



## John D. Doughty

1825 - 1893

FIRST MINISTER OF THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH  
IN SAN FRANCISCO

## PREFACE

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As I was researching the life of my children's great-great grandfather, Henry Lindskog who lived in San Francisco during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, I found that he was married in the New Jerusalem Church and at least two of his four children were baptized there as well. I became increasingly more interested in this church, also known as the Swedenborgian church, its philosophy, and in particular, the fascinating character, John Doughty who became its first minister in San Francisco. There were a number of brief sketches of his life, but I wanted to know more about him and therefore decided to do my own research and to set out the facts that I have been able to find. My sources for this document are cited either in the text or as footnotes where appropriate.

## ORIGINS OF THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH – SWEDENBORGIAN

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Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)

Scientist, Philosopher, Politician and Theologian



Emanuel Swedenborg was born January 29, 1688, in Stockholm, Sweden. He mastered virtually all the known sciences of his time; writing on mathematics, geology, chemistry, physics, mineralogy, astronomy and anatomy. His achievements range from being the first to propound a nebular hypothesis to making the first sketch of a glider-type aircraft. He was also a skillful bookbinder, understood clock making, engraving, marble inlay and lens grinding. He improved the forerunner of our phonograph. His experimental tank for ships is still used. He reflected

on the possibility of a submarine, designed a machine gun and marketed a usable fire extinguisher.

Although he was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be one of the outstanding scientific figures of his generation, the last 27 years of Swedenborg's life were devoted to writing books on religion. Before this, and even during his period of religious writing, he served as one of the most creative and influential members of the Swedish House of Nobles.

Swedenborg's theological works form the basis of the Swedenborgian Church or, as it is sometimes called today, The Church of the New Jerusalem. Although he never intended a church denomination to be founded or named after him, a society was formed in London 15 years after his death. This 1787 organization eventually spawned the present General Convention of Swedenborgian Churches.

## INTRODUCTION

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When reading this biography and the accompanying early history of the church in San Francisco it is important to define a few terms that will aid the reader's understanding.

There are various names in referring to the church that are used interchangeably; The New Jerusalem Church (N.J.), The New Church (N.C.), The Swedenborgian Church, The Lord's Church of the New Jerusalem and The Church of the New Jerusalem.

The term Society is frequently used in place of the word church. Today, the sole remaining congregation of the New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco is called "The Swedenborgian Church of San Francisco".

General Convention or simply Convention refers to the overarching legislative body of the church. It also refers to the annual 4 – 5 day assembly of the various societies for discussion of various topics.

A "receiver" refers to a person who has completely accepted the doctrines of Swedenborg but may be isolated and not connected to a society.

Ordinance is a Protestant Christian term for baptism, communion and other religious rituals.

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO

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According to an account written in the June 9, 1867 Daily Alta California<sup>1</sup> newspaper, the first New Jerusalem Church was organized on February 15, 1852 with 15 members, 14 men and 1 woman. However, an announcement was found in the earlier February 8<sup>th</sup> edition of the Daily Alta<sup>2</sup> in that year which reads:

*"The New Jerusalem Church. Morning services at 11 o'clock, at the Superior Court Room, corner of Jackson and Dupont streets."*

It is entirely possible that the members who were interviewed in 1867 did not remember the exact date of their first meeting. In fact, the formal society was formed on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1852 after the morning services. However, before discussing the formal beginning of the church in San Francisco in greater detail we must examine the person who allegedly was the first to preach the doctrines of Swedenborg in California.

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Alta California, June 9, 1867, Vol. XIX, No. 6295

<sup>2</sup> Dal Alta California, February 8, 1852, Vol. III, No. 38

According to a committee that was appointed by the 1862 General Convention<sup>3</sup> to study the early beginnings of the church in San Francisco it was Robert L. Smith, a member of the New York Society of the New Jerusalem Church who was the first to preach in that city. He left New York for California on the first of March 1849 on board the steamship "Northerner"<sup>4</sup> with 800 other passengers via Chagres and Panama. He had struck up a conversation with a number of passengers and when it was discovered that there was no minister on board to conduct Sunday services, the passengers requested that the captain appoint Mr. Smith. The captain met with him and after a brief discussion agreed. Prior to reading his sermon Mr. Smith made a brief statement of the nature and importance of the doctrines of the New Church. He was also called upon the following Sunday to conduct services.

Once they reached Panama where they were detained for two and a half months, Mr. Smith continued his relationships with many of the passengers and distributed books that he had brought with him. He also continued to hold worship services on Sundays in his room at the American Hotel in Panama while waiting for the ship to San Francisco.

Along with his fellow passengers, he arrived in San Francisco in June, 1849 and within a few months had erected a building for an office and opened it on Sunday for religious worship. Shortly thereafter he erected a larger house and made a chapel on the third floor. The services were moved after a few months to the ground floor of the house adjoining his. An article in the Saturday, February 24, 1850 edition of the Daily Alta California stated that

*"The Rev. Mr. Sturdevant, of Providence, R. I., will deliver a sermon on Sabbath (tomorrow) afternoon, at 3 ½ o'clock, in the upper room of Smith's new building on Pike, next to the corner of Sacramento street, in accordance with the views promulgated by the Hon. Emmanuel Swedenborg, or New Jerusalem church doctrines. Seats free."*

The lectures and services typically attracted some 40 to 50 people. We know from Smith's private letters<sup>5</sup> that his home and office were located on Pike Street, one block north of the Post Office at Clay and Dupont Streets<sup>6</sup>. It appears that Smith was a man of great energy who engaged in a number of financial enterprises. We learn from a couple of advertisements in the Daily Alta California that by May 16, 1850 he already had 2 houses to let and several lots of land to sell. This was in addition to the home and office on Pike Street. It also appears that he was in the money lending business, advertising that he had 3,000 dollars *"to loan on bond and mortgage, upon unencumbered real estate in*

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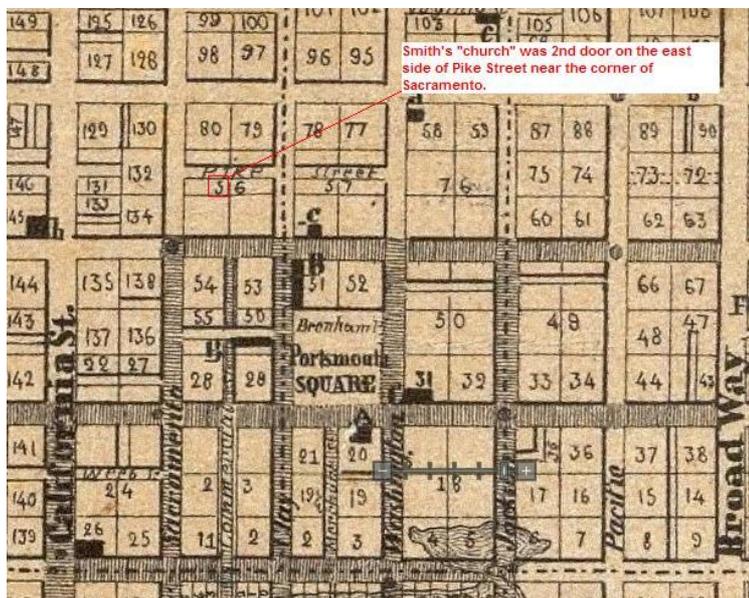
<sup>3</sup> 1862 Journal of the Forty-Third Annual Session of the General Convention of the New Church in America; held in Boston, from Wednesday, June 11, to Sunday, June 15, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> An 1100 ton steamship belonging to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company running between San Francisco and Panama.

<sup>5</sup> Extracts of private Letters from Mr. Robert L. Smith, San Francisco, California, formerly of New York City, New Jerusalem Magazine, 32<sup>nd</sup> Convention, New Jerusalem Church, 1850/

<sup>6</sup> This location was on Portsmouth Square, or the Plaza as the early settlers referred to it. It was the heart of the city in 1850. Today it is located in Chinatown.

*the business part of this city.*" A year later in April 1851 he advertised that he had \$5,000 to loan on city scrip and had several neat Tenements and single rooms to let.



In the 1854 City Directory of San Francisco Smith is listed as the proprietor of a hardware store on the corner of Pine and Sansome and his residence was at 8 Pike Street<sup>7</sup>. The orientation of this 1852 map by Britton & Rey is turned 90 degrees. The top of the map is actually west. Pike Street is shown just west of Portsmouth Square. The modern day name is Waverly Place

which runs from Washington across Clay to Sacramento.

Mr. Smith preached sermons, conducted funeral services, and arranged for traveling ministers to perform the Sunday services and evening lectures. The report indicates that Mr. Smith left San Francisco in 1853 or 1854 but did not state any reason for his departure or his intended destination. Smith was in San Francisco for at least part of the year in 1854 because he is listed in the City Directory. However, he is back in Brooklyn, New York by June 25 because he was elected as president of the American Swedenborg Tract and Missionary Society<sup>8</sup> on that date for the coming year. Perhaps he left because he felt that his missionary expedition to the city was successful and that his work there was done after the new Society was created.

The committee went on to say that among the early supporters of the church in San Francisco were members of the first society of New York, as well as others from the churches in the Atlantic and Western states<sup>9</sup>. They ended their report by stating that time and circumstances did not permit further examination into the history of the church as much as they would have liked.

According to a web posting in KeepandShare<sup>10</sup> the members met on Sunday, February 5, 1852 to form their new society. However, the date is incorrect, probably due to a typo.

<sup>7</sup> Pike street (today Waverly Place in Chinatown) ran 2 blocks between Sacramento and Washington, one block north of Dupont Street (today, Grant Avenue)

<sup>8</sup> Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth General Convention, Portland, ME, June 21 – 25, 1854

<sup>9</sup> By “western” states the committee was referring to Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.keepandshare.com/doc/54028/the-garden-church-of-san-francisco>

That Sunday was February 8. The report went on to cite the language used in that first meeting:

*At a meeting duly called it was resolved that we the undersigned receiver of the Doctrines and Members of various New Church Societies, now resident in the City of San Francisco and State of California, do hereby form and declare ourselves a SOCIETY OF THE NEW JERUSALEM and agree to be governed by the Doctrines of Charity and Faith as taught in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. This meeting took place in the Superior Court Room on Dupont Street<sup>11</sup>.*

However, another document discovered recently has provided even greater detail into the formation of the first church in San Francisco. On March 30, 1852 15 people sent a letter<sup>12</sup> to the Rev. Professor George Bush informing him that they had met after their services on February 8, 1852 and formed a Society of the New Jerusalem Church and wished that a copy of their declaration be published in the Repository of the church. Listed here are the 15 people who signed this declaration and who were referred to, but not named in the newspaper article written in 1867.

Signed by	Society	Location
John McCraith	First New Church Society of	New York
John L. Moffat	First New Church Society of	New York
Thos. S. Miller	First New Church Society of	New York
Benj. Shellard	First New Church Society of	New York
L. L. Blood	First New Church Society of	New York
J. W. Metcalf	First New Church Society of	Chicago, Ill.
Richard Duff	First New Church Society of	Chicago, Ill.
John Ide	First New Church Society of	N. Bridgewater, Mass.
Dr. J. P. Bush		Natchez, Miss.
E. W. F. Sloan		Jackson, Miss.
John W. Garretson		Ohio
Mrs. S. B. Berry		New Orleans
Amasa Morgan		Kenosha, Wis.
Dr. Albert Kellog	Episcopal Church	Birmingham, Conn.
James Kellogg	Methodist Church	Columbus, Ohio

The preamble and resolution was actually written by a sub-committee and was unanimously adopted by the congregation on the following Sunday, February 15. At the end of the letter to Dr. Bush, the secretary of the new society, L. L. Blood, stated that besides the members that were listed there were nearly as many more receivers of the

<sup>11</sup> The report indicates that this text is from a document in the archives of the First New Jerusalem Society.

<sup>12</sup> The New Church Repository and Monthly Review. Devoted to the Exposition of the Philosophy and Theology Taught in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Conducted by George Bush, A. M., Vol. V., New York, published for the proprietor, 16 Howard Street. London: J. S. Hodson and W. Newbery, 1852

doctrines or serious readers of the writings of the New Church. Of the 15 original members only L. Laughton Blood and Mrs. Berry were found in the 1850 City Directory, however, in those rough and tumble days of San Francisco where an entire block of houses would be built in a single month, it is likely that not all residents found their way into the directory.

Mrs. S. B. Berry was the only woman of the original 15 members and was also mentioned by Mr. Robert L. Smith in one of his private letters dated, April 29, 1850;

*"This evening the Senator [Allen of Michigan] and I are invited to tea at Mrs. Berry's, a very intelligent lady, who attends our meetings."*

It is also interesting that Smith was not one of the people on the organizing committee. This document from the San Francisco Society organizing committee to the Convention is fascinating for a few reasons. First, it does document the formation of the first formal church society in San Francisco and lists the original members. Secondly, it does not ask for permission from the General Convention of the church to form their society, it informs one of the church members that they have done so already. It is also noteworthy that the letter was sent to one of the most controversial members of the church, the Reverend George Bush<sup>13</sup>. He was at odds with the leaders of the church because of his belief that there should be no regularly constituted ministry or distinct class of men performing that office. He also objected to ecclesiastical organization and government in the New Church, in particular, the General Conventions. And finally, there is wording in the resolution that suggests a very independent bent of the members who formed the society:

*"..... and whereas our isolated condition places it out of our power to comply, in the institution of a Society, with the prescribed forms or approved precedents of the New Church in other parts of the world, and believing that those forms and precedents, though worthy of high respect, ought to be reckoned neither authoritative nor essential, but rather to be modified and adapted to the circumstances and exigencies of the case, ..."*

The members of this new society essentially gave notice that while the Church was worthy of respect it should not dictate specific procedures to the local societies and that individual societies had the right to adapt rules to their particular circumstances. We will see later that this somewhat impertinent attitude contributed to a split in the San Francisco church.

