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Please Note

1. The paper presented by John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "More than a Hyphen: Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Anglo-American Context," will be published in *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, and Beyond*, eds. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (forthcoming).

2. The paper presented by Norman C. Cornett, "Lionel Groulx's Synthesis of the 'Universal' and the 'Particular,'" appeared in *ARC: The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies* 19 (1991): 87-107. A revised version is forthcoming in *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*.

3. The paper presented by Sharon Anne Cook, "'Sowing Seed For The Master': The Ontario W.C.T.U. and Evangelical Feminism, 1874-1930," has been submitted for publication to *Canadian Historical Review*.

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

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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

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2. David A. Steele, *Our Pioneer: Impressions Regarding Mrs. H.M.N. Armstrong* (Amherst, NS: n.p., 1920).
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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.
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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

470

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

**“My Highest Motive in Writing”:
Evangelical Empowerment in the Autobiography
of Annie Leake Tuttle**

MARILYN FÄRDIG WHITELEY

On Wednesday evening, the twelfth of February, in 1857, a seventeen year-old girl named Annie Leake underwent a conversion experience at the Methodist church in Parrsboro, Nova Scotia. She saw a vision of Jesus and the devil, and she felt that “*Pardon* was written in golden letters on [her] heart.” Yet that evening and for the next few days she “could not talk much about it.”¹ At a service on Saturday evening she asked for and received the “second blessing” or “baptism of the Holy Spirit.” Years later in her autobiography she explained, “the outcome of it was, the ‘dumb was made to speak.’” Annie could testify: she had found her voice.

Annie Leake was not alone in finding her voice, in being empowered by her evangelical religion. In what has been termed “evangelical feminism,” many women spoke, often stepping beyond the limitation of accepted gender roles. They justified their actions by claiming a religious imperative: they testified, or preached, or undertook innovative forms of service in order to be true to the call of their God.

Some of women’s justification for their activity has come to light through the attempt to write women back into religious history. It is described in studies of Phoebe Palmer’s work in the middle of the nineteenth century,² of evangelical women in the United States at the turn of this century,³ and of Pentecostal preaching women in the 1970s and 80s.⁴ Attention has been given to Methodist women preachers on both

sides of the Atlantic. In Canada, Elizabeth Gillan Muir has recovered not only the stories of the external difficulties faced by preaching women in the Wesleyan tradition, but also in some cases the internal struggles which they could only overcome through confidence in their call to preach.⁵

Others have come at the subject from a different direction, studying women's life-writings, especially their spiritual autobiographies. In these texts, scholars have found evidence of the empowerment of ordinary women who were rarely motivated to take on nontraditional public roles.⁶ The research of Susan Juster is particularly suggestive. She examined conversion narratives of men and women in post-revolutionary America, and observed differences between women's and men's narratives. For women, the experience frequently included a "recovery of moral agency" which was both frequently and aptly expressed in "the metaphor of a loosened tongue."⁷

Marguerite Van Die used a wider variety of women's writing – their letters, diaries and memoirs – in her exploration of the influence of evangelical religion on a number of Canadian women between 1830 and 1875.⁸ This work moves in a useful direction, for there is yet much to be learned about the role of Christianity in the lives of women who neither exercised nontraditional ministries nor wrote religious autobiographies in the conventional sense.

To women's texts and in particular to women's autobiographies, we can bring new critical tools, strategies for learning about women by reading female discourse. Taking as a starting point the autobiographical theories of Georges Gusdorf and James Olney, feminist scholars have mapped out the way in which women create themselves by writing the stories of their lives.⁹ By engaging in the autobiographical act, women inscribe themselves, imposing order and creating meaning as they "understand and construct their lives."¹⁰

Yet this is an audacious act. Centuries ago Julian of Norwich felt called upon – because she was a woman – to justify the narration of her experiences.¹¹ Many women since then have found it necessary to claim permission for what they would otherwise hesitate to do. Women's lives rarely followed the patterns set by those heroic, achieving males whose stories were seen to warrant recording. And so the women developed techniques for justification. Mary Mason argues that some women grounded their identity through relation to a chosen other.¹² Others observe that women have used the available literary script of a spiritual journey or

religious autobiography.¹³ Helen Buss points out that many Canadian pioneer women wrote memoir rather than autobiography; instead of making herself the subject matter of her narrative, the author composed the narrative of a witness to an important past.¹⁴ Thus we are able to read the accounts of women's lives with attention to the literary scripts after which they are patterned, and to their genre. Such reading can serve historians of religion, for it enables us to understand how religion functioned in the lives of believers. In texts written by women, it allows us to recognize and to analyze the evangelical empowerment of women who were conspicuous neither for their public roles nor for their narrowly spiritual writing.

The autobiography of Annie Leake Tuttle is a text that exhibits the empowering effect of evangelical religion. We have already seen that in a very direct sense it enabled her to find her voice: the "dumb was made to speak." This, we shall find, was not a momentary benefit but lasting liberation. But religion did more than that for Tuttle: it gave her permission to write, not simply memoirs, but autobiography – to inscribe the story of her self. Although the life she lived was not by our standards radical, she lived in an age of transition, and she was one of the women who developed a new life script to suit the new era. Thus, finally, it was Annie Leake Tuttle's religion which served as the instrument that enabled her to interpret and develop this new script.

Annie Leake Tuttle's autobiography is not cast in the mould of traditional religious autobiography; it is not primarily a chart of her spiritual progress. It is, or at least it becomes, a religiously-justified autobiography, or a religiously-motivated autobiography. In order to understand it as a tool for looking at her life, we must recognize the shape of that life, and how it was that she came to write the stories, first of her family, and then of her self.

Annie Leake was born near Parrsboro, Nova Scotia, in 1839, the fourth of thirteen children of Thomas Leake and Olevia Lockhart. A carpenter shop and a beautiful but marginal farm offered the family only meagre sustenance, and when she was ten, Annie assisted her family by going to work in the nearby home of an uncle and his wife. At eleven she went to help another uncle, who was a Methodist minister. She spent much of the next five years with his family. During this time she attended three of the series of revival services, but to her own regret and that of her uncle, she failed to undergo the anticipated experience of conversion. That came to her when she was seventeen, and once more living in her parents' home.

Soon after her conversion and “second blessing,” she had another, very different, pivotal experience. She attended a lecture given by the Nova Scotia Superintendent of Education and Principal of the recently-opened Normal School. From him she learned that it was possible to train for a career as a teacher. During the next nine years, she alternated periods of teaching with time spent studying, first at the Normal School and finally at the Branch Institution for Females of the Mount Allison Wesleyan Academy.

When she was twenty-seven, Annie Leake accepted a position as head of the Infant Department of the Model School connected with the Normal School at Truro. She spent ten years there in the training of teachers, and then ten more at St. John’s, Newfoundland, with similar responsibilities in the Model School attached to the Methodist Academy. In 1886 she resigned from the faculty at St. John’s to return home to care for her father during his final illness. He died the following June, and the next January found Annie Leake in Victoria, British Columbia. She was sent there by the Women’s Missionary Society (WMS) of the Methodist Church to become the first matron of a rescue home for Chinese prostitutes.¹⁵

Annie Leake spent five years as a WMS missionary, and a year and a half visiting family members as she gradually made her way back to her native province. Then in January of 1895, she married Milledge Tuttle of Pugwash, Nova Scotia. She was fifty-five. Annie had met Milledge while she was a young teacher; they had planned to marry, but his parents interfered, and he married someone else. Now he was a widower, and his youngest child was eight.

Annie lived on the Tuttle family farm for seven years, until Milledge died in 1902. She spent the next five years without a home of her own, staying with various relatives and friends. In 1907, when she was almost sixty-eight, she moved into the Old Ladies’ Home in Halifax. This was to be her home for twenty-seven years, until she died there in 1934, at the age of ninety-five.

Annie Leake Tuttle began to write the history of her family in 1897, two and a half years after her wedding. She states clearly her conscious reason for writing: “it is a duty I owe, the future generations of our family – to give them what little I know of their ancestors.” Recognizing that she was the custodian of knowledge which might be lost if she did not record it, she exercised the familiar female role of repository and transmitter of

family knowledge.

The fragile nature of this knowledge had been impressed upon her by a recent event: her youngest sister, Olevia, had died just a few weeks earlier. Furthermore, Annie was particularly aware of her family tradition at that time: two days before she began to write, a new Methodist Church had been dedicated in Parrsboro. It contained a large and impressive window dedicated to the memory of her grandfather, John Lockhart, a well-remembered leader within the congregation. Thus Annie sat down to chronicle her family's heritage.

Still another factor in her life made it appropriate, perhaps even necessary, for her to write about her family at this time. When she married Milledge, Annie took charge of a household "of young people, who had lost so lately a mother whom they adored." It was in this setting, living within a family to which she did not truly belong, that she began to write of the Leakes and the Lockharts. And when she wrote, she did not just record family history for her nieces and nephews; she also claimed her family identity for herself. She inscribed herself by writing about her own ancestors while she lived in the Tuttle family home.

Then in 1906 she began to write in the same little book an account that she titled, "The Story of My Life, or Pleasing Incidents in It." Again the moment is significant. She began to pen her story after her husband's death, and before she entered the Home in Halifax. This was a period of dislocation and anxiety. She had previously given up her work as teacher and as missionary. Now she had lost her role as wife, she no longer felt needed as step-mother, and she looked unsuccessfully for "something permanent to do." Her problems were not primarily financial, for she had purchased a government annuity which supplied her needs "wonderfully." But she was lonely, and except for helping those with whom she stayed, she had no role. During the first winter following her husband's death, she wrote to her niece with stoical understatement, "It is not a very comfortable situation to be in homeless in one's old age."¹⁶

And so she set out to write the story of her life, to inscribe herself in this period of acute dislocation. Her account began as a memoir: hers was the testimony of one who saw herself as a witness to a bygone era. In writing about the genre of memoir, Marcus Billson has stated that the memorialist desires "to preserve the thisness, i.e., the historicity, of past historical life."¹⁷ Thus with a strong sense of place and of moment, Annie Leake Tuttle painted word-pictures of her past. Writing with her nieces and

nephews in mind, she described the Leake farm as “one of the most beautiful inland spots upon the face of this continent. Visit it and see what remains of hill and dale, lake and brook, and imagine what it was in its native dress, of trees, wild flowers & fruit.” She remembered sitting on a slab seat in a log school house, “legs dangling in the air”; visiting a MicMac camp one winter evening; and knitting as she read by the light of a tallow candle, for, she explained, “There were six brothers to knit for at this time and all at home, so mother could not spare me time to read without knitting also.” She wrote what Helen Buss has termed a pioneer woman’s memoir.¹⁸

From the beginning of her narrative, she was subject as well as witness. But gradually memoir gave way to autobiography as she wrote less as witness and more as subject. Like the “achievers” identified by Buss, she recorded her struggles and also her personal accomplishments, which were well out of the ordinary for a woman of her day.¹⁹ Yet this was an audacious enterprise for a woman. The memorialist was protected from criticism, for she did not write about herself but instead recorded her times, giving continued life to moments that might otherwise be forgotten. But for a woman to write about her own life! How could she justify putting herself at the centre of her narrative?

For Annie Leake Tuttle, it was possible because of her evangelical religious experience. We have seen at the outset that several days after her conversion, when she received the “second blessing,” Annie found her voice. During this interval, she had overheard her minister’s scepticism about “still born Christians,” and she suspected that he was referring to her because she had not been able to talk much about the assurance she had received. But with the baptism of the Holy Spirit, that changed. Her grandfather, leading the service, asked any receiving a blessing to testify. She wrote, “I arose from my knees, turned to the congregation and talked for some time, not I, really, but the ‘Spirit’ in me talked.” She had received “the liberty to testify.”²⁰

During the following year, before she could locate a teaching position, she found opportunity to use her voice. Her Grandfather Lockhart was especially skilled in leading prayer meetings, and she often travelled with him when he went to conduct services. She explained, “He had me testify as to what great things God had done for me.”

Soon after this, she taught in a village where the Methodist preacher held services only once every six weeks. She often visited the homes of her

students, and at two of them she “was invited to conduct family prayer.” Exercising what she termed her “aggressiveness in religion,” she suggested holding a prayer meeting on those nights that the mail driver remained overnight in the village, and it was done. Her phrase “aggressiveness in religion” appears apologetic as well as assertive: it implies a recognition that her behaviour might be inappropriate for a young woman. But the nineteen-year-old was growing accustomed to the sound of her voice, and she saw this aggressiveness as her “strong help, in [the] first winter in [her] teaching career.”

In May of 1859, Annie Leake was finally able to enrol as a student at the Normal School. Her previous education was severely limited: she had attended school for a total of perhaps three years. She found it particularly difficult to spell and to write. She explained,

I could do nothing scarcely taking notes, but I could comprehend, and my memory was good, so I could often give Dr. Forrester what he wanted from his yesterday’s lecture when others with piles of notes were dumb. Then I had acquired the use of my voice, hearing it in Public without alarm, and truly I got through this first Term at Normal School wonderfully considering.

Annie Leake’s release from silence had not only given her freedom to make Christian testimony: it had freed her voice for other things as well.

Annie Leake’s Christian experience also empowered her to write of her self. She did not directly express any reluctance about self-inscription, but her text offers indirect testimony. The account of her conversion is the first intensely personal part of her narrative. After describing her vision, she wrote, “This is the first time I have written this. I do not often tell it, and more seldom in public, but it is a fact all the same.” Once she had completed the record of this experience, she put down her pen and did not add to her story for nearly a year. It was as if she had disclosed too much.

At last she resumed writing, and increasingly she committed the “autobiographical act.” Now she injected a new note into her writing. It is clearest in her account of one especially brave and anxious episode in her career. In 1866 she turned down a teaching job when she learned how little it would pay. Immediately she wrote to the head of the Normal School, telling him what she had done and asking his help in locating a post. She was surprised when he offered her a prestigious position at the Model

School connected with the teacher training institution. She wrote, “this was far above my highest dreams at that time, and I think my highest motive in writing all this down is to show the wonderful Providence of ‘Our Father’ in thus helping me on from Step to Step in the work, He *wished* me to do.” Annie Leake Tuttle could justify the writing of her life because in so doing, she was giving testimony. Just as she bore witness at her grandfather’s prayer meetings, so in her autobiography she testified to what great things God had done for her. This “highest motive” empowered her, and gave her permission to write about herself.

The autobiography is religiously justified, religiously motivated, yet it is not written according to the script of spiritual autobiography. Although she had fervently desired “the great change” which would be wrought by conversion, she nowhere pictured herself in the role of abject sinner; describing the revival she attended at age twelve, she wrote, “but I was not an immotional [sic] nature. I could not weep as I saw others doing, indeed, I never shed a tear in my life for my sins, I could not say I was sorry, for my sins, and therefore, I would not, and did not, go forward among the seekers.” With her conversion she experienced the certainty that her sins were forgiven, but she did not describe long periods of spiritual anxiety. Much of her failure to be converted she ascribed to a misapprehension concerning what was needed, and her clearest expression of bondage to sin concerned what she recognized as a trivial matter: her brief reluctance to go forward to the church rail because she was not wearing her best clothes.

Nor did she picture in her later narrative the trials of faith which spiritual autobiography often documented. Instead she testified to how God had helped her on from step to step. Only rarely did she confess such weakness of faith as she felt after Milledge died: “[Y]et I had my anxieties, more than I should have had I know had I remembered more constantly of the faithfulness of ‘Our Father.’”

