Mr. Miller much better, thinks the crisis is past, looks better than he has since he has been here. Goes to Wallingford to spend a day or two and then return here, and in the course of this week will return to Oneida taking Mrs. Skinner with him, thus giving her a little variety and respite from the paper.

Mr. Silas Blaisdell died at Oneida on May 13th, and Mrs. Nash on the 23rd.

Mr. Noyes has just started for Wallingford. Quite a sudden start. He says he does not go from necessity as he did before.

NOTE BY J. H. NOYES, May 16, 1854.

Charles asked me if my throat was any better. I said, NO, I wish to add that, though the local disease has been quite painful for a few days past, ( apparently in consequence of the easterly storm), my system on the whole has improved decidedly. My mind has got its freedom again, and I am more free from nervousness and childish temptations than I have been since February. God has strengthened my faith, and given me a new elasticity of will, so that I am having a good time fighting with my old enemy. I thank God that now, when he is bringing my talking to an end, he has begun a revival of Bible study in the church. You can do well without me if you study Christ. The Bible game, if it continues to interest as it has done, will do more good than Home-Talks. I advise Mr. Miller to do his best to promote universal industry and the study of the Bible at Oneida, and then fear not but the Association will prosper without him and without me. If we are disabled or should even die, the good fight will go on till victory shall swallow death. Either in heaven or under

heaven we shall see and share in that victory. If God pleases, our children shall take our places and finish what we have begun.

It is now just twenty years since the present war with sin and death began at New Haven. That is only half the period which I had in mind and alluded to in the Battle-Axe Letter, where I spoke of the "long race and the hard warfare" that was before the saints. Twenty years have brought us round to where I started from, to the earnest study of the life of Christ. I thank God and take courage.

JOHN R. MILLER TO BROOKLYN

Wallingford, May 16, 1854.

I arrived here about 4 o'clock yesterday, and found Mr. Noyes, Mr. Bradley and the women engaged in making carpet bags. The other men were employed in different kinds of outdoor work. I enjoyed my ride here better than I expected, and found no difficulty in walking up from the depot carrying my carpet bag and heavy overcoat. I felt thankful every step I took for the strength I had gained.

After being here a short time I took a walk over the premises with Mr. Bradley, which I enjoyed and was not fatigued. I had a very good night and felt quite refreshed this morning. Mr. Bradley, Seymour and myself are going to Paug Pond fishing today. Mr. Noyes said his throat was too bad to go. He does not talk much. He is out grafting this morning, and seems quite happy. I expect to start for Brooklyn to-morrow.

ONEIDA JOURNAL.

May 19, 1854:- Mr. Miller, Harriet Skinner and Mr. and Mrs. Long came. Mr. Miller retired to his room to rest. When Mr. Noyes's letter to Brooklyn was first read, a feeling of sadness came over us, but an evening or two later a second reading of it was called for, which diffused a bright, hopeful spirit among us. We had an edifying talk occasioned by Mrs. Deborah Knowles. She was in trial on account of the sickness of the leading members, and said it seemed to her as if something must be wrong. Mr. Burt said he thought the salvation of the body was as much a matter of election as the salvation of the soul; it was for God to say, who should live and who die. God would be glorified in the dead and in the living. Mrs. Skinner said we needed such experience here at Oneida to make us more interior. Mr. Miller wrote, that he did not think he was going to die, or that Mr. Noyes was. "But," he continued, "I do say in relation to it, and I believe we must all say the same, 'Thy will, O God, be done.' If we live after the fashions of the world, we shall surely die; but if we join the resurrection army, there is at least a chance for us to live till this last enemy is conquered. If I fall, it will be with full faith in victory over death."

JOHN R. MILLER TO THE COMMUNITY.

Oneida, May 25, 1854.

I have had a good many thoughts lately, especially within a few days, about our finances. I see that there is a good deal to be done to pay our present debts and keep all the machinery in motion so that the public interests will not suffer. I cannot do it. The question is, whom has God qualified to fill the

place ? It seems to me that Mr. Barron is the man. I think he has talent and taste for it, and would consider it no burden. The only objection I see is his lack of spiritual experience. He would be liable for quite a while to come under a worldly spirit, which would have to be criticised; but he takes criticism well. I would propose farther, that Mr. Burt, Mr. Skinner and perhaps one more should be a board of directors, and that no debts, except for small sums, should be contracted without their consent. A small debt which Mr. Barron did not know of might seriously embarrass us for a short time.

We frequently say, when we have calls for money to supply private wants, that there is no money to spare. But this would never be thought of when there are calls for the public interest. Mr. Barron at first will not be likely to make the proper distinction. But he will learn that Brooklyn's wants should always be attended to, and so of a great many other things. He will have to be wide awake to see that no inspired proposal is stopped for the want of money.

Is Mr. Barron ready to engage in this new field ?

Yours for devotion to Christ,

JOHN R. MILLER.

CIRCUIT TALK NO. 1.

Wallingford, May 31, 1854.--

(Noyes has been suffering from throat trouble, and this "talk" is marked "Whispered.")

