

Women's Strategies for Mission: Hannah Maria Norris Blazes the Trail in 1870

H. MIRIAM ROSS

Hannah Maria Norris' notebook of 1870 contains the entry: "Left home June 23rd [after forming a Circle in Canso], returned August 29th. Met 41 appointments with different churches, organized 32 Societies (Circles), visited seven Sabbath Schools, attended Central and Eastern Associations and Convention . . . Two Circles were also formed in Halifax but I was not present . . ." ¹ Three weeks later, Hannah Maria Norris, a school teacher, left for Burma, the second single woman from the Maritimes to go as a foreign missionary.

Given the restricted role accorded women in church and society at that time, the small number of Baptists in the population and their lack of ready money, Norris' venture was no light undertaking. Maritime Baptists at first pled their straightened financial circumstances and turned down her request to be sent to Burma. Seeking other options, Norris struck out for Boston hoping for support from the American Baptist Missionary Union. But she was intercepted and advised to look for help from her "Sisters" in the churches. As her notebook entries show, she succeeded remarkably well in that challenge. Furthermore, she laid the foundation for an organization that grew until by 1920 the United Baptist Woman's Missionary Union (UBWMU) consisted of more than four hundred Societies, nearly three hundred Mission Bands (for children), a growing Baby Band department, and the first World Wide Guild (for young women). In that fifty year period, the UBWMU sent out and supported thirty-three single women missionaries.

How did Hannah Maria Norris set in motion an organization that

Historical Papers 1992: Canadian Society of Church History

flourished and endured? It was not easy for transportation and communication were slow and sporadic in 1870. Nevertheless, within seven weeks, Norris cut a swath from Canso to Amherst, from Windsor to Yarmouth, through Saint John, along the river systems to the Washademoak and Grand Lakes, then to Fredericton, back to a final meeting in Saint John on 24 August 1870, and a return to Canso. Less than a month later she sailed for Burma, secure in the assurance of the prayers and financial support of her "Sisters" in thirty-five newly-organized Woman's Missionary Aid Societies.

It was rather an incredible feat at a time when women faced critical obstacles in both church and mission. Lively arguments erupted in denominational papers. Many clergy and other men in the church voiced misgivings, even strong opposition, to this woman's enterprise which they feared would move beyond their ecclesiastical control. Expected to remain in their sphere of the home, few women secured more than an elementary education. Yet they rallied admirably to a mission cause in which they were chief organizers, administrators and executors.

Hannah Maria Norris

Who was Hannah Moria Norris? What fitted her to be a "pioneer?"² What events led to her decision to become a missionary? She was born in 1842 in Canso, a small fishing village on the eastern tip of Nova Scotia. Her father was a Roman Catholic; her mother was a Congregationalist, daughter of Abraham Whitman, a prosperous merchant and shipbuilder in Canso. At age 23, Norris was baptized by the Rev. David A. Steele and joined the local Baptist church. She graduated from the Normal School in Truro and returned to teach in Canso until 1868 when she joined the staff of the Female Department of Horton Academy.³ Of that period, Norris wrote,

I was teaching in the Seminary in Wolfville till near the close of 1869. It was during that year that the thought first came to me that I was needed in Burmah [sic]. It was a still small voice that made itself heard when I prayed alone, and that rose up to disquiet me amid present activities.⁴

Resident in Wolfville at that time were the Rev. and Mrs. Arthur Crawley. A native of Sydney, Mr. Crawley graduated from Acadia College in 1849 and Newton Theological Seminary in 1852. His wife Laura

Johnstone Crawley was daughter of Dr. Lewis Johnstone, physician, charter member of the Granville Street Baptist Church, Halifax and a Deacon there until he moved to Wolfville.⁵ Laura's sister Laleah had married the Rev. Richard Burpee, accompanied him on his missionary journey to Burma in 1845, then returned home with her ill husband in 1849, and survived his death in 1853. That same year the Crawleys proceeded to Burma under the auspices of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Following their return to Wolfville in 1868, Mr. Crawley went back to Burma alone in 1869 while his wife remained in Wolfville for several years to assist her widowed mother.⁶

