'A More Lively Feeling':
The Correspondence and Integration of Mystical and Spatial Dynamics in John Woolman's Travels

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Abstract

John Woolman went on more than 30 ministry journeys, averaging one month traveling a year. Woolman's *Journal* demonstrates that these ministry travels were important to his spiritual and ethical formation. Woolman's understanding of divine revelation and ethical discernment developed in the space for reflection provided by travel and in the affordances of the landscape he passed through. As Woolman continued to travel, the theological and social integration of his ministry deepened. This article explicates the relationship between the physical activity of itinerant ministry and the formative effect it had on Woolman's social and theological convictions. Additionally, this research argues that Woolman used the aesthetics of travel as an act of prophetic embodiment intended to challenge those he encountered.

Keywords

John Woolman, travel, itinerant ministry, aesthetics, prophetic ministry, walking.

Introduction

This article explores the way travel and geographical place informed John Woolman's (1720–1772) sense of purpose and perception of divine presence. Woolman was born near Rancocas, New Jersey, and was an out-spoken antislavery advocate and itinerant minister. The records of Woolman's more than 30 itinerant journeys[1] are found in his spiritual autobiography, the *Journal of John Woolman*. As an adult, Woolman would travel as far south as North Carolina, north into Massachusetts, west into the Pennsylvania frontier, and east to England where he died in York in 1772. All in all, Woolman averaged one month per year away from home,[2] but almost 70% of the content of the *Journal* concerns his travels. The high concentration of itinerant ministry material in his *Journal* is not unique, as eighteenth century Quaker journals tended toward greater fullness

during periods of travel,[3] but it does reinforce the importance of travel in Woolman's spirituality and self-understanding.

Nearly a century before Woolman's ministry began, travel, movement between geographic locations and itinerancy for religious purposes were important to the spread and development of Quakerism in England. Other groups of the mid-seventeenth century also practiced itinerancy, but the Quakers were the only group to form their identity on itinerancy and religiously motivated travel.[4] George Fox's *Journal* reads as a long itinerary, where each leg of a journey was punctuated with a revelation from God or a manifestation of divine and prophetic power.[5] Active travel networks were important to the quick spread of Quakerism across Britain. Beyond Fox, many Quaker women and men of the 1650s, such as those key leaders who were later called the 'Valiant Sixty', travelled between towns and hamlets to spread their message and encourage the faithful.[6] Dandelion argues that as these early Quakers travelled across geography they were always settled and 'home' because of their fixed spiritual location in God no matter where they were physically.[7]

When Quakers spread across the Atlantic to the British North American colonies, Quaker travel networks expanded to include and link together the new meetings. Moreover, the tradition of Quaker religious travel was reinforced in the eighteenth century by written accounts of the lives of earlier ministers.[8] Woolman was one of a group of active colonial Quaker ministers, men and women, who spent considerable time on ministry journeys,[9] and who placed religious and theological meaning on movement through physical spaces. As this article shows, however, Woolman came to anticipate travel as transformational and revelatory in ways that his peers only discerned after the fact. Woolman understood travel as both spiritually and ethically formational, and he sought to confront colonists with the insights he gained.

This article explicates the relationship between the physical activity of itinerant ministry and the formative effect it had on Woolman's social and theological convictions. Additionally, this research argues that Woolman used the aesthetics of travel to model a spiritually integrated social vision. By aesthetics I mean that the outward comportment and visual representation of Woolman as a traveler was meant by him to correspond to, and be an embodiment of, the divine revelation he discerned inwardly, and to be a prophetic sign that confronted others with those revelations. What I am here arguing is that Woolman's itinerancy and travel paralleled a spiritual itinerary that led him to new revelations and, thus, new understandings of social and spiritual faithfulness. Thus, the act of travel itself was understood by Woolman as a prophetic vocation, which often led him into conflict with his own religious community.[10]