Our revival at Putney commenced with just such a state of things in my throat. There is to be a new growth after this. I don't know how.

Last year I started a scheme, that once in a while the leading members ought to resign and offer themselves for criticism from all quarters. That scheme has never been fully carried out, but the Lord is not going to let me off without seeing it through. There is need in all the Associations for criticism of the leading members, to give the family a chance.

(Noyes spoke of going on a circuit of the Communes, not for a jaunt but on business.)

I have got command of myself now, so that I need not be afraid to go to Oneida or anywhere. I can go and not say a word; whisper, as I do here, and not irritate my throat. Then my throat is a good deal stronger than it was. I feel stronger in every way. I shall do the Devil a good deal of mischief. I do not feel at liberty to go yet, and am not quite able to. But with a little more repairs I could go and do good and get good.

I can see that "when I am weak, then I am strong." My most fruitful time is when I am low. Just now, while I have been threatened, I have been starting this Bible game.

#### FAMILY CONVERSATION ABOUT MR. MILLER.

(Mr. Noyes proposed that we have a general talk for Mr. Miller's benefit. The letter received today from Harriet Skinner was first read.)

Noyes:- For my part I feel cheerful and good-natured about his condition and the uncertainty that hangs over him. I cannot say but he will die. I do not ask for any pledge. My principle in regard to my own health and that of others has always been that of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego: "The God that we serve is able to deliver us, and he will deliver us; but if not, be it known unto thee, O king, we will not bow down and worship the

image thou hast set up." That is my faith about death. I know death is being overcome, and will ultimately be absolutely so. But it is evident, and has been all along, that we cannot claim to have finished that work. And my faith in regard to victory over death is not staked on any individual case. If I got my will into such an attitude as to put God under law, I should expect he would cross that will. While I say these things I do not find in my heart any especial expectation that Mr. Miller will die. I rather expect he will hold out beyond all expectations, and begin to rise again. I advise him and all to take a cheerful view. Yet I would not force any faith; that would do no good. Instead of that I would turn around and face death and learn to be courageous in view of it. I have found in such instances that as soon as I became perfectly willing to die, and began to make my arrangements accordingly, the Lord began to make arrangements not to have me. SO I advise Mr. Miller to set about cheerfully making arrangements as though he were certainly to die, pack up his trunks as though he were going on a long journey; then if orders come that he need not go, it will be a short and easy job to unpack his trunks again.

Mr. Seymour:- That course would undoubtedly disappoint the Devil. His object is to frighten us. The fear of death is the worst thing he has to frighten us with.

Noyes:- "He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it." As individuals and as an Association we must have experience of that kind - must pass death as it were - must overcome death through death. I believe that the resurrection is at work in me whether I live or die, and whether Mr. Miller does. I love Mr. Miller very much, and

believe God loves him. I love him too well to wish to take him out of God's hands. I am willing that God should do what is necessary for his salvation. I shall never cease to love him and remember his labors of love and faith among us. No man has done so much as he to strengthen the business department. A great gap would be left, if he were taken away, but I have confidence that God will fill it.

Mr. Seymour:- We need to get in the way of regarding death as a small matter, as you would a bridge that you had to pass on a journey. We are bound for heaven, and we shall go through at all events, toll or no toll. God has made us rich enough to pay toll if necessary.

Noyes: Besides, he has promised us a free bridge sometime! There never was since our commencement such a freshet of diabolical influences, physical and spiritual, as there has been this spring. There have been blood and destruction in Europe, Asia and South America, which have been constantly poured in upon us. Then there has been a continent of ice on our coast, several times as much as common. Winter has extended itself far into the Spring. All that ever had any consumptive tendency have been severely tried. Mr. Blaisdell and Mrs. Nash have been carried away by the flood.

Mr. Bristol:- The Association needs this experience. There appears to be too much leaning on Mr. Miller both for their good and his.

William Hinds:- I have always loved him a great deal, and do now. I can never appreciate too highly what he has done for me.

It was a great while before I would consent to think of his dying; but I can now say, Let God's will be done. The love of life is particularly strong in him. His strong, affectionate nature has thrown out its fibres everywhere; and it would seem absolutely necessary that God should reduce him as he has done, in order to crucify thoroughly his natural life, that Christ's life may take its place.

Mr. Seymour:- Such a character would do more good by generating his spirit in others than by acting as a single person. He ought to have a great body for his soul to live and act in.

Noyes:- God has almost to kill the little body in order to give him a great one.

In 1846 I ran down lower than I am now. I was cured then by love. Now I shall have to confess that I have been cured by labor. It has been life to me. Nothing else would exactly touch the spot.

Such a man as Mr. Miller should not go out and work an hour or two in a gentlemanly way; he should make up his mind to become a workingman - change his class.

Mr. Seymour:- The Lord wants to clean up the parlor, so he invites all to go down into the kitchen. ( Laughter. )

William Hinds:- That cloud of hypo seems to be rolling away now.