Disquieted by her "still small voice," Norris went to see the Crawleys, expecting that they "probably would convince me of the undesirability of single ladies going to Burmah [sic]."⁷ Such expectations were not unfounded. Beginning in 1815 a mere handful of women had proceeded alone overseas in mission work. Dr. Rufus Anderson, "venerable administrator" of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, adamantly opposed such moves. In 1836, he wrote that "unmarried females should rarely be sent on missions . . ."; in 1860, he declared, "the practice of sending unmarried females beyond the seas has obtained only to a limited extent."⁸ Obviously this conviction was widespread for by that date only thirty single women of any Protestant denomination had managed to serve overseas as missionaries.⁹

No Funds for New Enterprises

To Norris' surprise. Mrs. Crawley encouraged her to go to Burma. But her teller to the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions (of Maritime Baptists), brought the response that funds were scarce; there was "absolutely nothing for any new enterprise."¹⁰ Then Norris acted in a way that became characteristic of her approach throughout her life. She envisioned the project, disregarded the lack of funds, and plunged ahead with her plans. Two decades later while reflecting on the challenges of 1870, she wrote, "I then and now firmly believed the Lord was able to provide for His own anywhere."¹¹

As a lifelong missionary in Burma and India, Norris lived confidently on that basis until her death in 1919. Although "Jehovah Jireh" ("The Lord will provide" [Genesis 22:14]) was one of her watchwords, she did not remain waiting passively for His provision; instead, she scanned her horizons, identified potential resources, and proceeded to tap them. In

this paper I shall document some of the strategies that Norris used to identify, expand, and develop her networks during her 1870 campaign.

Change of Direction

When she first determined to go to Burma but was refused funds from the Board of Foreign Missions, she prayed, then “said” to herself: “I will go to Mr. ----- and ask him if he will advance all the money necessary for my passage, provided some friends, known to us both, will give him promissory notes to refund it in two or three years.”¹² Mr. ----- agreed. Norris resigned her teaching position, returned to Canso, obtained the guarantees from her friends, made her farewells and went back to Mr. ----- to claim the money for her passage. But he had changed his mind and refused to advance anything toward her “wild adventure.”¹³ Norris thanked the gentleman and left confident that “the Lord . . . wished to provide the means in some other way.”¹⁴ Writing in 1889, she evaluated the matter, “I think the result proved that this gentleman was Divinely guided in *both instances*.”¹⁵ That attitude remained characteristic of her response in later rejections.

In February 1870, without revealing her predicament to friends, Norris gathered her personal funds and boarded a ship in Halifax bound for Boston to present herself to the American Baptist Missionary Union.¹⁶ Among those who persuaded her to disembark and apply again to the Board of Foreign Missions (of Maritime Baptists) were several well-known figures: Rev. Edward Saunders, pastor of Granville Street (First) Baptist Church in Halifax; Rev. J. E. Goucher, pastor of the North Church (Baptist), Halifax; Deacon Stephen Selden, owner and editor of the *Christian Messenger*, a widely read Baptist weekly; Deacon Theodore H. Rand, graduate of Horton Academy and Acadia College, Chair of English and Classics at the Normal School in Truro when Norris studied there, and Superintendent of Education for the Province of Nova Scotia from 1864 to 1870.¹⁷

The morning after her disembarkation, a prayer meeting was held in Mrs. Selden’s parlour in Dartmouth. Soon afterward Norris applied again to the Board of Foreign Missions and this time received the promise of support “so soon as the Board shall be furnished with the funds necessary.” Further it was resolved “that an appeal be made to the sisters in these Provinces to supply the funds necessary . . .”¹⁸

“Go to Your ‘Sisters’”

The “Sisters” already had a history of soliciting funds for the church. When the Association of representatives of twenty-five Baptist churches from Maine to Labrador met at Chester in 1814, they voted to contribute for “the poor heathen” the sum of \$34.60 to the Treasurer of the Auxiliary Bible Society in Halifax.¹⁹ This is claimed to be the commencement of both Home and Foreign Missions in the Association.²⁰ Four years later, the first Female Mite Society was formed in Germain Street Baptist Church, Saint John. In 1820 the group sent an offering of \$60.00 to the Association for missions.²¹ Contributions from other Mite Societies (usually composed of women or youth), soon began to be reported from such sources as Windsor (1822),²² Sackville (1827), Amherst (1827),²³ Horton (1831), Nictaux (1832),²⁴ and Waterborough – now Jemseg (1837).²⁵