Annie Leake Tuttle read the conversion stories of John Wesley and others; it is highly likely that she had read the *Account of the Experience of Hester Ann Rogers*.²¹ Yet the script which informed her autobiography was not that of spiritual autobiography but that of religious testimonial. This was a familiar feature of Methodist meetings. Following the third revival she attended, she joined a Methodist class believing briefly that she had been converted; in the class meetings she heard the testimony of others, but discovered that she “had no experience” to tell. With much greater success she had testified at her grandfather’s services; and over the

years she continued to participate in those Methodist gatherings where she both heard and made this Christian witness.

And so, familiar with this narrative form, the form in which she had first used her liberated voice, she shaped her autobiography. She formed it not as a continuous exercise in spiritual introspection, but as a narration which she brought into focus from time to time as testimony to the working-out of God's plan for her.

This focusing of her narrative points to the third function of evangelical religion in Annie Leake Tuttle's life. Not only did religious experience free her voice, and justify her autobiographical writing: it also gave her a framework within which she could inscribe her life. It gave her a key to self-interpretation.

In an article titled "The Clear Leadings of Providence," Joanna Bowen Gillespie writes of how the autonomy of early nineteenth-century American women was often "camouflaged in their written musings with the imprimatur 'the clear leadings of Providence.'" Their pious memoirs followed the literary and religious convention of ascribing to Providence a wide range of unusual and daily occurrences. By the use of this convention, the writers "created their own models of behavior inspired and directed by divine authority, whose written conversation with God assisted them in honoring their own inner stages of growth and self-realization."²²

The situation of the early nineteenth-century women studied by Gillespie is different from that of Tuttle, writing a century later. By the time she penned her autobiography, the available life-scripts were beginning to include narratives of achieving women. But Annie Leake Tuttle lived in a transitional era. She had been formed by traditional religious values and experiences, yet her life was nontraditional. She was a pioneer when she opted for a career as a trained teacher, and she rose high in that new profession. She was also a pioneer when she set forth to run the Chinese Home in Victoria: she went there only five years after Martha Cartmell had become the first missionary sent out by the Women's Missionary Society. Annie Leake was a single working woman until she was in her fifties, and she wrote about her marriage to Milledge Tuttle as another "position" which she accepted.

It was religion which gave her a strategy for reinterpreting her life. Her failure to marry as a young woman was part of God's plan for her:

but I have lived long enough to know, that "Our Father" had us both

in His care and things worked out best for us both. He got a wife much better suited for the position she had to fill, than I would have been, and I believe I was called to a mission much more suited to my temperament & ambition. That I had loved and could not “put off the old love and put on the new” was a help to me in my occupation.

There were difficulties connected with her departure from the Rescue Home that she alluded to but never explained; she only said, “circumstances were such that I had to leave my girls, to whom I was much attached, to the care of other hands & hearts.”²³ Later in her autobiography she wrote, “There were circumstances in connection with my having been sent from British Columbia . . . there were many circumstances that led me to believe that it was the Father’s Choice for me.” God’s providential care, which had protected her from fire and “Summer cholera” and shipwreck, had also chosen for her the path of her life’s work. As she wrote the story of her life, this religious interpretation enabled her to invest her past with coherence and meaning.²⁴

Annie Leake Tuttle’s autobiography makes clear the empowerment which evangelical religion gave to one woman. It freed her voice to testify; it justified her audacious act of autobiography by presenting her with her a high motive for writing; and it offered her the key to a reassuring interpretation of her sometimes anxious, sometimes pioneering life. It enabled her to understand herself as helped on, step to step, in the work God wished her to do.

Endnotes

1. All quotations not otherwise identified are from the manuscript autobiography of Annie Leake Tuttle which is in the possession of Rev. J. Ernest Nix of Mississauga, Ontario. I wish to thank him for the generous access he has given me to the autobiography and to the rest of his collection of the papers of his great-aunt.
2. See Nancy A. Hardesty, *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the 19th Century* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984); Charles Edward White, *The Beauty of Holiness* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986); and Harold E. Raser, *Phoebe Palmer: Her Life and Thought* (Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987).
3. Jeanette Hassey, *No Time for Silence* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1986).

4. Elaine J. Lawless, *Handmaidens of the Lord: Pentecostal Women Preachers and Traditional Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988). Currently Catherine A. Brekus is exploring the activity of women at an earlier time, in the first Great Awakening of the eighteenth century (“‘Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches’: Women and the ‘Great Awakening’ in New England and the Middle Colonies,” Paper presented at the Conference on the History of Christianity, University of Notre Dame, March, 1992. This is part of the research Brekus is doing for her Ph.D. dissertation at Yale University).
5. Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991).
6. See especially Johanna Bowen Gillespie, “‘The Clear Leadings of Providence’: Pious Memoirs and the Problems of Self-Realization for Women in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (Summer 1985): 197-221; Linda H. Peterson, “Gender and Autobiographical Form: The Case of the Spiritual Autobiography,” in *Studies in Autobiography*, ed. James Olney (New York: Oxford, 1988), pp. 211-222; and Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), especially chapters 3 and 4.
7. Susan Juster, “‘In a Different Voice’: Male and Female Narratives of Religious Conversion in Post-Revolutionary America,” *American Quarterly* 41, 1 (March 1989): 57.
8. Marguerite Van Die, “‘A Women’s Awakening’: Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid Nineteenth-Century Canada,” Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association, Kingston, Ontario, 1991.
9. For a discussion built on a critical treatment of Gusdorf and Olney, see Susan Stanford Friedman, “Women’s Autobiographical Selves: Theory and Practice,” in *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women’s Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 34-62. See also Benstock’s article, “Authorizing the Autobiographical,” in the same volume, pp. 10-33.
10. According to Mary Jo Maynes, for example, autobiography is an interpretive act by means of which writers “impose order, form, and meaning on the facts of an existence” in order to “understand and construct their lives” (Mary Jo Maynes, “Gender and Narrative Form in French and German Working-Class Autobiographies,” in *Interpreting Women’s Lives*, ed. the Personal Narratives Group [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989], p. 105). See also Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography: Marginality and the*

Fictions of Self-Representation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 45-46.

11. Mary G. Mason, "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writer," in *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, ed. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 19-44.
12. Mason, "The Other Voice," pp. 21-22. Among the four possibilities sketched by Mason, the "other" can be "another autonomous being" or "one single, transcendent other." In the earlier part of Annie Leake Tuttle's writing, first her father and then her mentor, Dr. Alexander Forrester, play central roles. Yet overall it is her relationship to "Our Father" that provides her primary relation.
13. See Domna C. Stanton, "Autogynography: Is the Subject Different?" in *The Female Autograph: Theory and Practice of Autobiography from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Domna C. Stanton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 3-20. See also Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject*; Peterson, "Gender and Autobiographical Form"; and Mary Jean Corbett, "Feminine Authorship and Spiritual Authority in Victorian Women Writers' Autobiographies," *Women's Studies* 18 (May 1990): 18-29.
14. Helen M. Buss, *Canadian Women's Autobiography in English: An Introductory Guide for Researchers and Teachers* (Ottawa: CRIAW/ICREF, 1991), pp. 10-11. See also Marcus Billson, "The Memoir: New Perspectives on a Forgotten Genre," in *Genre* 10, No. 2 (Summer 1977): 259-282.
15. See Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, "Women Learning to Work for Women: The Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, B.C.," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 86-96.
16. Letter to Edna Leake Nix, 8 December 1902. The letters of Annie Leake Tuttle are in the possession of J. Ernest Nix.
17. See Marcus F. Billson, "The Memoir: New Perspectives on a Forgotten Genre," *Genre* 10, No. 2 (Summer 1977): 268.
18. Buss, *Canadian Women's Autobiography in English*, pp. 5-13; see also Helen Buss, "Pioneer Women's Memoirs: Preserving the Past/Rescuing the Self," in *Reflections: Autobiography and Canadian Literature*, ed. K.P. Stich (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1988), pp. 45-60.
19. Buss, *Canadian Women's Autobiography in English*, pp. 13-19.
20. "An Old Time Protracted Meeting," undated manuscript in the possession of J. Ernest Nix.

21. Concerning the time after the second revival she attended, she wrote, “I remember searching in some of Uncle’s books such as the life of Wesley to find out how Wesley and others had got converted.” In her description, “An Old Time Protracted Meeting,” she mentioned that Hester Rogers’ book was in her grandfather’s library.
22. Joanna Bowen Gillespie, “‘The Clear Leadings of Providence’: Pious Memoirs and the Problems of Self-Realization for Women in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (Summer 1985): 198. I thank Phyllis Airhart for calling my attention to this article.
23. See Whiteley, “Women Learning to Work for Women.”
24. See Smith, *A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography*, p. 46.

“The Sucksess of the Baptist denomenatsion In New Brunswick”: The Structure of Baptist Triumphalism in “The Memoirs of the Rev. Jarvis Ring, Baptist Minister”

PHILIP G.A. GRIFFIN-ALLWOOD

By 1861, Baptists were the largest Protestant denomination in New Brunswick.¹ For the Reverend Jarvis Ring this numerical strength was a sign of “the Sucksess Of the Baptist denomenatsion In New Brunswick.”² Ring was one of the first converts to the Regular Baptists in New Brunswick and he, for a brief period following his baptism, served as an itinerant preacher. He was an active Regular Baptist layman serving on a number of denominational committees. Following his retirement he became a home missionary, serving as an agent for the Union Society. This led to his ordination and to pastoral service in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Beginning in 1860, at eighty years of age, Jarvis Ring began to write his “Memoirs” of “the Rise Of the Baptist Cause.” The “Memoirs” were addressed to his children and intended to inspire them to continue, under God’s leadership, the Baptist triumph. It was a description of “an Age of Grat Events” in which “the light of Gods word is Braking forth in All parts of the word-.”³ Its readers were encouraged to “labour for the Exsperance of the power of Religion in your Soles.”⁴

In writing his memoirs Ring described the threefold structure of Baptist triumphalism. It was marked by a Whitefieldian revivalism, expressed in an Edwardean evangelical Calvinist theology, and sustained by institutional structures that nurtured both the theology and revivalism.

Whitefieldian Revivalism

The revivalism of the Great Awakening, 1740-1765, divided into two types, the ordered revivalism of Jonathan Edwards and the enthusiastic conversionism of George Whitefield. Whitefieldian sermon delivery contained an emotional element, which was considered essential for successful preaching. The essential elements of the religious experience were “irresistible oration” and emotional response by the congregation. The success of Whitefieldian revivalism was marked by passionate conversion, accomplished in an emotive setting. Worship consisted of “*praying, and exhorting and singing Psalms, at the same Time, in the same House of Worship*” at services that lasted until midnight and beyond.⁵ Jarvis Ring was born into a home and community in which Whitefieldian revivalism had profound influence.

Zebedee Ring, Jarvis’ father, and Hannah Estabrooks, his mother, the daughter of Elijah Estabrooks, the senior, were among the approximately 7,000 immigrants to Old Nova Scotia beginning in 1759. They were part of a group settled under the leadership of James Simonds in the Maugerville region of the St. John River.⁶ Jarvis, their sixth child, was born in 1780.⁷

Zebedee Ring was listed among the rebels in the settlement.⁸ The Maugerville rebels, under the leadership of Jonathan Eddy, unsuccessfully attacked Fort Cumberland in 1776 at the beginning of the American Revolution! War of Independence. Following their failure, the disillusioned rebels found the answer to their cultural liminality in the revival, led by Henry Alline, then affecting the Planter communities in Old Nova Scotia. On their arrival the settlers had organized one of the few Standing Order Congregationalist churches in Nova Scotia. Under Alline’s influence the church was reorganized as Separate Congregationalist. The covenant of the new church made explicit reference to the failed rebellion.⁹

The story of the Allinite revival, or Reformation as Ring preferred to call revivals,¹⁰ was told in the community and shaped religious expectations. Ring noted that

I have heard My Parranc talk so much About him. I thought Sum times I Could Remember him, But the truth of that I !eve. his preaching wa s Suckseful In the Conversions of Many: My parrance Among the Rest, Mr. Elizah Estabrook, who Becom A preacher, Zebulon Esty, Esq., A Leding man, Mr. Samuel Hartt, who preched aconclely [occasionally].¹¹

Alline affected Ring's parents for ". . . the Gospel he [Alline] preached Reached thair harts and Brought them to the foot of the Saviour. thair thay Received, after a deep Strugel, a hart of flesh for a hart Of Stone- "12

Following the Allinite revival a worshipping congregation met in the home of two of "Mr. Allins Convarts,"13 Archelaus and Jerusha Newcomb Hammond. Together they led the meetings with the assistance of Elijah Estabrooks and others.14 Their congregation appears to have been a Lower Sheffield branch of the Maugerville New Light Church. As a congregation they received visits from Sampson Colbart, the elder of the Saint John section of the Shelburne Baptist Church,15 from the Manning brothers, Edward and James, Allinite preachers from the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia,16 and from the Methodists William Black, John Black, John Mann, and Abraham Bishop.17

When the opening fires of the Second Great Awakening began, a Whitefieldian revival occurred in Lower Sheffield. From September to March 1793 "30 or 40 ware Convarted." Meetings were held day and night for "thair was But Jette! don, But to take care of the Cattel and Keep the fiers Agoing, for it was a Cold Reff Winter."18 During the revival Jarvis Ring

. . . felt A littel incoregement to luck up to God with a differot feling that I Ever had Bef or. I U Iought the Lord would convart My Sole As he had don others. But this Sune left Me And I Becom More doughtful of it then Befor. I was so Miserabel that My Parrance wanted to Send for Doctor Seelley, But I would Not consent to that. (I was then in My 13 Year and large for A Boy of that Age and Almost A Man Among Men.)19

After a period of agitated turmoil and pressure to convert, Ring finally experienced that which he desired.