THE 'AFFORDANCES' OF TRAVEL

Woolman's nine-day trek into the Pennsylvania wilderness to speak with the people of the Lenape town of Wyalusing in June of 1763 demonstrates how Woolman experienced the act of travel itself as revelatory.[11] It is important to

note that Woolman did not decide to go on this trip based on convenience or practical concerns of safety; he did not view this journey as a matter of human choice. In fact, Woolman questioned the wisdom of his trip because hostilities between Native Americans and British colonists were breaking out on the frontier. One night camping along the way Woolman considered his motivations: 'Love was the first motion, and then a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in…'[12] Woolman concluded that the temporal circumstances of his journey were less important than obedience to God's leading, or 'motion'.[13]

This journey illustrates the way Woolman understood his travels not only to lead him to new geographic areas, but to new understandings of divine purpose. Spiritual and physical journey led to theological and moral formation in the travelling minister, which then led to corporate formation as the experience of the minister was spread to geographically isolated meeting houses.[14] Jack Marietta's study of mid-eighteenth-century Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Quakers argues that reform-minded ministers such as Woolman were minority voices within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting who wielded disproportionate power in the corporate re-shaping of Quaker identity because of their travel networks and their considerable energy in spreading a vision of reform.[15]

Implicit in Woolman's journeys is the expectation that each new geographic location was simultaneously a new place of spiritual revelation and mystical presence. By mystical I mean that Woolman believed God's 'principle' to be inwardly present in such a way that he could hear and obey God perfectly.[16] The spiritual motion of God's leadings became the normative standard for the spatial motions of his physical body.[17] He believed physical itinerancy corresponded to spiritual growth, a 'motion' of 'love' that physically and spiritually directed the faithful to new environs. This conviction was especially poignant for Woolman's travels because of the Quaker conviction that houses of worship, in themselves, were not especially laden with religious significance. Instead, any moment in any and every physical place was always a place of encounter with God, and that included an uncomfortable night under the stars with mosquitos or simply walking home from school.[18]

Place, and the movement between places, bore affordances that, spiritually, could move the traveler into new states of being. Belden Lane's research on sacred sites, such as rock formations or mountains to which are attributed spiritual value, provides a helpful way for understanding the way mystical and spatial dynamics intersected as Woolman moved through any and every location. Lane rejects 'environmental determinism', which attributes a preordained and objective religious meaning to a particular location, such that anyone could go to a parti-cular sacred site and automatically have the predetermined religious experience.[19] Rather, Lane contends that spiritual meaning is derived from landscape and 'place' to the extent that the subject 'participate[s] in the various affordances it offers'.[20] This intersubjectivity between traveler and landscape is especially suited to an apophatic spirituality, which would seek to listen and receive whatever revelations might be afforded in any particular place.[21]

The affordances of geography, and movement through it, becomes apparent in apophatic spirituality in the way that light is refracted through a prism and its constituent colors are dispersed on a wall. When the traveler approaches a particular place, or, in Woolman's case, every place, in a way that expects to receive revelation from God, the perception of spiritual meaning is heightened and any given landscape or location becomes the prism through which divine 'light' is refracted and interpreted in the intersubjectivity of light, location and the traveler. The traveler discerns a constituent spiritual meaning afforded by the particular dynamics of the contours of the location and the spiritual approach brought to it by the traveler's self. Landscape, motion and its perceived meanings, and the subjectivity of the traveler are all at play in discerning religious meaning. It would simply not be the case that every colonist or Quaker to travel to Wyalusing would experience the same convictions and revelations that Woolman did. Woolman's apophatic spirituality and the affordances of the landscape[22] shaped the integration of motion, revelation and ethical formation in particular ways.

On Woolman's journey to Wyalusing, a wind and rain storm had knocked trees over the path and made 'swamps' so that the journey was slow and difficult. Directly following his description of the difficulties of the physical landscape, and the travails (from which we get the word 'travel') of the journey itself, Woolman reflects: 'I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in this world, and a belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me, and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation'.[23] Travel, the in-between-ness of Woolman's itinerant ministry and the specific geography he journeyed through led to a specific conviction of the transiency of earthly life and the necessity of surrendering to God so as to find eternal meaning. The specific challenges of the journey itself corresponded with a heightening of his apophatic spirituality. Far from a passive other-worldliness, the revelations received on the journey to Wyalusing integrated with his spirituality in a challenging propheticism that was both social and political, and expanded his compassion toward the Delaware people.[24]

