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Cover Page Footnote

My sincere thanks to the Department of Special Collections at the Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame for helping me locate and allowing me to use these albums. Thanks also to Dr. Sally Hadden for her many comments and advice on my work.

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Eternal Perspectives in the Nineteenth-Century Friendship Albums

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Though you dear girl may trivial deem
This simple offering of esteem,
Yet take it as a tribute due
To truth, to friendship, and to you.
And with it take this fervent prayer
That you may be heaven's dearest care.
May virtue in your heart preside,
May prudence all your actions guide.
May peace attend your future years,
May love your pathway strew with flowers.
And may you ever find a friend
True as the one by whom these lines are penned.

These were the words Miss Eliza Crawley recorded into her friend Anna Sayre's friendship album on September 17, 1836. This verse is one of about sixty entries found within the pages of Anna's album, along with several drawings and watercolor paintings, all of which were carefully and lovingly recorded there. According to custom, Anna would have entrusted her album into the hands of a friend for days at a time.[1] During this period her friend was expected to inscribe in it a verse, poem, song, short story excerpt, or anything else that "captured the essence" of her friend and their shared friendship.[2] Based on the use of words such as "esteem," "truth," and "fervent" in the poem above, it is clear that sincerity played a major role in the friendship of Eliza Crawley and Anna Sayre.

The practice of keeping and writing in friendship albums — "a bound volume owned by an individual that contains gifts of writing" — reached

its heyday around the middle of the nineteenth century.[3] The owners of these albums were often young white women on the cusp of adulthood.[4] The albums were used as a means of "shar[ing] their fears of the future and promis[ing] to console and sustain each other" as they faced major changes in their lives in the coming of age process.[5] The major changes these young women faced were common events in the female life cycle, most often graduation from a female academy or seminary, or marriage. Indeed, many of the entries made in nineteenth-century friendship albums were made by the owners' classmates at school, and many albums contain a surge of entries around the time of commencement or marriage. This suggests, according to historian Anya Jabour, that female community and friendship were instrumental in helping young women "cross the threshold from girlhood to womanhood."[6] Friendship albums served as a material reflection of that female community and friendship.

Inscriptions within the albums were generally not original compositions. Many of the entries came from verses that had already been published in women's magazines and literary publications such as *Godey's Lady's Book, The Ladies' Repository, and Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion, Music*, and Romance. The transcribed verses dealt with a wide range of issues including death, nature, religion, family, and, of course, the joy of friendship. Choosing what to write in a friend's album could sometimes prove to be a difficult task. An entry made in a friendship album laid bare the transcriber's education and literacy, as well as her ability to choose an appropriate verse to transcribe.[7] Furthermore, the appearance of one's handwriting in album entries was certain to have come under close scrutiny by the album's owner. Since handwriting served as "a nineteenth-century litmus test of character and culture," it was very important for friends to practice perfect penmanship when writing in friendship albums.[8] Indeed, many albums contain traced horizontal lines to help with keeping one's letters in a straight arrangement. Clearly, writing in a friend's album was not a task to take on lightly.

Despite the important information friendship albums reveal about nineteenth-century social conditions, there has not been a great deal written about them. The foremost texts on friendship albums have been published within the last twenty years, and they focus on a wide variety of topics. Historian Erica Armstrong, for instance, focuses her study on friendship albums kept by elite African Americans living in antebellum Philadelphia. The subject of her article makes her work distinctive, as others writing on friendship albums focus on those owned by white women. Armstrong argues that these friendship albums, extremely popular within the elite African American community, helped to "reinforce their respectability within their own social circles."[9] For example, these "emblems of etiquette" were often used as a space to record moral messages, usually about the proper roles of wives and mothers.[10] Furthermore, impressions of respectability were accomplished in friendship albums through discussions of political topics such as abolition and women's rights.[11] Above all, however, was the role that friendship albums played in uniting African American women across all of the northeastern cities. This bond of friendship and unity created by friendship albums, Armstrong argues, "was not a luxury; for many, it was a necessity."[12]