I New I was in Mr . E. Estabrooks house. it was crowded, full of pepel. there was several came Ought and prased God. others crying for Marcy. I Remember in the After Noon there was sum Bred and Milk Brought to me. I felt Rether composed. I thinck I tuck Sum. I was Setting on a Chist. I fell a serten feling com into My Mind such as I Never had felt Before. If I went to hell it should Be in Asking God to convert my sole. with this feling I went on my Knees By the Chest. the holy Spirrit of Christ then delevered My Sole. I was sune

amongst the Rest [of the) happy Soles with [as] loud A Voise as anney of them, with a sole filled with thankes and praise to My Redemer for his Redeming Marcey. In the forgivenss of My Sins I went hom, A Number with Me.²⁰

Thus Ring joined the Whitefieldian revivalist community in Lower Sheffield. Services were continually held and Ring observed of one meeting that “the fier had Not Gon ought. The flame Sune Rose. we was All talking and prasing the Lord All Over the hous.”²¹

Shortly after Ring’s conversion, the Lower Sheffield congregation split into traditional revivalist and New Dispensationalist camps. The Hammonds with John Lune led the latter meetings in which they spoke in the “urmone tung.”²² The Hammonds and Lunt were recognized as apostles and prophet and were expected to heal the sick and raise the dead. Incidents justified by the religious fervour included restraining a ship’s carpenter who wanted to leave their meeting, Lunt’s prophesising that there would be no winter,²³ and, finally, “liturgical sex,” which led to Hammond and Lunt’s arrest. The last activity led to the collapse of the movement.²⁴

The Hammond Delusion, as Ring following revivalist nomenclature called it, led to care about conduct of worship by the orthodox Lower Sheffield congregation. But they still maintained Whitefieldian revivalism. Although a fear of excessive revivalism remained in the the community, the revivalist preachers James and Edward Marming were welcomed shortly afterwards with an accompanying “refermatsion.” The community also received visits by Methodists preachers.²⁵

Ring enjoyed a brief period as revivalist preacher in 1801. Describing meetings in the Woodstock and Wakefield region Ring wrote,

. . . I continued holding metings threw the Nabourhood for two weeks. thair was a Number came ought, as it was then colled, and professed Con- vertsion and prased the *Lord* with All U1air Might. such metings in those Would Be colled Delutsion to the Gratest Exstent.²⁶

Ring conducted his services in the Whitefieldian manner. At one of his meetings he noted that “A Grate Number Assembled. Thair was But littel for me to due, plenty of prechers, Male & Female.”²⁷

Whitefieldian revivalism remained the normative expression of

revivalism for Ring. After his retirement as a tanner in 1844, he was licensed to preach and went on missionary tours for the Home Mission Board. As a preacher his expectation was that worship would be emotional and include congregational participation.²⁸ While he was serving the Bethel in Saint John “. . . the Metings was So Arraigned to Give A Number Of the Bretheren and Sisters to take A Part, which thay did. It Added Much to the Sucksess of the cause of Christ.”²⁹

The last international revival which Ring experienced was the Union Prayer Meeting Revival, about which the comment above was made. Wherever he encountered it, he greeted it favorably, especially when it gave opportunity for women to participate?³⁰

was at One Of those Prayer Metings, above mentsioned, when the Vesterey was well filled. 11 of the Sisters tuck a Part. Sum Spoke, others Prayed . . . Sister J.T. Smith Stud up, thow febel in Bodey, But strong in faith, with hir Sole filled with the love Of *GOD*. told what the blesed *SAVOUR* had don for hir in language that would Melt A hart Of Stone and turn it into a hart Of flesh. the whole meting felt what She said was of *GOD*, for it came from the hart . . . My Daughters Coy & Smith was with me and spoke at this meting. thay was Also with Me at a number Of the Above Named Metings. I concluded that this Meting was A deth Blow to All those that did not Believe that Females Should take A Part In Prayer metings, But Be silent. –*Lord* forgiv.³¹

By 1840 Whitefieldian revivalism had become a distinctive mark of New Brunswick Baptist life. But some Nova Scotia Baptists also appeared to have adopted the more ordered worship of Edwardean revivalism. Ring’s son-in-law commented on Nova Scotia preachers,

. . . but the Novascotia Baptist preachers. in my oppinion have left the word of God, and to a considerable extent are serving tables. for it appears to me there is rather more of the politician then there is of the Christian minister – whilst the Attorney General is exhibited as their god – Jo How is handled very much like their d_l.³²

Ring gives at least one indication of holding similar opinions about the generation of Nova Scotia Baptist leadership who succeeded the Mannings and other early preachers. Visiting the Wolfville Baptist church in 1846 he commented, “on the Sabeth I Attended meting. Mr. Prier preched . . . the

congregation was not large. I Should thinck 400 Altogether. his preaching threw the day was Good, Nothing speshal. the Church, I should think, was in a dark state."³³

John Pryor was an evangelical Calvinist, who was one of the professors at Acadia College. Despite his confirmed evangelical credentials his conduct of worship did not meet with Ring's approval.³⁴

Evangelical Calvinism

While Ring's revivalist expectations were Whitefieldian, his theological position was Edwardean evangelical Calvinist. While Whitefieldian revivalism was full of ardor, Jonathan Edwards was an advocate of order. While conversion for Edwards could be emotive, the proof of conversion was a disciplined Christian life.³⁵

Edwards articulated his view of ordered revivalism in *An Humble Inquiry into the Rules of the Word of God Concerning the Qualifications Requisite to a Complete Standing and Full Communion in the Visible Christian Church*, published in 1749. His experience of revival and his theology, which were developed in the Enlightenment context, led to his description of the capacity of individuals to respond, not to grace itself, but to the moral impulses arising from grace. He expressed his theology in a practical manner in the new covenant that he presented to the Northampton Church. In it the focus of church attention was shifted from the sacraments to the moral life lived as a response to religious experience.³⁶

Theology derived from John Calvin was based on the assumption of direct correlation between the will of God and the state of an individual. Faith was considered to be created by the Holy Spirit in response to the preaching of the Word, without any participation on the part of the hearer. Using the concept of "Idea," Edwards postulated an intermediate stage between the action of God and the individual. God acted upon the moral capacity, from which human response arose. Although interaction with the divine will was impossible, the individual did have a response capacity with respect to the moral capacity.³⁷ For Edwards, the "Gracious Affections arise from the mind being enlightened rightly and spiritually to apprehend divine things."³⁸

Joseph Conforti has detailed the transformation, between the first and second Great Awakenings, of Jonathan Edward's form of revivalism into consistent Calvinism, also known as evangelical Calvinism.³⁹ Evangelical Calvinism was spread among Separate Baptists and Separate

Congregationalists, as the denominations formed during the Great Awakening were known, by use of Articles of Faith and Practice which were evangelical condensations of the Westminster Confession of Faith.⁴⁰ Following the New Dispensationalist trouble the Lower Sheffield congregation sought a more ordered form of church life under the leadership of Elijah Estabrooks, the son. The Methodists considered the congregation to be a class meeting and Estabrooks was examined to be a "lokel precher Amongst them." At the examination "the Grate leding Question was a fol from Grase; that a person Might Be Convarted and foil away and Gow to hell."

Mr. Estabrooks Answerred in a firm Manner, "Brother Black, I Believe that every Sole that has Ben Borne Again Will Never Gow to hell." Mr. Estey, Mr. turner, Mr. Newcomb, and Others Spock Right ought Loud, "Nether due I, Nether due 1." and so thay went On tel thair was quite an Interruption.⁴¹

With this declaration of Calvinism, receipt of Methodist preaching ended. In 1799 the Rev. Joseph Crandall, the Regular Baptist minister of the recently formed Church in Sackville and Salisbury,⁴² conducted a Reformation in this area and up and down the river. After Crandall preached "Abought Baptisom And that By Immertsion, And None But Belevers, and Being formed into A Church," discussion took place about the nature of church. After a lengthy "Conference Meting," the Lower Sheffield congregation, including Ring, was formed into the Waterborough Baptist Church.⁴³

The new church adopted the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick's uniform Articles of Faith and Practice. They were a Maritime Baptist modification of Ebenezer Frothingham's Articles of Faith and Practice. When the Association became closed communion in 1809, the church adopted another Evangelical Calvinist Articles of Faith and Practice, ones originally drafted by Isaac Backus.⁴⁴

Ring would remain a member of churches accepting the latter confessional position throughout his life. He would remain an Evangelical Calvinist asserting that "Sinners [were] Saved By free and Soveran Grace."⁴⁵ Commenting on the provision of new living quarters for his family in Saint John following the Fredericton Fire of 1825, he declared "provedance had made this provishon for us."⁴⁶ Commenting further he wrote,

This Sircomstance, take it all together, Gave Me deper Vew of Gods delings With A Christian then I Ever had Before. I See planielly that God Could Give Riches And take it Away When he plesed. O how Smaul All that this World could Give In Comparison to treasuers lade Up in haven whoir No fier Could Consume. Altho I thought All That I had don for The past 25 years Met The Aprovel of My havenly Father in Substanc, Yet My Mind was depely Impresed With thoughtes that he demanded of me More Then I had don And That He would make me senseabel of it Before he had don with Me in This world . . .⁴⁷

Echos of Edward's description in the *Religious Affections* of God acting on the mind are found throughout the Ring "Memoirs." A constant theme is "how trew it is that God has the controul of the minds Of his sarvents."⁴⁸

Institutional Structures

Much of the Ring "Memoir" is a description of the organization of structures which sustained Whitefieldian revivalism and evangelical Calvinism. These structures were signs for Ring of Baptist success. The primary structure was the chapel or meetinghouse. From his involvement in 1814 in the founding of the Fredericton Baptist Church,⁴⁹ wherever Ring went, he became involved in the construction or renovation of chapels.⁵⁰

Auxiliary to the chapels was support of settled ministry. For Ring settled ministry was essential for preservation of true religion. Commenting on his brother-in-law's presence in Sussex Ring noted, "Br. Samuel Hartt had a church In that place, free will Baptist [actually Free Christian Baptist]. he was on A Visit while I was thair & Baptised. this made it more plane to me that the Church wanted an Ordaned minister."⁵¹ Coupled with this concern was desire for adequate support of ministers by churches. For example, he blames William Elder's defection to the Church of England on "ill tretement And Poverty" by the Bridgetown Baptist Church.⁵² Ring believed that the denomination could not prosper without properly supported ministers.

To help sustain this view of ministerial care of churches, Ring was a supporter of Home Mission, in retirement becoming a home missionary.⁵³ As a result he was ordained in 1847 serving churches in Spring- field, New Brunswick, and Bridgetown and Port George in Nova

Scotia.⁵⁴ When he retired from pastoral service he became the City Missionary in Saint John.⁵⁵

Ring was also a supporter of Foreign Mission. He was the New Brunswick Foreign Mission Society representative at the sailing of Richard Burpe to Burma in 1846.⁵⁶ After its formation he supported the Union Society, the coordinated fund-raising agency for Domestic Missions, Foreign Missions, the Education Society, Superannuated Ministers and Families of Deceased Ministers, and Circulation of Scriptures in Heathen Lands.⁵⁷ Support of the Bible Association,⁵⁸ Sabbath Schools,⁵⁹ and the temperance movement⁶⁰ were also considered by Ring to be significant parts of church life.

Associations, the Regular Baptist transcongregational grouping, were considered to be places where “much beseness [was] to be don.” While Ring was supportive of associations, he noted that “thair is many Important Subjectes comes under thair Notis that is But imperfectually Settelled.”⁶¹ Ring found specific missionary societies more effective.

For Ring the symbol of Baptist success in New Brunswick was the Fredericton Seminary. It opened in 1836 as the New Brunswick counterpart to Horton Academy in Nova Scotia which opened in 1829. He served on the local committee that oversaw construction of the school and its opening.⁶² For Ring,

the Semenarey at Fredericton and the colleg with the Academy at Woolvill, Nova Scotia, has a don marvilous work for the Baptist Cause. it has advanced it in various Wais. It has Given the Reson [risen] and Rising Generatsions A Nobel Impulse and thirst for Edecatsion. such as thay Never had Before. *God* has Blessed those Instutsions By Converting a Goodly Number Of the Pupels, which has went thair to Be Edecated, has Ben colled Of *God* to Preach the Gospel. A number Of them Air Now in Both Provinces Pasters Of Churches And Air Exseptabel Ministers Of the New testament. And we Pray that thay May Be Abudentlay Sucksesful in the Saving Of the Soles Of those to whom thay Preach Christ, And Christ Only.

A large Number Of School teachers has went from those instutsions. thay air Scatered All Over Both Provinces. the Most, If Not All Of them air Of the Right stamp, air Sucksesful, and have the confedance Of the Pepel. thair chase Conduct and Upright walk And life has Ganed for them A high Standing in the world.⁶³

Unique Baptist Identity

The Ring “Memoirs” present a description of Baptist triumphalism in New Brunswick. It was a shared triumph with Nova Scotia, with the exception that Whitefieldian revivalism appears to have been stronger in New Brunswick. This was due to the competition given to Regular Baptists by the Free Christian Baptists who maintained a Free Gospel Whitefieldian revivalism.⁶⁴ To this day the threefold structure of Regular Baptist triumphalism remains in New Brunswick.⁶⁵ Many today would echo Ring’s conclusion to his 1861 summary of the events which he described in his “Memoir.”

All this has had a Glorious Affect to Advance the Baptist intrest. they have Arrived to that Point at the midel of the 19 Centery that thair Ministers and la[y]men Can take the Pulpet or Platform and Aquit them Selves with credit and honer Equel to Anny other Denomatsion Of Christions. Who Amongst us, when lukiing At those Circomstances as thay Evedently have taken Place, would Not Say what What a wonderful work has our havenly *Fother* don for us Baptist and Is still carring on his Glorious work and will Carrey it on tel the whole Earth Shall Be filled with his Glory. Amen & Amen.⁶⁶

Endnotes

1. According to the 1860-1861 census Baptists made up 57,730; Roman Catholics, 85,238; Presbyterians, 36,632; Methodists, 25,637; and Episcopalians, 42,776 (E.M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* [Halifax: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902], p. 468). The Baptist total likely included both Regular and Free Baptists. The 1870-71 census listed the Regular Baptists at 42,730 and Free Baptists at 27,866.
2. “The Memoirs of the Reverend Jarvis Ring, Baptist Minister,” Allwood Family Papers, Baptist Collection, Vaughan Memorial Library, Acadia University, Wolfville, NS, p. 201.
3. “Ring Memoirs,” p. 2.
4. “Ring Memoirs,” p. 2.

5. George Whitefield, "The Grand Itinerant," in *Religious Enthusiasm and the Great Awakening*, ed. David S. Lovejoy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 31-32; James Davenport, "Confession and Retractions," in *The Great Awakening: Event and Exegesis*, ed. Darrett B. Rutman (Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 65-69; and Anonymous, "New England and the French Prophets," in *Religious Enthusiasm*, pp. 64-65. Whitefieldian revivalism has been designated by William McLoughlin as evangelical Arminianism and by George Rawlyk as neo-Whitefieldian (William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* [Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1978], p. 113; and G.A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984], pp. 8-12, 73-85).
6. The Planter migration has received considerable attention in recent years. The pioneer work is Esther Clarke Wright, *Planters and Pioneers, Nova Scotia, 1749 to 1775* (Wolfville, NS: E.C. Wright, 1978). Two significant Planter Conferences have been held at Acadia University.
7. "Ring Memoirs," p. 4.
8. "The Maugerville Settlement," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* I (1894), p. 11.
9. "The Maugerville Settlement," p. 124. Henry Alline (1748-1784) was the inspirational, charismatic preacher of the Nova Scotia Great Awakening, 1776-1784 (see J. M. Bumsted, *Henry Alline* [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971]). Alline preached in Maugerville, and in the lower St. John River Valley region in general, in 1779, 1780, 1782. A New Light Congregationalist Church was organized in Maugerville in 1779 (see James Beverley and Barry Moody, eds., *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Henry Alline* [Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1982], pp. 100-103, 107-109, 111-128, 193-194).
10. Reformation was the term used to describe a religious event identified by the participants as a movement of the Holy Spirit. Its opposite was a Delusion, which was perceived as the activity of the Devil.

11. "Ring Memoirs," p. 8. Elijah Estabrooks was the son of Elijah and Mary Hacket Estabrooks (Wright, *Planters and Pioneers*, p. 111). Rev. Elijah (1756-1825) was minister of the Waterborough Baptist Church 1800-1825 (Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 482). Zebulon Estey was the son of Richard and Ruth Estey (Wright, p. 116). Samuel Hartt was the son of Jonathan and Mercy Hawkes Hartt (Wright, *Planters and Pioneers*, p. 152). These three were all young men at the time of the Allinite Revival and were the children of pre-Loyalist settlers. Their conversions no doubt played a role in the establishment of an indigenous identity within the new community.
12. "Ring Memoirs," p. 5.
13. "Ring Memoirs," p. 9.
14. "Ring Memoirs," p. 9. The Hammonds moved to the Saint John River in 1780 (Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 484). He and his wife were members of the Horton, now Wolfville, Baptist Church, which had been founded in 1778 (Wolfville United Baptist Church Covenant Book).
15. The Shelburne (Nova Scotia) Baptist Church (a predominantly black congregation) had been founded under the leadership of the Reverend David George in 1784. Colbart had been sent around 1790 by George to the St. John River to minister to the blacks there. He went with the Clarkson expedition to Sierra Leone in 1792, dying on the voyage (David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denominations in America* [Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1813], 1:292; see also Grant Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister* [Hantsport, NS: Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee, 1992]).
16. Edward Manning (d. 1851) was one of the founding patriarchs of the Regular Baptist denomination in the Maritimes. James Manning (d. 1818) was another patriarch, pastor of the Lower Granville Baptist Church 1798-1818 (John Mocket Cramp. "The Baptists of Nova Scotia," a collated and indexed manuscript, Baptist Collection, Vaughan Memorial Library, Acadia University, Wolfville, NS, pp. 55-63, 138-141, 333-342).

