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Harriet Livermore: Prophet and Preacher

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From the turn of the nineteenth century to the dawn of the Civil War there were perhaps as many as one hundred women who served as preachers and evangelists throughout the United States.¹ The majority of these ministers served in smaller denominations such as Free Will Baptists, Quakers, the Christian Connection Church,² and other less established denominations. Primarily, these women came from the lower classes, had little education, spoke in country churches to small audiences, and were rarely flamboyant. To appear more acceptable, most of these women were married and rarely travelled alone. For these reasons, scant records exist concerning their accomplishments and scholarship has only briefly discussed them. Though scholars have written little about her, Harriet Livermore was the exception to many of these norms.

Harriet Livermore was born on April 14, 1788, in Concord, New Hampshire, to the Honorable Edward St. Loe Livermore and Mehitable Harris.³ Prominent in both state and national politics, the Livermore family were New England blue bloods. Her father served as the U.S. District Attorney in the presidency of George Washington (1794-1797), Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court (1797-1799), and as United States senator from 1807 to 1811.⁴ In 1802 he moved to Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he served as their representative to Congress from 1807 to 1811. Her grandfather, Samuel Livermore (1732–1803) was twice a member of the Continental Congress (1780-1782 and 1785-1786). He was the Chief Justice of the New Hampshire Superior Court of Judicature (1782—1789) and was a member of the State constitutional convention (1788). He also served in the United States House of Representatives for the First and Second Congresses (1789--1793).⁵ The Livermore family was one of privilege where social respectability and civic responsibility were familial expectations. The family envisaged nothing less for their daughter.

While material abounds on Livermore's father and grandfather, details concerning her early life are sparse. Available information primarily comes by way of her own writings and in particular her *A Narration of Religious Experience in Twelve Letters*. In this account she describes how at a young age she had violent outbursts of anger and fits so severe they alarmed her mother. She also relates that she punched a boy in the face for not agreeing with her that her father was the most handsome man in the world.⁶ When recounting these childhood experiences, Livermore recognized much of her current self. She stated, "With regard to my natural temper, I was never endued with natural equanimity, moderation, or sweetness. . . I was always called passionate from the earliest remembrance."⁷ She displayed her "natural temper" throughout her life to the point it became a hallmark noted by both friends and biographers.

Livermore's mother died when she was five years old, and her father's duties often required that he be in Washington. Her father, therefore, enrolled her in a boarding school in Haverhill when she was eight years old.

¹Catherine A. Brekus, "Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger: Female Preaching and Biblical Feminism in Early Nineteenth Century America," *Church History* 65:3 (1996), 389.

²This group was closely related to the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ.

³Sources concerning Livermore's life are rife with conflicting dates. After working through the sources, I believe the chronology delineated in this paper is as accurate as possible.

⁴C. L. A.; Old Resident's Association of Lowell (Mass.), *Edward St. Loe Livermore* (Boston: Privately Printed, 1880).

⁵John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes., eds., Vol. 13, *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 760-61.

⁶Harriet Livermore, *A Narration of Religious Experience in Twelve Letters* (Concord, N.H., 1826), 25.

⁷Livermore, *Narration*, 20.

She then attended two premier girls' schools, Byfield Female Academy in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and Atkinson Academy in Atkinson, New Hampshire. When not in school, she spent time in Washington with her father and enjoyed the life of a socialite.⁸

While at Atkinson Academy, Livermore met and fell in love with Moses Elliott. She became a teacher in 1811,⁹ and a few years later, he became a physician. The two remained a couple for several years. They planned to be married, but Elliott's parents did not believe Livermore's temperament would make her a suitable wife.¹⁰ Elliott abandoned Livermore, served as an army surgeon, and later died of the Yellow Fever. The loss of this love was a turning point in her life. Spurned by her love, Livermore turned to religion. She wrote,

It was in September, A.D. 1811, that tired of the vain, thoughtless life I had led, sick of the world, disappointed in all my hopes of sublunary bliss, I drew up a resolution in my mind to commence a religious life—to become a religious person. . . . Neither fears of hell, nor desires for Heaven influenced this motion. I fled to the name and form of religion, as a present sanctuary from the sorrows of life. . . . It is very probable, had my lot been cast in some part of Europe, instead of America, I should have immured myself within the walls of a cloister.¹¹