Like Armstrong, Anya Jabour also writes about the importance of friendship albums in the lives of women. However, Jabour's article is concerned mostly with the role friendship albums played in the coming of age of young white women in antebellum Virginia. She points out that young women often had a "reliance on a community of their peers to cross the threshold from girlhood to womanhood."[13] Friendship albums served as a representation of this bridge of friendship between youth and adulthood; they were material reminders of one's friends that could be kept even after childhood had passed. Moreover, Jabour discusses two specific instances in which this reliance on friendship to transition into adulthood would have come into play in the lives of young women: graduation and marriage. Young women often viewed these events with great trepidation. Jabour suggests that graduation and marriage were dreaded so much because they signified the abandonment of childhood and the "undertak[ing of] adult responsibilities."[14] Childbirth and motherhood may have been chief among these fears, as "most women knew someone who had not survived childbirth."[15] Indeed, Jabour offers several examples of entries in friendship albums that seem to equate graduation from the "academy with illness and death."[16] Similarly, the verses dealing with weddings and marriages in Jabour's article reveal a less than optimistic outlook on the institution. Jabour describes these entries as "sorrowful" and full of "emotional turmoil."[17] However, Jabour is careful to point out that in friendship albums, with their "poetry and prose, young Virginia women assured each other that, whatever trials the future might hold in store, they could rely on each other's enduring friendship."[18]

Similar to Jabour, historian Catherine Kelly has directed attention to the use of friendship albums by young women attending school. She states the importance of these albums in "student culture," and discusses their place in academies, schools, and seminaries for young women in New England.[19] In discussing this student culture among New England women, she asserts that friendship albums offer a "window" into these young women's friendship networks.[20] Most importantly, she points to two main themes that appeared consistently in young women's friendship album inscriptions: "the preciousness of friendship and . . . its fragility."[21] Also like Jabour, she explains the existence of many dangers that may cut short a friendship, including sudden death, the end of school, and marriage. However, she surmises that many girls hoped for their friendships (and their very selves) "to survive in the albums of their friends."[22]

Most recently, literary scholar Laura Zebuhr has written on how friendship albums contributed to the development of friendship in the greater Western tradition. She argues that it is difficult to put love for friends into words, something that has been a struggle for philosophers for centuries.[23] Friendship album inscriptions, too, reveal that intimate relationships between friends — relationships in which the will to be friends should come naturally — are often ineffable. In other words, the inscriptions in friendship albums cannot do justice to the reality of what friendship is. She argues, however, that this ineffability is not a bad thing, and that in intimate friendship one need not be bothered "by the way language shapes experience."[24] The experience, in this case, is intimate friendship. Her philosophical and

literary analysis of friendship album verses stands out among the social and historical analyses given them by the other authors.

While the authors listed above have penned insightful and helpful works regarding friendship albums, they have skated over one particular point. Jabour and Kelly touch briefly on it when they discuss the enduring nature of friendship, but they do not delve into the topic in detail. This is the topic of eternity. It is apparent through the inscriptions made in nineteenth-century friendship albums that the young women who wrote in and owned the albums were highly concerned with eternity, with things they believed would last forever. This preoccupation with eternity raises the question of how young women in the nineteenth century related to time and to religion, both of which are inherently concerned with eternity. These topics will therefore be addressed in brief discussions of how nineteenth-century conceptions of time and the Second Great Awakening affected young women. This will be followed by an examination of the friendship album verses themselves, which contrast things that last forever with those that do not. The verses reveal that young women often condemned the temporal nature of things such as youth and suffering, and in contrast praised the enduring and eternal nature of things such as God and friendship. The friendship albums used to complete this study contain entries ranging from the years 1824 to 1857 and were owned by young women scattered across the eastern United States. Slightly more than half of the young women were from Pennsylvania, and the others hailed from New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia.[25]