On an evangelistic tour in 1832, the Rev. Richard McLearn, pastor at Windsor, preached at Canso where he “was happy to find . . . a warm interest in favour of the Burman Mission. The ladies formed a society while I was there, to raise funds for the purpose of publishing the Holy Scriptures in the Burman language.”²⁶ Within a few weeks, McLearn assisted in the formation of Female Mite Societies in the Cove of Guysborough, Antigonish and North Sydney.²⁷

The Waterborough church along with other New Brunswick Baptist congregations maintained a “Union Society” for support of Domestic and Foreign Missions, Superannuated Ministers, the destitute, etc. Church records from Waterborough in 1861 give the names of four women designated as Collectors of this money to be handed to the Secretary-Treasurer – a man.²⁸ Documents from the Falmouth church list names of four to six “Sisters” who were designated as Collectors of funds for Home and Foreign Missions in the years from 1864 to 1868. Yet the historian remarks that in the 1870s a feature of conferences in this church concerned “whether women should be permitted to attend during business meetings,” but they “were finally allowed to attend and to speak on matters of spiritual nature.”²⁹ Such was the tenor of the times when Norris set about organizing her “Sisters” into an effective agency to ensure funding and direction of single women missionaries.

Laying Foundations

Norris began her task by writing a constitution patterned after that used by the Woman's Union Missionary Society of New York, an interdenominational group founded by Mrs. Sarah Doremus of the South Reformed Church in New York City.³⁰ For counsel and assistance, she turned to her former teacher and mentor Theodore Rand. Here Norris exhibited traits evident in her later endeavours: enlisting the aid of influential men, and showing a readiness to move across denominational boundaries. While waiting for her offer of missionary service to be laid before the Association in the spring and summer and taken to the Maritime Baptist Convention in late August, Norris set about stirring her "Sisters" to action.

Counting on Networks

Intriguing patterns emerge when one studies the sites visited and officers elected in the thirty-five charter groups of the Woman's Missionary Aid Societies (WMAS) (see Appendix I).³¹ These patterns can be classified as networks of family and childhood friends, educational contacts, ecclesiastical contacts, and access to literature. Connections among personnel in specific charter societies often display similar relationships. First, I shall examine the overall lines among the Societies, then look in more detail at one of the groups.

Family and Childhood Friends. In organizing the Charter Societies, Norris called on family members and on childhood friends who had attended classes with her in a small private school in Canso. Her mother's cousin Mrs. Spinney Whitman became the President of the first WMAS, i.e., the one organized in Canso. Secretary-Treasurer of the group was Norris' cousin Emma, wife of Deacon Thomas Cook. Mrs. Whitman's daughter Sarah, wife of the Rev. David Steele, was named President of the Amherst Society. Norris's cousin, Pamela (nee Bigelow), wife of the Rev. Joseph Kempton, acted as first President of the WMAS at Billtown. Parnelia's sister Sarah (Sadie) was a charter member of the Society in Canso. That fall when she returned to her teaching position in Liverpool, she organized a WMAS there and became its Secretary-Treasurer.³² After her marriage in 1872 to the Rev. James Manning, Sadie continued her lifelong association which included filling the office of Treasurer (1884-1889) and then President (1889-1906) of the Woman's Baptist Missionary

Union of the Maritime Provinces. Remarks in Norris' later correspondence with her sisters Sarah and Lucie suggest that they also were active in these Societies as young girls and as mature women.

Educational Contacts. Norris graduated from the Normal School in Truro in 1863. Her call upon Theodore Rand, her teacher there, has already been noted. Perusal of the Student Oath Book from the school reveals names of pupils of that era who were later associated with the WMAS. Three early graduates served as missionaries in Burma/India under Maritime Baptist auspices: Maria Armstrong (1865), Minnie B. DeWolfe (1867), and Flora J. Eaton (1869). Two students of the class of 1868 were related to Norris: Sarah Bigelow (cousin) and Lucie Norris (sister). Louisa McKenzie of the same class may have come from Canso and may also have been a relative. These young women would have been well-known to Norris, and as active members of the Baptist church, they would have spread word of her aspirations.