Noyes:- Yes, the heavens are lighting up. I have not been troubled with any hypo for some time past. There is connected with it a cross, quarreling, claiming spirit. I have had to nip my lips and hold my tongue by force to keep from scolding.



If I undertook to criticise, I would be thrown into hell-fire, and would have to go to bed. But now I am free, and can criticise and feel better for it. I am sensible of having grown in peace and good nature rapidly this spring in the midst of my troubles. There has been a singular mixing up of spiritual and physical phenomena. When that easterly storm came on, my mind became as dark as the heavens, trouble with my throat commenced, and I had a violent toothache at the same time. If I took up The Tribune and read about the eastern war, accidents, etc., the same symptoms came on. Sometimes I could read only a few minutes.

William Hinds: If it is true that it is <sup>the</sup> darkest time just before day, there must be a very bright day just ahead of us.

Mr. Bradley:- Whatever happens, God is drawing the bands of love and union tighter and tighter. We are becoming more and more independent of individuals. "It is not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the LORS." Not by man, nor by anything external, but by the power and purpose of God the Association stands.

#### HARRIET H. SKINNER TO WALLINGFORD.

Brooklyn, June 8, 1854.

The family talk on Mr. Miller's case was received the day before I left Oneida, and Mr. Miller set right about making such arrangements as he would if he knew he was going to die. His first thought was to deed his property, the Putney mill to Mr. Baker, the store to George, the Abbott and Baker property at Oneida to Mr/ Skinner, Mr. Thacker and Mr. Barron. But on consultation with Mr. Burt and Mr. Skinner with advice of Mr. Joslyn

he concluded to make his will, as that could be done privately, and in case he should get well would leave everything as it was. I understood he was to will his property to the same persons to whom he thought of deeding it, for the benefit of the Community.

I thought the effect on Mr. Miller was good, and the Community, which had flatted quite sensibly, straightened up and took a new tone. The Talk hit the mark all round. Mr. Miller had worn out his bad symptoms a good deal when I came away; was weak and lacked appetite, but was much more free from any distress than previously. His worst time has been nights from 9 till 2 o'clock, but the night before I left he slept quite well.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO HARRIET H. SKINNER.

Oneida, June 10, 1854.

I cannot speak of any apparent gain in Mr. Miller. Last night he was less feverish than the night before, but he is quite weak in mind and body. I suppose that is to be expected if a fever takes its course. I trust God and look on the bright side. As John says, " he may hold out beyond all expectations and then begin to rise. I desire to be of God's mind about his case any way. His appetite is gone, as when you left. He ate three strawberries this morning, nothing more.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO HENRY J. SEYMOUR.

Oneida, June 10, 1854.

Your information about Mr. Noyes and his recovering his voice was very cheering. I can rejoice in it as a great public blessing, and a token for good to us all. Mr. Miller is rather languishing in uncertainty yet, though hope on the whole prevails. He wishes to say that he felt very grateful for the

Report from Wallingford. His case does not appear to be consumptive, but a fever of some kind hangs onto him yet.. He is up and dressed every day, and sits up considerably. We expect to get great good out of his case in some ways, and we find it is not hard to trust God to dispose of him.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO CHARLOTTE A. MILLER.

Brooklyn, June 11, 1854.

I think about you a great deal nowadays, and realize more fully than before our unity in one body making appropriate the apostle's exhortation to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." Mr. Miller's battle I know is our's. His sufferings and victories, whatever they may be, will transfer themselves to the benefit of the whole church. While feeling the extent of Mr. Miller's trial I have had prevailingly good and happy impressions about it, that it is a necessary chastening administered in the kindest love, and intended for his enlargement and deliverance, and not for destruction. John remarks that the present winter and spring have been a time of peculiar spiritual severity, and my consciousness has fully confirmed that fact. But I am sure that it is working a great and beneficent revolution for the church, making for us a new, and so far as it goes, a resurrection world. The official spirit and the narcotic spirit have been judged and cast down. We have got the love of useful work in the place of the love of office and stimulants. We can hardly realize yet the sweep of this blessed change, but in my case it is producing daily returns of health and happiness amply compensating the stormy experience of the transition. A few months ago I was like a shipwrecked vessel, as I thought, right onto a lee shore. I was nervous and cast down, but not

destroyed; quite distressed and miserable, but it seems not wholly forsaken. From my plunge into the machine-shop I began to date a new experience. Since then I have been steadily improving in general health and spirits. My vessel is "clawing off" from the breakers that seemed inevitable. I give thanks to the grace of God and the resurrection life of Christ which are able to start a new enthusiasm in the midst of death. I was much interested in a remark of John's, that in order to get a new growth, the old seed has to die. I expect the time will come when the process will not be so severe.

ON June 12, 1854, G. W. Noyes went to Oneida "to see Mr. Miller through the narrows." On June 16, 1854, Mr. Miller passed away. The funeral took place on Sunday, June 18th. It was attended by nearly a hundred from the neighboring towns.