Understanding nineteenth-century conceptions of time and eternity is essential to understanding friendship album entries from the same period. People in the nineteenth century, Thomas Allen argues, were concerned with the future, with time that had not yet passed. The future was especially important to women, due to their serving as the "mechanism for the perpetuation of national virtue into the future" through "maternal education, a nineteenth-century revival of the work of republican motherhood." This, of course, led to the establishment of female schools and academies to help train the young women who would in turn train the next generation. Harriet Curry attended one such school: Whitesboro Female Seminary in Oneida County, New York. Her friend Jane Waters demonstrated young women's inclination toward thinking about the future when she wrote "Oh! May your future hours be given/ to peace, to wisdom, and to heaven."[26] While "the future" is not the same as eternity, the two are similar in that they are both concerned with what is to come, and certainly this preoccupation with the future led many young women to contemplate the eternal in their friendship albums.[27]

Like conceptions of time, it is important to understand the religious climate of the first half of the nineteenth century in order to fully understand the emphasis on eternity in the inscriptions in friendship albums. This religious climate was defined mostly by the Second Great Awakening. By the time the friendship albums of this study were composed, much of the Second Great Awakening had already taken place. Its effects could still be seen. For example, the emotional nature of revivals during the Second Great Awakening paralleled the rise in sentimentalism in the literature of the

time. This emotionally charged literature often found its way into friendship albums. An example of such emotional writing appears in Mary W. Morris' album:

> Can I forget, or cease to love thee?-
> Yes, when the sun forgets to rise,
> Or when the fadeless stars above thee
> Forget to shine, or leave the skies.
> Yes, when the magnet, faithless never,
> Does to the pole forget to turn;
> When virtue and thy soul shall sever,
> This heart for thee shall cease to burn.[28]

The ardent assertions of this lover strongly appealed to the emotions of the reader. Additionally, the Arminian teaching of the Awakening, which allowed both the "sinner and the minister a positive and active role in the conversion process," can be seen in friendship albums.[29] One example appears in the album of Harriet Curry, from an entry by her friend L. Foote: "But another change has taken place, concerning which all other changes may be called visions. I speak of a moral change, a passing from death unto life. Truly my heart rejoices in this change."[30] Although the young woman did not explicitly say she had experienced a conversion, it seems likely that that is exactly what happened. Her eternity was decided. Furthermore, the Second Great Awakening saw a higher proportion of young women experience conversion than any other demographic group.[31] Nancy Cott suggests that this was because "during the years of the Second Great Awakening...it was likely that young women's experience contained one or more disorienting elements."[32] Cott argues for a disorientation that was caused mainly by economic changes, but, as other scholars have shown, experiences such as graduation and marriage also created an unsettling environment for young women. In the midst of this disorientation, it is no wonder that scores of young women turned to religion, which offered a new birth into a "secure" family of Christian brothers and sisters, and which "could resolve young women's uncertainties about the future."[33]

While conceptions of time and the religious climate reveal that young women in the nineteenth century were concerned with eternity, the inscriptions in their friendship albums do so even more. In order to celebrate eternal things, as so many of the inscriptions did in nineteenth-century friendship albums, a distinction must be made between what is eternal and what is merely temporal. Young women did plenty of this in their friendship albums by explicitly pointing out what would last forever and what would not. Youth and beauty, as well as the suffering caused by death and the geographic separation of friends, were some of the most commonly identified temporal things.

Youth and beauty were often portrayed in friendship albums as fleeting. This entry offers one example:

> To twine a bouquet fair and bright;
> One that will charm the mental sight,

And help fond memory to retrace,
The hand of friendship and of grace,
Mark, my Caroline, how the roses
Emulate thy damask cheek;
How the bud its sweets discloses -
Buds thy opening bloom bespeak.
Lilies are, by plain direction,
Emblems of a double kind;
Emblems of thy fair complexion,
Emblem of thy purer mind.
But, dear girl, both flowers and beauty
Blossom, fade, and die away,
Then pursue good sense and duty:
Evergreens, which never decay.[34]