17. William Black (1760-1834) became the first Methodist Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1789. John Black was a lay preacher from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. John Mann (d. 1817), a Loyalist, settled in the Newport Township in Nova Scotia. Abraham Bishop served the St. John River Valley from 1791 to 1792 (E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* [Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1976], pp. 50, 129, 148).
18. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 12-13.
19. "Ring Memoirs," p. 15.
20. "Ring Memoirs," p. 17.
21. "Ring Memoirs," p. 18.
22. John Lunt was a loyalist who had received a land grant in Queen's County.
23. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 18-25.
24. See D.G. Bell, *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Saint John: Acadia Divinity College and Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1984), pp. 80-84. Although the two were charged with rape offenses, the victims probable willing participation in the sexual act led to acquittal.
25. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 25-28.
26. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 38-42.
27. "Ring Memoirs," p. 42.
28. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 100-112.
29. "Ring Memoirs," p. 170.
30. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 163-164, 197. See James Edwin Orr, "Canadian Awakening, 1857," unpublished manuscript.

31. "Ring Memoirs," p. 197. Ring may have been responding to critics of Phoebe Palmer's preaching that inaugurated the Union Prayer Meeting revival in the Maritimes.
32. Letter from Asa Coy to Mary Ann Coy, July 13, 1845. Another description of the difference between the Whitefieldian revivalist expectations in New Brunswick and Edwardean revivalism is found in the following excerpt: ". . . I do not like the people at all. they are very formal. I have been here over two months and have only made the acquaintance of one person in the Baptist Church. you may go in and out Sabbath after Sabbath and no person will seek to make your acquaintance. their Prayer meetings are all a matter of form. you go in and take your seat and keep it till the meeting is over if you can keep awake, well and good, if not sleep on. there is nothing to disturb you. it would suit some of our folks very well that are so much afraid of excitement. they would not be pained by listening to the sisters for they are very quiet. I would give one of our little prayer meetings for all the meetings I have attended since I have been here . . ." (C. T. [Mrs. T.R.] Estey to Asa Coy, December 25, 1859, from East Cambridge, Massachusetts).
33. "Ring Memoirs," p. 96.
34. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 497; and Philip G.A. [Griffin-]Allwood, "First Baptist Church, Halifax: Its Origin and Early Years" (M.Div. thesis, Acadia Divinity College, 1978).
35. See Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative Of the Surprising Work of God* . . .; in C. C. Goen, *Jonathan Edwards: The Great Awakening*, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1972), 4:149-212.
36. See Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion*; in Goen, *Jonathan Edwards*, 4:291-530; and Patricia J. Tracey, *Jonathan Edwards: Pastor Religion and Society in Eighteenth-Century Northampton* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), p. 154. The covenant is quoted in Edwards' letter to Thomas Prince of Boston (Goen, *Jonathan Edwards*, 4:550-554).
37. See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., ed. John T. McNeill and trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), Book 3; and John Calvin, "Sununary of Doctrine concerning the Ministry

of the Word and the Sacraments,” in *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, ed. and trans. J.K.S. Reid (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954), pp. 170-177. See also Jonathan Edwards, *Religious Affections*, Works of Jonathan Edwards, ed. John E. Smith (New Haven: Yale University, 1959), vol. 2; and *Freedom of the Will*, Works of Jonathan Edwards, ed. Paul Ramsay (New Haven: Yale University, 1957), vol. 1.

38. Part III, Section IV of the *The Religious Affections*.
39. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England Between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids: Christian University, 1981); and Mcloughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, p. 69.
40. See Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood, “The Canadianization of Baptists: From Denominations to Denomination, 1760-1912” (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986), pp. 22-48, 62-98.
41. “Ring Memoirs,” pp. 28-29. Turner is possibly Thomas Tumey. He and Benjamin Newcombe signed the Waterborough Church covenant. The class meeting, the basic division of the local Methodist Society, met weekly under the leadership of a lay person for “fellowship in Christian experience” (*The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1978], p.231). This would be a lay preacher examination council.
42. Joseph Crandall (d. 1858) was pastor of the Sackville (New Brunswick) Church in 1799. He described the events on the St. John River in a memoir that he wrote in the 1850s (J.M. Bumsted, “Autobiography of Joseph Crandall,” *Acadiensis* [1973]: 79-96).
43. “Ring Memoirs,” pp. 30-38. During a Conference Meeting a congregation discussed matters concerning its business and spiritual life.
44. See Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood, “Is Confessing an Evangelical Consensus A Hindrance to Pluralism?: An Atlantic Baptist Case Study,” *Proceedings of the Canadian Theological Society* (1990).
45. “Ring Memoirs,” p. 6.
46. “Ring Memoirs,” p. 65.

47. "Ring Memoirs," p. 66.
48. "Ring Memoirs," p. 143.
49. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 57-63.
50. In Sussex, "Ring Memoirs," pp. 100-101; in Centrelea, "Ring Memoirs," pp. 130-131; and in Port George, "Ring Memoirs," p. 138.
51. Samuel Hartt (1799-1867), ordained in 1831, came from a Regular Baptist background. He united adherents of the continuing Allinite tradition in New Brunswick, the Free Christian Baptists, gaining fame as an evangelist (Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, pp. 416-418). Around 1802, a group holding Allinite views had separated from the Calvinist Baptist Church in Sussex under the leadership of Thomas Ansley. They were formally organized as a church in 1833 by Samuel Hartt and Henry Cronkhite, taking the name Free Christian Baptist in 1847 (David Bell, "From Newlight to Arminian Baptist in New Brunswick 1776-1832" [Unpublished paper, May 1981], pp. 41-42; and Cramp, "The Baptists of Nova Scotia," pp. 240-241). Ring repeats a common error of mistaking the Free Christian Baptists for Freewill Baptists. He should have known the difference for he signed an 1847 petition for government recognition of the denomination.
52. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 181-189.
53. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 100.
54. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 109-140.
55. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 144-146.
56. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 93-95.
57. The Union Society movement began in 1842 in Nova Scotia as an effort to combine the fund-raising endeavors for Home Mission, Foreign Mission, Ministerial Education, the Infirm Minister's Fund, the Education Society, and the Bible Cause. The association considered itself to be a general society and branch societies were formed in local churches (Cramp, "The Baptists of Nova Scotia," pp. 276-280). The New Brunswick Association joined the movement in 1845 when a General Union for

the province was formed. Treasurer for the General Union was Solomon Herset, secretary was J.T. Smith and Directors were S. Gerow, N.S. DeMill, A. McL. Seely, T.S. Harding, W.B. Kinnear, J. Ring, and G.A. Garrison (I.E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches from the Maritime Provinces in Canada* [St. John, NB: Barnes and Company, 1880], p. 590). The Union Society structure was integrated into the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island's structure when it was formed in 1846.

58. "Ring Memoirs," p. 210.
59. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 29, 117, 119, 138, 145, 169, 191.
60. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 118, 119, 132, 159.
61. "Ring Memoirs," p. 170.
62. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 75-80. See Allison A. Trites, "The New Brunswick Baptist Seminary 1833-1895," in *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience of Maritime Canada*, ed. Barry M. Moody (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1980), pp. 105, 175.
63. "Ring Memoirs," pp. 179-180.
64. See D.G. Bell, "The Allinite Tradition and the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists 1830-1875," in *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World*, ed. Robert S. Wilson (Saint John: Acadia Divinity College and Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1988), pp. 55-82; and Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood, "'To Hear a Free Gospel': The Christian Connexion in Canada," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988).
65. See Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit*, pp. 151- 172; and James S. Murray, ed., *"Through Him Who Strengthens Me": Selected Shorter Writings and Sermons of Swart Eldon Murray* (Saint John: Acadia Divinity College and Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1989).
66. "Ring Memoirs," p. 181.

From William Carey to Richard Burpee: Maritime Baptists and Foreign Missions to 1845

ROBERT S. WILSON

Two hundred years ago, in 1792, William Carey was the inspiration behind the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society in England and was the second person designated as a missionary by the society in 1793. A mythology has grown up around Carey that continues to influence evangelical protestants, particularly Baptists. He is called the “Father of Modern Missions” and is eulogized by many. As Baptists celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of this society and of his sailing for India, all sorts of questions begin to arise. What relationship does the lionized Carey bear to the historical Carey? Was he the consummate missionary statesman or a rather pragmatic pioneer?¹ He became a symbol of the missionary movement in the nineteenth century but did inspire Maritime Baptists? How much did Baptists know about and look to the example of Carey in 1845 when they sent out Richard Burpee, the first foreign missionary from the Maritimes?

In a “Brief Historical Sketch of Missions” presented at the time of Burpee’s designation in Halifax, 13 April 1845, Silas Rand talked of Carey and described the “obscure shoemaker’s” sermon to the 1792 Northampton Association. Carey had preached from Isaiah 54:2: “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.” He then uttered the memorable words: “attempt great things for God.

Expect great things from God.”² In his round-about fashion, Rand began his discussion of missions with Jonah and then moved through the book of Acts to the early church, the dark ages, the coming of true religion in the reformation, the Puritans in America, missions among the Indians, the Moravians, and finally the founding of missionary societies, at which point he introduced Carey. After examining the English Missionary Society, Rand commented, “from England the fire flew across the Atlantic and caught in the bosom of the American Churches.”³ He subsequently said more about Adoniram and Ann Judson than about Carey.⁴

Were the Maritime Baptists looking to Britain or the United States for their models of missionary service or was the emphasis in Rand’s speech because Burpee was going to Burma? The above questions can best be answered by a brief examination of the developing missionary vision among Maritime Baptists and their perceptions of the task to the point where they sent Burpee to Burma. A part of this is understanding how well they knew the stories of Carey and the Judsons.

During the time Carey was developing a missionary vision as a cobbler, school teacher and Baptist preacher, Henry Alline had finished his earthly ministry. The embryonic Baptist work in the Maritimes was strongly influenced by emotional revivalism and the antinomian turmoil of “New Dispensationalism.” David Bell says that “so far as we know [John] Paysant and [William Handley] Chipman were the only Allinite preachers not seduced into antinomianism . . .”⁵ The Maritime Baptists had to wait until their structures had developed before they would be able to discuss participation in foreign missions.

Carey also was a product of the eighteenth-century revivals as he moved from Anglicanism to the Particular Baptists after his conversion. John Ryland baptized Carey on 5 October 1783 in the River Nene at Northampton and recorded in his journal: “this day baptised a poor journeyman shoemaker.”⁶ Twenty-five years later he wrote,

on October 5, 1783, I baptized in the Nene, just beyond Dodderidge’s meeting-house, a poor journeyman-shoemaker, little thinking that before nine years elapsed he would prove the first instrument of forming a Society for sending missionaries from England to the heathen world, and much less than later he would become professor of languages in an Oriental college, and the translator of the Scriptures into eleven different tongues.⁷

William Carey became a Baptist minister and at the Northampton Association made known his vision of preaching to the heathen. His denomination had just moved beyond its hyper-calvinism under Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall and now allowed the preaching for a response to sermons. Not all agreed with Carey's ideas, but they did encourage him in 1792 to publish *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings are considered*.⁸ He and a handful of fellow ministers founded the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen at a meeting in Widow Wallis's parlour where they gave 13 pounds, two shillings, six pence.⁹ Within six months, Carey volunteered to join the physician John Thomas as a missionary and sailed for India.

By the time Carey had been in India six years, his family had almost died of disease and malnutrition, and his wife, Dorothy, was insane.¹⁰ He had been a labourer, an indigo plantation manager and had started his translation work. The East India Company, however, resisted any efforts at evangelization of the Hindu and Moslem peoples. With the arrival of William Ward, and Joshua and Hannah Marshman in 1799, and the move to the Danish territory of Serampore, the worst of the pioneering effort was behind him. He began to emerge as a language scholar and organizer.

While accounts of Carey's pioneering efforts circulated in the Baptist press in Britain, how much Maritimers knew before 1800 is uncertain. The Baptists in the Maritimes were just beginning to emerge from the unstructured New Dispensationalism as William Handley Chipman, under the influence of American Baptists, began to move toward the structure of the Particular Baptists. As one Allinite disciple after another was baptized, there was a turning away from some of the more radical manifestations of the revivalism of the early 1790s. The Baptist and Congregational Association formed in 1798 was not initially called an association because of the distrust of external authority. Its purpose was to exercise some control over the radicals and to encourage interaction between churches and ministers. Edward Manning drew up the articles of association based upon the Danbury model from the United States and "Congregational" was dropped from the name as they met in 1800 to adopt the articles.¹¹ This organization was a further

indication of the search for stability. Bell indicates that they rejected the Allinite system because of the New Dispensationalism even though it was a deviation from Alline's beliefs. He comments on Edward Manning, "probably none of the first generation of Baptist Ministers travelled faster or farther from his Allinite roots."¹²

It was only after the move to a closed-communion Baptist position in 1810 that Maritime Baptists began to seek ways to use their new structures to evangelize both at home and abroad. Edward Saunders writing in 1902 certainly believed that Carey was an inspiration to Maritime Baptists:

Carey's descent into the well of heathenism thrilled them and kindled in their hearts the fire of foreign missionary zeal. Every item of intelligence from Carey's mission, eagerly read by them, was fuel to the flame. Prayer for the success of the new enterprise was with them spontaneous. It was the very breath of their souls. But the interest in the work did not end with prayer. They raised money to help the work forward. Carey's mission was followed by the one founded by Adoniram Judson.¹³

The Maritime Baptists were reading the *American Baptist Magazine* and were often visited by Baptist leaders from the South. There is a letter quoted by I.E. Bill from Rev. Daniel Merrill who had attended the 1810 Association meeting in Sackville, N.B., on June 25 and 26.¹⁴ It tells of the small but growing Association and the revivals which were so much a part of the development of Maritime Baptists. Bill then records that at the 1814 Association at Chester, N.S., "a contribution was made for the poor heathen to be sent to the Treasurer of the Auxiliary Bible Society of Halifax, and forwarded by that Society. Amount received, £8 13s – \$34.60. This may be regarded as the COMMENCEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE."¹⁵

The Chester meetings had been preceded by a circular letter written by Edward Manning that lauded the British and Foreign Bible Society and centred on foreign concerns. Saunders in describing the letter said,

it congratulates the churches that hostilities between Great Britain and the United States have come to an end. The future was aglow with

hope because of the going out of missionaries to heathen lands, and the formation of societies to support them and to give general circulation of the Scriptures. Judson and his associates, and Carey were the central figures among the missionaries of the time.¹⁶

Manning had said “our Zeal for God is diffusing the light of divine revelation to many millions destitute of it. The Bible Society has translated the Scriptures into fifty languages.”¹⁷ One of the key translators was William Carey.