Writes Mr. Skinner: "We had a good, edifying meeting last evening. The presence of the Primitive Church was invited. Remarks were made on the coming together of the three worlds, (Primitive Church, Hadean World and World ) and the opinion was expressed that the partition between them was now very thin. George read the article 'Constitutional Christianity,'\* which was heartily endorsed. After supper we picked 145 quarts of strawberries.

\* See Home Talks.

#### GEORGE W. NOYES TO THE COMMUNITY.

Oneida, June 16, 1854.

We have had a good meeting this evening. Mr. Burt commenced by a prayer recognizing the hand of God in our situation, and thanking him for chastisement. There is a good spirit of peace, acquiescence and faith in the family. I think Charlotte has

done beautifully. Though she feels the affliction, she keeps about business as usual and diffuses a cheerful spirit.

June 17, 1854:- I shall stay here till next week, when we shall have had time for a response from the other Associations, and if it is thought best for Charlotte to have a change for a time, I can assist.

HARRIET H. SKINNER TO CHARLOTTE A. MILLER.

Brooklyn, June 18, 1854.

The news this morning touched me, though I was not unprepared for it. With a tearful sensation on the outside my heart inside has been full of comfort today about Mr. Miller, and of rejoicing in God's dealings with us. The effect will be, I believe, to hasten the resurrection....How precious the Bible is now ! The parable of Lazarus has a new interest to me, and Christ's words to the thief on the cross. Christ gave his disciples that glorious promise, "Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die." Yet he suffered Stephen and James and Peter to fall asleep. So we see he is not under law not to use death for his purposes.

I have thought that Mr. Miller laid down his life for the brethren, when he met the wrath of the world in the war at Oneida. His spirit was like oil on the foaming waters. You remember John said he covered himself with glory then. Does it not seem as if he fulfilled his work ?

What joy, Charlotte, is before us in meeting friends that have gone the journey to Hades ! Our seventh Community is there, John says. I love Mr. Miller more than ever before, and the

effect is to make me feel more and more abandonment to the work before us. We too will work day and night on our appointed portion in this enterprise of bringing together the three worlds, and expect that everything we do tells.

June 19, 1854.- John, we hear, is improving very fast.

CHARLOTTE A. MILLER TO HER MOTHER.

Oneida, June 23, 1854.

In the fly-leaf of his memorandum book bought in January Mr. Miller wrote his name, and the first entry is: " I wish to commence this year with confessing the sovereignty of Christ and union with him," and on the last leaf he wrote: " To him who has the Christian's hope there is no light except what shines through the grave."

I think he has had rather a presentiment for a year or more that the trouble in his throat and stomach would be fatal, and after he was taken so unwell at Brooklyn a strong persuasion that his hour was come settled upon him. His vital energies seemed spent, and nothing seemed to get the lever of faith under him. It was fore-ordained: his work was done, and the call to depart was imperative.

I think Mr. Miller was ripened much during the last two years. His faith and devotion were more single-eyed. He was weaned from earthly things. His natural buoyancy never seemed fairly gone though much beclouded after he came from Brooklyn... He was much beloved in the family. All seemed to feel that he was a father and a brother indeed. That God loved him, and still keeps him, I have no doubt. It is needless to say that I have a

lively sense of all his noble, lovable qualities, and of his constant, generous affection for me. Yet I feel a rejoicing in my innermost heart, that God's will is done in taking him away. Christ is all in all, and better than any creature. We shall find all good in him.

GEORGE W. NOYES TO NOYES.

Brooklyn, June 24, 1854.

Dear Brother:- I came down the river last night on my return from Oneida, and shall hold my self ready for service in all kinds of business here. I had not much opening for writing at Oneida, but found the most edification in working at shoe-making with Mr. Van Velzer.

There is rather a singular state of things at Oneida. It looks outwardly chaotic, and is accompanied by more or less tribulation of individuals; but it is the harbinger undoubtedly of new peace and resurrection. I think it is the necessary casting down of the official spirit - the outward resting in persons, which has been very strong at Oneida as well as here. All will be compelled to go singly, to God. To bring this about is painful for the time being, but it will work out right. I can see in this the best promise of your being able to go there and do them good. The state of things there reminds me of the distresses that pressed upon us here during the winter, and I judge that it is an extension of the same criticism and clearing. If it is so, the result will be worth all the trouble. I am uncommonly happy and buoyant nowadays, and love God for all his dealings with us.

EDITORIAL BY NOYES IN THE CIRCULAR.

Wallingford, July 3, 1854.

Dear Brethren:- Having no occasion or disposition to mourn for the death of our brother John R. Miller, I have not been tempted to wish that we might get up a flourish of panegyric over him. But the suggestion, which has been current among us, that his death was a judgment on the Association or on his own folly in some way, has led me to give calm and serious attention to the question, what is the proper view of this event. His labors of love toward me have been so abundant, that I am in no danger of indifference or forgetfulness in reference to his memory. My only anxiety has been that I might think and speak of him truthfully and according to the judgment of God. As I was waiting in this attitude of mind we came in the course of our Bible studies to Paul's epistle to the Phillippians, and there I found a case which seemed to me a sound precedent for judgment in respect to brother Miller.