However, in the proceedings of the General Convention held at the N. J. Church, 4<sup>th</sup> Street, Philadelphia in June of 1852, the Ecclesiastical Committee chaired by J. R. Hibbard

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<sup>13</sup> The Rev. George Bush was the great granduncle of George Herbert Walker Bush and great, great granduncle of George Walker Bush. Source: Swedenborgian House of Studies at Pacific School of Religion

made it clear in its *"Report on Communication from California"* that the new society could choose whomever they wish to officiate in the administration of the ordinances but that

*".... this proceeding does not give a permanent and full introduction into the ministry, and that at the earliest opportunity the Society should avail itself of the forms of true order in regard to the ministry, so far as they have been ascertained; because only in this way can they avail themselves fully of the uses of the ministry."*

In other words, you can be independent up to a point but there are regulations that are not up for discussion. The sentence following the one cited above is somewhat curious:

*"This course seems to us altogether preferable to that of receiving the ordinances through any minister of the First Christian Church."*

A review of the city directories from 1850 to 1853 does not show a "First Christian Church" in San Francisco, but the committee could have been referring to another church by a different name. It is possible they were referring to the Catholic Church which was the first Christian church in San Francisco. From this statement it would appear that the society may have been employing the part time services of a minister from this church and it was frowned upon by the Ecclesiastical Committee. The fact that this was pointed out to them seems to this writer to be a mild rebuke.

The remainder of the report recommends that after selecting someone who is willing to perform ministerial services that the society should make application to the President or an ordaining minister for authority to perform the services needed until such time as they can obtain the services of a clergyman or ordained minister. Of course, the San Francisco Society did not take their advice and went for the next 17 years without an ordained minister.

The committee report on the history of the church indicated that one of the society members, Mr. James Kellogg was "empowered by the President of the General Convention, on application from the receivers there, to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Holy Supper, and to officiate at funerals .....". From this statement it does appear that the society did indeed make the requisite application to the President for Mr. Kellogg. In the 1852 - 1853 San Francisco City Directory<sup>14</sup> he is listed as the "Presiding Officer" of the New Jerusalem Church meeting in the Superior Court rooms at the California Exchange. Of significant note is the fact that the Convention bestowed the right to administer the ordinances of baptism and communion on Mr. Kellogg. This fact would become a controversial issue that would play out over 17 years later in the ordination of John Doughty.

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<sup>14</sup> 1852 San Francisco City Directory, published by James M. Parker, Appendix, page 20

At the time of the 1867 newspaper article, some 15 years after the formation of the Society, the membership had grown to 50, 29 males and 21 females. In fact, the members of the committee that researched the history of the church in San Francisco even commented in their report of 1862 when discussing the purchase of a lot on which to build a church that the congregation did not yet have a minister.

*“And while your Committee cannot but regret that our brethren in San Francisco had not first felt able to call to their assistance some ordained minister of the Church, .....*”

Other names mentioned by the history committee not found in the original list of members were Messrs. J. H. Purkitt, Dr. M. J. Burke, and Edward Giles. The committee members, M. G. Williams, Benj. Worcester, Benj. Hobart, and L. S. Burnham ended their report by stating:

*“...your Committee cannot but express the hope that at the next annual meeting of the General Convention of the New Church in America, the Society in San Francisco may not only send a communication to this body, but may be represented in it by a delegation of its members, who shall come, officially accredited, to unite their efforts with ours, for the promotion of the great ends of the Church throughout our land.”*

Even in this very solicitous summary the committee members are reminding the society in San Francisco that they are welcome to join the General Convention but only if they are officially accredited; by the church of course.

No minister's name was ever found during the research for this paper in any announcement of services until a permanent church was opened in 1866, with one exception. An announcement in the San Francisco Evening Journal of 19 February 1853 reads:

*New Jerusalem Church, Superior Court Room, California Exchange - Service at 11 a.m. Preaching in the Welch Language – The Rev. William Williams preaches in the Welch (sic) language every Lord's day at 2 1/2 o'clock p.m. Society meeting every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, p.m. in the public school room, No. 234 Dupont Street.*

Rev. Williams was most likely a visiting minister who occasionally conducted services for churches who did not have full time members. The fact that there were afternoon sermons conducted in Welsh suggests that some of the members were from Wales or the members wanted to attract members from the Welsh community. There were a fairly large number of Welsh living in San Francisco in the early years. At the time of the 1906 earthquake it was estimated that there were 15,000 to 20,000 people of Welsh descent from a population of 400,000 in that year. Sermons preached in another language were

not uncommon during this time period when men came from all over the world to make their fortune in the gold fields. In 1850 the Catholic Church on Vallejo Street between Dupont and Stockton gave regular Sunday services in Spanish, French, and English.

On August 23, 1852 funeral services were held for Clement Humphreys, the county surveyor and a member of the New Jerusalem Church. The "ceremonials" were delivered by a friend<sup>15</sup>. Although this friend was not named it was probably James Kellogg.

The 1867 Daily Alta article goes on to say that for a number of years the society met at the Twelfth District Court Room in the City Hall. The society did meet at the City Hall court room, but not in 1852 when they first began. On April 1, 1850 the Town Council purchased the Graham House at Pacific and Kearny streets 2 blocks north of Portsmouth Square for \$150,000 to use as a City Hall<sup>16</sup>. However, a year later on June 22, 1851 a fire broke out in a house on the north side of Pacific near Powell and eventually consumed 10 blocks of the city, including the City Hall.

The society first met at the Superior Court Room in a building on the corner of Jackson and Dupont streets (1 ½ blocks from Portsmouth Square). Later the courts were moved to the California Exchange, a gambling hall on the northeast corner of Kearny at Clay Street directly on Portsmouth Square. According to the San Francisco Directory for September 1852 the court had offices on the first floor (room No. 4, the "council chamber")<sup>17</sup>. On March 7, 1852 the Society was still meeting at the Jackson and Dupont streets address, however, by March 21 they were meeting in the California Exchange. In the March 21, 1852 issue of the Daily Alta California under the City Intelligence section is this listing,

*"New Jerusalem Church. Services at 11 A. M., in the District Court Room, California Exchange, upstairs".*

The Town Council, tired of paying rent at the California Exchange purchased the Jenny Lind Theater on October 20, 1852. After a court battle the City Hall offices were moved into the Theater. A new City Hall was being constructed on Washington between Kearny and Montgomery and it opened on December 24, 1852.

On January 30, 1853 the members of the New Jerusalem Church were still meeting in the California Exchange but the following Sunday they met at Mrs. Parker's Seminary<sup>18</sup>, 239 Clay Street near Stockton. Then by March 20<sup>th</sup> they were meeting in the Superior Court room of the new City Hall.

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<sup>15</sup> August 23, 1852, Placer Times & Transcript

<sup>16</sup> The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, San Francisco Gold Rush Chronology, 1850 - 1851

<sup>17</sup> The California Supreme Court Historical Society, 4747 North First, Suite 140, Fresno CA 93726

<sup>18</sup> Seminary in this sense is a private school, not necessarily a theological school.

In 1857 the church members met in the Twelfth District Court Room of City Hall<sup>19</sup> and continued to use various court rooms until they built their church. Evidence of this are the religious services notices that regularly appeared in the Daily Alta and other newspapers over the years continuously from 1852 to 1866 and indicated that they were principally held in the Court rooms at City Hall.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH BUILDING

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A letter by Joseph Pettee, dated Abington, June 6, 1863, was sent to the secretary of the General Convention of that year stated that donations were being made by members of the church in San Francisco and would go toward the purchase of a building lot in the city. After the initial contributions were made a lot was purchased for \$6,000. The Society also voted to incorporate and elected 7 trustees as incorporators. The final sentence of the letter summed up the plan outlined by Mr. Pettee:

*"When we get the lot, the next thing is the building, and then the minister; which last, I think, is needed to gather the flock."*

A statement made by Mrs. Benjamin Shellard to the 1863 Convention described the functioning of the San Francisco Society:

*"They have no minister: his place is supplied by a lay reader, who is elected annually, and who reads the printed sermons of New Church Ministers. Mr. J. H. Purkitt is the Reader at present. The average attendance on Sundays is about 40. Sunday School is held about nine months of the year."*

Mrs. Shellard also confirmed the purchase of the building lot, measuring 87 by 137 feet and that donations were now being solicited for the erection of a church. Later that year in a letter dated November 2, Mr. J. H. Purkitt, the reader that Mrs. Shellard referred to, wrote L. S. Burnham to thank the General Convention for the \$100 in gold that they had sent for the construction of a new church<sup>20</sup>. He stated that a lot was purchased for \$4,100 and paid for within 10 days of the purchase. It was located on the north side of O'Farrell Street, between Mason and Taylor Streets, was *"in the heart of one of the most rapidly improving localities in the city."* He went on to say that it measured 51 feet front, by 137 ½ feet deep. It appears that the transaction for the lot that was purchased so quickly for \$6,000 was never completed because the price of this lot is significantly different as are the dimensions. Purkitt actually made an error in the front measurement, the lot was 55 feet wide.

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<sup>19</sup> Daily Alta California, December 13, 1857

<sup>20</sup> 45<sup>th</sup> General Convention, New York, June 8 – 12, 1864, Letters to the Convention

Purkitt also informed Burnham that the purchase had exhausted all of their available funds and he did not know when they would have sufficient money to proceed with the construction of the church. It was the San Francisco's Society desire to be entirely free of debt after it was built and therefore the style of architecture and general finish of the house would depend on the amount of money they could raise. Like others before him he also acknowledged the Convention's desire for the Society to select a minister, but indicated that the cost of living in San Francisco was much greater than in the East and that they simply could not afford to support a minister and build a church at the same time.

We also learn from this letter that Joseph Worcester, son of the President of the General Convention, the Rev. Thomas Worcester, was on his way to San Francisco to improve his health and that they would make him welcome.

The members of the church apparently raised sufficient funds in the period from the date of Purkitt's letter, November 2, 1863 until January, 1865 to begin the construction of the church. An announcement in the January 28, 1865 edition of the San Francisco Bulletin stated:

*"The Church of the New Jerusalem is expecting to build a house of worship in this city."*

Eleven months later, an article in the November 14, 1865 edition of the San Francisco Bulletin and the November 18 edition of the Sacramento Daily Union gives us a detailed description of the new church which was still under construction at the time.

*"The design was made by S. C. Bugbee<sup>21</sup> and son of this city. The lot on which it stands is 55 feet in width by 137 1/2 feet in depth. The church edifice stands 29 feet from the front line of the street, and measures 37 feet in width inside by 79 1/2 feet in length, including the chancel. The style is Rural Gothic. It has a nave 23 feet wide separated from the aisles by a row of columns on each side. The aisles are 63 feet long, the nave projecting by front 15 1/2 feet; on one of the angles thus formed is the entrance porch, 11 feet square, having 2 outer doors and folding doors opening into the auditorium. Taking a position at the southern end of the building, the eye takes in at a glance the chasteness and beautiful simplicity of the whole interior arrangement. At the rear is a chancel arch 12 feet deep by 19 feet wide and 23 feet high to apex, the platform of which is elevated 2 feet from the floor. The alter rail and tabernacle, or receptacle for the Sacred Scriptures, are designed in harmony with the style of the church. The tabernacle is to be decorated interiorly with golden colored silk or velvet, a cushion of the same material, and a hanging Vail of royal purple. The upper portion will also contain the service for the Holy Supper. On each side of the tabernacle is a*

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<sup>21</sup> Sacred Places of San Francisco, Ruth Hendricks Willard, Carol Green Wilson, Roy Flamm, Joseph Armstrong Baird, San Francisco Alumnae Panhellenic, Presidio Press, 1985

*tablet to represent the "two tables of stone" on which will be inscribed with golden letters the Law of the Ten Commandments. On the right of the chancel is a recess for the reception of the organ, in front of which and on the end of the aisle is the space allotted for the choir. On the left of the opening of the altar rail is to be a handsome marble pulpit, not yet completed, and on the right a desk for the reading of the Scriptures and prayers. On the left is a door opening into the study, which is a cheerful and convenient one, having direct access to the chancel, and an outer door into the yard. This room will also contain a library, in which there is a full collection of all the writings of Swedenborg, both in Latin and English, and a large variety of collateral works relating to the new church.*

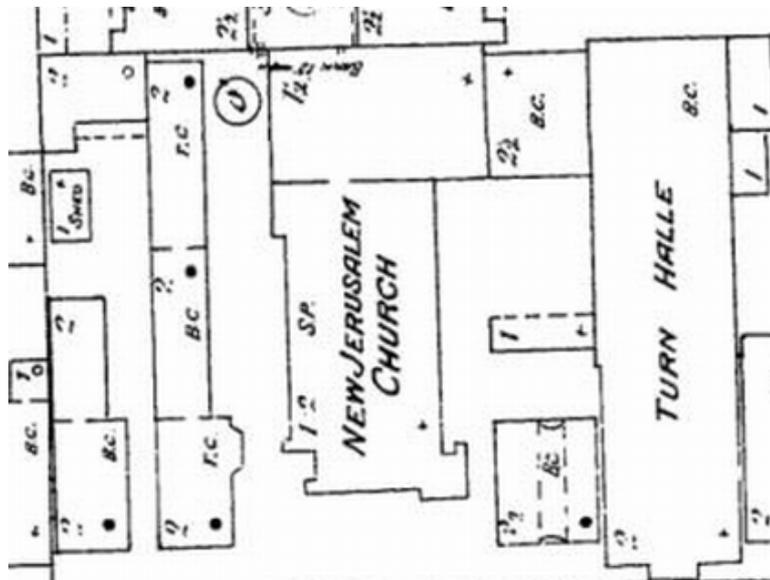
*The church is lighted by a large triplet window in the front and a small triangular light in the gable above, with a similar one in the rear gable over the chancel. On each side there are live windows with arched heads like the front. All the windows are intended to be fixed with stained glass as soon as the finances of the Society will admit of it, and other improvements made which will add much to its chaste and simple beauty. The woodwork is stained of rich color and varnished. The roof is steep open timbered truss, plastered on the purlin rafters, making the extreme height of (the) nave 39 feet, while the aisles are eighteen feet high, with "lean-to roofs". The columns have neatly moulded capitals, from which an arched rib springs on each side, under the lower rafters, forming under the truss a pointed arch to where the chancel corresponds. The walls and ceilings are plastered and tinted, the former a light buff color, and the latter blue, contrasting favorably with the dark color of the woodwork, and giving the auditorium an airy and cheerful appearance. The pews are intended to seat 360 persons comfortably, and are to be stained and varnished like the rest of the woodwork.*

*The exterior of the edifice is also simple and chaste, with very little of ornament. The projecting nave with its large mullioned window and heavy hood mouldings, and the steep gable and cornice, surmounted by a Gothic cross, make an agreeable, if not attractive front. The porch having two steep gables and arched doorways flanked, like the main building, by bold and heavy buttresses, presents altogether a tasteful and picturesque effect."*

*The land and building, when fully completed, will have cost about \$12,000, including pews, upholstery, carpets, fencing, planting, etc. There is sufficient space on the lot for an enlargement of the building, should the growth of the society hereafter require it; also to erect, in the rear, a vestry room, which was the original intention, for the Sabbath School, social gatherings and other religious purposes. The front yard will be leveled, the soil properly prepared and ornamented with grass and shrubbery, and the whole handsomely enclosed. The building will be ready for the use of the Church before the close of the year.*

*The Trustees of the Society are composed of the following gentlemen: Thomas S. Miller, President; Capt. Oliver Eldridge, C.C. Webb, James Kellogg, Charles Pace, Benjamin Hobart, and J. H. Purkitt."*

Of the trustees mentioned in this article only James Kellogg was among the original 15 members of the church in 1852. Shown here is a Sanborn Fire Insurance map of 1887



where the church can be seen on the north side of O'Farrell at number 318 between Taylor and Mason.