The author's comparison of her friend's beauty to flowers, subject to death and decay at the end of each growing season, offers an apt analogy to the transitory nature of youth and beauty. It is significant, however, that the author ends with an encouragement to pursue things "which never decay": good sense and duty. This shows how enduring attributes that could be cultivated over the span of one's entire life were celebrated. Some entries, however, bade the album's owner to make good use of her youth. For example, an entry in Anna Sayre's album describes youth as a "joyous time of blossoming," a "gladsome time," and "cheerful and bright." The inscriber then insists that Anna "enjoy it . . . while [she] may."[35] Another entry cited Ecclesiastes and told Mary Eleanor Williams to "Remember now thy creator, in the days of thy youth," while also urging her to "remember him also, who now endeavors to impress upon your youthful mind this important exhortation [to remember her creator]."[36] Mary Eleanor received an additional entry from a friend who wrote: "Now in thy youth, beseech of Him/ Who giveth, upbraiding not;/ That His light in thy heart become not dim,/ and His love be unforgot."[37] The common theme among these entries is that while youth does not last forever, it is a wonderful opportunity to draw close to God and call upon him for salvation.

In addition to youth, suffering was also depicted in friendship albums as fleeting, something that only lasted for a short time in this temporary life. Death is a heavily discussed source of suffering in many friendship albums. Indeed, friendship and death seem to have been connected. Irene Brown suggests that "friendship...was a kind of affection that called for a particular acceptance of death and separation."[38] Death, and the suffering that it caused, must be accepted between friends, she argues, because "by adhering to new and old friendships and living in anticipation of a beautiful death, [one] looked to another world where all temporary sensations would end, indeed past memories [of friendship] would be sharpened."[39] The term "beautiful death" describes a death that is didactic, a death that highlights the morality and piety of the deceeased and provides an example for those still living. The acceptance of a beautiful death, therefore, meant embracing the hope of reuniting with friends again in Heaven, even though there must first be suffering before reunion.

The topic of death can be seen in many entries in the friendship albums. One reads:

This world is full of fancied joy,
Pursued with eager breath,
Each pleasure proves a fleeting joy,
And all is false but death.
Let us not prize Earth's fruitless joys,
They serve but to degrade,
One single breath divides their joys
From those that never fade.[40]

While this entry warns the reader that death's shadow hangs over every pleasure in this earthly world in a general sense, other entries deal with specific instances of death within families. For example, one entry, addressed "To Miss Anna Marie Sayre, on the Death of her Dear Sister Priscilla," prompts Anna to "weep not for her" who has died, for "she is an angel now/ and treads the sapphire floors of Paradise."[41] A later, more somber entry in the same album reads, "Many laid unexpectedly on a dying bed have asked the solemn question 'must I die' with an emphasis which a view of eternity alone can give."[42] Clearly, the owner of this album came face-to-face with the suffering caused by death. In another example, Abby Jane Williams wrote verses entitled "Moral Beauty" in her friend Harriet Curry's album, next to which Harriet later inscribed "drowned in Lake Erie, June 27, 1835." Death, often sudden and unexpected, was a large part of these young women's lives.

Despite the suffering caused by death, it is made clear by other friendship album inscriptions that this suffering was seen as merely temporal. For instance, one entry reads, "The winter of death cannot annihilate the hopes of immortality beyond the grave."[43] Indeed, the suffering brought on by death was softened considerably when "women pinned their hopes on reunion in the next world,"[44] for "in Heaven, if not on earth, female friendships could be eternal."[45]

The geographic separation of friends was another form of temporal suffering these young women wrote about in their friendship albums. One entry reads: "Will you my friend when far away/ recall those hours you've passed with me/ And oft at evening as you stray/ Think how I wish myself with thee."[46] But despite the hardship of being apart from dear friends, various entries in their friendship albums reassured the young women that reunion was certain, even if it occurred after death or through memory. For example, this entry in Jane Barnitz's album celebrated a reunion that occurred only through fond remembrance of her friend:

When distance severs kindred souls,
Affection's lasting tie ne'er rends;
But fancy roves where ocean rolls,
And loves to dwell with absent friends.
Then smiling hope's elusive ray,
Its care-dispelling influence sends,