That epistle was a love-letter sent back to the Phillippians by the hands of Epaphroditus, whom they had delegated to carry their contributions to Paul in his imprisonment at Rome. Epaphroditus, in his zeal for the service of love on which he was sent, in some way over-worked and fell sick. He did not die, but he came very near dying, and his case might have been the subject of the same queryings that have occurred in regard to brother Miller. Now see how Paul judged the matter. He writes:

" I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labor, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants. For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick. For



indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. I send him therefore the more carefully, that, when ye see him again, ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in reputation; because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of service toward me. Phil. 2:25-30.

This word of Paul tells me "in demonstration of the Spirit and with power," that our brother Miller, who was truly an Epaphroditus to us at Brooklyn, and whose zeal for the work of God at Oneida really wore out his throat, died not under judgment for sins either of the church or his own, but as a good soldier and martyr of Jesus Christ.

In any case of death in the church - even in that of Stephen or of Christ himself - an accusing spirit might find reason for treating it as a judgment on the church or a punishment of imprudence. But after all there is a line of distinction which the common sense of faith can easily find. If ever there was a case of noble sacrifice of life to the service of Christ that case was brother Miller's.

REVIEW OF THE BROOKLYN EPOCH, 1849 - 1854.

In its earlier years the Community had eked out a precarious but rather comfortable subsistence partly from its own productive labor and partly from property brought in by new members. This was, of course, an unsound position financially. No institution could permanently "live by conquest," least of all an institution absolutely devoted to salvation, from sin, and set as a flint against all compromise with "the world, the flesh, and the Devil." As a matter of fact, the raw material provided by the old Perfectionist revivals had been nearly all drawn in by the summer of 1850 and, as new converts came slowly, financial pinches began to be felt. Often money was not on hand at night for the next day's necessary expenses. On one occasion the last dollar in the treasury was given to a visitor, to pay his way home. From this time until the end of the Brooklyn epoch, economy, industry, and dexterity in converting property into cash were all that averted financial disaster.

In October 1850 the subject of needless watches in the family was discussed in the evening meeting, and it was proposed that all who could spare watches should place them in the hands of a committee to be sold. After meeting 25 watches were given up, and the next evening 15 more.

In September 1851 a letter was read in meeting, proposing that the Oneida family should furnish Brooklyn with butter. "This," said the Oneida journalist, "created quite a laugh, since we have had no butter on our own table for several days."

There were many instances in those early days of what the

Community considered "providential care" in money matters. For example, one day the business men could see no means of raising \$100 due at the bank. After collecting all the change at the mill, the shoe-shop, the black-smith shop and store, and borrowing \$20. of a visitor, a few dollars were still lacking. Says the journalist: "'Tis almost night, what is to be done? " Well, here comes the mail. And first is a letter from Mr. Miller: "Enclosed you will please find a draft on New York for \$100." Here is another letter from Mrs. T. "I have got the money which I intended for you, and enclose \$100, a note on the Barnstable bank." Thus after doing all we could to raise the money without success, God has given us double the sum required.

The Community at first assumed that horticulture was to be its chief industry. That somehow seemed the most Biblical and appropriate. But when money became scarce they began feeling their way into manufactures. Among other articles of their own manufacture, they made at different times palm leaf hats, gold chain, brooms, collars, flour, bee-hives, mop-wringers and rustic seats. While these early experiments were all eventually abandoned, the instinct back of them proved sound and led on to fortune.

The first permanently profitable business in which the Community engaged was the manufacture of steel game-traps. Sewall Newhouse, a member from Oneida Castle, a hunter and trapper and withal a mechanical genius, by improving on older English and German models had evolved a superior game-trap, and both before and after joining the Community in 1848 had employed himself during the off seasons in making these for his own use and for sale to the neighboring Indians. One day in December

1851 an order was received from a New York house for 500 Newhouse muskrat traps. This was an unheard of quantity, and Newhouse was summoned from Wallingford to fill it. The next spring the same house took 250 more. At about this time two of the Community men made the first selling trip to Chicago, and took with them, among other things, 353 traps. The Newhouse trap proved to be exactly what the western trappers wanted, and the Community men had no trouble in disposing of their stock. In the fall Chicago ordered 530 more, including a few of the larger sizes. They were all hand-forged by Newhouse with one or two assistants, who during the intervals between orders turned their attention to other things.

The next substantial spoke in the industrial wheel was the machine-shop. William R. Inslee, an expert machinist and proprietor of a small machine-shop in Newark, New Jersey, joined the Community in February 1851. During the dispersion at the time of the persecutions at Oneida quite a number of the young men were sent to Newark and received a thorough education as machinists in Inslee's shop. The bearing of this on the industrial development of the Community will be seen in the sequel.