Then on Saturday, January 6, 1866 an announcement in the Bulletin stated:

*"The New Jerusalem Temple on O'Farrell street, between Mason and Taylor, just completed will be open for Divine service for the*

*first time, at 11 A.M. Subject – A Summary View of the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church."*

The church was officially open but still without a minister. On that first Sunday, January 7, 1866 Mr. Purkitt read the sermon before the assembled congregation as he had done so many times in the past. The newspaper article of January 6 covering the opening of the church also went on to say,

*"This Society has extended an invitation to the Rev. Mr. Barrett of Philadelphia, to become their pastor, and expect him here by the month of May next, at which time the Church will be dedicated<sup>22</sup>".*

At last, the Society that began in 1850 with Robert L. Smith and formed into a society with 15 members in 1852 had built the church they strived for over the last 15 years. They also had finally made an offer to an ordained minister, the Reverend Benjamin Fiske Barrett of Philadelphia to become their pastor. Despite the elation that they may have felt at the time, 1866 and 1867 would prove to be difficult and painful years in the history of the church in San Francisco.

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<sup>22</sup> San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, January 8, 1866.

## THE REVEREND JOHN DOUGHTY

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Born September 18, 1825 in Brooklyn, New York, but due to his poor health he left there in 1849 to travel to California in the hope that the climate would help his condition. Several sources state that he traveled overland with a group of settlers but became separated from them and was captured by a band of Indians. However, at night he made a dramatic escape and continued until he reached California<sup>23</sup>. Whether this story is in fact true in its details or whether it has been enhanced over the years is unknown.

An article that appeared in a San Francisco newspaper<sup>24</sup> toward the end of his life had this to say about him:

“The Rev. Mr. Doughty is a venerable looking gentleman, and is held to preach and discourse with almost inspired insight into the needs of his people. His face is heavily



seamed with the lines of deep thought, his beard is streaked with the marks of time, and his eyes have that deep introspective look that belongs to the keen expounder of the thought and feelings of men.”

Even though most of these “prominent men sketches” that were written by newspapermen and editors during this time period were prone to puffery we do get a sense that he was probably a much respected member of the community.

The article gave his birth date as September 12, 1825, some six days earlier than stated in his obituary. It went on to say that after receiving his education he came to California, arriving there in 1849 on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August and that his earliest profession was that of a lawyer.

While the ancestry of John Doughty is beyond the scope of this paper, there is significant evidence that the father of John was Charles Doughty, born 1784. In a church document<sup>25</sup> he is referred to as “... *Mr. John Doughty, “a son of the late Rev. Charles Doughty, the first regular minister of the New York society .....”* .

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<sup>23</sup> The Morning Call, San Francisco, October 23, 1893 “Obsequies of Rev. John Doughty”

<sup>24</sup> The Morning Call, Sunday Edition, August 16, 1891, page 9

<sup>25</sup> The Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine, January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1868, No. 169, Vol. XV, published by The General Conference of the New Church, page 328

Another source<sup>26</sup> gives us a brief profile of his father:

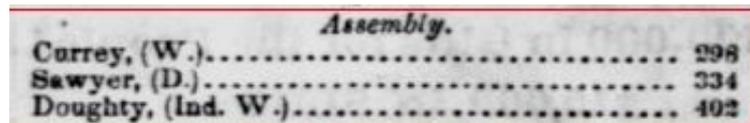
*“Charles J. Doughty graduated from Yale, he was the principal attorney of Brooklyn for a time, and clerk of the Board of trustees for several years. It was said he was largely instrumental in procuring the passage of the emancipation act by which Negro slavery was abolished in New York State. On the anniversary of Emancipation Day the colored people were accustomed to call at Mr. Doughty’s house with chickens, turkeys, and other gifts to testify their respect. He is said to have drawn up the charter of the City of Brooklyn. Though the family had been Quakers he became convinced of the truth of the claims of Emanuel Swedenborg and braving public opinion he turned to Swedenborgian. The subject of much opposition, losing friends and legal practice, he was undaunted, organizing a society of Swedenborgians in NYC and became the Pastor for 30 years. His memory is revered as the founder of the denomination in NY.”*

There can be little doubt that John Doughty was the son of Charles and their lives are remarkably similar. They were both attorneys and each man was attracted to the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg and eventually became pastors of New Jerusalem Churches although they were a continent apart. Both also suffered indignities at the hand of the leaders of the Convention which will be discussed shortly.

We know from the obsequies<sup>27</sup> described in the newspaper article that John Doughty practiced law for some years in Fairfield, Solano County, California and it is there that we find a number of sources of information regarding his life before moving to San Francisco.

The first reference is to a John Doughty was shown on a “letter waiting” list in the Benicia, California post office from December 31, 1851 printed in the California Gazette<sup>28</sup> on January 17, 1852. Then in the California State Census of 1852 he is listed as a teacher and apparently single since there is no one else in his household. A year later on March 8, 1853 he was on a list of letters waiting at the post office<sup>29</sup> in Sacramento City. Whether this is the correct John Doughty is unknown, but research during this decade reveals only one person by that name in Solano County. In addition, we know that Doughty lived in Fairfield which is only a short distance from Benicia.

Election returns for state assemblyman for Solano County published in the Daily Alta on September 12, 1854 show a



Assembly.		
Currey, (W.).....		298
Sawyer, (D.).....		334
Doughty, (Ind. W.).....		402

“Doughty (Ind. W)”  
[Independent – Whig] received  
402 votes to his opponents

<sup>26</sup> Genealogy database of Ronald W. Cook, p. 362 (Hoff)- [http://cowaro.com/Genealogy/Surname\\_file/Doughty.html](http://cowaro.com/Genealogy/Surname_file/Doughty.html)

<sup>27</sup> funeral rites

<sup>28</sup> The California Gazette, Vol. 1, No. 46, St. Clair, Pinkham & Co., publisher, Benicia, Saturday, January 31, 1852

<sup>29</sup> The Daily Union, Sacramento, Vol. IV. – No. 600, March 8, 1853

"Currey, (W.) who received 298 and Sawyer (D.) who had 334 votes. A newspaper article<sup>30</sup> about John Currey in 1858 stated that he had been beaten for the Assembly in 1854 by "John Doughty, a settler". The term, settler was used to describe early (generally before 1850) inhabitants of the county and we know that John Doughty settled there in August, 1849. There can be little doubt that this is the John Doughty of our research.

Currey was a close friend of the great Mexican grant holders, Mariano Vallejo and others, and they were responsible for seeing that he received the Republican nomination for the Assembly in 1854. Jesse Sawyer was the Democratic nominee. Currey had always favored the "Spanish grants" and was against the settlers on most issues. When word reached the people of Suisun that Currey was running they nominated a candidate of their own, Mr. John Doughty. He entered the race as an Independent, but some news accounts stated that he was probably a Whig. A heavy voter turnout was responsible for electing Doughty over Currey.

Doughty was sworn in on January 1, 1855<sup>31</sup>. In the first session that convened on January 9, 1855 Doughty introduced a bill in the Assembly<sup>32</sup> concerning the rights of actual settlers. I wonder if this was somewhat self serving considering his status as an early settler. He was also appointed to the standing committee that supervised the state prison. The following day he introduced another bill<sup>33</sup> relative to the 500,000 acres of land that was granted the State by Congress. He also introduced a bill to create a new county to be called Suisun that would be taken from Solano County. The bill obviously didn't succeed since there is no Suisun county in California.

It appears that Doughty was an assemblyman for only one term of two years since we see Mr. N. H. Davis as the assemblyman<sup>34</sup> in 1857. It is not known whether he ran again for office and was defeated or whether he chose not to run.

In 1857 an article was published in the Daily Alta California<sup>35</sup> that summarized the political and economic conditions of Solano County. The justice of peace for Suisun was John Doughty. Suisun was also referred to as Suisun City and is a twin city of Fairfield for they border each other. There is also a record of John Doughty as a district supervisor for Suisun City, Solano County in 1857<sup>36</sup>. At some point in his life in Solano County, Doughty was briefly in a partnership with another lawyer, Milton A. Wheaton<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> 1858 September 4 Weekly San Joaquin Republican, Vol. 4, No. 42, Conley & Patrick, publishers, Stockton, California

<sup>31</sup> Daily Placer Times and Transcript, Vol 1, No. 1468, Edwin Bell, publisher, Sacramento & Montgomery Streets, San Francisco, California.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> Daily Alta California, October 31, 1857, Vol. IX, No. 193, Editorial Correspondence, Solano County Statistics

<sup>35</sup> *ibid*

<sup>36</sup> Daily Alta California newspaper, October 31, 1857.

<sup>37</sup> Bench and Bar in California History, Anecdotes, Reminiscences by Oscar Tully Shuck, 1888, Occident Printing House, 429 Montgomery Street, San Francisco

On 2 January 1859 John Doughty married Maria Griffith near Suisun City in Solano County, California<sup>38</sup>. The wedding notice gave his name as J. D. Doughty. This is the only source that was found to give his middle initial. Combined with other sources described later we can say that this is the John Doughty we are researching. Later Federal censuses list his wife consistently as Maria and her age is correct in all of the census.

The 1860 U.S. Federal Census finds John at age 35 along with his wife, age 21 living in Fairfield, Solano County, California. From the census we also learn that he was born about 1826 in New York and his first child, Charles E. was 4 months old at the time of the census. The other member of their household is Mariah Lynch, a servant who is age 23 and from Ireland. Living next door is Edward Griffith, age 52, a tailor, and his wife Martha, age 46. In the 1850 census there is an Edward A. Griffith born in New Hampshire and from Danvers, Essex, Massachusetts with his wife Martha P., age 35 and daughter Maria, age 11.

We know from a death notice<sup>39</sup> that Martha Griffith (although spelled Griffiths in the notice) died in San Francisco on August 22, 1892 and that she was the mother of Maria. She was a native of Greenland, N.H. and was 78 years and 7 months old at her death. Therefore, it can be said with some certainty that this is the Maria Griffith who married John Doughty. Since she was 11 in 1850 and 21 in 1860 when she married John we can calculate her birth year fairly accurately to 1839.

From 1862 to 1866 Doughty is found on the tax rolls of Solano County, California with his profession listed as lawyer and his residence as either Suisun City or Fairfield.<sup>40</sup> Also found during this time period is a John Doughty, District Attorney of Solano County from 1863 - 1865<sup>41</sup>. Although there is no specific proof that this was the same person, there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that it is. One must be a lawyer to become a district attorney and there was no other John Doughty living in Solano County during this period that could be found with historical records that the author researched.

In 1863 Maria and John's second child, Martha Jeanne was born on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January.

It appears that in addition to his law practice and his political appointments that he was also engaged in the buying and selling of property in Solano County. The following are deeds from the Solano County archives as published by the Solano County Genealogical Society. The town of Suisun was laid out by Capt. Josiah Wing and John Owen in 1854 and it appears that Doughty began buying land in that same year.

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<sup>38</sup> Sacramento Daily Bee, a newspaper, Monday Evening January 3, 1859. "Near Suisun City, Solano county, Jan 2d, J.D. DOUGHTY to Maria GRIFFITH."

<sup>39</sup> The Morning Call, August 24, 1892, page 8

<sup>40</sup> Tax List – California Division No. 6, Collection District 5 (Solano County) 1862-1866

<sup>41</sup> District Attorneys of Solano County – 1850 to present, County of Solano, California

Grantee	Grantor	Instrument	Date of Instrument
Doughty, John	Ritchie, A. A.	Deed	1854/06/03
Doughty, John	Waterman, R. H. et al	Deed	1854/06/03
Doughty, John	Morris, William J.	Deed	1858/06/10
Knorp, A. F.	Doughty, John	Deed	1858/07/13
Doughty, John	Waterman, R. H. et al	Deed	1859/10/01
Doughty, John	Ritchie, A. A. (adm.)	Deed	1859/10/01
Doughty, John	Bissell, G. W. P. (by atty.)	Deed	1859/10/01
Doughty, John	Ritchie, A. A. (adm.)	Deed	1859/10/01
Doughty, John	Bissell, G. W. P. (by atty.)	Deed	1859/10/01
Doughty, John	Waterman, R. H. et al	Deed	1859/10/01
Knorp, A. F.	Doughty, John	Deed	1860/08/03
Doughty, John	Morris, William J. (by sheriff)	Deed	1861/07/15
Doughty, John	Sheriff of Solano County	Deed	1861/07/15
Doughty, John	Sheriff of Solano County	Deed	1861/07/15
Doughty, John	Litchfield, C. A. (by sheriff)	Deed	1861/07/15
Doughty, John	Litchfield, C. A. (by sheriff)	Deed	1861/08/06
Morris, William J.	Doughty, John	Deed	1861/08/07
Doughty, John	Sheriff of Solano County	Deed	1861/08/06
Doughty, John	Hall, Thomas	Deed	1865/04/29
Doughty, John	Jamison, A. M.	Deed	1865/04/29
Doughty, John	Jeans, Thomas J.	Deed	1865/04/29
Harmon, Arthur M.	Doughty, John	Deed	1866/02/06
Trustees Suisun & Fairfield Water Co.	Doughty, Jno. and Wife	Deed	1866/09/27
Miller, Esther H.	Doughty, John and wife	Deed	1868/05/11

From the time of his arrival in California until 1864 no evidence has been found to indicate that Doughty was part of the New Church in San Francisco or connected to it in any way. He was certainly not one of the original members who formed the church in 1852 and there is no mention of him in any document found in San Francisco through 1863. In the Journal of the 45<sup>th</sup> General Convention held in New York from June 8 – 12, 1864 he does appear for the first time as a “receiver” and is from Suisun, California. Mr. J. H. Purkitt was listed as representing the San Francisco Society. Doughty is also listed as a receiver in the 46<sup>th</sup> General Convention held in Chicago from June 14 – 18, 1865. It is very possible that over the time he was in Suisun that he did in fact attend services in San Francisco occasionally. The ferry service was quite good from Suisun City to San Francisco in the mid-1800s however given the time and distance it was unlikely that he traveled there very often.