While lamenting over her life spent playing cards, reading novels, and talking foolishly, she found herself unable to sleep and wrote, "my flesh declined, my spirits fell, and I drew near death."¹² Later in 1811, she attended a worship service that served as the impetus for her conversion experience. At its conclusion, she went to her room and contemplated her life. She recalled,

I sat in the corner of the room, trying to meditate upon my situation, when a sudden impulse moved me to give myself away to Jesus. I dropped quick on the floor, crying, 'Jesus, thou Son of David have mercy on me.' I can recollect no more, till I stood upon my feet; and walked the room, where all about me seemed wrapt in a mystery. Finding a solemn stillness in my mind, as I walked the room, I could not account for the alteration, as it has so recently resembled the surging waves in a violent gale. The noise of an accusing conscience was suddenly hushed—the rattling chariots, and prancing horses, that pursued me from Egypt, were gone down to the bottom of the sea—I saw them no more; for they sank like a stone in the flood. The first thought I recollect passing through my mind, breathed perfect purity; it was this—O, I hope I shall never sin again. . . .¹³

The decision to search for religion and her conversion led Livermore to leave her life of privilege. This may have also been the time that she gave up teaching. In doing so, a rift developed between her and her family that never led to total estrangement, but rather hurt feelings and their embarrassment. Livermore spent the next several years in intense Bible study. Though she received baptism, confirmation, and received communion regularly in the Episcopal Church, she determined it was not a good fit for her. Livermore then commenced her ten-year search for a denomination to call home. She started with the Congregationalists, but by 1812 she had moved on to the Quakers. She liked many things about the Friends especially their aversion to war and their egalitarian belief in extemporaneous prophecy, but left the group because they did not practice baptism and the Lord's Supper. She then briefly returned to the Congregational church and short time later joined the Presbyterians.

⁸Catherine A. Brekus, *Harriet Livermore, The Pilgrim Stanger*, 392.

⁹Loren L. Johns, ed., *Apocalypticism and Millennialism: Shaping a Believers Church Eschatology for the Twenty-First Century* (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 1999), 206.

¹⁰Elizabeth F. Hoxie, "Vixen and Devotee," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 18: No. 1. (March, 1945), 40.

¹¹Livermore, *Narration*, 30-31.

¹²Livermore, *Narration*, cited in Priscilla Pope-Levinson, *Turn the Pulpit Loose: Two Centuries of Women Evangelists* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 40.

¹³*Ibid.*, 41.

Because of her desire to take the Lord's Supper, she once again settled into the Congregational Church in 1818. Since she believed that infant baptism was not an "evangelical rite"¹⁴ and of Satan, Livermore left the Congregationalists. In 1812, the Free Will Baptists attracted Livermore because of their belief in instantaneous public prophecy that allowed women to speak in mixed congregations, and she began to meet with them.

After a decade of bible study and searching for a denomination to suit her needs, Livermore received an inner call to be an evangelist in late 1821. In *Narrations*, she recalled, "I felt the most solemn obligations to dedicate the whole of my time . . . to God."¹⁵ She spoke frequently in Free Will Baptist churches and underwent believers' baptism on October 21, 1821.¹⁶ In 1822, she began to speak in Free Will Baptist churches in New Hampshire. She then became involved with Christian Connection churches in 1822 and 1823. The Christian Connection allowed women to take leadership roles and to preach. Whenever she travelled, she took a letter of recommendation from a Christian Connection elder with her that asked their brethren to treat her well and assist her. Her itinerant ministry was arduous. In just three months she traveled and spoke at twenty-three different locations.¹⁷ Because of her demanding travels, the intensity of her sermons, and her habit of arguing so vehemently with all who opposed anything she said, she became mentally and physically exhausted in 1824 and necessarily took a respite from preaching.¹⁸ Later in 1824, she again became a schoolteacher. Her disposition, however, proved unsuitable for the classroom, and she resigned after two days. She then developed an abscess on her right shoulder that made her sick for several days. She believed it was God punishing her for resisting his call to preach and renegeing on her evangelistic ministry.¹⁹

Livermore soon found the Free Will Baptists too constraining. They were open to female prophecy but not as open to regular female preaching as she had hoped. She left the Baptists and denominational life altogether in 1824. She shunned all creeds but the bible and became a religious seeker.²⁰ Livermore then decided to become a solitary, traveling evangelist and dubbed herself "The Pilgrim Stranger."