The opening of the Serampore operation in 1799 in the Danish-controlled territory near Calcutta was the beginning of a great period of fruitfulness in the infant Baptist Missionary Society. The creation of a missionary compound with printing press, translation facilities, schools for Indian and European male and female children and preaching stations made a significant impact on both the local area and the concept of missions in Britain and America.¹⁸ Carey taught at an East India Company College in Fort William as the Bengali professor. This brought both an income to provide some security for the mission and some criticism from England from those who worried that the missionaries were getting rich instead of preaching the Gospel. Carey was at some pains to show that was not the case.¹⁹ By 1801 the whole Bible had been translated into Bengali and the New Testament had been printed. Until a fire wiped out the printing operation in 1812, the work progressed well. The disaster at Serampore turned into a blessing as the work there was now well-publicised and money poured in to replace the lost press and materials and volunteers made themselves available for missionary service.

Letters from Carey found their way not only into the British Baptist magazines but also into others on both sides of the Atlantic. Leon McBeth said that “the newsy letters of William Carey were read at church and association meetings.”²⁰ Between 1806 and 1814, American Baptists followed the Serampore story closely and raised \$18,000 to send to Carey. They also raised \$3,000 in 1812 to help the Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions send four families, including Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, to Burma. Both Judson and Rice became Baptists by the time they arrived on the field and therefore resigned from their Board.²¹ Rice returned to the United States and in 1814 the Baptists formed the General Missionary Conven-

tion of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions. Because it met every three years, it was called the Triennial Convention. Dr. William Staughton, who had been present at the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, had written *The Baptist Mission in India*, and had served several American Baptist Churches, became the Corresponding Secretary of the new organisation.²² Baptists in the United States had been cut off from the Serampore Mission because of the War of 1812 and were ready for the challenge of foreign missions. They chose the society model for organisation, rather than the denominational or associational model, because the churches feared dominance from the top. In 1817 the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* became the official voice of the Triennial Convention.²³

Saunders commented about Judson's conversion, "it was interpreted as a special call to the denomination to arise, and engage in the work of giving the Gospel to the benighted nations of the earth. This matter was discussed in every Baptist home in America."²⁴ In 1819 the *American Baptist Magazine* was recommended to Maritime Baptists in the circular letter. Through its pages they followed the accounts of Carey in India and the Judsons in Burma with intense interest.²⁵ Mite Societies began to be formed in various areas to raise money for missions. One of the earliest was in Saint John in 1818. Saunders comments, "here the benevolence which had been working in the churches began to take to itself system and organization."²⁶ In January 1832 a letter from the Horton Female Mite Society explained that one penny a week or six a month made one a member of the group and the money was for the education of a Burman child.²⁷ While much of the money raised was channelled into home missions, foreign missions was the key concern. George Levy says that these were the first organizations directed to missions to be composed solely of women.²⁸

While both home and foreign missions were discussed at Association meetings, it was not until 1818 that the Association appointed a committee to superintend "the missionary concerns in these provinces." In 1820 this was increased with equal numbers from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. After 1821 each province formed its own association with the division of the missionary committee as well.²⁹ While the primary emphasis was home missions, there were plans to "stimulate interest in missions following the 'example of the Churches of the Saints

in Europe and America' in holding monthly missionary prayer meetings."³⁰ Levy adds that the majority of funds came from the ladies' mite societies.

By 1825 the Baptists of Nova Scotia asked the New Brunswick Association to unite and publish a religious periodical.³¹ It was printed in Saint John with Charles Tupper as editor.³² The first edition of the *Baptist Missionary Magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* carried a prospectus which discussed a "day big with great events . . . [in which] Missionary Societies, Branches and Auxiliaries, Sunday School and other Societies, are established and establishing in different parts of the world." The paper was founded "to accelerate the fondly anticipated era when the spread of religion shall be universal."³³

The new magazine carried many articles about the American Baptist Missionary activities and the Judsons became household personalities. Rand commented in 1845, "the *American Missionary Magazine*, and afterwards our own *Missionary Magazine*, and other periodicals, were the means of circulating among us the missionary intelligence, which could not fail of awakening to some extent the missionary spirit."³⁴ He then said that "childhood memories of many include prayers for Burmah and missionaries" and of hearing it discussed and of reading missionary journals.

The new periodical also carried material about Carey and the Serampore mission. The first edition carried a one page memoir of Rev. William Ward, one of the Serampore missionaries. The history of the English Baptist work in India after 1792 was then described.³⁵ The paper's founding coincided, however, with a disagreement between the Missionary Society in London and Carey and the others at Serampore. The controversy arose after Andrew Fuller died in Britain and the control of the Baptist Missionary Society fell to those who had never met Carey and the others. The Missionary Society wanted to control the mission from London, recruit and place missionaries, etc. Carey and the other missionaries, however, had not only poured their lives but also many thousands of pounds into the Serampore project. They had sent missionaries to other areas and paid their expenses. The new missionaries arriving from Britain felt the old men did not understand the new age and set up their own mission in Calcutta. The final break came in 1827 with Carey, Marshman and Ward going on their own but with the provision in their wills that the property would go to the Missionary Society upon

their deaths. The news from the Baptist Missionary Society in England, thereafter, mentioned Carey very little until his death in 1835. Since much of the material in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* was reprinted from British or American Magazines, Carey did not figure very much in their articles.

A perusal of the ten years of the issues of the *Baptist Missionary Magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* shows a nearly equal amount of space given to the English missionaries and the American missionaries. Carey, after the initial year of 1827, is seldom mentioned. Adoniram Judson, however, is discussed quite often. With Ann Judson's death in 1826 and the publishing of her biography, many people were moved to a new concern for missions. The first edition of the magazine carried Ann Judson's obituary. Remembering the shock of her death from the perspective of 1845, Rand, in his "Brief Historical Sketch of Missions," told of the Judsons arriving in Serampore where "they were met by the venerable Carey."³⁶ In the next edition of the *Christian Messenger* Rand commented,

Mrs. J's death was, by short-sighted mortals, considered at first a severe blow to the mission; but, through the mercies of God, it has proved far otherwise . . . Thousands who have read her story with thrilling emotions, and became imbued with her spirit – hundreds who have followed her in example of separation and suffering and toil, had never been aroused to the missionary work but for the simple annals of her life and death.³⁷

Local missionary societies were formed. The April 1828 *Baptist Missionary Magazine* told of the first anniversary of the Saint John Missionary Society which been formed to support the English Baptist Missionary Society. They sang a hymn written by Krishnoo, one of the first Hindu converts at Serampore. The Baptist leader from the Petit-codiac River Valley, Joseph Crandall preached. The secretary then reported on the Baptist Missionary Society and the struggle against suttee in India. They then sent £14 to London.³⁸ In January 1828, after discussing the Burman Mission, the editors said, "eighteen dollars were lately forwarded from Amherst N.S. for this mission. The editors will most gladly receive and transmit any contributions which may be made for the same object."³⁹ A society was also formed in Salisbury in 1828 which supported the American Baptist Mission in Burma.⁴⁰

With these local groups organizing, pressure was there for the associations to form missionary societies. A letter from the Horton Female Mite Society writing about the Burman mission commented, "it has been, and is, carried on by Baptists, and will not Baptists in this Province come forward and help their brethren to sow that precious seed, which shall be returned a hundred fold into their own bosoms."⁴¹ The Nova Scotia Association at its 1832 meeting in Cornwallis resolved itself into a Society for the promotion of both Home and Foreign Missions. One dollar a year made one a member of the Society and half a dollar was sufficient to be a member of a local auxiliary.⁴² E.A. Crawley became the Secretary of the Society and J.W. Nutting of Halifax the Treasurer. Rand commented that until 1839 all the funds raised were forwarded to the United States.⁴³

The *Baptist Missionary Magazine* had become an important tool in the struggle for both the identity of Maritime Baptists and in supporting their causes like home missions, education and particularly foreign missions. In 1834 the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* was moved to Halifax; Nutting and John Ferguson became joint editors.⁴⁴ Financial problems plagued the magazine and in 1836 it was decided to establish the weekly *Christian Messenger* which began in January 1837 and was published by the Missionary Board.⁴⁵ When the earlier *Baptist Missionary Magazine* had covered Carey's obituary in March of 1835, it had quoted from the *Calcutta Inquirer*: "he laboured equally with his pen and his tongue, and published useful works and preached to the people with indefatigable zeal."⁴⁶ Thereafter there was little mention of him in the periodicals until the death of Marshman in December of 1837 reunited the Serampore Mission with the Baptist Missionary Society. From that point on to the celebration in 1842 of the Jubilee of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, Carey was spoken of often in the pages of the *Christian Messenger*. This corresponded with the growing agitation for Maritime Baptists to recruit and send their own missionaries.

In 1838 the Nova Scotia Missionary Society asked New Brunswick Baptists to join them in foreign missionary enterprises. The 1839 Association at Chester, Nova Scotia, saw the Missionary Society pledge

to unite with them [New Brunswick Baptists] in pledging themselves and the churches to the adequate education and maintenance of some one suitable person, as a missionary in some foreign field, as soon as

one possessed of suitable character shall be found in the judgement of such committee as the United Society shall name of the purpose.⁴⁷

Rand mentioned the stirring speeches of F.W. Miles, Principal of the Fredericton Seminary and the man who had helped New Brunswick Baptists gain a vision for foreign missions.⁴⁸ Saunders said of the 1838 meeting at Chester that “while the Rev. F.W. Miles addressed the meeting a holy and divine influence filled the place, and embalmed in the hearts and memories of many, a thrilling fervour for the salvation of the perishing heathen.”⁴⁹

The man who volunteered to go was Richard Burpee from Jacksontown, N.B. He had been converted under the ministry of, and was baptized by, Miles and attended the Fredericton Seminary. Ordained at St. George in 1837, he ministered at St. Patrick’s, near St. John. He entered Acadia College in October 1839 where his expenses were paid jointly by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Baptists.⁵⁰ Each vacation he toured various areas of the Maritimes, preaching and raising funds for the Missionary Society. Several times a year there were accounts in the *Christian Messenger* telling of Burpee’s engagements and the funds he raised although there is not as much coverage as one might expect. In 1841 the Missionary Boards decided to try and find someone else to accompany him.⁵¹

The *Christian Messenger*, in the months following the choosing of the new missionary, carried a number of articles using Carey as an inspiration. An April 1839 article entitled, “Malcolm’s Travels in Asia,” describes a visit to Serampore with Dr. Marshman just before his death. It also records the brief words on Carey’s cenotaph:

A wretched poor, and helpless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall.⁵²

The Calvinistic Baptists of the Maritimes would appreciate Carey’s request to have a simple grave marker which emphasised God’s grace. In July 1839, the magazine quoted W.B. Gurney’s speech at the London meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society. He lauded the founders of the society, “those who formed it were strong in faith, or they would never have founded on resources so small, a plan so great as the conversion of the world.”⁵³ The next year an article on Carey quotes him from before

he left England: “I question whether all are justified in staying here, while so many are perishing without the means of grace in other lands . . . the Commission is a sufficient call to them [ministers-missionaries] to venture all, and, like the primitive Christian, go everywhere preaching the Gospel.”⁵⁴

The enthusiasm for Carey and foreign missions reached a high point in 1842 on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society. Hardly an edition of the *Christian Messenger* appeared without some mention of the celebration. The readers of the magazine would, by the end of the year, have a rather full picture of the early days of the mission in India although the nearly ten-year break between Carey and the Missionary Society was not mentioned.

In January a poem, “To the Memory of a Missionary,” was published. The first lines read:

In India’s groves the towering palm
Lifts high its feathery plumes to heaven
The golden orange sheds its balm –
Perfume to flower and fruit is given;
But he is gone who shed abroad
The fragrance of the Word of God.⁵⁵

On April 8 an article commented, “the rise and progress of the Baptist Mission rank among the most remarkable events in the modern history of the church.”⁵⁶ The front page of the May 27 paper carried the Baptist Missionary Society May meetings in Exeter Hall in London. The chairman, H. Kelsall said, “it is now fifty years since the Baptist Mission was first formed at Kittering – (loud cheers) – by William afterwards Dr. Carey, whose praise is in all our churches (cheers).”⁵⁷

After another article in June, the editors write, “but although the professed people of God can not all be missionaries of his blessed Gospel, is there therefore naught that we can do? Far otherwise – a great and glorious work is before us . . .”⁵⁸ Another front-page article in July described a meeting at Kittering and a visit to the birthplace of Carey, “the most intrepid missionary that ever graced the Baptist denomination.”⁵⁹ Later that month the editors justified the amount of space given to the Jubilee as important because Maritime Baptists were “so close in doctrine and aim with the English Baptists.”⁶⁰ Two further editorials will suffice to see Carey’s importance to Baptists in New Brunswick and

Nova Scotia. After mentioning Carey, in a comment on the Jubilee, the editor suggested that perhaps N.S. and N.B. Baptists were “to be the honoured means of sending forth their sons and their daughters as missionaries to enlighten and bless the untold myriads of China?”⁶¹ A month later the editor suggests that the English Baptist Missionary Society was a good model for “it was in fact the head-spring of all the vast Missionary efforts which have blessed the world within the past fifty years . . .”⁶²

All this indicates that the Maritime Baptists used the Jubilee as an opportunity to both stress foreign missions and to raise funds. The emphasis on small beginnings and great results reflected the growing post-millennial view-point of many Baptist leaders. At the New Brunswick “Associated Body” meetings in July 1842, the impassioned missionary sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Thompson on the widow who “hath done all she could.” He then took out his prized watch and with tears gave it to the Missionary Society. Others gave ten or twelve watches and other jewellery to the amount of £250.⁶³ As the time for Burpee’s departure for the East approached, the Carey model was emphasised. In addition, the move to further centralization faced Baptists and the role of foreign missions became a key emphasis. Again Carey was held up as “a man in whose mind originated the great idea of MODERN MISSIONS.”⁶⁴ Later the same year the editors commented, “if we look at the Baptist Denomination in England, its rapid growth within a few years past calls for deep attention. Its bold commencement of the great work of Christian Missions, afforded a signal note to every Evangelical body in Christendom, to awaken to the loud and perishing cry of heathen lands for the bread of eternal life.”⁶⁵ Obviously greater organization carried many benefits.

They were also aware of the problems which could arise between missionaries and missionary societies. They were very careful to draw up Regulations of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Foreign Missionary Societies to clearly define the lines of authority. The missionary was not to engage in secular employment or accept personal gifts, must report regularly, and must be under the authority of the society. Provision was also made for dismissal, not on doctrinal grounds, but for violating the financial restrictions. The regulations were borrowed from the American Baptists but one wonders if the Maritime Baptists also wanted to avoid a repetition of the independence of mind

shown by William Carey and the others at Serampore.⁶⁶

The question of where their missionaries would serve was an important one as well. The long-time links with the American Baptists caused the Maritimers to seek their assistance. There had been extensive coverage of the Judson's ministry in Burma. Between 1837 and 1844, the *Christian Messenger* published over thirty articles on the work among the Karen people who, after the Burman wars of the 1820s, were found in the British-controlled area of Burma. The earlier *Baptist Missionary Magazine* had also carried articles about them including one in 1835 which described them as one of the ten lost tribes of Israel.⁶⁷ Negotiations were opened with the American Baptist Missionary Society to have Burpee go out in conjunction with them to Burma and to work among the Karens. I.E. Bill, in his fundraising trip for Acadia College to the United States in 1844-45, met with the Professor Read, the Secretary and Hon. Herman Lincoln, the Treasurer of the Missionary Society.⁶⁸ There is no remaining evidence to indicate that they discussed Burpee's situation but they probably did.