Before continuing with the life of John Doughty we must first examine two crucial years in the history of the New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco.

## THE EVENTS OF 1866 – 1867

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As mentioned previously, when the church on O'Farrell Street opened its doors for the first time, the membership still did not have a full time minister. Mr. Purkitt read the sermon on the first Sunday, January 7, 1866. It was also reported in the newspaper that the Society had invited the Rev. Mr. Barrett of Philadelphia to become their pastor. He was expected to arrive in May and the Church would be formally dedicated at that time<sup>42</sup>.

For the first few months, the congregation would use lay readers on Sunday as they had in the past or employ the services of clergyman from other churches. A newspaper notice indicated that on February 4, 1866 Rev. S. D. Simons, a Methodist minister officiated at the service. Dr. J. N. Hume also conducted services at the church on May 20 and May 27. While awaiting the arrival of Rev. Barrett, the congregation generally ministered to itself using lay readers and guest ministers to conduct the services.

However, the Rev. Barrett never assumed the duties of pastor of the church. No reference to him in San Francisco has ever been found in public sources. It is not known whether he ever arrived or upon arrival met with the leaders of the church and decided against becoming their pastor.

At precisely the same time that Rev. Barrett was to begin his duties a controversial issue arose in the church which upset about forty of the members. We learn of the seriousness of the problem from Mr. J. H. Purkitt in a letter<sup>43</sup> dated May 8, 1866 to the Rev. Thomas Worcester who was the President of the General Convention at the time. In the letter Purkitt writes:

*"Dear Sir: - You have already learned of the unhappy division in our San Francisco New Church Society, and its cause. Having done all that the circumstances and our duty seem to require, about forty of us have resolved quietly to withdraw."*

Frustratingly, the "cause" that Purkitt refers to has yet to be found. Perhaps the church archives contain information about this cause, but no public source has been found to date. He may have addressed the issue in a previous letter to Worcester but considering how serious Purkitt seem to portray the issue he might have sent a description of the problem by telegraph prior to his letter of May 8, 1866. However, until the document regarding the cause is found we might formulate a hypothesis about what caused this split in the church.

It is likely that the issue developed in the month after the opening of the church. It probably did not occur before January 7<sup>th</sup> because Purkitt delivered the sermon that

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<sup>42</sup> San Francisco Bulletin, January 8, 1866.

<sup>43</sup> Journal of the 47<sup>th</sup> Annual General Convention, Boston, June 1 – 5, 1866, Reports of the Isolated Societies

morning and it is not likely that he would have done so had the controversy already occurred. There was a meeting of the board of the church where new trustees were elected. The newly elected members were Oliver Eldridge, C. C. Webb, Benjamin Shellard, Benjamin Hobart, J. C. Pace, E. D. Feusier, and Thomas S. Miller. But the fact that Purkitt was not elected as a trustee was surely not an issue that would cause him to take the action that he did. The only other significant event was the congregation voting to elect Rev. Barrett as their pastor. Examining the background and character of the man can help to understand that it was probably the selection of this man which caused the upheaval in the church.

The Reverend Benjamin F. Barrett was a former Unitarian minister who came into the New Church in 1840. His first activity was a series of lectures on New Church doctrine at the Lyceum of Natural History in New York City which were a sensation and attracted thousands of people. He was ordained shortly after by Thomas Worcester, and became the pastor of the New York Society. He soon became one of the leading liberals of the Church and took an active part in the rebaptism controversy<sup>44</sup>.

In 1858 Barrett became the editor of a new periodical, the Swedenborgian, the policy of which was an openly avowed opposition to what it called the:

*"High Church or Sectarian Party in Convention, which aims at uniformity when variety and freedom should be the aim." "We are decidedly opposed to the idea that the New Church is to be a single great ecclesiastical organization like the Church of Rome"<sup>45</sup>.*

Such sentiments did not endear Barrett to his brethren of the Convention, and indeed, even before the publication of the Swedenborgian he had already been dropped from the roll of Convention ministers. In the Journal of 1866 there is the following passage:

*"He has pursued the Convention with great pertinacity and vindictiveness for nearly twenty years; he has charged it, either directly or by implication, with the most base and wicked motives, and the most heinous crimes .... He says it is a hierarchy second only to the Romish Church"<sup>46</sup>.*

Also in his letter to Worcester of May 9, 1866 Purkitt writes the following when asking Worcester and the Convention to recommend a minister for their new church:

*"A more promising and inviting field of labor for a missionary of the New Church is nowhere presented on this continent, especially if he be a man of real goodness,*

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<sup>44</sup> A policy advocated by some in the church that baptism by a New Church minister should be required for membership in the church.

<sup>45</sup> The New Church in the New World - A Study of Swedenborgianism in America, Marguerite Beck Block, published by H. Holt, 1932

<sup>46</sup> Usually derogatory of, relating to, or resembling Roman Catholic beliefs or practices

*efficiency, and ability. The clergy of this are generally men of large acquirements, of considerable ability, and reputed eloquence."*

Was this Purkitt simply making sure that Worcester would send an experienced minister of exceptional quality or was he delivering a message that he believed that Barrett did not possess these characteristics. Purkitt was a very conservative man, having also served as a lecturer in the Massachusetts Temperance Society. As the reader for the San Francisco Society over the past few years he certainly would have wanted a highly respectable man as pastor for their new church, not a renegade that had been expelled from the General Convention.

To underscore how serious Purkitt believed this issue to be he added this comment in his letter to Worcester:

*"We feel that it is a matter of vital necessity to the future of the New Church on this coast that the above arrangement should be consummated, and that, too, with as little delay as possible."*

Little is known at this stage of research about whether Barrett ever arrived in San Francisco or presided over the Society after being offered the job in January, 1866. But it is interesting that in the same month that Barrett was to begin his duties is the same date when Purkitt wrote to Worcester. The newspaper article of January 8 indicated that Barrett was expected to arrive by the end of May and therefore one can conclude that the church committee and or trustees had been in touch with him and had arranged a starting date. However, as previously mentioned, no church advertisement or notice in the newspapers was ever found that included his name as pastor of the church.

This means that the incident causing the division had occurred sometime in the first four months of 1866. It has been suggested by others in the modern day church that the reason for Purkitt forming his own Society was because John Doughty was not an ordained minister. As will be discussed shortly, this may indeed have been the ultimate reason for the split in the Society, but not as of May, 1866. At the time Purkitt wrote the letter to Worcester, Doughty, to the best of our knowledge, had not even been offered the job. From the evidence gathered thus far about this critical event in the life of the church, it would appear the incident that caused the division of the Society preceded the offer to Doughty by about 7 months. As described earlier, when the church opened on January 7, 1866 J. H. Purkitt read the sermon for the day so it would seem that there was no controversy as of that date or if there was the congregation didn't know about it.

It is the opinion of this author that it was the offer of the pastorate to Rev. Benjamin F. Barrett that caused Purkitt to contact Thomas Worcester about his concerns and voicing his desire to withdraw with 40 others and start a new Society.

For sake of argument let us assume that Barrett changed his mind fairly quickly in perhaps February and turned down the job or was pressured to do so. Then what caused Purkitt to become so upset? Did the Society then offer the position to Doughty after Barrett turned it down and prior to Purkitt's letter of May, 1866? This is not likely because it appears that Doughty was only offered the job after he gave the lecture series in the autumn of that year. Until further evidence of the "cause" is found I believe that it was the controversial Benjamin F. Barrett who had been shunned earlier by the General Convention that Purkitt and his followers initially found so objectionable.

If Purkitt and his followers did leave the church after he contacted Worcester one would expect to find some evidence of the break away group meeting for Sunday services during the last half of 1866 and the first half of 1867. Yet, no evidence in the public record has been found to date that indicates that the second society met for services during this time period. While it is possible that they in fact did, it is also possible that after Barrett withdrew his services to the church, there was peace again within the church. If in fact this did happen, then it would have been very short-lived because John Doughty was then offered the job in December, 1866. Shortly after he was installed as the pastor of the church, the break-away group made new plans to split from the church.

The following timeline summarizes the events and sources that support the research carried out during this time period thus far.

Date	Event	Sources & Notes
January 7, 1866	New church on O'Farrell Street opens on this day for the first time.	Source: San Francisco Bulletin, January 6, 1866
	J. H. Purkitt reads the sermon on the opening Sunday service	Source: San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, January 8, 1866
January 8, 1866	Rev. Mr. Barrett of Philadelphia was offered the job of becoming the pastor of the church. He was expected to start by the end of May.	Source: San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, January 8, 1866
February 4, 1866	Rev. S. D. Simons, a Methodist minister officiated at the service in the new church.	Source: Daily Alta California, Sunday, February 4, 1868
January – May, 1866	Sometime during this time period (or in late 1865) Thomas Worcester was informed about the division in the San Francisco	Source: inferred from a statement made by J. H. Purkitt in his letter to Thomas Worcester that was dated May

Society and its cause.

9, 1866 and then published in the Reports of Isolated Societies in the 47th General Convention, July 1866.

May 9, 1866 Purkitt's letter, dated May 9, 1866 to Thomas Worcester informing him of the desire to start a new church and to obtain a minister as soon as possible.

Source: Boston, 47th Session of the General Convention - Reports of Isolated Societies

In the fall of 1866<sup>47</sup> John Doughty delivered a series of lectures to the New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco on Emanuel Swedenborg and his doctrines. The following advertisement in the San Francisco Bulletin of September 20, 1866 indicates that Doughty would give a total of 6 lectures beginning on September 23<sup>rd</sup>.

**Sabbath Evening Course of Lectures,  
UPON EMANUEL SWEDENBORG,  
AND THE DOCTRINES REVEALED  
THROUGH HIM TO THE WORLD, commencing Sep-  
tember 23d, at 7½ o'clock P. M., at the New Jerusalem  
Church, on O'Farrell street, between Mason and Taylor.  
I.—Swedenborg the Philosopher.  
II.—Swedenborg the Seer.  
III.—The Divine Trinity.  
IV.—The Angelic World.  
V.—The Resurrection.  
VI.—The Life After Death.  
The public are invited.      sep 17 1w D-3w W&S**

At the conclusion of the series in November, the Society was so impressed by these lectures that in December 1866<sup>48</sup> they invited Mr. Doughty to become its pastor. He accepted and began his new role on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1867.<sup>49</sup> The first evidence of Doughty assuming his new role is found in the Religious Services section of the January 12, 1867 issue of the San Francisco Evening

Bulletin newspaper. His sermon that morning was entitled "The White Horse."

Having accepted the position of pastor of the New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco he moved to the city and his first home was at 955 Howard Street in the upper Mission District<sup>50</sup>. We can see from the list of deeds shown earlier that Doughty and his wife sold several of their properties in Solano County during 1866 coinciding with or just before the decision to move to San Francisco.

## THE SECOND NEW JERUSALEM SOCIETY IS FORMED

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As Doughty was settling into his new position as pastor of the congregation and conducting regular Sunday services in the new church, there is little information about

<sup>47</sup> Daily Alta California, June 9, 1867, Vol. XIX, No. 6295

<sup>48</sup> San Francisco Bulletin, December 29, 1866

<sup>49</sup> Daily Alta California, June 9, 1867, Vol. XIX, No. 6295, "January 1, became pastor of the New Jerusalem Church on O'Farrell Street near Mason."

<sup>50</sup> 1867 Langley San Francisco City Directory, page 171

what was happening within the congregation. Was the group of parishioners who wanted to break away earlier in 1866 giving Doughty a chance to prove himself? Or, were plans being made to leave the church and form their own Society? The answer came rather quickly.

Almost 13 months after Purkitt's letter to Worcester we learn from a newspaper article<sup>51</sup> on June 30, 1867 that a number of members had formed a new society and had invited the Rev. Charles Hardon, of the New Church in St. Louis, Missouri to become their minister<sup>52</sup>. He was born in Mansfield, Mass., January 2, 1834, the son of Nathan Hardon and Sally Hodges<sup>53</sup>. He was a graduate of Theological Seminary of Amherst University in 1855. taught at Delaware Lit. Inst., in Franklin, N.Y. from 1855 to 1862, was in the Prep. Dep't of Urbanna University in Ohio from 1862 until 1864 and was ordained in the New Jerusalem Church on December 4, 1864. He was the pastor of the New Church in Urbanna, Ohio from 1863 – 1866 and then assumed the duties of the pastor of the church in St. Louis, Missouri in 1866<sup>54</sup>.

He had been the pastor at that church since March 14, 1866. We know that he resigned his position<sup>55</sup> in St. Louis on June 24, 1867 presumably because he had accepted the invitation from the new Society in San Francisco. He was expected to leave New York on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July and move to San Francisco. Whether he ever arrived or resign his position shortly after he arrived is not known. What is certain is that he was replaced by Joseph Worcester as early as December of the same year.