After recovering from her abscess, Livermore travelled and preached at an almost frantic pace. She preached in "school-houses, town halls, open field, public squares, and any church that would open its pulpit to her."²¹ She preached to any congregation that would allow her to do so including "Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Dunker, also at the Magdalen House, Widow's Asylum, and the Prison."²² In spite of those who opposed female preaching, she found pulpits open to her in New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Virginia.²³ On November 16, 1826, Reverend Peter Keyserand, pastor of the Church of the Brethren in Philadelphia, allowed her to take the pulpit. Her preaching led to the conversion of Sarah Richter Major who became the first woman pastor in the Church of the Brethren.²⁴ Since men were almost exclusively evangelists, Livermore realized that her life would be open to ridicule. She knew that "a female preacher is a spectacle"²⁵ and that she was often "viewed as a lunatic."²⁶

To defend her right to preach, Livermore wrote her first book in defense of it in 1824. In *Scriptural Evidence in Favor of Female Testimony in Meetings for the Worship of God*,²⁷ she highlighted virtually every woman in the Old and New Testaments who served God.

¹⁴Livermore, *Narration*, 110, 11.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁶Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 41.

¹⁷Priscilla Pope-Levinson, 40.

¹⁸Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 42.

¹⁹Livermore, *Narration*, 193-96.

²⁰Catherine A. Brekus, *Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger*, 393.

²¹Scott Holland, "Harriet Livermore, Pilgrim Stranger: Riding a Fast Horse East of End to the New Jerusalem," in *Apocalypticism and Millennialism: Shaping a Believers Church Eschatology for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Loren L. Johns (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 2000), 206.

²²Rev. S. T. Livermore, A. M. *Harriet Livermore: The Pilgrim Stranger* (Hartford, CT.: Press of the Case, Lockwood, & Brainard Co., 1884), 73.

²³Catherine A. Brekus, *Female Preaching in America: Strangers and Pilgrims, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, NC.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 233.

²⁴Rev. S. T. Livermore, 95-6.

²⁵Livermore, *Narration*, 13.

²⁶*Ibid.*, *Narration*, 9.

²⁷The proceeds from this book financed her evangelistic travels for a little more than a year.

She maintained that Paul's prohibitions against women speaking in worship extended only to the Corinthian church and was not an eternal decree. She saw nothing in scripture that prohibited female preaching.²⁸ She stated, "Praying, exhorting and singing in meetings, for public worship of God, I believe belong to either sex, upon which the Holy Ghost descends."²⁹ She also held that women could preach to mixed audiences (those that included women and men), but not serve as pastor. Though women could preach, she saw women as helpmeets to the male pastor. She helped the pastor with his evangelistic task and no further. In terms of female ordination, Livermore stated, "The scriptures are silent respecting the ordination of females. I conclude it belongs only to the male sex."³⁰ Without ordination women, therefore, could not administer the sacraments.³¹ She also held that she could preach in mixed congregations because she was single. Married women could not preach to such groups as their first duties must be to their husband.³² Livermore was no proto typical evangelical feminist. She never pushed for equal rights with men in the church, society, or home. She also held that men make better ministers. In *Millennial Tidings*, she said, "His responsibility, therefore, is very great. Indeed, man is so gifted with influence, that one like Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, could affect more visible benefit to Christianity, than a host of Phobes, because the latter is a weaker vessel---and Paul teaches that woman must be in subjection."³³ In fact, she believed that women should defer to men's better judgement in almost all matters.³⁴ Though not in totality, twenty-first century bible teacher, Beth Moore's beliefs are reminiscent of Livermore's convictions concerning women in the ministry.

Livermore's theology was nothing like other contemporary female preachers such as Ann Lee and Jemima Wilkinson who promoted the idea of celibacy and communal living. Livermore's earliest sermons and writings demonstrate a conservative, Protestant theology. They centered on conversion, repentance, and salvation.³⁵ Brekus points out that she maintained the central tenets of nineteenth-century evangelicalism such as the inerrancy of scripture, the Trinity, atonement, and the necessity of conversion.³⁶ Like many other Second Great Awakening evangelists, Livermore was Arminian in her soteriology. In *A Wreath from Jessamine Lawn*, she stated, that God's grace "is as free for the drunkard, the adulterer, the liar...as for me . . . and if they will all come to Christ, the open fountain for all sin and uncleanness, they shall be justified and sanctified."³⁷ Other than her belief that women could be evangelists and preach, her early sermons were little different from her male counterparts.