Other educational networks related to Norris' teaching post at the Female Department of Horton Academy which had succeeded Grand Pre Seminary. Annie Lyons, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canard WMAS, attended the latter school in 1868 as did Lalia Marshall, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hillsburg Society, in 1869.³³ Sarah Rand, daughter of the President of the Hantsport Society, had been a pupil at Grand Pre Seminary in 1861.³⁴ Irene Elder, Secretary -Treasurer of that Society, was a Pupil Assistant at the Seminary in 1861. Given the close attachment of alumnae and their families to the Seminary and later to the Female Department of Horton Academy, they would have been well-aware of Norris' plans to go to Burma as a missionary appointed by Maritime Baptists. These ambitions may have been fostered by Olive Jane Emerson, Principal of Grand Pre Seminary from 1865 to 1869. She later married the Rev. Horatio E. Morrow, graduate of Acadia College in 1871 and missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union in Burma from 1877-1905.³⁵

Ecclesiastical Contacts. Inspection of the names of Presidents of these Charter Societies reveals that at least twelve of them were wives of pastors, usually of the church in which the Society was founded. Through their husbands, these women would have been recipients of, and contributors to, word circulating about this new venture. The fact that they accepted the position indicates some sympathy with Norris' plans.³⁶ Of the twelve, Mrs. Steele and Mrs. Kempton were cousins of Norris from Canso. After graduation in 1862 from Acadia College, the Rev. Joseph Kempton

had been accepted in 1864 for mission service in Burma, but was later disqualified on medical grounds.³⁷ Mrs. Rand was the wife of Dr. Silas Rand, well-known missionary to the Micmacs. While teaching school in Canso, Norris had been associated with him in that work. As previously indicated, Mrs. Crawley had already served for many years as wife of a missionary to Burma. Among the members of Charter Societies were Miss Mary Lamont (Billtown) who married the Rev. Rufus Sanford and accompanied him to Burma in 1873. Outward bound at the same time was Miss Flora Eaton (Canard) who later married the Rev. W.B. Boggs in India. While at Horton Academy, Hannah Maria Norris had known William Armstrong, a student at Acadia College who later graduated from Newton Theological Institute, and then sailed for Burma later in 1873. A few weeks after his arrival, he and Norris were married.

Once established, the pattern of naming the pastor's wife as President of the WMAS often continued. Minutes of the Societies in Aylesford and in Deep Brook state that this was the usual procedure. The historian for the Leinster Street Baptist Church, Saint John, confirms the practice there.³⁸ Thirty-five years after her appointment as a missionary to India, Helena Blackadar, daughter of a pastor, wrote, "My mother was always the President of the Women's [sic] Missionary circle in whatever village we lived."³⁹

In addition to those charter members who were wives of ministers or who later married missionaries, several other members were wives of Deacons or other officers in the churches.⁴⁰ Two of the officers of Charter Societies – Mrs. Seldon and Miss Mary Cramp – were daughters of the President of Acadia College. Given the range and number of these connections, it is evident that Norris had many persons to whom she could turn as she sought to make contact with women in the churches. Since some of these women were married to men who were influential in the Baptist Convention and/or wielded power in business and political arena, Norris also had indirect access to these spheres.

The WMAS organized in Wolfville provides an on-site picture of the inter-relationships within a single group, although admittedly this particular cluster would not be representative of the whole movement.⁴¹ Chosen as President was Mrs. Arthur Crawley, wife of the Rev. A.R.R. Crawley and missionary on furlough from Burma. She was daughter of local physician Dr. Lewis Johnstone, one of the founders of Acadia College. Her father's brother, the Honourable James W. Johnstone, charter member of Granville Street Baptist Church in Halifax, lawyer, Attorney-