And gilds the hours that pass, away
From those we love, - from absent friends.
Oh! can there be in life, a charm
More sweet than retrospection lends,
When dwells the heart with rapture warm;
On past delights - and absent friends?
That soothing charm I would not lose
For all the bliss that wealth attends;
Its joys could ne'er calm infuse,
So sweet as thoughts of absent friends.[47]

Another entry in Jane's album expresses the joy she would experience upon reunion with friends in Heaven:

Beyond the flight of time,
Beyond the vale of death,
There surely is some blessed clime
Where life is not a breath,
Nor life's affections, transient fire,
Whose sparks fly upwards and expire.
There is a world above,
Where parting is unknown;
A whole eternity of love,
Form'd for the good alone;
And faith beholds the dying here
Translated to that glorious sphere.[48]

The hope of reunion with friends through death and memory, as described in these verses, shows how the suffering of separation was viewed as transitory. Friends could not be kept apart forever.

In album verses which focused on the temporal things that would eventually pass away, there was almost always an exhortation to instead trust in everlasting, eternal things. It was in these verses that young women from the nineteenth century revealed their penchant for the perennial. Some of the most frequent subjects in these verses are God, prayer, and friendship itself. All of these things were deemed to have everlasting qualities.

God is one of the most prominent subjects in friendship album verses relating to eternity. God and religion were indeed quite important to women in the nineteenth century. By the Victorian period, women were "portrayed as inherently pious by nature," and they used this image of piety as a foundation for launching three important reform movements: abolition, temperance, and missions.[49] Young women's piety was evident in their friendship album inscriptions. One copied verse urges the reader to "look aloft" when "in the tempest of life" in order to "be firm, and be fearless of heart." The same poem encourages a betrayed friend to "'Look aloft' to the friendship which never shall fade."[50] Another poem declares Christ as the "friend [when] in need," who "bids us openly to join his flock."[51] The instructions to turn to God in times of need in these poems show how eternal things were foremost in the minds of young women writing in friendship albums.

Furthermore, they stress that friendship with God himself was the ultimate everlasting friendship.

In addition to poems about God, it was common to see prayers for friends copied down in friendship albums. For instance, the first page of Mary Eleanor Williams' friendship album contains this heartfelt dedication: "May all the names recorded here/ In the Lamb's book of life appear." Many albums also included inscriptions from preachers and Sunday school teachers. For example, Archibald Lamon wrote to Mary Eleanor Williams:

> Remember now thy creator, in the days of thy youth. And remember him also, who now endeavors to impress upon your youthful mind this important exhortation. Think of his affection for you as one of the lambs of his flock — think of his many and affectionate appeals, and that although he may be separated from you by many a "hill and dale," his heart's desire, and prayer to God, still will be that you may be saved.[52]

Lamon's words reveal a sincere and earnest hope for this young woman: that she set her mind on eternity with God and be saved. Similarly, Harriet Curry's Sabbath School teacher wrote in her album:

> Here is one leaf reserved to me,
> From all thy sweet memorials free;
> And here my simple song might tell
> The feelings thou must guess so well.
> But could I thus, within thy mind,
> One little vacant corner find,
> Where no impression yet has been,
> Oh! It should be my sweetest care
> To fix my Savior's image there.[53]

This poem was originally published with "To write my name for ever there" as the last line. That the Sabbath School teacher would instead write, "To fix my Savior's image there," suggests a deep devotion to God, as she gave up recognition of herself in hopes that her pupil would remember God. Clearly, eternity was an important concern for this young woman.

In addition to a hope in an eternal God, friendship albums reveal a hope in enduring and everlasting friendship between young women. Carol Lasser points out that friendship between women during the nineteenth century offered "an enduring and intimate relationship, creating a sense of stability and community even as the contexts in which American women lived changed."[54] This was reflected in friendship albums, where friendship was eternal through remembrance, even after death.