On January 8, 1827, Livermore delivered a sermon to the United States House of Representatives. There can be no doubt her familial connections to the House of Representatives led to this invitation. Washington was abuzz with anticipation. Everyone wanted to witness the event. The *National Intelligencer* reported that "it was almost impossible to gain admission."³⁸ The crowd in the Hall of Representatives numbered more than a thousand, and it spilled out into the street where hundreds more listened. The people wanted to experience the novelty of a woman, the daughter of a former Congressman no less, preaching in Congress. President John Quincy Adams attended, but as the crowd was so large he could not find a seat and instead sat on the steps in front of Livermore. She dressed simply. She wore a home spun gown and a bonnet. She also wore her hair cut short. She had recently cut off more than three feet of hair because she believed it gave her headaches, but her detractors said she did it to gain attention. Livermore no longer gave the appearance of a member of an elite New England family. Quite the contrary. To many, she appeared odd and peculiar.³⁹

²⁸ Harriett Livermore, *Scriptural Evidence in Favor of Female Testimony in Meetings for the Worship of God* (Portsmouth, N.H.: R. Foster, 1824), 93-100.

²⁹ Harriett Livermore, *Scriptural Evidence*, cited in Priscilla Pope-Levinson, 44.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Harriet Livermore, *Addresses to the Dispersed of Judah* (Portsmouth, N. H.: L. R. Bailey, 1849), 1:58.

³³ Harriet Livermore, *Millennial Tidings*, 4 Vols. (Philadelphia: n.p., 1831-1839), 4: 51-42.

³⁴ Harriett Livermore, *A Wreath from Jessamine Lawn; or Free Grace, the Flower that Never Fades*, 2 Vols. (Philadelphia, 1831),

³⁵ Catherine A. Brekus, "Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger," 395.

³⁶ Ibid., 395.

³⁷ Harriett Livermore, *A Wreath from Jessamine Lawn*, 2:172.

³⁸ *National Intelligencer*, January 9, 1827

³⁹ Catherine A. Brekus, *Female Preaching in America*, 202-203.

She began the service by singing a hymn. Livermore was a gifted singer, and she used this gift to prepare her audience for the sermon.⁴⁰ She then delivered a message entitled, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."⁴¹ She spoke spontaneously for an hour and a half. Her sermon was well-received by most of the attendees. The *National Intelligencer* reported that one woman said, "It savored more of inspiration than anything I ever witnessed. Another woman added "And to enjoy the frame of mind which I think she does, I would relinquish the world. Call this rhapsody if you will; but would to God you had heard her."⁴² Initially, Livermore impressed President Adams. He stated,

Her language was correct, persuasive, and judging by my own feelings, the profound attention and sympathy of the audience, extremely eloquent. Many wept even to sobbing.... Judging, as I said, by my own feelings...I should say she is the most eloquent preacher I have listened to since the days of Mr. Waddell. But no language can do justice to the pathos of her singing. For when she closed by singing a hymn that might with propriety be termed a prayer...her voice was so melodious, and her face beamed with such heavenly goodness as to resemble a transfiguration, and you were compelled to accord them all to her.⁴³

Years later after Livermore became odder and more peculiar in her manner, Adams changed his opinion. In his *Diary*, he wrote, "There is a permanency in this woman's monomania which seems accountable only form the impulse of vanity and fame."⁴⁴ Livermore also delivered sermons to the members of Congress in 1832, 1838, and 1843.⁴⁵

Along with a host of others in the first half of the nineteenth century such as the Millerites, Livermore began to believe the millennium was approaching. In 1831, she read a letter written by a converted Jew named Joseph Wolff. He stated that Christ "would come in the clouds of heaven, and stand upon the Mount of Olives in A.D. 1847."⁴⁶

Livermore believed Wolff and published his letter in her book, *Millennial Tidings*.⁴⁷ She was attracted to the Millerites, but their date for Christ's return was wrong, and they did not believe in the restoration of the Jews.⁴⁸ Unlike the many post-millennial prophets of her era who were more optimistic and believed humanity was getting better and that this improvement would bring about the return of Christ, she was more pessimistic. She was a premillennialist and believed that mans' sins would lead to Christ's arrival.⁴⁹ Her millennial beliefs dominated all five books she published from 1838 to 1849. Unlike her 1824 *Scriptural Evidence in Favor of Female Testimony in Meetings for the Worship of God* that financed her itinerant ministry for a year, her millennial books sold few copies.