General, Judge in Equity of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, was the first Premier of the province after Responsible Government was granted in 1840.⁴² Three of Mrs. Crawley's brothers graduated from Acadia College and had "distinguished careers," as did the husbands of her four sisters. Her sister Catharine married the Rev. Abram Sparr Hunt, Acadia classmate and "inseparable companion and friend" of the Rev. Richard Burpee.⁴³ Named as first Vice-President of the Wolfville WMAS was Mrs. Stephen DeBlois, wife of the Wolfville pastor, who was an Acadia graduate. Mrs. DeBlois was daughter of Simon Fitch, M.D. Through marriage, she was related to Wolfville banker John W. Barss and to the Baptist pioneer, Rev. Theodore Seth Harding. Second Vice-President was Mrs. James S. Morse, wife of an Acadia graduate, great grand-daughter of the founder of the town of Wolfville, and cousin of Minnie DeWolfe, who had sailed to Burma in 1867 as the first single woman missionary from Canada. Secretary Mary Cramp was daughter of the President of Acadia. Named as Treasurer was her sister Eliza, wife of Thomas Higgins, graduate of Acadia and principal of Horton Academy.

Seven other charter members attended that first meeting. Miss Margaret Barss was daughter of John W. Barss, ordained Deacon of North Baptist Church at its founding in Halifax in 1848.⁴⁴ Mrs. J.W. Bigelow was wife of a "flour merchant" who later helped to rebuild Acadia after the great fire of 1877. Mrs. Artemus W. Sawyer was wife of Dr. Sawyer, President of Acadia from 1869 to 1896. Mrs. George V. Rand was married to the local postmaster-druggist who was also a Deacon of the church. Mrs. D.J. Harris was wife of a prosperous shipbuilder and merchant Miss Annie. Randall came from a family early settled in the area; her brother was principal of Horton Academy for several years. Wolfville and Canard Societies both claimed as a charter member Miss Maria Armstrong who went to Burma as a missionary in 1873. These women were defined in terms of their family backgrounds and marital ties – relationships that were primary in those days and that gave them access to wide networks of communication, influence, money and material benefits.

Norris was able to call upon these connections in order to launch one of the first Woman's Missionary Unions in North America. Although she may not have made full use of that potential during the summer of 1870, her appeals to both women and men in the ecclesiastical, educational, business and political fields became increasingly evident as her missionary career unfolded. Throughout her life she carried on a voluminous correspondence with members of her immediate family, personal friends and

supporters, church and mission officials. She even wrote to unknown but potential benefactors such as Lord Strathcona, John Wanamaker, John D. Rockefeller, and Lyman Stewart. She paid obeisance to her motto “Jehovah Jireh” – “The Lord will provide” – but she worked energetically to ensure that provision for her many projects.

Literature as Network. Before “free schools” were introduced in Nova Scotia through the School Bills passed between 1864 and 1866, many parents supported small private schools and ensured attendance of daughters as well as sons.⁴⁵ Historian Margaret Conrad documents the high level of literacy among Maritime women and their propensity for writing letters, keeping diaries and spiritual journals, and tracing out genealogies. Fortunately, a good number of those writings have survived. Many of them exhibit an acute awareness of events taking place in their immediate world and beyond.⁴⁶

David Steele, pastor in Canso from 1865-1867, remarked that homes there contained books with stories of William Carey and David Livingstone as well as Dr. F. Wayland’s two-volume account of the life of Adoniram Judson. “These were interchanged among the neighbors, and left indelable [sic] impressions on the young women . . .”⁴⁷ In reminiscing about her childhood in Hantsport and the WMAS organized in 1870, their first Secretary-Treasurer Irene Elder Morton wrote,

The idea of Missions was set before me in very early life. The wonderful life and *labors of the Judsons* was [sic] *household talk*. I well remember the satisfaction my Mother expressed when she obtained *The Life of the Third Mrs. Judson*. Now she said “I have got the whole three!” They were among her most precious treasures.⁴⁸

Judson’s first wife Ann died in 1826. Two years later Professor Joseph Knowles published an account of her life of which it was said “. . . that no biography of this class has to the same extent so moved Christian hearts . . . It was generally read in the Maritime Provinces and had much to do in awakening the churches of that day to greater zeal in this good cause.”⁴⁹

From a history of the church in Waterborough (Jemseg), one learns that in 1866 the Sunday School library contained seventy-five books and that number had increased to 120 by 1870.⁵⁰

Religious magazines had wide circulation. Two Baptist weeklies were prominent – the *Christian Messenger* published in Dartmouth and the *Christian Visitor* published in Saint John. Free Baptists in the Maritimes printed the *Religious Intelligencer*. In his history of Maritime Baptists,