While in Boston, he also attended a meeting addressed by Rev. Mr. Kincaid who had just returned from Burma and was telling of a great revival among the Karens. Bill reported,

he calls for more labourers to occupy the ground – their wants are most pressing and urgent – new fields are opening on every hand, and men are wanted to occupy them. The work as yet is principally confined to the Karens. I trust from my inmost heart that bro. Burpe [sic] will soon be prepared to go and preach the Gospel to those who are waiting for God's law, and that other brethren [will be] raised up among us whose souls shall burn with holy desire for the salvation of the heathen . . . Churches of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, what account shall we give in a coming day, if souls are lost through our neglect . . . How shall we appear in the presence of God, with the blood of souls staining our garments?⁶⁹

The negotiations to send Burpee in cooperation with the American Baptist Missionary Society were long and sometimes difficult. The members of the Triennial Convention were preoccupied with the impending division between the North and South which took place in 1845.⁷⁰ An announcement of the farewell meetings for the Burpees commented, "Mr. Burpe[sic] will commence his labours in Burmah

under the supervision of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions who have kindly and voluntarily offered to render every facility to the advancement of the mission.”⁷¹ George Levy suggests that half of the funding for the Burpees came from the Americans, but a paper by Jonathan Wilson suggests that in fact Maritime Baptists paid the whole sum which explains some of the frustrations Burpee felt as he arrived on the field and waited for permission to work among the Karens.⁷²

Sunday, 13 April 1845 was chosen as the day “for the solemn designation of the Rev. Mr. Burpe[sic] to his Missionary Labours in India.”⁷³ The leaders of the denomination gathered to bid farewell to the first Maritime Baptist foreign Missionary. The seventy-five year old Joseph Dimock preached on Saturday. Burpee was examined and the service of designation included the presentation of a Bible to the missionary couple, dedication prayers and an opportunity for Burpee to say goodbye. In was on that afternoon that Rand gave his “Brief Historical Sketch of Missions.” He reminded the audience that “just fifty-one years and eleven months ago today, Messrs. Carey and Thomas at Leicester, [were] solemnly designated to the missionary work, and soon embarked for India.”⁷⁴ Rand added, “how little did Carey and Fuller, and Sutcliff and Ryland, and Pearce know at the time, what would be the effects of that power which they were putting into motion by their prayers and resolutions and little contributions.”⁷⁵

Rand also included an extensive review of the Judsons’ work and a discussion of Burma and the Karen people. It was prophetic when Rand said,

it is not improbable that brother Burpe [sic] may yet unfurl the banner of the cross among this interesting people; and should his career be as short as [George] Boardman’s, only let it be as brilliant by deeds of usefulness, and his end as peaceful and triumphant, and we shall have no cause to regret either the expenses of the enterprise or the shortness of his career.⁷⁶

Boardman was the first to minister among the Karens and had died, in 1831, after a brief ministry. Burpee would be struck by consumption and forced to return home in 1850 and died in 1853.

In the efforts to arrange for Burpee’s support, it became apparent that foreign missions was strong reason to organize a broader union

among Baptists. Education, home missions and the plight of retired ministers or minister's widows were also requiring attention. The negotiations for a broader union proceeded through 1845 as the Maritime Baptists prepared to say farewell to Burpee. Joseph Belcher, the former President of the Baptist Union in England, was a pastor in Halifax and suggested a union based upon the English model.⁷⁷ An editorial about the proposed union sought to argue for common interests: "we need not, however, bring a stronger evidence of the identity we refer to, than the case of our esteemed brother Burpe[sic], whom as our first missionary to the heathen, our brethren of New Brunswick have had the privilege of sending from their bosom of their churches . . . Nova Scotia has an equal claim."⁷⁸ The new union had its greatest harmony over foreign missions while home missions and education were more controversial. The new format was to be a Society by subscription with two-sixths of the funds going to home missions and one-sixth each going to foreign missions, Bible distribution among the heathen, superannuated ministers fund and educational institutions.⁷⁹ The result was the 1846 founding of the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.⁸⁰

Foreign missions were a significant factor in Maritime Baptist life after 1810. Through the Mite Societies and the Missionary Societies, women gained a voice in church and denominational life which would be magnified by the efforts of Hannah Maria Norris among the women twenty-five years after Richard and Laleah Burpee left for Burma. Home missions, education, religious periodicals and monthly prayer meetings were instigated or reinforced by the foreign missionary concerns. Finally, denominational union was sparked by the cooperation already present between the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Associations.

It is certainly too much to ascribe all this to the influence of William Carey but his vision of the work of foreign missions was an important factor in the Maritime Baptist development. They were aware of Carey's significance as a pioneer and saw Burpee's going to Burma as a further step along the road begun by Carey and followed by the Judsons and others. In Burpee, Maritime Baptists had moved to help the completion of the building of the Kingdom of God which had begun with the Great Commission.

Endnotes

1. A. Christopher Smith, "The Legacy of William Carey", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, (January 1992): 1. This is an excellent article which brings into sharp contrast some of the aspects of Carey's ministry. It places Carey in his context and allows glimpses of his renewed Calvinism, postmillennialism and dependence upon the other leaders of the Serampore Mission. Smith comments about Carey, "he was much more of a mission motivator and Bible translator than a pioneer in the heart of India – or a mission strategist. Thus it was the number of *languages* into which he carried out or superintended (rudimentary) translations of the Holy Scriptures rather than the small number of Hindus that he led to Christ, that impressed pre-Victorian and Victorian minds and made him a household name in evangelical circles" (p. 5).
2. Silas T. Rand, "Brief Historical Sketch of Foreign Missions," *Christian Messenger*, 23 May 1845, pp. 164-165.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Rand, "Brief Historical Sketch of Foreign Missions," *Christian Messenger*, 16 May 1845, pp. 157-158, 23 May 1845, p. 165.
5. D.G. Bell, *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innes* (Saint John: Acadia Divinity College, 1984), p. 13.
6. Mary Drewery, *William Carey: Shoemaker and Missionary* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), p. 24.
7. Rev. John Ryland as found in S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey D.D., Fellow of Linnaean Society* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), p. 38.
8. Rand may have read Carey's *Enquiry* for the material covered in his "Brief Historical Sketch of Missions" covers much of the same material in the same way.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 90ff.
10. Drewery, *William Carey*, pp. 62ff.
11. Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: John Burgoyne, 1902), pp. 84ff.

12. Bell, *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innes*, p. 30.
13. Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, p. 208.
14. I.E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Saint John: Barnes and Company, 1880), pp. 45ff.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
16. Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, p. 169.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (Hartford: Robins and Smith, 1844), p. 339. In a letter to his friend Sutcliff, April 8, 1801, Carey explains the importance of purchasing a mission-house and founding a school. Carey did not know whether the Society back in England would approve. This was to be the beginning of problems of control for the Society who would eventually expect to make more decisions while the missionaries could not always wait the year it took for communications to be exchanged between England and Serampore.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 342ff. In another letter to Sutcliff, 15 June 1801, Carey explains the wonderful open door and his own trepidation at teaching at a College when he had never attended one.
20. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), p. 343.
21. Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1969), pp. 245-252, 332.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

24. Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, p. 208.
25. George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John: Barnes-Hopkins, 1946), p. 136.
26. Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, p. 210.
27. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 1 April 1832, pp. 318-319.
28. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 90.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 90ff.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
33. *Baptist Missionary Magazine of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, January 1827, p. 3.
34. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 30 May 1845, p. 173.
35. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, January 1827, pp. 5ff.
36. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 23 May 1845, pp. 165-166.
37. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 30 May 1845, p. 173.
38. *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, July 1830, p. 84.
39. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, January 1928, p. 147.
40. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, January 1829, p. 288.
41. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, April 1832, p. 319.

42. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 137.
43. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 30 May 1845, p. 173.
44. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 143.
45. *Ibid.*
46. "The Late Dr. Carey," *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, March 1835, pp. 68-69.
47. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 30 May 1845, p. 173.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, p. 294.
50. Levy, *The Baptists in the Maritime Provinces*, pp. 138-139; *Christian Messenger*, 13 October 1837, p. 331, 8 March 1839, pp. 78-79 (the 13 October 1837 article tells of Burpee's ordination).
51. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 101.
52. "Malcolm's Travels in Asia," *Christian Messenger*, 5 April 1839, p. 105.
53. "Baptist Missionary Society," *Christian Messenger*, 19 July 1839, p. 225. This was a front-page article describing the forty-seventh meeting of the B.M.S.
54. *Christian Messenger*, 7 August 1840, p. 253.
55. "To the Memory of a Missionary," *Christian Messenger*, 28 January 1842, p. 28.
56. "Jubilee Year of the Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 8 April 1842, p. 109.
57. "Baptist Missionary Society," *Christian Messenger*, 27 May 1842, p. 161.

58. "Editorial," *Christian Messenger*, 3 June 1842, p. 172.
59. "The Jubilee," *Christian Messenger*, 1 July 1842, p. 200.
60. "Editorial," *Christian Messenger*, 22 July 1842, p. 226.
61. *Christian Messenger*, 2 September 1842, p. 274.
62. *Christian Messenger*, 7 October 1842, p. 314.
63. *Christian Messenger*, 29 July 1842, p. 229.
64. "William Carey," *Christian Messenger*, 17 May 1844, p. 157.
65. *Christian Messenger*, 19 July 1844, p. 226.
66. "Report to the Nova Scotia Association in Amherst of the Committee of the Nova Scotia Baptist Foreign Missionary Society," *Christian Messenger*, 15 August 1845, pp. 260ff.
67. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, March 1835, p. 74.
68. I.E. Bill, "Letter from Boston," *Christian Messenger*, 27 September 1844, pp. 301-302.
69. I.E. Bill, "Letter from Boston," *Christian Messenger*, 29 October 1844, p. 381.
70. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists*, p. 338.
71. *Christian Messenger*, 4 April 1845, pp. 106-107.
72. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 139; Jonathan Wilson, "Richard Burpee, Arracan and the Maritime Baptist Foreign Mission Movement: 1838-1853," Unpublished paper, December 1991.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 23 May 1845, pp. 164-165.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Rand, "Brief Sketch of Foreign Mission," *Christian Messenger*, 30 May 1845, p. 173.

77. *Christian Messenger*, 6 June 1845, p. 181.

78. *Christian Messenger*, 18 July 1845, p. 226.

79. *Christian Messenger*, 3 October 1845, pp. 316-317.

80. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, pp. 151ff.

A “Feminine” Heartbeat in Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism

DAVID R. ELLIOTT

Protestant fundamentalism has often been characterized as militant, rationalistic, paternalistic and even misogynist.¹ This was particularly true of Baptist and Presbyterian fundamentalists who were Calvinists. Yet, evangelicalism and fundamentalism also had a feminine, mystical, Arminian expression which encouraged the active ministry of women and which had a profound impact upon the shaping of popular piety through devotional writings and mystical hymnology.² This paper examines the “feminine” presence in popular fundamentalism and evangelicalism by examining this expression of religion from the standpoint of gender, left brain/right brain differences, and Calvinistic versus Arminian polarities.

The human personality is composed of both rational and emotional aspects, both of equal value. The dominance of either aspect reflects the favouring of a particular hemisphere of the brain. Males have traditionally emphasized the linear, rational left side of the brain over the intuitive, emotional right side. Females have tended to utilize the right side of the brain more,³ although some males are more right-brained and some females are more left-brained. Such differences may be genetic, hormonal or sociological. Brain researcher Marilyn Ferguson favours the sociological explanation and suggests a deliberate reorientation to the right side of the brain as means of transforming society away from confrontation to a state of peace. She sees the feminist movement accomplishing much of this transformation of society by emphasizing the right side of the brain.⁴

When looking at the two dominant expressions of Protestantism –

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Calvinism and Methodism, we find what appears to be a left/right brain dichotomy. Calvinism often denied the emotional aspect of life and faith, seeing God as an austere deity. Its cold rationalism caused a Calvinistic church service to be described as “four bare walls and a sermon.”⁵ It was in response to that rigidity that many men and women turned to Arminianism, a more feminine theology that saw God as a loving deity. Arminianism was popularized by the Quakers and Wesleyans who borrowed from the Catholic mystics. These groups tended to offer a larger role for women in ministry.

The following pairs of dichotomies, based upon ideal types, appear to hold true.

Left brain	Right brain
masculine	feminine
scholastic	mystical
rational	emotional
linear	intuitive
male dominance	sexes equal
militant	passive
Calvinism	Arminianism
Presbyterian	Wesleyan
predestination	free will
fundamentalism	evangelicalism

Most women in the past were denied a formal education and formal theological training, yet they have had a considerable role in the shaping of popular piety, and this holds true especially in the development of evangelicalism and fundamentalism. Left to fend for themselves intellectually, women sometimes resorted to popular theologies whose origins were often in what Ronald Knox has called the “intellectual underworld” of early Christian and medieval heresies which had manichaeian overtones in its mysticism.⁶ Manichaeians were dualists, who rejected the body and matter as evil and emphasized the spiritual through asceticism. They had a heightened sense of the Devil. Manichaeism has been identified by Richard Hofstadter as one of the dominant traits of fundamentalism.⁷

Because heresy was a form of rebellion against the *status quo*, it provided an avenue for the emancipation of women.⁸ And women, having

the major role in the nurturing of children, were able to transmit popular piety orally to their sons and especially to their daughters.⁹

We begin with the ideas and influence of Madame Guyon and a number of her disciples who shaped popular piety in evangelicalism and fundamentalism. They include Susanna Moody, Catherine Booth, Hannah Whitall Smith, Jessie Penn-Lewis, Amy Carmichael, Christabel Pankhurst, and Aimee Semple McPherson who championed the ministry of women.

Madame Guyon (1648-1717)

The mystical side of evangelicalism and fundamentalism was influenced by the beliefs and activities of a seventeenth-century French-Catholic mystic, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Mothe Guyon. She was born into a wealthy, aristocratic French family whose ancestors had supported the cause of the Cathars, the medieval Manichaeans, in the enclave of Languedoc.¹⁰ She was an extremely talented but frustrated woman who was also emotionally troubled.

In her autobiography, Madame Guyon would have us believe that she had an emotionally-deprived childhood. She claimed that she was rejected by her mother and was shuffled from convent to convent. Her relationship with her half-siblings was also poor and she claimed that they physically abused her.¹¹

At the age of fifteen she was married, against her wishes, to a man twenty-two years her elder. Her marriage was exceedingly unhappy and she found solace in the mystical writings of St. Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, Thomas A' Kempis and Ignatius Loyola; but she carried their ideas to extremes. Guyon's thinking was very manichaeian, seeing the flesh as evil. She may have been influenced in this regard by the mystics she had read, or she may also have come into direct contact with Albigensian or Cathar ideas which still persisted in the regions of south-eastern France where she lived and travelled.

As one reads Guyon's autobiography one is struck by her excessive morbidity. As a child she had a strong death wish and hoped for martyrdom. After her marriage she tried to cut out her tongue. Everywhere she saw enemies and persecutors: her mother, her half-brothers and sisters, her husband, her mother-in-law, her maids and the priests. Her behaviour and comments make one suspect that she was a manic-depressive or a paranoid schizophrenic.