THE JOURNEY AND THE PROPHETIC

For Woolman, travel and the aesthetics of itinerant ministry had prophetic implications because the material representation of himself as a traveler, and the physical realities of the journey itself, were affordances intended to point others to new levels of faithfulness. His journeys were undertaken out of a grave sense of 'duty', divine calling,[25] and often led to conflict and uncomfortable exchanges, such as when he gave his slave-keeping hosts money to pay their slaves for services rendered to him on his trips.[26] G. Thomas Couser's study of prophetic motifs within American autobiographies argues that spiritual autobiographies confronted colonial Americans with the disparity between their stated goals in settling America and the social and religious reality. The autobiographer, Couser argues, demonstrated that the spiritual and moral idealism that often existed in the impetus to settle in the colonies had not yet been reached. Autobiographers sought to

articulate a coherent vision of the self and of the community that pointed the community to the fulfillment of those ideals.[27] Prophetic ministry brings the claims of the tradition into an effective confrontation with the historical situation of accommodation and enculturation. The prophet takes the tradition seriously, is committed to the betterment of the community and, out of that absolute commitment, points the community to the incongruity of its spiritual and social situation.[28] Through the insights gained while travelling, Woolman felt God reveal God's will. The content of that revelation, then, became the content of the message Woolman proclaimed while on his journeys. The revelation received and the message proclaimed on his journeys aligned consistently to confront colonists with their social and spiritual shortcomings.

Ironically, Woolman's high esteem for the act of travel and the role of the traveling minister can be seen on an occasion while visiting a Quaker meeting in North Carolina in 1757 in which he felt called *not* to minister against slavery, even though he considered slavery 'a great evil'.[29] Woolman wrote: 'Here I was silent during the meeting for worship, and when business came, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves, but did not feel my way clear to speak'.[30] William Taber contends that the primary task of the travelling minister was to speak only when commanded by God to do so, which sometimes meant speaking very uncomfortable words in a hostile environment and sometimes meant remaining silent during a meeting called for no other purpose but to listen to what the minister had to say.[31]

However, at the end of this particular meeting, 'a member of their meeting expressed a concern that had some time lain upon him on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves'.[32] After this man spoke, many more people spoke on behalf of improving the condition of slaves amongst them and at the end of the meeting an official record was made in the meeting minutes to consider the case of slavery more closely.[33] After he described what happened in the meeting, Woolman wrote in his *Journal*: 'The Friend who made this proposal hath Negroes. He told me that he was at New Garden, about 250 miles from home, and came back alone, and that in this solitary journey this exercise in regard to the education of their Negroes was from time to time renewed in his mind.'[34] Woolman's description of where and how this travelling Friend received his revelation shows the credit he attributed to travel in providing space for divine revelation, and, then, in the prophetic dissemination of that revelation.

The next paragraph in the *Journal* describes a similar occasion that occurred in Virginia, sandwiched between his memorandums of his journey in North Carolina. The placement of this second account indicates that Woolman linked the two events together thematically, not chronologically.

He wrote, 'a Friend of some note in Virginia, who hath slaves, told me that he being far from home on a lonesome journey had many serious thoughts about them, and that his mind was so impressed therewith that he believed that he saw a time coming when divine providence would alter the circumstance of these people respecting their condition as slaves'.[35]

On one hand, it seems like avoidance of responsibility that a slave-owner would look to 'divine providence' to improve the condition of slaves, when emancipating his own slaves would have been a good start. However, Woolman's inclusion of these two occasions back-to-back, when the two stories share only a growing concern in the traveler about slavery and the physical act of solitary travel itself, demonstrates Woolman's understanding of moral formation in the act of travel, and the encounter with the divine that could happen at a distance from one's home. Woolman was not naïve. He did not believe that if people travelled more often all social and spiritual problems would be solved. In fact, he viewed the small pox epidemic as an occasion to consider whether an excursion was 'a real indispensable duty' or only for the sake of convention.[36] He thought that journeys should be undertaken from a sense of divine leading, and if done out of obedience would be favored by God and blessed, even if small pox was contracted in the course of the journey.[37] Ominously, fifteen years after writing these words, Woolman contracted small pox and died while on a religious journey in England.[38] The issue at hand was the motivation for the travel that then shaped the nature of the affordances experienced, and the spiritual and moral formation the journey entailed. For Woolman, a journey was only valuable in so far as its inception and maintenance was in God. If God was not the source of a journey, the spiritual and moral growth potential was limited and people were in danger of continuing in their estranged state before God, which had spiritual and, in the case of small pox, physical repercussions.