The third business which made its mark on the future, though humble in its beginnings was extremely important in its final working out. It was peddling. In attempting to utilize the accomplishments of all the members, Noyes bethought himself of two men who before joining had been peddlers; and feeling that it was highly desirable to establish an independent system of distributing Community products he suggested that a peddling department be started. The journalist notes that this suggestion "cut

across the pride of some, especially the women;" but on further discussion the whole Community took up the idea with enthusiasm. Men and women begged the privilege of going out, and one man said he would "shoulder a razor-grinder, and joyfully too." The peddlers went two and two, on foot, like the disciples of Christ, and were usually gone not over a week. On their return they were washed from the world by the kindly offices of criticism. They bought and carried for sale silk, needles, buttins, pins, thread, combs, lace, edging, ink, and as they went preached the gospel of salvation from sin and took orders for the Community publications. After a year or two they traveled no longer on foot but by rail; and as they became more and more exclusively salesmen of Community-made goods, their trips were extended till they covered the country. Thus was developed the Community system of distribution.

In the last year of the Brooklyn epoch, but under the influence of the new afflatus, three new industries were started, job-printing, the manufacture of traveling bags, and the preserving of fruits and vegetables. Job-printing fitted in well with the printing of The Circular, and maintained itself as a small department until the end. The bag business was a considerable financial aid until 1868, when it gave way to other more profitable enterprises. The "Fruit Department," as it was called, soon became more identified with the Community in the public mind than any other department. The story of its beginning is thus told by George N. Miller:

"There is a tradition that the first fruits put into bottles by the Community were packed at the solicitation of Henry Thacker,

and that the experiment was mainly an amiable concession, for the sake of harmony, to what was considered a rather visionary idea. The number of bottles which Thacker was cautiously allowed to fill was 1000, and after these were put up every one feared that a rash thing had been done. However, the goods being packed, an attempt had to be made to sell them, and one of the Community business men, who was accustomed to meeting the world, took a few samples to a distant city, and timidly showed them to a large grocer, expecting to be rebuffed or laughed at. Great was his surprise, therefore, when the grocer, having tasted the contents of one of the bottles, said bluntly, " I'll take all you've got."

But the chief center of interest and romance during this period was the rise of the trap business. When Noyes returned to Oneida from Brooklyn in December 1854, he began looking about for some means of extending the industrial basis of the Community, and it was not long before he pitched upon trap-making as the most promising possibility. This business was still being carried on by Newhouse, with two or three occasional assistants, in a corner of the blacksmith-shop, the annual output varying from 2000 to 5000 traps, according to the season. Newhouse was extremely particular about the kind of help he used, but during the winter and spring of 1854-5 he admitted Noyes to the shop and permitted him to do some of the simpler parts of the work. Not content with this, Noyes pushed on into the forging, and finally into all the mysteries of the trade. Meanwhile in October 1855 orders began to exceed supply, and Noyes, perceiving that the business to amount to anything must be liberalized,

succeeded in gaining Newhouse's consent to the admission first of Inslee with his trained machinists, and then of untrained Community help. In March 1856 orders aggregating 600 traps put the department "on the qui vive," and the following month a single order from Milwaukee for 1000 traps sent a long-remembered thrill through the whole Community. There was only one drawback: the farmers were afraid that the trap-shop would have to retain all its hands throughout the summer. However, the profits of the business were so enormous as compared with tilling the soil, that the farmers soon adjusted their minds to the deprivation. Before very long the whole Community, men, women and children, were making traps and, with the introduction of labor-saving machinery, the output mounted to 11,150 in 1856, 25,000 in 1857, and 275,000 in 1864. To be sure, there were considerable fluctuations in the business. Following the panic of 1857 there was a year and a half of small sales. Then again in 1861-2 during the Civil War the orders dwindled until the shop had to be closed through the summer, and the profits fell below those even of the peddling department. But in December 1862 such a volume of orders came rolling in, that the school was closed, and the scholars all marched into the trap-shop on a promise of an extra week of study after production had caught up. The next year a water-power was purchased and a factory built at Turkey Street, now Sherrill, one mile north of the home dwellings, and the trap business entered upon an expansion so huge as to leave no doubt in the minds of the Community that manufacturing rather than farming was to be its destiny.

In all this enthusiasm for industry the spiritual interests of the Community were kept steadily in view. A religious and general meeting was held in the hall of "The Mansion" every evening from eight to nine o'clock, and was attended by all the members above the age of fourteen years. The children received religious instruction at an earlier hour. "They searched one another marvelously," writes H. G. Wells, "for spiritual chastening; they defied custom and opinion; they followed their reasoning and their theology to the inmost amazing abnegations." Always and everywhere they insisted upon the practical subjection of business to religion. More than once an entire department of business was abandoned because it interfered with spiritual interests; and many times a successful business man was taken out of a prominent position lest his character suffer.