As Madame Guyon pursued her mysticism she came to believe that she could achieve union with God through “self-crucifixion” and by becoming “nothing.”¹² She dispensed with her jewelry, neglected her hair, wore plain clothing, picked at facial scabs to make them worse, and gave away vast amounts of her wealth. Her belief in sanctification (being made holy) or union with the divine became so extreme that she believed that she personally would become the physical bride of Christ. While still married to Guyon, she composed a marriage contract with Christ.¹³ As she read her Bible she believed that the description of the “corner-stone of the New Jerusalem” referred to herself. She would be the Queen of Heaven.¹⁴

After her husband died in 1676 Guyon travelled throughout France, Switzerland and Italy teaching her version of mysticism in various convents. She had been inspired by Marie de l’Incarnation who became famous in New France.¹⁵ In stepping out of the traditional role for women, Madame Guyon became part of the *dévotés* movement that was sweeping France.¹⁶

Among Madame Guyon’s disciples were a Barnabite friar La Combe, Archbishop Fénelon (1651-1715), who was a distant relative, and Madame de Maintenon, the consort of Louis XIV. Guyon and her circle became known as Quietists because they believed the “still small voice of God” could be heard within them if they had “crucified self.” Because of her belief in divine union she dispensed with oral prayer; since she taught that one could arrive at a state of sinlessness – confession, and penance were also unnecessary.¹⁷ Her views were soon linked with those of a heretical Spanish priest, Molinos, who taught that if one sinned, one was not culpable because the temptation came from the Devil.¹⁸

Louis XIV took steps to silence Guyon and her followers by having La Combe arrested. He was condemned as a heretic by the Inquisition and died in prison. Action was also taken against Fénelon who was banished to his diocese. Guyon’s writings were examined by Bishop Bossuet who condemned thirty of her propositions as heretical or inclined to be misleading. She was put in the Bastille for four years. In 1701 she was released but spent the rest of her life under house arrest.

While under house arrest Madame Guyon continued to have a great influence. Her autobiography and theological writings were translated and published by Protestants who regarded her as one of them, which she was not; she remained a member of the Catholic church until her death. Protestant pilgrims from France, England and Scotland flocked to her

house where she held court. Thus the ideas of Madame Guyon, Fénelon and Molinos were adopted by various Protestant groups. According to one historian of the Quakers, the works of Guyon, Fénelon and Molinos could be found in almost every Quaker library.¹⁹

Guyonese mysticism, with its emphasis on “death-to-self,” divine union with Christ, and divine guidance, became a major feature of the holiness movement, which is discussed below. As well, for many years, Moody Press, a leading fundamentalist publishing house in Chicago, published her autobiography. Her works became text books at Prairie Bible Institute at Three Hills, Alberta during this century while under the leadership of L.E. Maxwell. Guyon continues to attract attention with a recent evangelical biography of her being published in 1986.²⁰ Her modern disciples have treated her neuroses as evidence of spirituality.

Susanna Wesley (1669-1742)

Guyonese mysticism passed into evangelicalism largely through the Wesleys. Susanna Wesley (née Annesley), the mother of John and Charles, was a theologian in her own right. When her Anglican minister husband Samuel was away, Susanna preached in his stead. Both Susanna and Samuel Wesley were quite familiar with the works of the Catholic mystics.²¹ Susanna tried to instill “death-to-self” in her children.

John Wesley’s biographer has noted that Susanna ruled the family as a matriarch. Also dominated by his many female siblings, John had a decidedly feminine aspect to his personality.²² He rejected left-brained Calvinism for a right-brained “religion of the heart.” John Wesley read Molinos, Guyon and Fénelon in his search for holiness and included their writings in his “Christian Library.” Thus mysticism passed into Methodism which stressed perfectionism, the belief that one could completely eradicate sin from one’s life.²³

In the United States, Thomas C. Upham (1799-1872), a Congregational minister and philosophy professor in New England, found sanctification at a Methodist meeting. He began to promote Madame Guyon’s mysticism and became her biographer. His work, based on a loose translation of her writings, made her sound like a nineteenth-century evangelical.²⁴ His biography of her is still in print.

Evangelicalism is generally associated with the movement which Wesley founded. An important psycho-historical study of evangelicalism

by Philip Greven suggests that gender identification problems were common in the evangelical movement. The “bride of Christ” theme was used by both females and males. Note the eroticism in the later evangelical gospel song, “I Come to the Garden Alone.” Evangelical mystics besides Henry Alline spoke of being “ravished by the Spirit.”²⁵

Although Greven fails to link death-to-self with the earlier Catholic mystics by pushing his study only as far back as the Puritans and Quakers, he notes that “the ideal evangelical . . . was self-less and feminine. Evangelicals believed that a truly gracious Christian was a person who was self-denying, will-less, subject and submissive, humble and meek, chaste and pure – all supposedly female attributes.”²⁶

This mystical emphasis led to the equality of the sexes in ministry; both the Quakers and early Methodists were known for their women preachers.²⁷ Women preachers became quite common in the holiness tradition. Below we look at some who shaped evangelicalism and fundamentalism.

Catherine Booth (1829-1890)

Catherine Mumford Booth, who was well-read in Quaker and Methodist literature, was the theologian of the husband and wife team which launched the Salvation Army.²⁸ Even before the Booths were married Catherine maintained the equality of the sexes.²⁹ Later in her 1859 tract defending the ministry of women, she quoted the arguments of the Quaker theologian Joseph John Gurney and cited the examples of Madame Guyon, the Quaker Elizabeth Fry and prominent Methodist women preachers including Susanna Wesley, Mrs. Fletcher and Phoebe Palmer.³⁰ It was over the controversy of the preaching of Phoebe Palmer in Britain that Catherine had written the tract and began to preach in her husband’s place in the pulpits of the Methodist New Connexion.³¹ When the Booths withdrew to form the Salvation Army they made sexual equality in ministry a cardinal tenet. The highest ranks were open to women.³²

The revivalistic methods and the confrontational tactics of the Salvationists served as models for the later fundamentalist movement. So did their manichaeic theology which had an elevated concept of the devil. They saw themselves in a spiritual warfare, hence the military costumes and titles. Their popular gospel songs reflected and influenced the new hymnology which characterized fundamentalism.³³ Some of North

America's prominent fundamentalists, such as P.W. Philpott, Roland V. Bingham, Aimee Semple McPherson, and H.A. Ironside had their start in the Salvation Army.

The Booths continued the American Methodist holiness tradition which had been introduced to them by Phoebe Palmer. This contact was strengthened by another American holiness team: Robert and Hannah Whitall Smith when they held their holiness meeting at Brighton, England in 1875.³⁴

Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911)

The quietistic mysticism of Madame Guyon passed into fundamentalism largely through the influence of Hannah Whitall Smith, an American Quaker whose devotional books sold in the millions of copies. Hannah and her husband Robert Pearsall Smith (1827-1898) were responsible for spreading the concepts of the Higher Christian Life (also known as the Deeper Christian Life). Although the Smith family is a very well-documented family, fundamentalist hagiography has overlooked the history of the Smiths and the theological implications of their ideas.

Hannah (née Whitall) was the more dominant and famous of the two. Both were birthright Quakers and came from prominent wealthy families in Philadelphia. Hannah was particularly inclined towards mysticism; by her teens she was an admirer of Madame Guyon.³⁵ She wished she were a man so she could become a great preacher.³⁶ Feeling that was impossible, she resigned herself to being the wife of a famous husband. She married Robert Pearsall Smith in 1851, but became a preacher in her own right. Her involvement with heretical ideas and her troubled marital relationship led her into strident feminism.

The Smiths did not find their brand of Orthodox Quakerism spiritually satisfying and began searching elsewhere.³⁷ They were baptized by a Baptist minister in 1859 and for some time afterwards they came under the influence of the Plymouth Brethren. Then, in 1868, they became exposed to a Methodist Holiness group which taught sanctification through the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. While the Smiths sought sanctification, Robert achieved an ecstatic experience.³⁸

Hannah tried prayer and fasting, but never experienced the "blessing" which Robert had received, one possible reason being that it may have had more to do with his emotional and mental state than with his spiritual-

ity. Robert had been suffering from manic-depressive illness which ran in his family and which was inherited by his children.³⁹ In 1861 Hannah had written in her diary, “He [Robert] doesn’t sleep at night. His thinking is disordered. He takes endless walks up and down the beach, returning all dishevelled, with a wild look in his eyes.”⁴⁰

Hannah and Robert began to move in Methodist circles⁴¹ and were shunned by their Quaker families.⁴² Robert eventually became a Presbyterian and Hannah associated with the Plymouth Brethren.

Following the death of their son Frank, who died of typhoid while at Princeton University in 1872, Hannah began her career as an inspirational writer, by publishing a memorial of his life.⁴³ Frank’s life was depicted as one of holiness.

Robert suffered another nervous breakdown after Frank’s death and went to a private hydropathic sanatorium at Clifton Springs, New York. While there Hannah and another women were told by Robert’s “doctor” that sexual feelings and orgasms were manifestations of the Holy Spirit. In her manuscript, edited by her grand-daughter after her death and published variously as *Religious Fanaticism* or *Group Movements of the Past and Experiments in Guidance*, Hannah described in detail the surprising revelation from Dr. Foster.

. . . he found that whenever he prayed especially earnestly he had physical thrills which he thought belonged to earthly passions . . . he told us these ‘baptisms’ were really the fulfilment of the union between Christ and His people as the Bridegroom and the bride, described in Ephesians 5: 23-32, and typified in the Song of Solomon, and declared in many parts of Scripture, and that to reject it was to reject union with the Lord Himself. And he described this spiritual union as being so enrapturing and uplifting, and so full of the Lord’s actual presence, that at last we began to believe there must be something in it, and to long to know for ourselves the reality of this wonderful consecration . . . We came to the conclusion that it must be what all the old mystics had known, and that it was the true inner meaning of that Union with Christ for which the saints of all ages had longed, and into the realization of which so many of them seemed to have entered. And we both began earnestly to seek to know it for ourselves . . . now at last I had found the key that would open to me the door of this mystic region of divine union. As usual, when I was interested in anything, my friends had to become interested too, and to all with whom I dared to touch on such a sacred, yet delicate, subject, I tried to tell what Dr. R. had

told us.⁴⁴

Some of Hannah's friends sought this "baptism of the Spirit" by engaging in lesbian and heterosexual activities.⁴⁵ She came to believe that this new "truth" would help cure Robert's illness. In 1873 she wrote to him: "There does seem to be a truth in it, and I feel as if it would be a great means of restoring health to thee if thee could get fully into it. Do try."⁴⁶

Most of the hagiographies of Hannah Whitall Smith have overlooked Hannah's involvement in this perversion, blaming it on Robert.⁴⁷ But the evidence from her manuscript and personal letters clearly indicates that she actively promoted it.

How does one explain such antinomian behaviour? The answer seems to lie in the manichaeic nature of mysticism that pervaded their lives; Quietists and Quakers sought to live plain lives. Things related to the material world and the senses were shunned as belonging to the world of the Devil. Yet, the physical drives were exceedingly strong and created great tension in the psyche. To solve this intellectual "schizophrenia" it was much easier to rationalize the sexual feelings as being of divine origin.

In 1873 Robert had another mental relapse and went to Europe for rest and treatment. Shortly afterwards Hannah learned that he was holding evangelistic meetings in England and receiving large crowds. His depression had disappeared. He was working with William E. Boardman and Dr. Cullis, a homeopathic healer from Boston.⁴⁸

Boardman, a Presbyterian minister from Illinois, had been influenced by the Wesleyan writings of Charles G. Finney and Asa Mahan, and T.C. Upham, the biographer of Madame Guyon. Boardman advocated a doctrine of sanctification or perfectionism in his book, *The Higher Christian Life*, which had been published in 1859.⁴⁹ Central to his thought was the belief that, following conversion, there was a second work of grace by which one became filled by the Holy Spirit and it was possible to live a sinless life.

While on this campaign Robert sought to enlighten some of his female admirers in the ideas he had learned from Dr. Foster. Hannah encouraged him along that line, although she had not been able to experience personally such thrills. In a letter to Robert she wrote,

What thee tells me of the petting of thy young deaconness and thy enjoyment of it, is only another proof of the radical differences in our

natures; I could not endure it. There is not one person on the face of the earth whom I could bear to have tuck me up and fuss over me after I was in bed, not even my mother, dearly as I love her. And yet I can believe it is to thee a real pleasure.⁵⁰

In 1874 Hannah and the children travelled to England to join Robert who had become a religious celebrity. His evangelistic campaign was extended to Switzerland and Germany. The crowds bought over 8,000 photographs of him.⁵¹

Robert’s message was “Jesus saves me now” and the “Higher Christian Life.”⁵² This revivalistic message was quite different from traditional Methodist revivalism in that it offered a full and a present salvation, and dispensed with repentance and faith, and the gradual “growing in grace.”⁵³

Through her Quaker contacts and a reputation earned as a writer of inspirational literature, Hannah also became a popular public speaker among English evangelical women. Early in 1875 she had published a devotional book which became a best seller. It was composed of articles that she had written earlier for a religious periodical, *The Christian’s Pathway of Power*, which Robert edited. Her book, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, emphasized the ideas of Madame Guyon and Fénelon. It called people to disregard the emotions and consider only the will. The emotions were not to be trusted. One was to put self “to death.”⁵⁴

Although she had by now rejected the ideas that she had learned from Dr. Foster, she now taught theological views which would have been regarded as heretical by most evangelicals. She had moved into Hicksitism, the most liberal branch of Quakerism, which rejected the idea of eternal Hell and believed that all people would be reconciled to God; she was a Universalist.⁵⁵ Few people knew of her real beliefs.

In June 1875 the Smiths were engaged in a large holiness conference at Brighton. This conference developed into the annual Keswick conferences on holiness which attracted Quakers, “Open” Brethren, Methodists, “Low” Anglicans, Baptists, and many others.

After the conference was over Hannah went to Switzerland for a holiday and then learned that Robert had suddenly gone to Paris after suffering another nervous breakdown. This breakdown was precipitated by a scandal (he had been found late at night in the bedroom of one of his young female admirers). He explained to Hannah that he had only been

imparting to the girl “the precious doctrine” he had picked up at Clifton Springs. He said, “I told her how Christ wanted us to feel thrills up and down our bodies because this would make us feel closer to Him.”⁵⁶ The conference organizers were shocked at Smith’s behaviour, cancelled all future speaking engagements, and tried to cover up the scandal but the British press made much of it.

The Smiths left Europe in disgrace. A year later Hannah wrote to a friend that “it makes my heart ache to look at my dear husband and think of the blight that has fallen on him . . . A more sensitive, tender-hearted, generous man never lived, and this blow has sorely crushed him in every tender spot . . . he has been wounded past healing.”⁵⁷

Their friend, Dr. Cullis, tried to resurrect Robert’s career by having him speak at some revivals he had organized in the United States. Robert found the experience quite boring, but he could still raise the emotions of his listeners.⁵⁸ Hannah reported that one of the men became so caught up in the “baptism of the Spirit,” “the unmentionable kind,” that he tried to make love to her and another woman.⁵⁹ Robert soon lost his faith; he became an agnostic and confidant of the libertine poet Walt Whitman.⁶⁰

Hannah carried on her career as a religious writer. In 1878 her commentary on the Old Testament was published by Dr. Cullis’ Willard Tract Repository. It contained a typological approach, with the events in the lives of the Hebrew patriarchs foreshadowing the theology of the New Testament. She had been influenced by the contradictory theories of progressive revelation taught by the Rev. Andrew Jukes and the divine plenary verbal inspiration theory of Scripture advocated by Louis Gaussen.⁶¹ She rejected a critical approach to understanding the Bible. “Doubts, are to be overcome not by reasoning, but by faith.” Furthermore, she said, “I will believe; I choose to believe.”⁶² Her faith was aided by a heavy dose of positive thinking.⁶³

Over the next year Hannah continued to search for an authentic “baptism of the Holy Spirit” and she personally investigated throughout the United States a multiplicity of cults that taught divine union, divine guidance and faith healing, including the free-love Oneida Community and the Mormons. She described these experiences in her *Religious Fanaticism*.⁶⁴

In 1879 Hannah met a Methodist minister who rented the house next door to them. He and his female disciples followed the Guyonese theology of “death-to-self” and divine guidance. For a while Hannah found their

views convincing.