Nevertheless, that these stories of growing concern for slaves took place while traveling in the Southern colonies, when he only need look among his neighbors in New Jersey to find slavery,[39] is important to understand the way travel, and moral and spiritual formation, corresponded in Woolman's experience. Jon Butler has noted that among the colonies was a religious and cultural pluralism that dwarfed the 'mild religious diversity found in any early modern European nations'.[40] Likewise, T.H. Breen has argued that even colonists in moderate proximity often maintained unique habits, forms of government and constituted diverse ethnic and ideological constituencies.[41] Woolman himself identified the southern colonies as an almost foreign land: 'I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina', he said.[42] While Friends in New Jersey and Pennsylvania could trace their Quaker roots back to England and lived in a 'peaceable way', the Southern colonies, he believed, were settled by people of a 'warlike disposition' and were an 'imperious warlike people supported by oppressed slaves'.[43]

Woolman believed that the ethnic and religious history of the Southern colonies had led to a particularly callous spiritual condition that supported the systemic entrenchment of slavery.[44] This spiritual condition, he said, was as a 'dark gloominess hanging over the land'[45] that made it more difficult for those sympathetic to the cause of anti-slavery.[46]

For Woolman, travels in the southern colonies, even among Quakers, was as a journey to a very different place with a unique, and troubled, spiritual and moral

culture.[47] As a stranger in a new cultural environment his perceptions of the spiritual condition of others, and his own understanding of what God required of him, were enhanced. In the meeting in North Carolina, mentioned above, Woolman felt compelled not to speak against slavery, even though the matter was important to him, because the journey itself had afforded a new understanding of what faithfulness required in that moment. As he wrote of a separate journey, 'it was my concern from day to day to say no more nor less than what the spirit of Truth opened in me'.[48] Woolman did not believe travel would occasion a predetermined response, but, rather, could afford a deepened sense of obedience to the divine will in any particular moment, which could then be pointed outwardly to specific spiritual and social issues. As he traveled in the southern colonies Woolman recognised the importance of journey in the lives of others and in himself.

CORRESPONDENCE AND INTEGRATION

Woolman felt that in his attention to God's leading on the inward landscape of his soul he was connected mystically to a spiritual reality that perceived truths imperceptible to human wisdom, just as he felt he had followed God's leading across the geographic landscape of the southern colonies. His silence was vindicated, and his union with a higher wisdom made obvious, he believed, by the stream of voices that spoke in support of reforming slavery after he had decided God wanted him *not* to speak.[49] He implied that had he decided to speak, the local voices would not have done so and the cause of anti-slavery among the southern Quakers would have been hindered.[50]

While Woolman's journey in the South had increased his sensitivity to the spiritual leadings of God so as not to speak unless led to do so, the southern Friend who did speak had himself discerned his conviction on a 'solitary journey', as had the following account from Virginia.[51] In the accounts of Woolman's 'leading' not to speak at a meeting, and the discerned convictions of the two southern Friends, spatial movement was inter-twined with particular divine revelations.

Woolman believed that the physical act of travel, on one hand, and divine revelation, on the other hand, were mutually reinforcing dynamics. In the physical space occasioned during times of travel Woolman dwelled mystically in the direct inward revelation of Christ, addressed into social structures like slavery. Since God was always present, and always extending God's self into the physical realm to guide, teach and shape world events, all things and places could become affordances that bestowed real knowledge of God's will for social organisation onto the traveler.