A report in the 1868 Journal of the Forty-Ninth Annual Session of the General Convention<sup>56</sup> describes how Joseph Worcester, then in Boston, received an "urgent invitation" from San Francisco in the autumn to return to that city to become their pastor. He had previously been in San Francisco in 1863 as a young graduate from Harvard College, having traveled there to improve his health. During the time he was in San Francisco a number of members of the New Jerusalem Church congregation took a liking to him and urged him to return to the east coast and complete his theological studies. They indicated to him that should he do so and then return to San Francisco, they would join him in forming a new church.<sup>57</sup>

Joseph Worcester accepted the Society's invitation, and according to the 1868 Journal, "was ordained", presumably in Boston, and at the time of the report, September 1868, had been preaching for about 8 months. It appears that all of these arrangements were

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<sup>51</sup> Daily Alta California, Vol. XIX, No. 6316, June 30, 1867

<sup>52</sup> Daily Alta California newspaper, June 30, 1867.

<sup>53</sup> Life and Times in Hopkinton, N.H. by Charles Chase Lord, published 1890, Republican Press Association, 583 pages.

<sup>54</sup> Triennial Catalogue by Andover Theological Seminary, 1870

<sup>55</sup> History of Saint Louis City and County by John Thomas Scharf

<sup>56</sup> 1868 Journal of the Forty-Ninth Annual Session of the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America; held in Portland, Me., from Friday, July 10, to Tuesday, July 14, 1868.

<sup>57</sup> Swedenborgian Church of San Francisco website.

done with some haste. This would mean that he was in San Francisco by at least January 1868. It is interesting to note that Worcester was not a minister at the time of the request to join the new Society in San Francisco and had to be ordained first. A search of the General Convention Journals does show Joseph Worcester as a licentiate prior to receiving this call.<sup>58</sup> Later Journals of the General Convention indicate that Worcester was ordained on November 3, 1867.

A newspaper article published on November 17 stated that Worcester had left New York and was expected in San Francisco on December 3<sup>rd</sup>. The first evidence found of him beginning his ministry was on December 21, 1867 when we see an advertisement for the New Jerusalem Church meeting at the Mechanics Institute " ... *with the Rev. Joseph Worcester officiating*"<sup>59</sup>. In the beginning both churches referred to themselves as the New Jerusalem Church (Swedenborgian) which undoubtedly led to some confusion but later we see that Doughty's church changed its name to the "First New Jerusalem Church."

What still remains a mystery is why Charles Hardon did not start, or if he did, continue as the pastor of the Second Society. As in the case of Barrett described earlier, the offer had been made, apparently accepted, a start date established, but then neither man ever became the minister of their respective churches. We know that Hardon did not die because he attended the 49<sup>th</sup> General Convention held in Portland, Maine from July 10 – 14, 1868 where he was a delegate from Mansfield, MA. A report during that convention indicated that he had spent the winter (1867-1868) in Mansfield and then was engaged by the Missionary Board of the Massachusetts Association to do missionary work for 6 months.

The following timeline summarizes the events and sources that occurred between the time of Purkitt's letter to Worcester and when Joseph Worcester arrived in San Francisco.

Date	Event	Sources & Notes
September 23, 1866	John Doughty delivers the first of six evening lectures to the Society in San Francisco.	Source: Daily Alta, October 7, 1866.
November, 1866	Doughty is offered the job of minister after completing his lectures.	
January 1, 1867	John Doughty begins his duties as the new minister of the Society in San Francisco. He is	Source: The Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine, No. 175, July 1 <sup>st</sup> ,

<sup>58</sup> General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States of America , Massachusetts New -Church Union, 1868.

<sup>59</sup> San Francisco Bulletin, December 21, 1867

	not ordained as yet.	1868, Vol. XV., page 328
July 31, 1867	A break away group in the church forms a new society and invites Rev. Charles Hardon of St. Louis to become their pastor. He was to leave New York on this day and travel to San Francisco.	Source: Daily Alta June 30, 1867 and the San Francisco Bulletin June 29, 1867
Fall, 1867 (est.)	"Joseph Worcester received an urgent invitation from San Francisco, last autumn, to go and preach for receivers of the doctrines in that city. He accepted the invitation, was ordained, and has been preaching there about eight months. His health is better than formerly."	Source: 49th Session of the General Convention, Portland (ME), Annual Reports of the Associations, September, 1868
November 3, 1867	Joseph Worcester ordained.	Source: 49th Session of the General Convention, Portland (ME), Ministers of the General Convention.
December 21, 1867	Joseph Worcester is named in a newspaper notice for the first time as officiating at the services of the New Jerusalem Church held at the Mechanics Institute on Post Street between Montgomery and Kearny. John Doughty's church was listed just above Worcester's listing in the newspaper.	Source: San Francisco Bulletin, December 21, 1867. Note: this is about 8 months prior according to the report in the General Convention so it is unlikely that he started before this date.

## THE ORDINATION OF JOHN DOUGHTY

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When John Doughty assumed his duties as the new pastor he was not an ordained minister of the New Jerusalem Church. In a letter to the Executive Committee of the General Convention of June 1867 the San Francisco Society requested that he be

ordained as soon as possible and that while waiting for the ordination to take place that he be granted the power to administer the Sacraments.

The Executive Committee of the Swedenborgian Society met in New York in September, 1867 to discuss and review the request. The following decisions regarding the request were recorded and sent to the San Francisco Society.

*" Whereas, The Society of the New Church in San Francisco, California, has made application for the granting of authority to Mr. John Doughty to administer the Sacraments until he can be ordained, —*

*" Resolved, That the President of the Convention, or some other ordaining minister appointed by him, be authorized to visit California, and ordain Mr. John Doughty, or any other suitable candidate for the ministry, if, after due and proper investigation, he be satisfied of the propriety of so doing; and that he, or such ordaining minister, be authorized, if required by the state of the Church there, to institute an Association of the Church in California, or on the Pacific coast."*

*" Resolved, That the Executive Committee concurs with the Committee on Ecclesiastical Affairs, in the opinion that the General Convention of the New Church in the United States has no power to confer authority to administer the Sacraments without ordination."*

Upon receiving this decision from the Executive Committee one can imagine that the members of the church in San Francisco must have been seething with anger. Not only had the committee claimed that they did not have the authority to give Doughty the right to administer the Sacraments, but they also added the phrase, "... or any other suitable candidate for the ministry, ....." when referring to the ordination of John Doughty. In other words they might find Doughty not worthy of being a minister of the church and if that were the case they would consider other candidates should the church members put forth additional names.

In fact, the congregation did react negatively to this news and withdrew their application for Doughty to be ordained by the church. The San Francisco Church Committee and the trustees met on January 13, 1868 and agreed on specific resolutions that they would send to the members of the Executive Committee. In reading the wording of these resolutions one can hear their anger at the decision that was handed down to them. The following resolution was one of many that the Society sent to the Executive Committee:

*"Whereas, This Society do not deem it useful or proper that they should be debarred from receiving the ordinances of the Church at the hands of the minister of their choice, or from rendering their external worship complete and orderly for the sake of an adherence to regulations which, though deemed useful and convenient by those*

*who have formed them for themselves, are, after all, only the product of human minds, and come by no means with any force of Divine authority; and ..... "*

At issue was primarily the fact that the Executive Committee had no right, in their opinion, to withhold the authority of John Doughty to administer the Sacraments. They argued that Mr. James Kellogg, one of their founding members had been given authorization by the larger church body as early as 1852 to administer the Sacraments and that he did so over the last 15 years. In answering the resolutions of the San Francisco Church, the Executive Committee stated the following:

*Resolved, 8, That the Convention declined to authorize Mr. Doughty to administer the sacraments before ordination, from a sincere belief that it had no power to do so; that if it is proper for a layman to perform such services under any circumstances, the sanction lies in the exigencies of the case, or in inherent right, and cannot be delegated; and, consequently, that in previously authorizing Mr. Kellogg to perform such service, it exceeded the limits of its authority, and offered to confer a power which it did not possess.*

I personally doubt whether this rationale was accepted and probably had most of church committee and trustees shaking their heads in disbelief at the arrogance of the statement.

Had the Executive Committee shown a bit more sensitivity and urgency in handling the request, there probably would not have been the over reaction by the San Francisco Society. However, there was already some history of independent and rebellious thinking with the West Coast church that probably engendered some animosity among the members of the committee. But, the question remains, why had Purkitt reacted so strongly against a layman like Doughty becoming the pastor after he was offered the job? The facts show that the congregation was sincere in their desire to have Doughty ordained by the church as evidenced by their request of June 1867 to the Executive Committee. If Purkitt had objections about Doughty not being an ordained minister, he would have been within a few months. Yet, Purkitt and his followers broke away and formed their new Society in the same month as the ordination request. In other words, as of the beginning of June it was clear that Doughty was going to be ordained yet Purkitt led the break-away group from the church anyhow. One can only conclude from this that Purkitt and perhaps others in the church had significant disagreements with the selection of Doughty as a person, not because he was a layman!

Seven months later on April 12, 1868, following the regular Sunday services, John Doughty was ordained by a committee of seven members of the congregation and not by an ordaining minister of the church.

## DOUGHTY AS PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATION 1867 - 1893

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After the split in the church, the formation of a new society, and the ordeal of the ordination, John Doughty settled into his position in the church and the community. For the next 26 years he would minister to the needs of his congregation.

John and Maria's third and final child, Walter van Dam Doughty was born on November 13, 1867<sup>60</sup>. The 1870 census<sup>61</sup> shows the entire family; John is now 45, Maria, 32, Charles, 10, Martha, 7, and Walter is age 2. They were living at 1508 Leavenworth Street.

In 1874, John Doughty presided over two events at the church that gives us some additional detail of the man – they were the baptism of Robert Frost who would later become the poet laureate of the United States and the death of Robert's father. The following are several accounts of these events:

*After Robert's parents moved to San Francisco his mother, Belle became a member of an attractively small house of worship in the Gothic style on the north side of O'Farrell Street, between Mason and Taylor. In 1874 she took her son for baptism by the Reverend John Doughty.*

*"Hurt when her husband refused to join the Swedenborgian church and fearing that her marriage would end in ruin, she had gone to Doughty with her personal burdens".<sup>62</sup>*

*"Her mentor in the Swedenborgian faith was the charismatic Reverend John Doughty, a black-bearded mystic who had been raised in Worcester, Massachusetts, and had graduated from Harvard.<sup>63</sup>"*

*His father [Robert's] died from tuberculosis and the Swedenborgian minister, Rev. John Doughty whom he disliked, conducted the service<sup>64</sup>.*

We know from the census records and other sources that Doughty was born in New York, but from these accounts we have learned that he was raised in Worcester, Massachusetts. Also confirmed is the fact that he had graduated from Harvard.

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<sup>60</sup> California Death Index, 1940 – 1997 State of California, Department of Health Services, Sacramento, CA

<sup>61</sup> 1870 U.S. Federal Census, 4<sup>th</sup> Ward of the county of San Francisco, 29 June 1870

<sup>62</sup> Bayside Swedenborgian Church, Bayside, N.Y., *Studia Swedenborgiana*, Vol. 9, October, 1994, No. 1. "The Mystic Lens of Robert Frost: Bent Rays from Swedenborg", by Dorothy Judd Hall

<sup>63</sup> The Religious Sensibility of Robert Frost: March 26, 1874 - January 29, 1963 by Wesley V. Hromatko, D.Min, March 6, 2005

<sup>64</sup> Lawrence Thompson, *Robert Frost: The Early Years 1874-1915* (NY, Chicago, & San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 45.

In 1878 his son Charles Edward graduated from Boys High School, San Francisco<sup>65</sup> then located on Sutter Street, between Gough and Octavia streets. His life as well as those of his sister and brother is covered in greater detail later in this paper.

In 1880 the federal census shows that the family was still living at 1508 Leavenworth Street in the city. His wife Maria is now 41, Charles E. is 20, Martha J. is 17, and Walter V. is 13. Also living with them is a boarder, Maud Wheland, age 7, and a nephew, Sigurd A. Ringstrom, age 20 who was born in Sweden and is an office clerk. Throughout the 1880s Doughty continued in his role as pastor of the church. His children graduated from schools in San Francisco; obtained jobs and the two oldest married during this decade.

In the personal section of the November 12<sup>th</sup> 1889 issue of the Daily Alta California it was reported that "*Rev. John Doughty, pastor of the New Jerusalem Church, is suffering from a stroke of paralysis. He was taken ill last Friday.*" It would not be until May 11, 1890 before he was able to resume his duties and preach his first sermon. It is likely that he had a relapse sometime during the last half of 1890 because on February 21, 1891 the usual Sunday church service announcement stated that he was back in the pulpit and feeling much better.

On March 17, 1890 the Society put the church property up for sale stating that they wanted to erect a new church building in the Western Addition<sup>66</sup>. The land on which the new church was to be built was probably the grants that the church receive in the Outside Land Bill that was organized in 1867. Each of 10 religious organizations received grants of 2 lots for their future use<sup>67</sup>. It was located between Fillmore and Webster at number 1622 O'Farrell. Today this location is a large parking lot about ½ block from the Fillmore Auditorium.

Why did the parishioners choose to sell the church which was only 23 years old and build a new one? No document has been found to explain their decision but we might speculate about one possibility. The area around the first church was becoming ever more commercial and people were moving from the downtown area to the newer, less expensive neighborhoods in the Western Addition and the Richmond District. If the people were leaving the church because it was too far from their homes then perhaps they decided that the church would move to the people. But this is pure conjecture; it may have been for an entirely different reason.