Nor were intellectual interests forgotten. For a time in the early days at Putney the whole Community took the morning hours from nine to twelve o'clock, as being the freshest and best, for study. Afterward, besides a regular school for children, classes were formed which met at various hours through the day and were attended by old and young. The wife of the founder commenced the study of Hebrew after she was seventy years old. Other favorite subjects were geography, rhetoric, algebra, Latin and short-hand. Several of the more aged members were busy with their spelling-books. Their early education had been neglected, and they seemed to take a new lease of life by going back to the beginning. Men of business could be seen drawing from their pocket a slip on which the conjugation of the French verb avoir was printed for home use; and a stout striker on the anvil, while waiting for his team-mate to catch up, turned his attention to his lesson in French verbs which he had pinned



to the window casing at his right hand. One class was held at quarter of seven in the morning, that it might interfere as little as possible with labor; but in a business meeting the fact was noted that teams stood idle in the barn while the teamsters attended classes at the Mansion.

Added to these intellectual pursuits there were reading circles, debating societies, dramatic clubs, occasional lectures, and especially the cultivation of music. At the very height of the industrial epoch of twenty-eight pieces met daily immediately after the noonday meal. Their half hour of practice ended, the members scattered to their work in the fields or shops. Several of the most talented were sent to New York to study under the best teachers. Cantatas and operas were learned. In the winter of 1862-3 a free weekly concert was given, to which the general public was invited.

Another powerful means of education in the Community was the paper, which not only provided instruction for all, but encouraged a considerable number to become thinkers and writers themselves.

It cannot be said that during the Brooklyn epoch Noyes became more devoted to the purpose of establishing the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, for he was wholly devoted before; but his conception of the Kingdom of God as a practical, mundane institution became constantly clearer. He had seen from the first that the Kingdom of God on earth meant religion and business united under the lead of religion. But with society as then constituted he saw everywhere religion and business united under the lead of business. How could it be otherwise, so long as

business was able to make its continuous impression six days in the week, night and day, while religion could ordinarily engage men's attention only one day in seven ? As Noyes expressed it, religion could only talk in whispers, while business was heard in thunders throughout the land. To shift the balance of power from business to religion, Noyes had groped his way into Communism. During the Brooklyn epoch what had before been largely instinctive became a definite, rational plan of procedure. He proposed specifically to substitute the family relation for the wage-system. " Those who work together. " he said, "ought to live together." Let every important business be the gathering point of an enlarged family. That family embracing persons qualified to instruct and having constant opportunity for meeting and mutual help, would become a school. That school, rising into the knowledge of God and having the best possible facilities for mutual criticism and religious culture, would become a church. By this plan we do not call people away from their homes and employments to attend to religion, nor snatch them out of the current of the world for a few days, only to drop them in again, but we carry religion home to the people, and turn their very arrangements for getting a living into **the** essential conditions of a school and a church." In Noyes's scheme all interests, from the lowest to the highest, were organizationally united in local Communities of the kind described. To complete the structure, there was need of one more influence. At the center of the system stood "the mighty engine of a free, daily, omnipresent Press, combining and harmonizing the local Communities, and distributing the bread of life to all."

By means of these two institutions, local Communities based in spirit if not in form on the pentecostal model, and a central Press "divorced from Mannon and devoted to the sovereignty of Jesus Christ," Noyes expected that the Kingdom of God would at last gain permanent access to the world.

By the spring of 1854 substantial progress had been made toward realizing this conception of the Kingdom of God. There were six associated Communities, and the various instrumentalities of business, family, school and church were in organic operation. There was also a free, central paper, called "The Circular," which, having been issued on an average once in two weeks since 1837, had in 1852 become a weekly, in 1853 a semi-weekly, and in 1854 a tri-weekly. The conquest of the world for Christ seemed almost at hand. But as the year advanced, signs accumulated of an approaching change. In June John R. Miller, the man whose energy, diplomacy and financial skill had averted bankruptcy and turned aside the shafts of persecution, fell sick and died; and Noyes himself was brought to death's door by an inflammation of the throat. The over-extended condition of the Community and the lack of profitable businesses now became increasingly evident. None of the outlying families were self-supporting, and the Brooklyn family drew on the common purse to the extent of a thousand dollars a year for the maintenance of "The Circular." Constantly recurring money pinches warned of exhausted resources, and an inventory of property showed that forty thousand dollars, out of the original hundred, had already been sunk.

Under these circumstances a policy of concentration was resolved upon. The branches at Brooklyn, Newark, Putney and Cambridge were given up, and all efforts were thenceforth bestowed on the two main Communities at Oneida and Wallingford; the paper was reduced to a weekly edition, and became little more than a family journal; and Noyes sounded a clarion call to manual labor. "In a true state of society," he declared, "the so-called upper classes will be sent down into manual work as fast as the lower classes are called up to education." He pointed to the example of St. Paul, who, besides preaching, labored with his hands and supported not only himself but others. "Let us go back to our first bishop," he said, "and see if his ways will not improve our health of body and mind, purge us of effeminacy and pride, and make the church strong and victorious as it was in the beginning." To this appeal teachers, editors and religious leaders enthusiastically responded, and a new era of industrial development commenced.