Moreover, Woolman's inclusion of these accounts in his *Journal* served a pedagogical purpose. He believed that spiritual journeys into new situations and places could be a means of religious formation, perhaps because the silence and motion afforded in the act of travel in some ways reenacted on a spatial plane the

spiritual listening and motion into God of Quaker worship. That Woolman credited the act of travel with leading to new manifestations of God's will demonstrates that both the apophatic spirituality of the traveler and the practicalities of travel were essential to the discernment of new revelations from God. Thus, Woolman conceives of travel as a type of spiritual discipline. Entered into in the right spirit, travel was morally and theologically formational. In a comparison of Fox's and Woolman's views of travel, Dandelion has argued that walking and travel was a prelude to revelation for Fox, whereas for Woolman travel was 'an end in itself: the journey embodied the encounter'.[52] This distinction illustrates the role Woolman's particular prophetic-apophatic spirituality played in the experiences of travel he sought out, the aesthetics of those travels and the resulting social and spiritual correspondences.

AESTHETICS

Woolman believed the task of the minister was that of stepping into the role of a prophet, and this entailed the adoption of outwardly visible aesthetics that represented the inwardly discerned revelations. He did not just leave on a journey, he adopted a new persona. During his 1757 travel into the South he wrote that in following God in absolute obedience, the minister could be 'united to [God]' and speak God's words to the people:

> Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences that to be faithful to the Lord and content with his will concerning me is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning, looking less at the effects of my labour than at the pure motion and reality, and as the mind by a humble resignation is united to him and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult and require close attention to keep in it, and though the manner in which we may be led may tend to our abasement, yet if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.[53]

For Woolman, to leave his home in New Jersey as a travelling minister, was to place himself in a vulnerable place before God and others. As he traveled, he thought he learned what God desired and how to speak 'from an inward knowledge' that his words were of God. He believed that his works were the works of God's Kingdom and through his faithfulness the Kingdom of God could 'spread and prevail'.[54]

By the mid-1760s, Woolman came to attribute theological significance not just to the act of travel, but to the mode of travel as well. In the early 1760s Woolman began wearing undyed clothing as a sign against excess and waste, and the oppression that arose therein.[55] On journeys to Maryland in 1766 and 1767, as well as while traveling in England in 1772, Woolman felt God leading him to travel by foot. The act of walking not only provided solitude for contemplation, he also believed 'that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of temptation to unprofitable familiarities'.[56]

Woolman claimed that walking as a mode of travel intensified his prophetic experience while traveling. As he matured and his itinerant ministry expanded geographically Woolman believed the revelation of Christ expanded and made new demands on his life, dress and mode of travel. Fully adopting the persona of a prophet, Woolman embodied the revelations he had received. In this way, he not only witnessed to the results of the affordances he encountered on his travels, he turned his very self into an affordance that could bring God's words to those he confronted.

The spiritual 'sorrow and heaviness' Woolman felt when he witnessed slavery on his 1767 journey in Maryland corresponded with the physical fatigue of travel- ling on foot: 'Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet thus travelling was agreeable to the state of my mind'.[57] The act of walking alone, and the self-humiliation of contradicting Quaker norms by wearing undyed clothing, arose from Woolman's obedience to his feeling of God's leading, which also intensified the aesthetics of his embodiment of divine leading as he became more distinctive in appearance. Woolman's critique of slavery and luxury consumption cut to the heart of the burgeoning trans-Atlantic marketplace economy which thrived off of the labor of slaves and the affluence of the merchant class.[58]

Additionally, the news of Woolman's outward comportment and appearance travelled to places he was not physically able to go. A memorandum describing the aesthetics of Woolman's travels in England was made at Liverpool Meeting shortly after he died in York, even though he did not actually go to Liverpool. The memorandum interpreted his dress and behavior as a 'peculiar testimony to bear against anything that was obtained in an unwarrantable or unchristian manner'.[59] How their interpretation of Woolman might have changed had he been able to be present with them we cannot know. However, we can say that attention to the aesthetics of travel and the prophetic implications of it extended Woolman's influence and confronted an even wider circle of people with manifestations of the revelations he had received on his journeys.