Similar to many others as well, she believed Native Americans were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. In her millennial scheme, their conversion was paramount to the return of Christ. This belief led Livermore to travel by herself to Kansas, shortly after her second appearance before Congress in 1832, so she could preach to the Native Americans.⁵⁰ Upon her arrival, she apparently told the Kickapoos of her millennial dreams. One reported dream claimed that "Napoleon Bonaparte had risen from the dead as the Antichrist and would soon rule the world in a reign of terror.

⁴⁰Cynthia A. Jurisson, "Federalist, Feminist, Revivalist: Harriet Livermore (1788-1668) and the Limits of Democratization in the Early Republic," Ph.D. Dissertation (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1994), 227.

⁴¹Catherine A. Brekus, *Female Preaching in America*, 2.

⁴²*National Intelligencer*, January 9, 1827.

⁴³Letter of an "esteemed lady" to her daughter, January 9, 1827. Quoted in Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 44.

⁴⁴Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1876), 10:7-8.

⁴⁵John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, 758. Livermore also wrote an eloquent letter to former President James Madison on October 22, 1829 in which she implored him to seek to end slavery.

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/99-02-02-1900>

⁴⁶Harriet Livermore, *Addresses to the Dispersed of Judah*, 20.

⁴⁷Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 44.

⁴⁸Harriet Livermore, *A Testimony for the Times* (New York: n.p., 1843), Appendix, ix.

⁴⁹Catherine A. Brekus, "Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger," 401.

⁵⁰Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 44.

But the prophet Elijah would reappear and lift Livermore and the Kickapoos up to heaven.”⁵¹ Her hopes of evangelization, however, soon ended when Henry Ellsworth, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Fort Leavenworth, learned of her prophecies, determined that she was deranged, and sent her away.⁵² Her trip to Kansas served as the impetus to *The Harp of Israel* (1835). This book contains poems and songs concerning the millennium, and it stressed the important role Native Americans have in it.⁵³

The following year, Livermore visited Independence, Missouri, where Joseph Smith tried to add her to his ranks. She had previously read the *Book of Mormon* and was not sure what she thought about it. After praying about it, she believed the Lord told her not to join their ranks. She declined by replying, “Fiddlesticks.”⁵⁴ Soon afterwards, she believed she heard a voice whisper to her, “Peace be unto thee: though shalt go to Jerusalem.”⁵⁵ Livermore then turned her attention to the holy land and the evangelization of the Jews. Livermore believed she was living in the last days and that Christ would return in her lifetime. Jerusalem was key to her millennial beliefs as she maintained that Christ would return to the Mount of Olives in 1847. She hoped to be there when it happened and traveled to Jerusalem several times between 1836 and 1858.

During the 1840s Livermore became more unconventional. Even after 1847 came and passed, she continued to preach millennialism. She became more eccentric, argumentative, and prone to outbursts of anger. Her family saw her as an embarrassment and virtually abandoned her. They left her only a small annual stipend of two hundred and fifty dollars.⁵⁶ Her friends deserted her and pulpits once open to her no longer welcomed her. She often found herself with little or no money. She did have a silver spoon set given to her by her late mother. Whenever her finances were low, she would sell a spoon and use the proceeds to fund her itinerant ministry. Of the spoons she said,

Since I have traveled and appointed meetings in the name of the Lord I have often carried an empty purse. And by this means twice I have been obliged to travel on foot till my feet were badly festered, and my whole frame entirely exhausted.

I had, or rather once had, three large silver spoons and six small ones, formerly the property of my deceased mother. . . . These spoons have been of service to me since I have been exposed to the open world, a selfish unfeeling theater of gain, in affording me present relief in a sudden exigency, by pawning them to some wealthy, Christian for the money I needed.⁵⁷

Livermore spent that last years of her life attempting to sell copies of the seventeen books she published, patent pills, and seeking funds from her one-time friends, so she could return to Jerusalem to await Christ’s triumphant return. She stated, “At that time, I felt justified, because my motive was, to earn my bread, to pay my debts, and return to Mount Zion, to close my weary eyes, and sleep, till Jesus’ voice shall rouse my body into life that never sleep.”⁵⁸ Likely mad, her nephew placed her in Blockley Almshouse in Philadelphia in 1867. She died there on March 30, 1868, penniless and destitute.⁵⁹ A friend, Mrs. Margaret Worrell saw to her burial in a Brethren cemetery in Germantown, Pennsylvania.