Saunders states, "The English and American Baptist Magazines, read to some extent in these Provinces, kept the ministers and churches informed in respect to the work done on the foreign field."⁵¹ Soon after the founding of the WMAS in 1870, their officers were contributing columns of mission interest to the Baptist publications in the Maritimes and to those of the Woman's Missionary Society in Ontario and Quebec.⁵²

Exposure of her constituency to such reading materials made it easier for Harmah Maria Norris to present her own concerns and objectives to the churches. Literature, too, is network.⁵³

Charter Societies and Geographical Access

The physical limitations of transportation and communication links in 1870 restrained the extent of the journeys Norris was able to undertake. The W. & A. R. (Windsor and Annapolis Railway) was organized in 1867 and opened from Annapolis to Horton in 1869, but did not extend to Halifax until 1872.⁵⁴ Roads were rudimentary and travel by stage coach was time-consuming. In the Maritimes in 1870, many voyages were made by sailing ship. Many of the Charter Societies in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were accessible by steamer along the coast or river boat in the interior. Examination of their locations on a map underscores the probable significance of this factor in Norris' itinerary (See Appendix II).

A Question of Choice?

A glance at the geographical pattern of the Charter Societies gives rise to one last question. Given that there were clusters of Baptist churches along the South Shore of Nova Scotia and around the area of Sackville, New Brunswick, why were no Societies formed in these regions? Were lack of time and transportation factors? Did Norris' networks not encompass these districts? In those sections of the country was there less openness to this new venture which offered women a more visible and active role in church and community? Further research may provide some answers.

Conclusion

Hannah Maria Norris was a pioneer in her field. Well-educated by standards of the day, intelligent and energetic, she was adept at using a

range of networks open to her. Fired with zeal, she established enduring patterns for organizing women at home into effective support for single women missionaries overseas. In the process, she also helped to cultivate ways by which women in the churches were able to carve out segments of witness that were especially theirs. The effects of those processes over time call for further investigation.

Endnotes

1. Mary Cramp, *Retrospects: A History of the Foundation and Progress of the Women's Missionary Aid Societies of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: Holloway Brothers, 1891), pp. 9, 13.
2. David A. Steele, *Our Pioneer: Impressions Regarding Mrs. H.M.N. Armstrong* (Amherst, NS: n.p., 1920).
3. George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces 1753-1946* (Saint John, NB: Barnes-Hopkins, 1946), p. 192; and James Doyle Davison, *Alice of Grand Pre* (Wolfville, NS: By the Author, 1981), p. 132.
4. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 5.
5. Edwin D. King, "The History of the First Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S. – One Hundred Years" [1827- 1927], in *One Hundred and Fifty Years of the First Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S.* (n.p.: Mitchell, n.d.), p. 20.
6. I.E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Saint John: Barnes, 1880), p. 336; and Watson Kirkconnell, "Our W.M.S. Centenary (Program of May 17, 1970)," Type-script, Acadia University Archives, p. 4.
7. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 5.
8. Earl C. Merrick, *These Impossible Women, 100 Years: The Story of the United Baptist Woman's Missionary Union of the Maritime Provinces* (Fredericton, NB: Brunswick Press, 1970), p. 67.
9. Nancy A. Hardesty, *Great Women of Faith* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1980), p. 84.
10. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 5.

11. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 6.
12. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 6.
13. Although Norris does not identify Mr. ----, a later chronicler names him as John Barss, Esq., an influential Wolfville banker, Deacon and Superintendent of the Sunday School in the Baptist church for thirty years, and Treasurer of the Baptist Convention (see "Story of W.M.A.S. work for Fifty Years," MSS, Acadia University Archives, c. 1919, p. 2).
14. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 7.
15. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 7.
16. King, "History of the First Baptist Church, Halifax N.S.," p. 35.
17. Margaret Conrad, "An Abiding Conviction of the Paramount Importance of Christian Education: Theodore Harding Rand as Educator, 1860-1900," in *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World*, ed. Robert S. Wilson (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot, 1988), pp. 155-195.
18. Cramp, *Retrospects*, p. 9.
19. Mary Kinley Ingraham, *Seventy-Five Years: Historical Sketch of the United Baptist Woman's Missionary Union in the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Kentville, NS: Kentville Publishing, 1946), p. 6.
20. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 49.
21. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 52.
22. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 53.
23. Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: John Burgoyne, 1902), p. 227.
24. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 86.