In December of 1890 the church property was sold for \$42,000 to a delivery company which planned to use it as a stable and office. According to a newspaper account<sup>68</sup>, the

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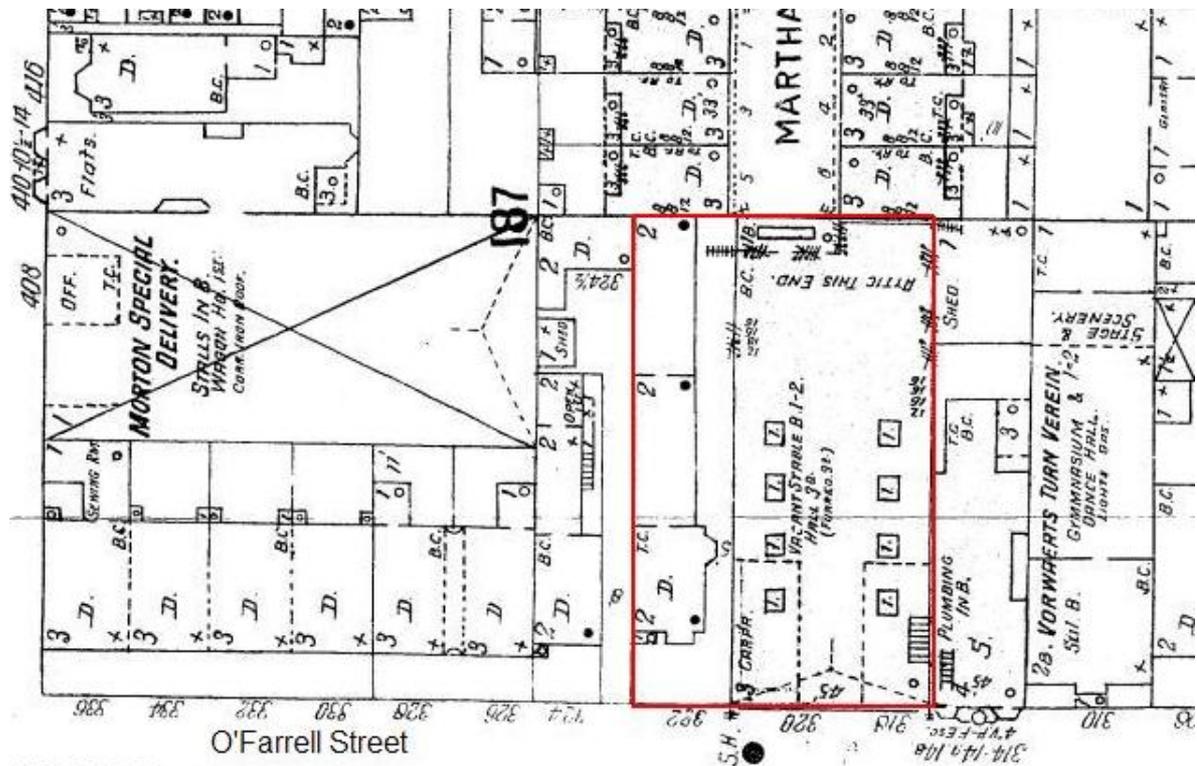
<sup>65</sup> Centennial Edition Red and Black 1856—1956

<sup>66</sup> Daily Alta California newspaper, March 17, 1890. The Western Addition was a district in San Francisco.

<sup>67</sup> Daily Alta California, December 15, 1867, vol. 19 no. 6483. — churches listed: Catholics, Methodist Episcopal, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, Hebrew, Unitarian, New Jerusalem and German Evangelical.

<sup>68</sup> Daily Alta California, Thursday, December 11, 1890

building was located on the south side of O'Farrell west of Mason. In fact, it was located on the north side of O'Farrell next to the Turn Halle as we described earlier in this paper. In September 1891 we learn from another newspaper account<sup>69</sup> that the church building was sold a second time and would be torn down to make way for a new brick building. The lower floor was to be occupied as a livery stable by another delivery company, James Fagan & son, while the upper floor would be fitted out as an armory for the Nationals.



The Morton Special Delivery Company which occupied the old church previously was building a one story building on the east side of Taylor between O'Farrell and Geary as shown above in the Sanborn Fire Insurance map of 1899. Thus, the brief existence of the original New Jerusalem Church which had stood at this site from 1867 to 1892 came to an end, having been turned into a horse stable and an armory.

Despite his stroke in 1889 it appears that Doughty was still carrying out not only his normal duties as pastor but also was engaged in missionary work. In a newspaper account on March 26, 1891 we learn that a reception was held for him after his return from a missionary tour of about one month in the south of the state. Also discussed during the reception was the new church building on which construction had begun that very day. It was expected to be finished by August; however, we learn later that it was not completed until November. The article also stated that Doughty would leave in April for New York to do more missionary work.

<sup>69</sup> San Francisco Bulletin, September 18, 1891

On August 16, 1890 the first annual session of the Pacific Coast New Jerusalem Church Association was convened in the church on O'Farrell Street which had not sold as yet. During this session John Doughty was elected Chairman pro tem. The objective of the convention was the adoption of a new constitution for the association which was a consolidation of all the Swedenborgian societies on the Pacific Coast under one head<sup>70</sup>.

As the first president of the association he was instrumental in obtaining acceptance by the General Convention of the newly formed association. At the 71<sup>st</sup> Convention held in Philadelphia from May 23 – 26 a resolution was adopted that granted the application of the Pacific Coast Association to be admitted to the Convention.

However, the report indicated that the General Council was not entirely happy with some of the "provisions" in the constitution of the association related to the Ministry. The resolution stated that it was hopeful that the provisions would be modified in the future to be "in harmony" with the provisions of the Constitution of the Convention.

It is interesting to note that the First Society of San Francisco had grown to 114 members while the Second Society had 56 members; only 16 more than the original group of 40 that broke away from the church in 1868. In 1892 the First Society had a net increase of 10 new members while the Second Society lost one and had a membership of 56.

John Doughty was also serving the members of the church in the East Bay. From the Reports of Associations and Societies at the 1889 Convention it was stated that Doughty actually had three congregations. "In addition to the morning services in San Francisco, the pastor has preached regularly in Berkeley in the afternoon and at Alameda in the evening". It was also reported that he was giving regular public services in San Jose and gave "two discourses" in Los Angeles and a course of nine lectures over as many evenings in Riverside. In the report of the 1891 Convention Doughty was mentioned no fewer than

FROM THE PACIFIC COAST NEW-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

*To the General Convention of the New Jerusalem  
in the United States of America: —*

**DEAR BRETHREN, —** The Pacific Coast New-Church Association was organized at San Francisco, Aug. 16, 1890 — forty-three delegates from twelve Societies participating. Following are the names of said societies with their membership, and the names of their ministers or leaders: —

SOCIETIES.	MINISTERS OR LEADERS.	NO. MEMBERS
First N. J. Society of San Francisco . . . . .	Rev. John Doughty . . . . .	114
San Francisco Society of the New Jerusalem . . . . .	Rev. Joseph Worcester . . . . .	57
San Diego, Cal. . . . .	Rev. D. V. Bowen . . . . .	13
Riverside, Cal. . . . .	Rev. B. Edmiston . . . . .	30
Oakland, Cal. (First Soc.) . . . . .	Lucian Putnam . . . . .	16
Oakland, Cal. (N. C. Ass'n) . . . . .	A. A. Webber . . . . .	19
Ballston, Or. . . . .	Isaac Ball . . . . .	14
Portland, Or. . . . .	H. Thielsen . . . . .	39
Alameda, Cal. . . . .	Rev. John Doughty . . . . .	22
Ontario, Cal. . . . .	Rev. D. V. Bowen . . . . .	10
Los Angeles, Cal. . . . .	J. L. Skinner . . . . .	28
San José, Cal. . . . .	{ Rev. D. A. Dryden } { Dr. L. Pratt . . . . . }	20
Individual Members . . . . .		7
<b>Total Membership . . . . .</b>		<b>389</b>

<sup>70</sup> The Morning Call, San Francisco, August 17, 1890

41 times whereas Worcester was only cited 9 times. It is clear from the level of activity alone, Worcester was no match for Doughty in both missionary work and ministerial duties. However, it may have been this incredible work load that led to his stroke of November 1889.

On November 1, 1891 Doughty preached his first sermon in the new church at 1626 O'Farrell Street. The newspaper article also mentioned that it was built on a lot that



measure  $87 \frac{1}{2} \times 137 \frac{1}{2}$  and cost about \$25,000. Shown on the next page is a sketch of the church as it appeared in 1896 with the successor to John Doughty, the Reverend F. L. Higgins. The parsonage can be seen to the left of the church.

A little over a year later a disastrous fire broke out in the new church. From the article that appeared in the Morning Call on January 9, 1893 it appeared that the fire was caused by a defective flue in the heating pipe within the chimney. The article gives us a bit more information about the church. It is gothic in style, as can be seen in the drawing, the lower part built of stone with a story of wood. It had a seating capacity of 800. This last piece of information gives us an additional clue as to probably why the congregation sold the original building. It seated only 350 people and

the congregation had grown and therefore they needed a bigger facility. Together with the parsonage, the organ, and all the furnishings, the total cost amounted to over \$100,000. However, due to the wealth of the congregation there was no mortgage on the church.

Church services continued in the Sunday School room until the repairs were completed in May, 1893 and the first service was held on the 14<sup>th</sup>. In June we learn that the Rev. John Goddard, pastor of the New Jerusalem Church in Cincinnati arrived in the city and would conduct the usual Sunday services. Rev. Goddard was also listed as the minister for the month of July. Despite his illness we know from a number of religious and marriage notices in the newspaper that John Doughty continued in his capacity as minister of the church from 1890 until early 1893. However, it appears that sometime before June he became ill again and could no longer carried out his duties thus requiring the services of Rev. Goddard.

John D. Doughty, first pastor of the New Jerusalem Church of San Francisco died on 18 October 1893. Funeral services were held on October 23<sup>rd</sup> at the new O'Farrell street church and were conducted by Rev. Joseph Worcester of the Second New Jerusalem Church. Rev. Worcester spoke of the humility of Doughty's character, his good nature, his unswerving devotion to the tenets of Swedenborg and the purity of his life. The interment was in the Odd Fellows Cemetery<sup>71</sup>. John Doughty was for many years a member of the Templar Lodge No. 17, I.O.O.F. in San Francisco.

## THE CHURCH AFTER JOHN DOUGHTY

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It is not the intent of this paper to write in detail about the church after Doughty's death in 1893 but it may be interesting to the reader to know briefly how the church was ministered to in the following decades. What follows is a chronology of pastors who served the church until its merger with the Second New Jerusalem Church, also known as the Lyon Street Church from its location in the Pacific Heights district.

1894

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After the death of Doughty, Mr. Putnam read the services each Sunday. The Reverend Mr. David was called in as a substitute and for three months preached to the congregation. Then Reverend F. L. Higgins of the church in Portland, Oregon was asked to preach a sermon and based on this single sermon he was elected by the congregation over Mr. David. Higgins had been raised a Free-will Baptist and educated to be a minister in that denomination at Hillsdale College, Michigan, but after preaching for two years in that church he became converted to the doctrines of the Swedenborgian church<sup>72</sup>. He had several other pastorates before joining the San Francisco congregation. Rev. David then went to Portland to take over Higgins' congregation<sup>73</sup>.

February 7	sermons by visiting ministers
March 17	sermon by Rev. David
April 7	sermon by Rev. David
April 14	sermon by Rev. David
April 21	sermon by Rev. Higgins

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<sup>71</sup> The cemetery operated from 1853 until 1923 when the graves were moved to Greelawn Cemetery in Colma, California. It was a subdivision of the Lone Mountain cemetery and occupied about 27 acres between Geary and Turk, Parker and Arguello Boulevard. Today, the Neptune Society Columbarium is located in part of this original location.

<sup>72</sup> The Morning Call, April 23, 1894

<sup>73</sup> The Morning Call, April 08, 1894

1895

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The "Second Society" moved into their new building on Lyon Street. The lot on the corner of Lyon and Washington Streets had been purchased in August 1894 and the contract for construction was signed the following month. The first service was conducted on Sunday, March 17, 1895.

1896

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April 27 - The San Francisco Call – Rev. Higgins leaving the church. *"Reverend Higgins was the pastor for two years but then abruptly in April 1896 he tendered his resignation."* This was prompted by certain members of the congregation who were supporters of Rev. David and disliked Rev. Higgins' intellectual sermons. When Higgins became aware of the dissatisfaction of some of his congregation he tendered his resignation. When asked to explain, he stated that the church was not unanimous in its support of him, and consequently he would be doing the cause of religion an injustice to continue working in a field where a schism manifestly existed. He left San Francisco on July 1.<sup>74</sup>

September 27 - Reverend D. V. Bowen preached a sermon and immediately afterwards the congregation met and on the first ballot voted him their new pastor by a two thirds majority<sup>75</sup>. He would serve the congregation for the next 3 ½ years.

1900

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On April 10, 1900 there was a farewell reception for Rev. D. V. Bowen of the First Jerusalem Church who was leaving San Francisco with his family for Boston<sup>76</sup>. Two nights later the congregation delivered a musical program in his honor.

1901

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From the departure of Rev. Bowen in April of 1900 until February 1901 there are no sources of information available to show who assumed the duties of pastor for the church. An announcement in the February 3, 1901 San Francisco Call newspaper stated that Rev. W. H. Hinkley from Boston would be preaching during the months of February and March. Therefore it is assumed that the congregation did not have a full time minister from the time that Bowen left and Hinkley began to preach.

Rev. Andrew Parsons became the next pastor of the church sometime between March 31 and May 11, 1901 when an announcement was published in the San Francisco Call of his marriage to Miss Elizabeth Jones of New York City. Rev. Joseph Worcester of the Second

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<sup>74</sup> San Francisco Call, April 27, 1896

<sup>75</sup> San Francisco Call, September 28, 1896

<sup>76</sup> San Francisco Call, April 9, 1900

Church of New Jerusalem married the couple. Rev. Parsons would serve the church as its pastor for the next 3 years.

## 1904

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August 22 – Rev. Parsons dies. He served as the minister at the First New Jerusalem Church from about May 1901 until his death on August 22, 1904<sup>77</sup>. The newspaper article stated that he had been incapacitated for 6 months after suffering a stroke.

## 1905 - 1909

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In February 1905 the Rev. William De Ronden-Pos filled in temporarily as pastor. He was multi-lingual and had preached in Persia, Arabia, Europe, and the United States. In July he became the full time pastor of the church. He would hold the position until May 21, 1909 when he was accused by some of his parishioners of bigamy. De Ronden-Pos had been granted an annulment from his first wife but married for the second time before he recorded the annulment thus prompting the cry of bigamy from a faction within the church. The minister, his wife, and his 3 children from his first marriage left San Francisco and moved to Grand Rapids.