In 1829, Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier spent two days snow bound in his family home with several guests. Harriet Livermore was among the lodgers. His time with Livermore made a strong impression as he immortalized her in his poem “Snow-bound.” In 1866, his prose depicted the “pilgrim stranger,”

Another guest that winter night

Flashed back from lustrous eyes the light.
Unmarked by time, and yet not young,

⁵¹Rev. S. T. Livermore, 123-126; Joseph B. Herring, “Kenekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet: Acculturation without Assimilation,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 9:3 (1985). 299.

⁵²Ellsworth to Herring, August 19, 1833, National Archives, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Fort Leavenworth Agency, Microcopy 234, Roll 921.

⁵³John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, 758.

⁵⁴Livermore, *Narration*, 394.

⁵⁵Rev. S. T. Livermore, 107.

⁵⁶Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 45.

⁵⁷Rev. S. T. Livermore, 63-64.

⁵⁸Harriet Livermore, *Addresses to the Dispersed of Judah*, 20.

⁵⁹Elizabeth F. Hoxie, 49.

The honeyed music of her tongue
 And words of meekness scarcely told
 A nature passionate and bold,
 Strong, self-concentred, spurning guide,
 Its milder features dwarfed beside
 Her unbent will's majestic pride.
 She sat among us, at the best,
 A not unfeared, half-welcome guest,
 Rebuking with her cultured phrase
 Our homeliness of words and ways.
 A certain pard-like, treacherous grace
 Swayed the lithe limbs and drooped the lash,
 Lent the white teeth their dazzling flash;
 And under low brows, black with night,
 Rayed out at times a dangerous light;
 The sharp heat-lightnings of her face
 Presaging ill to him whom Fate
 Condemned to share her love or hate.
 A woman tropical, intense
 In thought and act, in soul and sense,
 She blended in a like degree
 The vixen and the devotee.⁶⁰

Whittier did not attempt to hide the fact that Livermore was the character depicted in his poem. Her death received scant attention from the press. When mentioned in later writings, writers drew heavily from Whittier's depiction of her as an emotionally unstable "not unfeared, half-welcome guest" and largely ignored her evangelistic ministry.

Other than a few journal articles, chapters in books, and one doctoral dissertation, Livermore's ministry has merited little attention over the one hundred and fifty-two years since her death. If not for "Snow-Bound," she would likely be little more than a passing footnote to history.

There can be no doubt, however, that Livermore was a powerful female evangelist in an era when most believed the woman's sphere was the home and not the pulpit.

There are two primary reasons why Livermore has not and will probably never serve as inspiration for today's female ministers. First, Livermore had little personal restraint. She was prone to emotional outbursts, held idiosyncratic beliefs, and could be rude even to her closest friends. As she aged and become more and more enamored with millennialism, she dedicated her life through her writings and journeys to advancing her odd eschatological beliefs that gave her the appearance of being on the verge of madness. If her ministry had not turned in this direction, Livermore might make more appearances in women's history materials.

Second, Livermore was no proto feminist. She believed women could preach, serve as evangelists, and speak to mixed congregations, but not pastor. She did not believe women should receive ordination, held to a male only ministry, and insisted that men made far more effective ministers than women. She believed that women should defer to men in all aspects of life. She never demanded ministerial, social, or political equality with men. She did not attend or even make mention of the 1848 Seneca Falls women's rights convention. In fact, Livermore's beliefs went antithetical to the convention's goals. In today's evangelical circles, Livermore would be a complementarian much in the same vein as Beth Moore. Though Moore is much more congenial, not millennialistic, and certainly not as eccentric, they are both Biblicists who believe women can preach but not pastor and whose sermons (early Livermore) stressed orthodox theology. As women sought more freedom in all spheres of life, Livermore was not a person an evangelical feminist could embrace and hold as a role model. Thus, Whittier's remembrance dominates history rather than her evangelistic endeavors.

⁶⁰John Greenleaf Whittier, *Snow-Bound: A Winter's Idyll* (Boston: 1867), 39-40.