Woolman was not the only minister who corresponded mode of travel with message. While traveling in Maryland in 1798, New Jersey Quaker Joshua Evans, who also wore undyed clothing,[60] expressed concern that Quaker ministers in Baltimore might hinder their ministry because of the carriage they chose to travel in:

> I stayed several days in Baltimore, and had some profitable labour in several families; pointing out divers things inconsistent with the testimony of Truth, and the profession we are making. I likewise had a solid conference with some Friends who were going on a religious visit; and expressed my concern that precept and example might in all things correspond; for I thought the carriage in which they proposed to ride, savoured too much of fashion, according to the custom of the world. I was afraid it might be a means of hurting their service, by wounding some tender minds, and strengthening the hands of others who are ready to catch at every thing that may be used as an excuse for their own deviations.[61]

It is informative that Woolman's concern to travel on foot in the ministry did not extend to his home-life, for he expressed no conviction against traveling by horse when occasion arose there. Likewise, Evans draws attention to the use of the carriage on a religious visit, not the impropriety of the carriage itself. Neither Woolman nor Evans could separate the activity of the minister from the outward aesthetics of travel. However, where Evans's criticism is based on a sectarian vision of the Quaker identity of plainness, Woolman's aesthetic concerns were universal and called for the correspondence of human affairs with divine intent for the transformation of society as a whole. Woolman's comportment seemed austere to many, and he, too, called on Quakers to consider their material possessions and to live 'plain'.[62] However, this plainness was not an end in itself, it was not to reinforce tribal identity. Rather, it was for a broader vision of remaking society as a whole, which included specific acts of justice, like paying workers higher wages.[63] Woolman believed the aesthetics of his travel corresponded with the inward dynamics of spiritual and moral formation, and revealed divine truths to his fellow colonists. Thus, the outward and physical appearance and motions of his body took on symbolic significance that corresponded with the Kingdom he thought God had revealed to him. In his role as a traveling minister, he desired to embody the corporate identity and the ethical standards God commissioned him to proclaim, namely that Quakers and colonists would live according to the inward presence of the Kingdom as he portrayed it.[64]

Further, the spiritual autobiographies of Woolman's peers like Daniel Stanton and Mercy Redman also feature travel narratives, but, compared to Woolman's, these journals tend to report on the logistics of their travels in a way that downplays the active revelatory experiences they might have received. Additionally, these other journals do not express the same expectations that their itinerary was part of God's design for human transformation as can be seen in Woolman's writing. For example, Stanton's journal provides a detailed itinerary of the meetings he attended in his journey to Ireland and England. However, his journal says very little about his mode of travel between meetings, and it says nothing about any spiritual learnings or revelations that occurred in him as he journeyed. Most indicative, Stanton's narrative of his sea voyages are non-existent. On leaving England for the colonies he reported: 'we set sail and come away as soon as we could from Gravesend, and after a passage of about eleven weeks, landed at New York…'[65] Apparently, for Stanton, the significance of his itinerary was in the meetings he attended rather than in the spiritual and physical correspondences that might have occurred in the act of travel itself. In Woolman's *Journal*, by contrast, most of Chapter 11 is devoted to the voyage to England.[66] He even took a compact notebook with him for the purpose of writing during the voyage, which he intended to be published with the rest of his journal.[67] For Woolman, there were important spiritual lessons and insights which could be drawn from the activity of travel that needed to be shared.

Like Stanton, Mercy Redman's narrative of a 1760 journey to Rhode Island was focused on the initial 'leading' to undertake the journey, and then the meetings visited along the way. She did not look upon the journey itself as an