On May 30, 1909, a week after this incident, Rev. J. S. David became the new minister of the church. The 1910 Annual Session of the General Convention shows Rev. J. S. David as the minister of the O'Farrell St. church with 75 members. There was a large donation of \$15,000 made to the church this same year, " .... *placing the Society on a good financial basis.*"

## 1910 - 1916

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Rev. Joseph S. David became the full time pastor after the departure of De Ronden-Pos. He also conducted services in a hall in Oakland during this time period. It is not known what happened to Reverend David, but after 1916 he no longer appeared in the city directories.

## 1917 – 1931

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In 1917 Reverend Thomas French is listed as pastor in the Crocker Langley City Directory of San Francisco and is shown in the directories until 1931. The church was located at 1640 O'Farrell and his residence was in Sebastopol. In 1918 his residence was shown as 490 Geary, however, in 1919 it reverted back to Sebastopol. In 1921 we see that he listed two addresses in the City Directory, Sebastopol and 1140 Sutter. From 1921 to 1926 he used both addresses and then in 1927 we see only the 1140 Sutter Street address. It is

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<sup>77</sup> San Francisco Call newspaper, August 25, 1904

curious that French did not use the parsonage next to the church. Perhaps it was rented out or he chose not to live that close to the church. I believe that the Sebastopol residence was a summer home. During this time period a new society was formed in Berkeley in 1926, under the leadership of Rev. Franklin Blackmer<sup>78</sup>.

1932

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The First New Jerusalem Church is shown in the city directory, but no pastor is listed. The Second Church of the New Jerusalem on Lyon Street is not listed in this year. The reason for these confused listings is that in June, 1931, the O'Farrell St. church, the Lyon Street church and the Berkeley Society united into one body. The Berkeley Parish went on to erect a church building in 1936 at Adeline and Essex Streets but it was subsequently sold in 1950.

1933

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In 1933 we only find the Lyon Street church listed. No information has been found about the reason for the merger, however, we might speculate somewhat. It was the height of the depression and all institutions were struggling to survive. Undoubtedly, the expense of maintaining 3 physical locations was just too great and the congregations of O'Farrell Street and Berkeley voted to disband their societies. The O'Farrell Street Church was either taken over by another denomination or sold. It would be interesting to know how many parishioners actually joined the Lyon Street church from the other two congregations and regularly attended services there. Berkeley was a considerable commute to just attend a Sunday service and as already mentioned they went on to build their own church in 1936. I would guess that few from that Berkeley ever joined the Lyon Street church.

## THE FAMILY OF JOHN DOUGHTY

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There is no family correspondence or other contextual material to draw upon that would give insights into their lives so the author had to rely on facts derived from public sources to see if it was possible to document and understand how they lived during this period in history.

John D. Doughty, born September 12 or 18, 1825, Brooklyn, New York, died 18 October 1893, San Francisco, CA

Maria A. Griffith, born about 1839, Massachusetts, died between 1920 & 1930 and probably in Berkeley, Alameda County, CA

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<sup>78</sup> <http://www.keepandshare.com/doc/54028/the-garden-church-of-san-francisco>

Marriage: 2 January 1859 Suisun City, California  
Children: Charles Edward Doughty  
Martha Jeanne Doughty  
Walter Van Dam Doughty

John's life was described in detail earlier in this paper. Maria's life after John died is contained within the following children's biographies since at some time or another they all lived with her again after their marriages or in the same communities. At the time of her husband's death the family was living at 1626 O'Farrell Street in the parsonage next to the church however, by 1895 they had moved back to a previous residence at 1508 Leavenworth. She remained at this address from 1895 to 1906.

## BIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES EDWARD DOUGHTY

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Charles Edward Doughty, born 31 January 1860, Suisun City, CA, died 5 August 1948, Alameda County, CA

Mary Arthur Jenkins, born September 1862, California\*

*\* Mary's birth year varies considerably among the various census, in 1910 she stated she was 40, in 1920 she indicated 57, and in 1930, she said 62. The most reasonable was the age from the 1900 census where she stated she was 37 years old and born in Sept. 1862. This is the birth date we have chosen to list at this stage of research.*

Marriage: 17 February 1885 by Rev. John Doughty, New Jerusalem Church, San Francisco  
Children: Evelyn Lydia Doughty, b. July, 1886, San Francisco, CA, d. 30 March 1977, married Fred Mason, b. 1872, Vermont, died 1962, one child living.  
Charles John Doughty, b. 10 July, 1888 San Francisco, CA, married Florence S.

Charles Edward Doughty was the first child born to John and Maria Doughty. He was 4 months old at the time of the 1860 census in Suisun City, Solano County, California. Charles moved with his parents in 1867 to San Francisco and went to school there.

In 1877 at the age of 17 we see that he is living with his parents at 1508 Leavenworth and working as a bookkeeper with Feusier & Spafford, commercial merchants located at 310-312 Clay Street. The following year there is an entry in the city directory for a C. Doughty working as a janitor at Boys' High School. He graduated from Boys' High School in 1878 and it is assumed that this is Charles since there are no other C. or Charles Doughtys in

San Francisco in that year. In 1879 he is living at home but does not seem to be employed. Then in 1880 he is working again as a clerk in a store, but still living at home.

From 1881 to 1886 Charles is employed by the California Cracker Company starting as an assistant bookkeeper and then moving up to bookkeeper and finally to secretary and treasurer. He continued to live at home until he married in 1885. His bride was Mary Arthur Jenkins, also of San Francisco. The ceremony took place at the New Jerusalem Church and was performed by Charles' father, the Reverend John Doughty.

A year later in 1886, their first child, Evelyn Lydia was born. They were living at 1518 ½ Jackson Street. Then in 1888 their second child, Charles John was born and they moved to a new home at 2108 Scott Street, near today's Alta Plaza in the Pacific Heights district. Perhaps the move was necessitated by the birth of Charles John and they needed additional space. Charles continued in his job as the secretary of the biscuit company, but by 1888 it was called the American Biscuit Company. Whether there was a merger or the company or the owners simply changed their name is not known.

By 1890 Charles and his family's life appears to have become very complicated and a bit more difficult. While they are still living at 2108 Scott there is no mention of an employer or occupation for Charles. Also in 1891 Charles does not appear to have employment and he and his family are living with his parents along with his brother Walter at 1508 Leavenworth.

In 1892 Charles is working again as a bookkeeper but he and his family are still living with his parents. Rev. Doughty and his wife now are living at 1626 O'Farrell, the location of the new church that was built by Rev. Doughty and his congregation. In 1893 Charles is still employed as a bookkeeper but for the first time we see that his wife is also working. She is listed in the city directory as a teacher at the South Cosmopolitan Grammar School and her residence was with Charles at his parents address. The school where she taught was located on Eddy between Van Ness and Polk which was a little less than a mile from her home.

The Rev. Doughty died in 1893 and in the following year there is no listing for Charles, however, Mary is still employed as a teacher at the same school. Her residence is now 1318 Octavia which today is in Japantown. This location was about the same distance from her work.

In 1895 Mary has moved to the Franklin Grammar School at 8<sup>th</sup> Street between Bryant and Harrison and is living back at the Scott Street address where she and Charles lived in 1888. There is no listing for Charles or Maria, John's widow. However we learn from Walter's address that he and Maria have moved back to a former home at 1508 Leavenworth. This move was necessary because John's death meant that they could no longer occupy the parsonage next to the church on O'Farrell.

It is in 1896 we learn that Charles and his wife have separated or divorced. Charles is working once more as a bookkeeper but is living at home with his mother and Walter. Mary is still at Franklin Grammar but is living at the Scott Street address. There could possibly be other explanations for this living arrangement but as will be shown in future years the couple will state that they were divorced. Initially, Charles would indicate in some census that he was single then widowed and finally divorced. Mary stated that she was widowed and finally admitted in later documents that she was divorced. In the late 1800s there was still a significant stigma associated with divorce and rather than have neighbors learn of their separation from the loose tongue of a census taker they chose to lie about their marital status.

In 1897 Mary has changed schools once more going from Franklin Grammar to Emerson Grammar located on Pine Street between Scott and Divisadero with her residence at 712 Van Ness Avenue. But then in 1898 both she and Charles were living at the same address, 2044 O'Farrell which would suggest that they were back together trying to make the marriage work. However, a year later they were no longer together. Charles was still at the O'Farrell street address, but Mary was now living at 1627 ½ McAllister and had moved jobs again to Adams Cosmopolitan Grammar School. This was the same school, South Cosmopolitan where she first started teaching, but the name had been changed.

In 1900 Mary was still living at 1627 ½ McAllister Street with her two children, Charles J. age 11 and Evelyn age 13. The following year she moved once again to 214 Divisadero. She continued to live at this address until 1906 when the earthquake and fire devastated San Francisco.

At the time of the earthquake Maria and Charles were living at 1508 Leavenworth which is near the intersection with Jackson. Apparently the fire did not reach this area which was located between Nob Hill and Russian Hill.



This photograph from the corner of Jackson and Leavenworth was taken on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 1906, two days after the earthquake and most fires had been extinguished by this date.

There is no listing for Mary until 1909 when she appears in Kentfield, Marin County. However for the previous two years there is a Clara M. Doughty, teacher public schools, living first in Ross Valley, Marin County and then at 2735 Bush Street in San Francisco.

This is probably Mary because there are no other female Doughtys as teachers in San Francisco or Marin County during this time. For some reason she changed her name to Clara. Charles shows up in 1908 as a clerk for W. F. & Co. living at 770 Grove Street and the following year in 1909 at 214 Haight Street in the Hayes Valley district.

It isn't until 1910 that we learn of Maria's whereabouts. She owns a home at 2210 Parker Avenue in Berkeley and is living there with Charles. Maria's daughter, Martha and her husband are also living with Maria. In the census of that year Charles states that he has no job and is a widower which of course is not true because Mary is very much alive and living in San Rafael Township, Marin County which would later become part of Kentfield. Mary's children are still living at home with her. Evelyn is now 23 and working as a bookkeeper and her son Charles John is 22 and is a plumbing contractor.

In 1911 Mary apparently decided to move back to the City and was still teaching school and living at 1471 Washington Street in the Nob Hill district. Today there is beautiful Victorian that dates from that period which is undoubtedly the same house that Maria lived in. But, not for long because by 1913 she was living at 1595 Clay Street. However, the year after she was back in Kentfield where she remained until 1917 when she was once again in San Francisco living at 683 Geary Street.

1919 sees her back in Kentfield which is actually San Rafael Township and in the 1920 census we learn that she owns the home located on Oak Avenue and that it is free of mortgage. She also states that she is age 57 and divorced. This is the first document in which she states that she was divorced from Charles. We also learn from this document that she was living alone and had no occupation so presumably her children had left home and that she had retired. During this decade there is no information about Charles because it appears that he never registered to vote. There is no record of him in the California Voter Registration archives from 1900 to 1968.

Charles was still living with his mother at the Parker Street address in 1920 as was Martha and her husband Edward. Therefore we can presume that Charles lived the 10 years between 1910 and 1920 with his mother. In the census he gave his age as 49 which is off by 10 years and he stated that he was single. It isn't until 1930 that he indicated that he was divorced. There is another possible explanation for the discrepancy in his marital status in the various census. His mother may have been the one to give the information to the census taker and she couldn't bear to mention the fact that he was divorced.

Sometime between 1920 and 1930 Maria died because she no longer shows up in the 1930 census. However, no death record has yet been found. In 1930 Martha and Edward own the Parker Street home and are living there. Charles is living with Walter in his home at 1326 Mountain Boulevard in Oakland's Montclair district along with 3 other boarders. Mary is still living in her home in Kentfield in Marin County.

The last record of Mary is in the 1936 – 1940 California Voter Registration records where she is living at her home on Oak Avenue, Kentfield. Living with her is Charles J. Doughty, Jr., a student. This appears to be Mary's grandson and it is possible that he is attending Marin Junior College (today College of Marin) since it was founded in 1926 and is only a few blocks from Mary's house on Oak Avenue. No death record has yet been obtained for her, but by 1940 she was already 78 years old and she could have died in the following decade.

In 1932 Walter retired and he and his wife bought a farm in the Napa Valley. It is not known whether Charles went with them or where he lived for the next 16 years. Charles died 5 August 1948 in Alameda County, 3 months before Walter.

## BIOGRAPHY OF MARTHA JEANNE DOUGHTY

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Martha Jeanne Doughty, born 11 January 1863, California, died 12 March 1953, Alameda

Edward Cooper Bartlett, born July, 1859\*

Marriage: 15 July 1885 by Rev. John Doughty, in the New Jerusalem Church

Children: None\*\*

*\* We have not indicated a state or country of birth for Edward because on every census that was found he reported a different location, almost as if he was toying with the census takers over the years.*

*\*\* In the 1900 U.S. Census of Sausalito, Marin, California it was indicated that they had had one child, but that he/she was dead at the time of the census. Living relatives have stated<sup>79</sup> that the child's name was Ada Marie, born 15 Nov 1887 in San Francisco and had died there on 20 Jun 1888. There is no record of Martha ever having another child.*

John and Maria Doughty were still living in Suisun City when Martha Jeanne was born in 1862. After moving to San Francisco in 1867 it is presumed that she went to school there until her marriage to Edward C. Bartlett in 1885. She was 23 at the time of her marriage so she probably did work after graduating but no record has been found of her profession during this time frame. The 1880 census indicated that she was 17 years old and still in school.

In a newspaper article about her father mentioned earlier in this paper, it indicated that Martha met her future husband when they both had the leading roles in Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*.

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<sup>79</sup> The Doughty Family Bible had listed the child.

After their marriage Edward was employed as an assistant cashier for Hutchinson & Mann, insurance agents and commission merchants. The company was owned by Mrs. C. I. Hutchinson and Henry R. Mann and had offices at 322-324 California Street and 302-306 Sansome Street. Edward and Martha lived at 1615 Baker Street which was in the Western Addition.