Memory served as one important way to maintain friendships and allow them to endure. For example, an entry in Harriet Curry's friendship album read: "These lines are traced by friendship's hand/ for friendship's eye to view/ when time and distance intervene/ to hide this hand from you."[55] When Harriet was not in the company of the friend who wrote this, she could read her friend's handwritten message in her friendship album, which would certainly have served as a means to fondly remember their times

together. Other lines such as "while we read the lines here pen'd/ they bring to mind an absent friend,"[56] and even a simple "Remember me,"[57] with no other words in the entry, would also serve to stir one's memory on behalf of friends. Remembrances written down in friendship albums acted as a means of "memorializ[ing] friendship," something that certainly helped it to endure throughout eternity.[58]

Through memory and faith in God, friendship was even able to endure the separation of death. Indeed, Jabour argues that "female friendship was more powerful even than death."[59] One friendship album verse that reflects this sentiment celebrates everlasting friendship in Heaven: "Friendship, that silken thread, that mystic tie/ Which binds two hearts in amity/ No power on earth can sever/ Death may burst the land in pain/ Twill reunite in Heaven again/ To part no more forever."[60] Another entry consoles the reader, "though now it is ours to say farewell, may it be our happy portion to meet where that painful word is never spoken."[61] These album entries suggest that these young women believed their friendships, once in Heaven, would pick up right where they left off on Earth. Friendship, in their eyes, certainly was eternal.

The friendship albums kept and written in by young women in the nineteenth century reveal that they placed a premium on things that lasted forever. Through the verses they copied down for each other, they show how the prominent religious innovations of the Second Great Awakening affected them, and they reveal that popular conceptions of time also defined their preoccupation with the future. Most of all, friendship album entries show how young women valued the everlasting over the ephemeral. Transitory things such as youth, beauty, and suffering were dismissed in favor of enduring communion with God and friends. Friendship, of course, was the ultimate enduring joy to these women, and the survival of their friendship albums through to the present day proves the unending nature of their affections.

Notes

1. Erica Armstrong, "A Mental and Moral Feast: Reading, Writing, and Sentimentality in Black Philadelphia," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 81, accessed March 20, 2016, doi: 10.1353/jowh.2004.0026.
2. Catherine E. Kelly, *In the New England Fashion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 77.
3. Laura Zebuhr, "The Work of Friendship in Nineteenth-Century Friendship Album Verses," *American Literature* 87, no. 3 (2015): 437, accessed March 20, 2016, doi: 10.1215/00029831-314921.
4. While the focus of this study will be on friendship albums owned by young white women, they were not the sole users of friendship albums. Elite African American women in Eastern cities such as Philadelphia and Baltimore also kept friendship albums as a means of asserting their respectability in society. See Erica Armstrong, "A Mental and Moral Feast: Reading, Writing, and Sentimentality in Black Philadelphia," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 78-102.
5. Anya Jabour, "Albums of Affection: Female Friendship and Coming of Age in Antebellum Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 2 (1999), 128, accessed March 20, 2016, http://libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/195927491?accountid=15099.
6. Ibid., 134.
7. Zebuhr, "Work of Friendship," 438-439.
8. Ibid., 438.
9. Armstrong, "A Mental and Moral Feast," 80.
10. Ibid., 86-87.
11. Ibid., 94.
12. Ibid., 98.
13. Jabour, "Albums of Affection," 134.
14. Ibid., 128.
15. Ibid., 140.
16. Ibid., 142.
17. Ibid., 145.
18. Ibid., 151.
19. Ibid., 65-66, 77.
20. Kelly, *In the New England Fashion*, 77.
21. Ibid., 79.
22. Ibid., 80.
23. Zebuhr, "The Work of Friendship," 434.
24. Ibid., 449.
25. Hometowns of the friendship album owners: Harriet Curry was from Oneida County, New York; Mary W. Morris was likely from Philadelphia; The owner of Friendship Album 8605-1-B hailed from Attleborough, Massachusetts; Jane Barnitz was from York, Pennsylvania; Mary Eleanor Williams lived in Fredericksburg, Virginia; and Anna Sayre was a resident of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.
26. Untitled verse, signed by Jane Waters, February 26, 1835, Harriet Curry Friendship Album. Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.

27. Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 31.
28. Mary Morris Friendship Album. Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
    Also appears as "To M," *In The New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 17, (Nov. 22, 1823): 136.
29. Richard Cawardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures,'" *The Journal of American History* 59, no. 2 (1972): 327, accessed March 20, 2016, doi: 10.2307/1890193.
30. Undated and untitled entry, Harriet Curry Friendship Album. Underline is L. Foote's own.
31. Nancy Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 1/2 (1975): 16, accessed March 20, 2016, doi: 10.2307/3518952.
32. Ibid., 19.
33. Ibid., 22
34. Untitled verse, signed by Emily, February 21, 1830, Friendship Album 8605-1-B. Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
35. "Lines on Youth Addressed to Miss Anna Marie Sayre," Anna Sayre Friendship Album, Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
36. Untitled entry by Archibald U. Lamon, November 8, 1835, Mary Eleanor Williams Friendship Album, Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
    This entry was apparently written by a clergyman, one of the few examples of male writing in female friendship albums
37. Ibid., Untitled, unsigned, and undated verse.
38. Irene Quenzler Brown, "Death, Friendship, and Female Identity in New England's Second Great Awakening," *Journal of Family History* 12, no. 4 (1988): 371, accessed March 21, 2016, http://libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login?url=http//.search.proquest.com/docview/1300093939?accountid=15099.
39. Ibid., 375.
40. Untitled and undated entry, signed by Mary, in Mary Eleanor Williams Friendship Album. Also appears as "Lines Written for a Lady's Album," In *Graham's Illustrated Magazine of Literature, Romance, Art, and Fashion*, vol. 3, no. 4 (April 1828): 188.
41. Unsigned verse, November 3, 1832, Anna Sayre Friendship Album. Also appears as "A Dirge," In *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 20, no. 27 (July 1826): 100-101.
42. Ibid., Untitled, unsigned, and undated entry.
43. Untitled and unsigned entry, February 26, 1835, Harriet Curry Friendship Album.
44. Jabour, "Albums of Affection," 155.
45. Ibid.
46. Untitled verse, Signed by "Ann Maria, December 19th," Friendship Album

8605-1-B.

47. "Absent Friends," unsigned and undated, Jane Barnitz Friendship Album, Commonplace Books and Friendship Albums, Manuscripts of Early National and Antebellum America, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
    Also appears in *The Ladies' Literary Cabinet*, vol. 1, no. 18 (March 11, 1820): 143.
48. Ibid, "Parted Friends, Copied by M. A. Cope," Philadelphia, May 2, 1828. Originally published as "Friends (friend after friend departs)" by James Montgomery, 1824.
49. Ann Braude, "Women's History Is American Religious History," *In Retelling U. S. Religious History*, ed. T. A. Tweed (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 98, 101.
50. "Look Aloft," unsigned verse, May 26, 1835. Also published in *The Cabinet*, vol. 5, no. 4 (April 1831): 221.
51. Untitled verse, signed R. A. H., May 1832, Attleborough, Massachusetts, Friendship Album 8605-1-B.
52. Untitled entry, November 8, 1835, Mary Eleanor Williams Friendship Album.
53. "To Miss H. M. Curry, From her Sabbath School Teacher," November 14, 1833, Harriet Curry Friendship Album.
54. Carol Lasser, "'Let Us Be Sisters Forever': The Sororal Model of Nineteenth-Century Female Friendship," *Signs* 14 (1988): 169, accessed March 21, 2016, doi: 10.1086/494495.
55. "Selected by your Cousin Hannah," undated, Harriet Curry Friendship Album.
56. Ibid., Untitled, unsigned, and undated entry.
57. Ibid., "Remember Me," signed by M. E. W., undated.
58. Jabour, "Albums of Affection," 132.
59. Ibid., 155
60. Untitled, undated entry, signed "Mary," Friendship Album 8605-1-B
61. Untitled entry, signed "Darwina F. B. Cathin," September 21, 1841, Anna Sayre Friendship Album.

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