25. Judith Colwell, "Jemseg United Baptist Church 1824-1989," Typescript, Acadia University Archives, p. 6.
26. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 288.
27. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 289-294.
28. Colwell, "Jemseg United Baptist Church 1824-1989," pp. 9, 11.
29. Ralph Loomer, "Falmouth United Baptist Church 1843-1943," Acadia University Archives.
30. Ruth A. Tucker, and Walter Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Academie, 1987), p. 301.
31. Cramp, *Retrospects*, pp. 9-13; King, "The History of the First Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S.," p. 35; and Mabel H. Parson, "Women's Missionary Aid Society of the North Baptist Church 1870-1895," in *Jubilee Souvenir of the North Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S. 1848-1898* (Halifax, NS: Halifax Printing, 1898), p. 25.
32. Mrs. F.H. Beals, *Mrs. J.W. Manning: A Tribute* (Kentville, NS: n.p., 1932), p. 15.
33. Davison, *Alison of Grand Pre*, pp. 130-131.
34. Davison, *Alison of Grand Pre*, pp. 75, 94.
35. Davison, *Alison of Grand Pre*, pp. 123, 161.
36. The following twelve Presidents have so far been identified as wives of pastors: Mrs. E.C. Cady; Mrs. A. R.R. Crawley, Mrs. David Freeman; Mrs. T. Harley; Mrs. J.F. Kempton; Mrs. W.S. McKenzie; Mrs. Silas Rand; Mrs. J.L. Read; Mrs. J.H. Saunders; Mrs. Charles Spurden; Mrs. David Steele; and Mrs. Charles Tupper.
37. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 426.

38. Kenneth A. Wilson, "History of the Leinster St. Baptist Church, 1858-1916," in *The Central United Baptist Church at Saint John, N.B. 1850-1950*, ed. Paul H. Prebble (Saint John, NB: Lingley Printing, 1950), p. 114.
39. H.M. Blackader, "God's Call," *Tidings* (September 1934): 4-5.
40. To date, I have identified the following in that category: Mrs. William Allgood; Mrs. Mayhaw Beckwith; Mrs. William Bill; Mrs. Hugh Cameron; Mrs. T.C. Cook; and Mrs. Stephen Selden.
41. Kirkconnell, "Our W.M.S. Centenary."
42. King, "The History of the First Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S.," p. 20.
43. R.E. Rand, A.S. McDonald and F.H. Beals, *One Hundred Years with Cornwallis Baptists: Centenary of the First Cornwallis Baptist Church* (Truro, NS: News Publishing, 1907), p. 52.
44. King, "The History of the First Baptist Church, Halifax, N.S.," p. 27.
45. Davison, *Alison of Grand Pre*, pp. 33-85.
46. Margaret Conrad, "Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 2:41.
47. Steele, *Our Pioneer*, p. 13.
48. Irene Elder Morton, "Historical Reminiscences of the Woman's Missionary Society and the Church at Hantsport . . . 1920," MSS, Acadia University Archives, pp. 1-2.
49. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 227.
50. Colwell, "Jemseg United Baptist Church," p. 11.
51. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 226.
52. H. Miriam Ross, "Sharing A Vision: Maritime Baptist Women Educate for Mission, 1870-1920" (forthcoming).

53. Susan O'Brien, "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Trans-Atlantic Evangelicalism." Paper presented at the conference on Evangelicalism in Trans-Atlantic Perspective, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL, April 9, 1992.