Although this change of policy might seem to some a backward step, a step toward materialism, Noyes refused to regard it in that light. Speaking at a banquet in 1860 he said: "In reviewing my course I discover that toward the close of our Brooklyn epoch my faith took on a new character. At that time I enlarged in the study of geology. Now the moral of geology is long-continued faith, patient continuance in well-doing with reference to far-distant results. In studying that science I acquired an element of patience. Since then I have not been in so much of a hurry for a daily paper, for the

millennium, and for victory over death. But if I am more ready to wait, I have a surer faith in these things than ever. Since we left Brooklyn we have been, as a Community, less enthusiastic but more practical. While there we threatened the powers of evil, and boasted against them. Since then our business has been more thoroughly to carry our faith and principles into practical life. "

CONCENTRATION AT ONEIDA.

PAPER BY NOYES AUGUST 31, 1854.

The Northern Vermont Community has occupied my attention considerably since I was there, and the day before I left Oneida I expressed to Messrs, Burt and Barron some ideas which I will put into writing to save talk.

The entire family at the North is not very strong, being composed in large proportion of children and new members. It is divided, Messrs. Ackley and Lord being stationed at J. Kinsley's. There seems to be quite a tendency toward a further weakening of the colony this fall. Mr. Burnham and Jane Kinsley are expecting to go to Oneida, and would have been there before if I had not detained them. Mr. Hamilton is going to Putney to help them in building, and he is needed at Oneida to superintend repairs and other matters. The Aikens are bound for Oneida. It is evident, as things are going, that there will be but a feeble family there soon. One of two things ought to be done. We ought either to send on substantial men and women enough to make a strong Community, and give them new buildings, or we ought to abandon that post altogether.

Several considerations may be suggested in favor of the latter course: 1. The other Communities, instead of being in condition to send men abroad, want help. 2. Our general financial state will hardly allow us to build a new Commune at Cambridge. 3. The cooperation of J. Kinsley is precluded and placed beyond hope by the position of his wife, so that Albert Kinsley's original

attempt has decisively come to an end. 4. Heman Kinsley and his wife are the only other material of cooperation to be counted upon in that region, and they certainly need to be transplanted. 5. In short there is not dry stuff enough (as we used to say in the swamp) to make a good pile in that region, and the logs, if we mean to make them burn, must be carried to other piles. 6. The location of the Barron farm or of the Kinsley, though good for dairy purposes and for a single farming family, is not good for a Community, which requires more variety of business and consequently free access to markets. The Northern family is the only one of our Communes that is off the beat of the railroads, and inconveniently distant from post office and markets. Manifestly it is our best policy, at least as long as our numbers are small, to keep within reach of the improved machinery of the times.

I suggested to Messrs. Burt and Barron that the question should be fairly entertained, whether it is not best to sell out at Cambridge and distribute our forces there to the other Communities. They accepted the suggestion readily and seemed on the whole to favor the view I have presented. They will correspond with the brethren at Cambridge, and they wish to know the views of Mr. Cragin and others here who have anything to say.

I wish it to be understood that I make no proposal that need affect anybody's free judgment. My intention is simply to call attention to the weakness of the Northern colony, and to urge the importance of either making a strong post of it, or of strengthening the other Communes by abandoning it.

BROOKLYN JOURNAL.

September 1, 1854.- Since Mr. Noyes's return to Brooklyn he speaks often of concentrating our forces at Oneida; has broached the idea of publishing a daily paper there; says he shall obey orders from God, but thinks we may feel at liberty to pray to be returned to Oneida. Instead of enlarging our numbers he desires to see improvement in those already members of the Association. He would like to have all the branch Communities shut up shop and go to Oneida, and spend the winter in studying the Bible and attending to some unitary business. If it were not for the cattle, such a thing might be done and would doubtless tend greatly to unity and strength; but perhaps it is not feasible. It will do no hurt however to think and talk about such a move. The very idea may loosen us from undue attachment to place.

GEORGE CRAGIN TO ALBERT KINSLEY.

Brooklyn, September 23, 1854.

Yours of the 20th announcing the sale of the Barron farm came to hand this morning. We give thanks to our heavenly Father for the good success attending your labors. How true it is that when Mr. Noyes makes a proposition and it is heartily responded to by the Community, good luck always follows.

Nothing more has been said about our removing to Oneida, but we feel much assurance that the Lord will open the way for us all to reassemble there when the time comes to publish a daily paper.



THE CIRCULAR, OLD SERIES 3:622.

December 1, 1854.

Last year we occupied the short interval of suspension that followed the close of the volume in printing Bible Communism. This year we shall employ a similar short vacation in removing our press and printing materials to Oneida, where after a few weeks we expect to resume our regular issues. What may be our future course, whether we shall go forward to a daily or back temporarily to a less frequent issue remains to be determined. We are perfectly convinced that the movement sooner or later must be forward, that Bible Communism will both demand and sustain a daily paper.

We are well assured that our present move is the right one... While the world and its institutions are being torn by treachery, defalcations and war, we shall endeavor to kindle a back fire of confidence, faithfulness and peace. In face of the separation and discord around us we concentrate. Oneida at least will set an example of 200 persons seeking not to destroy each other, but to help each other in the direction of heavenly things.

THE END.

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