exploration into the divine will. Moreover, Redman's narrative provides an important point of comparison with Woolman's because in one incident they were both present with a group of Quakers, and they left strikingly different narratives of what happened on that occasion. Whereas Redman reported that Woolman 'drop[ped] some very Seasonable advice, to mothers of Children Concerning there Educating of them',[68] Woolman's description of his statement is more specific, more socially oriented and more focused on undermining abusive economic structures. His longer reflection included a call to the 'inward and outward' benefits of 'attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit', to educating their children in that spirit and to considering the connection between unnecessary luxury and thus creating a necessity for their husbands to perform dangerous work on the seas.[69] Moreover, he noted that by cutting out these unnecessary wants, they would be less prone to seek the labor of slaves, a practice that caused 'numerous troubles and vexations'.[70] Woolman's fuller description of his message indicates that he viewed the message he shared to be important. Redman, by contrast, left only a description of her discernment or a calling to attending meetings and then the fulfilling of those religious duties, with little of the content and insights of what was said. Woolman viewed his message as part of his prophetic commission, not only for the particular group he had travelled to see, but also for posterity. Therefore, he recorded not only that he was faithful to God's leading but the impressions God's leading had upon him and the implications that revelation had for the rest of society. Woolman's journal, then, is not only a record of his itinerary. Rather, he intended it to be an affordance that called the reader to know first-hand God's voice, and to be sensitive to the spiritual motion of physical motion within the material world.

<div align="center">CONCLUSION</div>

Woolman's fellow citizens struggled to understand the preacher who dressed in white, walked hundreds of miles and entered hostile lands. Woolman's very visible presence was a stinging rebuke to the prosperity of the colonial ruling class. The aesthetics of Woolman's itinerant ministry, though, begin to come into focus when one considers Woolman's mysticism in which a state of union with God was revealed in the spiritual 'motion' of love that, in turn, prompted physical motion.[71] The redeemed society was to come about as faithful ministers looked to the inward Teacher who would re-create the world according to God's King-dom. Traveling miles and miles of road and sea, Woolman gave attention to the interplay between spiritual space and physical space, not just in the fields around him but on his own body. In his mystical attachment to God's voice and the aesthetics of his travel, Woolman wished to be a symbol and harbinger of the alternative ordering God had ordained for the world.

Woolman's example indicates that the intensity of the journey—whether spiritual, physical or emotional—effects the experience of the journey. Moreover, Woolman's dedication to the vocation of itinerant minister is a glimpse of the

way creating spiritual space in the solitude of travel and pursuing exposure to the Other facilitated spiritual and ethical formation in the traveler. This analysis suggests that scholars can learn much about the experience of travelers by taking into account the traveler's theology and understandings of God's intent for social organisation. Likewise, examining Woolman from the perspective of spiritual and ethical formation reveals new insight into colonial Quaker understandings of God's work within history and illumines Quaker visions of the transformed society.

NOTES

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2.   Moulton, 'Introduction', p. 5.

3.   Cadbury, H. (ed.), *John Woolman in England: A Documentary Supplement*, London: Friends Historical Society, 1971, p. 1.

4.   Dandelion, P., *Making our Connections: A Spirituality of Travel*, London: SCM Press, 2013, p. 6; Hinds, H., *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, p. 107.

5.   See, for example: Fox, G., *Journal*, ed. John Nickalls, London: Religious Society of Friends, 1952, pp. 28, 33-34.

6.   Vipont, E., *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty*, London: Hamilton, 1975, pp. 128-29; Taylor, E.E., *The Valiant Sixty*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1947, pp. 40-41; Moore, R., *The Light in their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666,* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 141; Hinds, *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture*, p. 100.

7.   Dandelion, *Making our Connection*, p. 7.

8.   By 1725, more than 25 Quaker journals, such as Fox's, were in print and influential for eighteenth-century Quaker ministers. Wrights, L., *The Literary Life of Friends, 1650–1725*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 156.

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10. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 72.

11. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 124.

12. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 127.

13. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 127.

14. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism*, pp. 73-74.

15. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism*, pp. 73-74.

16. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 28.

17. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 124.

18. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 23, 72-73.

19. Lane, B., *The Solace of Fierce Landscapes: Exploring Desert and Mountain Spirituality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 14-16.

20. Lane, B., 'Giving Voice to Place: Three Models for Understanding American Sacred Space', *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 11/1 (2001), p. 67.

21. See: Miller, J., '"Nature Hath a Voice": John Woolman's Wilderness Habitus', *Religion & Literature* 45/2 (2013), pp. 36-37; Lane, 'Giving Voice to Place', p. 67.

22. See also: Miller, '"Nature Hath a Voice": John Woolman's Wilderness Habitus', pp. 36-37.

23. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 131.

24. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 129, 137.

25. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 72.

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