54. Davison, *Alison of Grand Pre*, p. 126.

**Appendix I: Women's Mission Aid Societies
Organized by Hannah Norris in 1870**

Society	1870 Date	President	Sec'ty-Treas.	Charter Members
Canso	18/6	Mrs. S. Whitman	Mrs. T. C. Cook	
Amherst	5/7	Mrs. D. A. Steele	Mrs. C. Bent	23
Windsor	11/7	Mrs. Theo. Harding	Miss Eliza Harding	16
Falmouth	12/7	Miss Mary Young	Miss Bessie Harding	12
Hantsport	13/7	Mrs. Silas Rand	Miss Irene Elder	7
Wolfville	14/7	Mrs. A.R.R. Crawley	Miss Mary Cramp	10
Pereaux	16/7	Mrs. Starr	Mrs. John L. Sandford	8
Canning	18/7	Mrs. David Freeman	Miss Sarah Cogswell	
Canard	20/7	Mrs. Mayhew Beckwith	Miss Annie Lyons	16
Upper Aylesford	22/7	Mrs. J. L. Read	Miss Lizzie DeWolfe	11
Billtown	25/7	Mrs. J. F. Kempton	Mrs. Wm. Bill	15
Tremont (Lower Aylesford)	26/7	Mrs. Charles Tupper	Miss Marg. Saunders	17
Pine Grove (Middleton)	28/7	Mrs. Obadiah Dodge	Miss Jessie Woodbury	9
Bridgetown	1/8	Mrs. Gidney	Miss Jessie Chipman	9
Clementsvalle	3/8	Mrs. Anthony Potter	Miss Julia Potter	14
Hillsburg (Bear River)	4/8	Mrs. Thomas Miller	Miss Lalia Marshall	20
Weymouth	5/8	Mrs. James Randall	Mrs. Abram Grant	15
Yarmouth	8/8	Mrs. John Ryerson		30
Hebron	9/8	Mrs. Stephen Potter	Miss Lydia Churchill	15
Beaver River	9/8	Miss Bertie Raymond	Miss Sarah Rose	19
Ohio	10/8	Mrs. Joseph Saunders	Mrs. R. C. Cann	10
Jegoggin (Chegoggin)	10/8	Mrs. B. Stainwood	Mrs. G. Trask	12
Saint John				
Portland (Main)	12/8	Mrs. E. C. Cady		4
Leinster (Cent.)	14/8	Mrs. W. S. McKenzie	Mrs. Lizzie Cunningham	15
Germain St.	14/8	Mrs. John Harding	Miss Hughes	11
Jemseg-Cambridge	16/8	Mrs. Powell	Miss R. Dykeman	8
Mill Cove	16/8	Mrs. Cameron	Miss Clotilda Farris	8
Narrows	17/8	Mrs. E. White	Miss Hulda Cox	19
McDonald's Corner	17/8	Miss M. Straight	S.A. Mullen	19
Wickham	17/8	Miss E. McDonald	Miss L. McDonald	15
Society	1870	President	Sec'ty-Treas.	Charter

	Date			Members
Lower Cambridge	21/8	Mrs. G. E. Colwell	Miss S. Hendry	10
Fredericton	23/8	Mrs. Spurden	Miss E. Phillips	32
Brussels St. (Cent. Saint John)	24/8	Mrs. T. Harley	Mrs. Allwood	28
				<u>470</u>

33 Societies (2 with only President listed) = 64 officers

+2 in Halifax (organized by others + 5 officers

Granville Street	?	Mrs. Stephen Selden	Mrs. E. D. King
North	1/7	Mrs. David Ellis	Miss Sally Meagher (Sect'y)
			Mrs. J. McCully (Treas.)

Meetings but no Society formed:

Granville Ferry	2/8
Carlton (Lancaster)	15/8

**Appendix II: Women's Mission Aid Societies
Organized by Hannah Maria Norris 1870**

NOVA SCOTIA

1. Canso
2. Amherst
3. Windsor
4. Falmouth
5. Hantsport
6. Wolfville
7. Pereaux

8. Canning

9. Canard
10. Upper Aylesford
11. Billtown
12. Tremont (Lower Aylesford)
13. Pine Grove
14. Bridgetown
15. Clementsvale
16. Hillsburg (Bear River)
17. Weymouth
18. Yarmouth
19. Hebron
20. Beaver River
21. Ohio
22. Chegoggin

NEW BRUNSWICK

- Saint John
23. Portland (Main)
 24. Leinster (Central)
 25. Germain St.
 33. Brussels St.
 26. Jemseg-Cambridge
 27. Mill Cove
 28. Narrows
 29. McDonald's Corner
 30. Wickham
 31. Lower Cambridge
 32. Fredericton

CHARTER WMAS

ORGANIZED BY OTHERS

- Halifax
34. Granville St. (First)
 35. North