A year later Edward was working for Thomas T. Atkinson & Co., stockbrokers located at 337 Pine Street in the financial district. A year after that in 1888, Edward appears to be in a partnership, Owens & Bartlett. The San Francisco Directory for that year showed Owens & Bartlett (Len D. Owens and E. C. Bartlett) as agents for the Aetna Mineral Springs of Napa Co. with offices located at 513 Montgomery Street. Aetna Springs was a mineral springs resort in the 1880s. Families took the ferry from San Francisco to Vallejo, where they boarded a stagecoach to drive them to rural Pope Valley. Once at Aetna Springs, visitors relaxed, took the waters, watched plays in the main building, rested in simple cabins and ate together in a redwood-paneled dining room under a massive wooden chandelier. Edward Bartlett and his partner Len Owens appear to be the sales agents in San Francisco for the resort.

In 1889 there is no listing for Owens & Bartlett, but Edward is now shown in the city directory as the treasurer for Aetna Mineral Water Co. at 104 – 108 Drumm Street with his residence at 510 Geary. This job apparently didn't work out for Edward because a year later in 1890 he was a collector for the San Francisco Gas Light Co. and he had moved his home to Sausalito. We know from later sources that Edward and Martha lived at 116 Water Street which today is known as Bridgeway and the location was next door to the famous Valhalla restaurant owned by the infamous madam of San Francisco, Sally Stanford. Their home was close to the Sausalito pier which allowed Edward to commute to the city with the ferry boat. Once at the Ferry Building he could walk one block to his office at 104 Drumm Street.

In the 1900 census we see that Edward is still with the gas company as a collector and is living in his own home with a mortgage on Water Street, Sausalito. It was in this document that we learn that the couple had had a child but he or she had died. In 1901 Edward was still employed by the gas light company but he and Martha had moved back to the City and were living at 824 Powell. In 1902 they had moved once again to San Rafael, but Edward was still with the gas company, now known as the San Francisco Gas & Electric Company.

In 1903 Edward is listed in the Crocker-Langley San Francisco directory as the vice-president and secretary of the G. W. Emmons Co. at 212 California and they are living back at the old apartment at 824 Powell. The company owned by Mr. George W. Emmons was engaged in freight forwarding and drayage to and from the port in San Francisco.

However, this job like so many others didn't seem to last. In 1904 Edward was working as a bookkeeper and he and Martha were back living with her mother at 1508 Leavenworth.

There is no listing for Edward and Martha or Maria Doughty in San Francisco in 1905. However, Walter was living in Berkeley at this time and we know from the 1910 census that Maria as well as Edward and Martha were living there in that year at 2210 Parker



Street, only a mile away from Walter who was at 3039 Deakin Street. Therefore it appears that the families escaped the earthquake and fire of 1906, with one exception; Mary Doughty, the ex-wife of Charles. She was living at 214 Divisadero Street near Buena Vista Park in 1906. It appears from the picture<sup>80</sup> below of 1061 Haight Street, just 1 ½ blocks from where Mary was living that although the street car tracks were damaged and were being repaired in November

1906 that the fire didn't reach the homes. There was probably some structural damage to the houses however.

In 1908 Edward and Martha were living at 2143 Derby Street, Berkeley and he had changed jobs once again, this time trying his hand at real estate. 1909 saw them at yet a different address in Berkeley at 2739 Ellsworth, however, Edward was still involved in real estate.

The following year In 1910 Edward and Martha were living with her mother at the Parker street home. Edward started the year still employed in real estate and but then opened his own automobile livery service sometime during the year. Maria owned the home but had a mortgage on the house and Edward was paying rent to her. Charles was also living with his mother and was not employed, at least as stated in the census. Throughout this decade they continued to live in the Parker street home and Edward ran his livery business.

In the year 1920 we see that Martha was a dancing teacher at a dance school and Edward continued to operate his livery service. They were living at the same address with Maria A. Doughty, now 81 years old along with Charles who is listed as 49 years old in the census of that year. [note: this was probably a census taker mistake because he was 59 years old in 1920.]

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<sup>80</sup> Courtesy of California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA and the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

Throughout the decade of the 20's they continued to work and live in Berkeley at the same address. In 1930 the couple is still living at 2210 Parker Street, Berkeley and they own the house. Maria was not shown in the 1930 census and it is presumed that she died sometime during the decade but no death notice has been found to date. It is likely that Martha inherited the house. Edward switched jobs again from the livery business back to real estate and then again back to his job as a collector. Martha continued to teach dance. After Maria's death Charles apparently left the Parker Street address because in 1930 he is living with his brother Walter.

After 1930 no further trace of Edward has been found. Martha died on 12 March 1953 at the age of 90 in Alameda County, presumably at the home in Berkeley. The California Death Index shows her birth date as 11 Jan 1863, but in an early census she states that she was born in Jan 1862. Also the death index states the mother's maiden name as Hershey. This is an on-going mystery because Charles' death record also shows Hershey as his mother's maiden name. However Walter's death record states that his mother's maiden name was Griffith. We have proven beyond any doubt that John Doughty married Maria Griffith yet whoever provided the information for the death certificates of Charles and Martha indicated that Hershey was their mother's maiden name.

## BIOGRAPHY OF WALTER VAN DAM DOUGHTY

Walter Van Dam Doughty, born 13 Nov 1867, San Francisco, CA, died 2 November 1948, Alameda County, CA

Lillian Mary Burgess, born 25 December 1876, CA, died May 1971, El Cerrito, CA

Marriage: 15 February 1896 by Rev. F. L. Higgins at the New Jerusalem Church

Children: Ralph Burgess Doughty, born about 1898

Lorna M. Doughty, born 1 July 1903, died 4 August 1994, Lakehead, Shasta, CA

Of the three children Walter appears to have lived the most normal and stable life and therefore has the shortest biography. He was born in San Francisco after his parents moved there and his father became the minister of the New Jerusalem Church. In 1888 Walter began working as a bookkeeper and was still living at home with his parents at 1508 Leavenworth. Then in 1890 he secured a bookkeeping position with H. S. Bridge & Co., merchant tailors and shirt manufacturers in San Francisco owned by Henry S. Bridge.

In 1896 Walter married Lillian Mary Burgess and continued to live at his parents home with his new wife. Lillian's father<sup>81</sup>, George Henry Burgess (1831 - 1905) was a wood engraver, painter, portrait artist and lithographer who was born in London and the son of a prominent surgeon. The present day Swedenborgian Church on Lyon Street is attempting to determine if Burgess painted an unsigned portrait of Swedenborg that hangs in their church today. In 2011 another apparently unsigned portrait that hangs in the parish house of the church was found to be that of the Reverend John Doughty and painted by Burgess in 1889. Mrs. Nan Paget, a member of the church was the person responsible for literally "uncovering" the artist's identity since Burgess' signature was partially hidden under the large frame of the painting. Living relatives have stated that Lillian, also known as Lillie was a member of the El Cerrito New Jerusalem church but do not know if her parents were.

Walter and Lillian's first child, Ralph Burgess Doughty was born about 1898 in San Francisco when they were still living with his parents in 1900 at the time the census was taken.

After 13 years with H. S. Bridge & Co. Walter joined General Electric in San Francisco in 1904 and moved to a home of his own at 3039 Deakin Street, Berkeley, California. About this same time their second child, Lorna M. was born.

Walter worked for General Electric in a number of administrative and clerical positions for the next 27 years when he retired in 1931. Although he always worked in San Francisco he and his family moved their residence a number of times over the years. In 1923 he moved from Berkeley back to the City and lived at 2139 Pierce. Then in 1924 the family moved to 301 Cascade Drive in Mill Valley. A year or so later, they were at 255 Marion Avenue, also in Mill Valley. 1928 found them at 1326 Mountain Boulevard in Oakland where they remained until Walter's retirement. The 1930 Census shows them at this same address with Charles, now age 70 also living with them. Also in the household is the daughter Lorna M., age 27, who is married and has one child, Wilfred B., age 5. Her husband is Wilfred H. Woodward, age 29, from Canada and is a salesman for an oil company. Wilfred was naturalized as a U.S. citizen on May 2, 1932 when he was living at 2310 Carleton Street in Berkeley. Wilfred and Lorna were living at 2315 Derby Street, Berkeley, CA in 1936.

In 1932 Walter and Lillian moved to Napa and became farmers, but they were probably only hobby farmers. They owned land at 2196 Big Ranch Road which today is a vineyard. However, by 1942 they were back in the east bay living at 28 Beverley Road in Berkeley.

Walter died on November 2, 1948 in Alameda County, presumably at his home in Berkeley. Shortly after Walter's death Lillian moved to 613 Albermarle, El Cerrito in

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<sup>81</sup> February 21, 1896 San Francisco Call - Marriage of Walter Doughty and Lillian M. Burgess, page 5

Contra Costa County. She remained there for the next 22 years until her death in May 1971 at the age of 94.

## BIOGRAPHY OF RALPH BURGESS DOUGHTY

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Ralph Burgess was born about 1898 in San Francisco to Walter Van Dam Doughty and Lillian Mary Burgess. He was one of 200 pupils who graduated from Berkeley High School on May 29, 1914.<sup>82</sup> Ralph also attended the University of California at Berkeley and was a member of the Alpha Zeta Fraternity and graduated in December 1920.<sup>83</sup> He went on to become a teacher and held positions in both Imperial County and Lake County.

He was 27 years old when he married Dorothy J. Ludovici in 1924. She was 25 at the time and was also born in California. Their first child Robin, a son, was born in 1925 and their daughter, Barbara 4 years later.<sup>84</sup> At the time of the 1930 U.S. Census Ralph and his family were living in Point Arena, a very small town in Mendocino County, California where he was the principal of the local high school. In 1933 he was the high school principal in Ferndale, a town in Humboldt County in northern California.<sup>85</sup>

No further information has been found after 1934 about Ralph and his family.

## BIOGRAPHY OF LORNA M. DOUGHTY

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Lorna M. Doughty was born on July 1, 1903 in California to Walter Van Dam Doughty and Lillian Mary Burgess. She was 20 years old when she married Wilfred Henry Woodward who was 23 at the time. Wilfred was born in Canada on January 27, 1900 to Frederick A. and Mary G. Woodward, both of whom were born in Canada. The family emigrated to the United States in 1909. In the 1920 U.S. Census they are living in Berkeley, California at 2707 Fulton Street just a few blocks away from Deakin Street where Lorna was living with her parents. This is undoubtedly where they met. They were married 3 years later in 1923.<sup>86</sup> Their only child, Wilfred Burgess Woodward was born in 1924.

In 1928 Lorna is listed in the Voter Registration list as Mrs. Lorna M. Woodward living at 13088 Broadway Terrace which is in the Glen Highlands of Oakland. Wilfred is not listed as he is not yet a U.S. citizen. However, on May 2, 1932 he was naturalized in the U.S. District Court located in San Francisco. His address at the time was 2310 Carleton Street,

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<sup>82</sup> Oakland Tribune May 29, 1914, Friday Evening Edition

<sup>83</sup> 1922 Blue & Gold yearbook of the University of California, Berkeley, page 310. Alpha Zeta – shows Ralph B. Doughty as a Senior but indicates he graduated December, 1920.

<sup>84</sup> Barbara's age was barely legible on the census, so there is the possibility that the date is in error.

<sup>85</sup> California Voter Registrations 1933, Ferndale, Humboldt County, California

<sup>86</sup> February 8, 1923 Oakland Tribune, marriage license issued to Wilfred H. Woodward and Lorna M. Doughty.

Berkeley, California. He and Lorna are both listed in the November 6, 1934 California Voters Registration list living at 2924 Florence Street, Berkeley. Wilfred states his profession as a supervisor and Lorna as a housewife. Both are registered as Republicans. In the November 3, 1936 Voter Registration list both are shown living at 2315 Derby Street. Wilfred is listed as a sales supervisor and Lorna as a housewife.

According to living relatives Wilfred died in 1936 in Berkeley, California but no death record has been found to date. In 1938 Lorna is still living at the 2315 Derby Street address but only she is listed in the Voter Registration list. In 1942 she has moved to 28 Beverly Road in Berkeley and is employed as a clerk.

She would later marry John D. Brooks who was born on November 13, 1914, eleven years her junior. Lorna died on August 4, 1994<sup>87</sup> at the age of 91 in the town of Lakehead, Shasta County, California. John died in Redding, Shasta County on June 30, 2001.

## FINAL THOUGHTS

Much has been written about the Second New Jerusalem Church on Lyon Street and its pastor, Joseph Worcester. However, little has been published about the origins of the original New Jerusalem Church in San Francisco and its first pastor. The author has not found any in-depth biography of John D. Doughty to date and it is hoped that this attempt to document his life and that of the early church of San Francisco has been somewhat successful. The research for this paper was conducted primarily with online sources; newspapers, census, tax lists, deeds, voter registrations, draft registrations, archived books, and city directories. However, the Lyon Street Church apparently does have books and documents that have been preserved and undoubtedly those sources may lend a great deal more understanding of the original church and its pastor. Additionally, the Swedenborgian House of Studies at the Pacific School of Religion has extensive archives and would probably have many additional documents. Should anyone reading this paper want to contribute additional facts or correct ones that are in error in this paper the author would welcome hearing from you.

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<sup>87</sup> Both birth and death dates are from the Social Security Death Index.

## PARTIAL LIST OF BOOKS WRITTEN BY JOHN DOUGHTY

The World Beyond: presenting some of the facts, laws and phenomena of the great hereafter by John Doughty (Hardcover - Jan. 1, 1883)

A Manual of New-Church Doctrine. Designed for Sunday-School and Home Instruction by John Doughty (Paperback - Jan. 1, 1871)

The Garden of Eden: giving the spiritual interpretation and true meaning of the story by John Doughty (Hardcover - Jan. 1, 1885)

From Saul to David / by the Rev. C. H. Mann. Live in the Present / by the Rev. John Doughty. Imprint: New York: E. Hazzard Swinney, 1875.

The Secret of the Bible: sets forth the Divine Law whereby the Scripture was written and meets the objections of the skeptic, by John Doughty, 281 pages, Massachusetts New Church Union, 134 Bowdoin Street, Boston, Mass.

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