The thing which interested me at first was the remarkable way in which they seemed to understand the guidance of the Holy Spirit in all the little daily affairs of life . . . their way of looking continually, moment by moment, to the Lord for His Guidance, and their perfect certainty that He did indeed, according to His promise to direct their every step, seemed to invest them with an atmosphere of holiness and conscious presence of the Lord in such a way that made itself felt by everyone who came into their presence. They seemed literally to live and move and have their being in God. And to a soul, hungering as mine was to know the utmost possibilities of the life hid with Christ in God, it seemed that it ought to be almost like entering the very gates of Heaven to be in their presence, and I threw myself with intense eagerness into their teaching and their influence.⁶⁵

Hannah’s neighbours sought God’s guidance in everything they did. What pieces of clothes should they wear? Which sock to put on first? Hannah interpreted their neurosis as spirituality, but she could not make their system of divine guidance work for her.⁶⁶

To Hannah’s horror she learned that her neighbours were practising free-love. Nevertheless Hannah acquired a creedless type of pantheism from that cult: “the great thing in religion is to live and move and have our being in God. Not in experience, not in views, nor in doctrines, nor in anything of any kind, but simply in God alone.”⁶⁷ By December 1879 Hannah ceased her search for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, but hung on to the pantheistic views which she had picked up from these friends and from the works of Fénelon.⁶⁸

From her quest for holiness Hannah turned to the women’s suffrage and the temperance campaigns, working with Susan B. Anthony and Frances Willard. Hannah soon became a radical feminist, calling for marriage contracts. After Robert took a mistress in 1883 Hannah was broken-hearted and became very bitter.⁶⁹ She regarded marriage as “legal slavery.”⁷⁰ Her experiences with the various free love cults had turned her completely off of sex. To a friend she wrote, “I do not want my daughters to marry at all. I think marriage is a *frightful risk*; and I do not like men.”⁷¹

In 1885 the Smiths moved to England to be near their daughter Mary who had married Frank Costello who became a member of Parliament. Their children attracted to the family home in Sussex many of the Fabian circle and famous *literati*: the Webbs, Oscar Wilde, George Santayana,

H.G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, Tenneyson, Bernhard Berenson and Bertrand Russell. Robert found this group most congenial.

Hannah soon became president of the British Women's Temperance Association. Because of her religious books she was constantly inundated by mail and visitors who wanted her counsel; she found the fawning evangelicals a bore.⁷²

In England Robert took another mistress and Hannah became increasingly bitter in her letters. "When I was 19 I got married, like the ignorant idiot I was."⁷³ "Daughters are wonderful luxuries! They are well worth a bad husband in my opinion; at least mine are. I would have stood *any* kind of husband for the sake of having you."⁷⁴ "It is hard for me to believe that any husband and wife are really happy together."⁷⁵ "All men should be castrated."⁷⁶ Hannah and Robert lived separate lives in the same house until his death in 1898.

While Hannah preached strident feminism to her children and granddaughters, she continued to write for the popular religious market. Her *Every-Day Religion or the Common-Sense Teaching of the Bible* (1893), was a confused mixture of positive thinking⁷⁷ and passiveness. Instead of doing things "in your own strength . . . you must just trust Jesus to make you good."⁷⁸ Quoting Fénelon, she stated that struggling "with temptation only serves to augment them." "We should simply turn away from evil and draw nearer to God."⁷⁹

In 1895 Hannah wrote the introduction to the Fleming H. Revell reprint of *The Practice of the Presence of God* by the seventeenth-century Catholic mystic Brother Lawrence who had influenced both Madame Guyon and Fénelon. That work suggested that one could achieve personal union with the deity.⁸⁰

In 1903 Fleming H. Revell published Hannah's religious autobiography, *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It*. It stressed her Hicksite version of Quakerism with its belief in the "final restitution" of all or Universalism.⁸¹ In 1906 she wrote *Living in the Sunshine* which was later retitled *The God of All Comfort*. In it she downplayed mysticism and morbid self-examination, but continued to stress passivity and "death-to-self."⁸² She also taught that God was both father and mother.⁸³

While readers of her books perceived Hannah as a saintly old woman, she was a very unhappy, angry, bitter person. She had little positive influence on her children who rejected most of her ideas and

values. Some of her bitterness appears to have had an adverse affect upon their attitudes towards marriage. They had also inherited their father’s manic-depressive illness. Mary (1864-1945) had a breakdown, abandoned her children, became the mistress and then wife of the famous art critic Bernard Berenson. As a libertine she had a string of lovers. Alys (1867-1951) was the first wife of philosopher Bertrand Russell and became a noted feminist but suffered from depression and suicidal feelings. Possibly blaming Hannah for the failure of his marriage to Alys, Russell described Hannah as “one of the wickedest people I had ever known.” He despised the way Hannah denigrated her husband and emasculated her son Logan.⁸⁴ Logan (1865-1946), an atheist, who became a noted literary critic, was a neurotic homosexual; Russell described him as “almost manichaeian.”⁸⁵ Logan died in a state of insanity.⁸⁶

Hannah, however, had a better relationship with her granddaughters who she raised.⁸⁷ Both became well-known in their fields of endeavour, but also rejected her religious views. Rachel (Ray) became the biographer of Frances Willard and wrote a history of feminism in Britain.⁸⁸ She married into the Strachey family of the libertine Bloomsbury Group fame. Karin married the brother of Virginia Wolff, became a disciple of Freud, and practised as a psycho-analyst. Unfortunately, she inherited the family trait of manic-depressive illness and committed suicide.

Although Hannah Whitall Smith, after the scandal at Brighton in 1875, had little direct contact with the Keswick holiness movement, which she and her husband helped found, Hannah’s books were widely read by that group. Hannah Whitall Smith had introduced many to the mysticism of Madame Guyon and Fénelon which emphasized the “crucified life,” divine union, and divine guidance. She inspired many evangelical females involved in ministry and her ideas became a prominent part of the teaching at the annual Keswick conferences and in the writings of members of that group whose focus centred on victory over sin by “letting go and letting God” live your life.

Women had a strong representation in the Keswick movement and some of its feminine hymn writers such as Frances Ridley Havergal (“Take My Life and Let it Be”), Fanny Crosby (“Blessed Assurance”; “Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross”), Georgiana Taylor (“Oh to be Nothing”), and Charolette Elliott (“Just As I Am”) played an inordinate role in moulding the sentimental, passivity of that group.⁸⁹ That message of spiritual passivity has been carried on in the popular devotional works of Catherine

Marshall who regarded Hannah Whitall Smith as her mentor.⁹⁰ Women at L.E. Maxwell's Prairie Bible Institute at Three Hills, Alberta tried to follow Hannah's model of spirituality.⁹¹ Hannah's books are still in print, endorsed by evangelical celebrities Dale Evans, Elizabeth Elliot, Marabel Morgan and Catherine Marshall and have sold millions of copies since first being published.⁹² Debra Campbell notes that Hannah's early books have been adopted by fundamentalist women; they have largely ignored her later works which were stridently feminist.⁹³

Jessie Penn-Lewis (1861?-1927)

Jessie Penn-Lewis was another of Madame Guyon's disciples who had a profound impact upon the emerging fundamentalist movement, particularly in its demonology. Her championing of sexual equality and the place of women in ministry also placed her in the vanguard of women's liberation.

Jessie (née Jones) Penn-Lewis had been born into a middle-class family in Wales; her father was a civil and mining engineer who came from a Calvinistic-Methodist family.⁹⁴ As a child she attended a Quaker school. In 1882, the year she married, she had a conversion experience. She sought to "crucify self" and devoured the mystical writings of Madame Guyon.⁹⁵

Little is known about Jessie Penn-Lewis's married life. Her husband was an Anglican who was a descendant of William Penn, the Quaker who had founded Pennsylvania. It would appear that she either inherited considerable wealth or her husband was wealthy enough to afford her many trips abroad. She certainly exhibited a great deal of independence, travelling the globe on her own, preaching to women.

In 1892 Jessie Penn-Lewis began attending the Keswick holiness conferences and became one of its most noted women speakers. In 1896 she visited Stockholm on behalf of the Y.W.C.A. In 1897 she was in Russia, holding religious meetings among women of the nobility. Later she toured France, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, and again Russia. In 1900 she was in Canada, speaking in Montreal, Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa. In 1903 Jessie Penn-Lewis toured India, Egypt in 1904, and from 1904 to 1905 she was one of the organizers of the famous Welsh revival led by Evan Roberts.⁹⁶

There was a marked manichaeian flavour to Penn-Lewis's thought.

In 1906 she wrote a short book, *Warfare with Satan*, in which she restated many of the medieval ideas on demonology that had been resurrected by the Plymouth Brethren writers George H. Pember and Sir Robert Anderson. In it and other books, such as *War on the Saints*, she painted a picture of a personal cosmic battle between Christ and Satan for the mind and soul of everyone. She taught that Christians could be demon possessed and that Satan could only be overpowered by the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁷ Her definition of that appears to have been similar to that of the Pentecostals. By being linked with Pentecostalism, she lost favour among the Keswick group and formed her own organization, the Overcomer League in 1909 so that she could continue to propagate her distinctive views on the Holy Spirit, holiness and women’s role in ministry.⁹⁸

Jessie Penn-Lewis’s influence on popular fundamentalism was immense. Her books on demonology became the texts commonly cited by fundamentalists. She was also the only female contributor to the famous *Fundamentals*; her chapter dealt with “Satan and His Kingdom.”⁹⁹ She was cited as an authority on Satan and demonology by the Anglican theologian W.H. Griffith Thomas of Wycliffe College, Toronto, when he delivered the L.P. Stone lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary.¹⁰⁰

Sometime later Penn-Lewis published, *Soul and Spirit: A Glimpse into Bible Psychology*.¹⁰¹ It was a further exposition of her manichaeic beliefs on evil spirits, demons, the Devil and the Antichrist. Victory over such malevolent forces could only come through “crucifixion of the flesh.” She implied that mental illness was the result of evil spirits. At the same time she condemned psycho-analysis as a work of the devil.¹⁰²

In 1919 Jessie Penn-Lewis published the *Magna Charta of Woman* calling for the complete equality and full role of women in ministry. Relying on earlier works by Catherine Booth and Katharine Bushnell, M.D., Penn-Lewis argued that the New Testament and especially St. Paul proclaimed sexual equality for women, and that misogynist, Judaizing male translators had suppressed that liberating message. Since the Greek text did not contain punctuation, it was possible for the translators to interpolate quotations into the text and make interrogative and rhetorical questions appear as statements of fact.¹⁰³ She tackled some of the problematic texts in the scriptures which dealt with women but some of her exegesis appears specious, for example when she claimed that Adam only and not Eve was expelled from the Garden of Eden.¹⁰⁴ When dealing with the statement that “women should keep silent in the churches,” attributed to St. Paul, she

showed that it did not match reality, for Paul's female associates Phoebe and Priscilla enjoyed the full role of ministry in the apostolic church¹⁰⁵ and other passages by Paul referred positively to women praying and prophesying in the church.

Penn-Lewis was a dispensationalist and there was a strong element of anti-Judaism present in her thought.¹⁰⁶ She identified with Pentecostalism and taught that bodily healing was part of the atonement.¹⁰⁷ She saw the third-century "heretical" Montanists, who were proto-Pentecostals, as champions of women's place in ministry.¹⁰⁸

The works of Jessie Penn-Lewis on demonology and evangelical feminism continue to be reprinted and are available in some Christian bookstores and through the Christian Literature Crusade. Her publishers, however, have expunged some of the excessive demonology from her *War on the Saints* because it went beyond scripture.¹⁰⁹

Amy Wilson Carmichael (1867-1951)

Another woman associated with the Keswick movement was Amy Carmichael. She had been raised as a Presbyterian in Ireland. As a teenager she had got involved with the Keswick movement and became the housekeeper of Keswick co-founder Robert Wilson, a Quaker who was a widower. Their relationship is unclear; Amy adopted his surname as her second name.¹¹⁰

Supported by the Keswick movement Carmichael went to Japan as a missionary. Then, under the auspices of the China Inland Mission, a Keswick organization, she went to China. Her independent streak led to her break with the C.I.M.; without its permission she moved her activities to Ceylon.¹¹¹ She moved to India serving under the auspices of the Church of England where she established an extended orphanage, the Dohnavur Fellowship, for young girls she had rescued from temple prostitution. In 1925 her difficulty working with others including the later bishop Stephen Neill, and her refusal to take orders from her superiors, led to her break with the Church of England. She carried on her work as an independent, adopting Quaker and Plymouth Brethren patterns in her religious community.¹¹²

Carmichael was a mystic with a martyr complex. She longed for "a chance to die" for her faith.¹¹³ She was an avid reader of the Catholic and Quaker mystics¹¹⁴ and she incorporated their thoughts into her many

published books.¹¹⁵

Carmichael’s mysticism, with its emphasis on “death-to-self” promoted her version of feminism. Robert Wilson, her “guardian,” had wanted to marry Amy but she declined. She was reported to have said, “husbands are so much in the way – an obstruction and a nuisance.”¹¹⁶ She also insisted that her successor had to be a woman.¹¹⁷ Given the nature of her work which was rescuing girls from prostitution, her attitudes towards men is understandable. Her letters to other women, moreover, suggest that she was a lesbian; they were clearly love letters.¹¹⁸ Carmichael’s mystical writings continue to be read by many fundamentalist and evangelical women and influence their thinking.

Christabel Pankhurst (1880-1958)

Christabel Pankhurst was one of the most famous of the British suffragists.¹¹⁹ She also became a prominent fundamentalist. During the 1920s she travelled around North America preaching against higher criticism and the theory of evolution.

Pankhurst was also a pre-millennialist and lectured on the Second Coming of Christ. Her published books carried such titles as *Pressing Problems of the Closing Age*, *The Lord Cometh*, *The World’s Unrest: Visions of the Dawn*, and *Seeing the Future*.¹²⁰ The *Sunday School Times* and *Pentecostal Testimony* published her articles.¹²¹

Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944)

The most newsworthy woman in the United States between 1920 until her death in 1944 was the female evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson who had come from Canada. Raised in a dysfunctional family in Ontario, she was torn between her father’s Methodist faith and her mother’s role in the Salvation Army. Quitting high school she married a Pentecostal preacher, Robert Semple, and soon they went to China as missionaries. Robert died there and Aimee returned to North America. She married again but her marriage lasted only a couple of years.¹²² After hospitalization for what appears as manic-depressive illness, she set out across the continent on a revivalistic, faith-healing tour.

Aimee was ordained by both the Methodists and Baptists before she established her Four-Square Gospel Church. Aimee saw herself as a

fundamentalist and prominent fundamentalists such as William Jennings Bryan, W.L. Munhall, and Paul Rader worked with her. The Bible Institute of Los Angeles published her early books.¹²³

Aimee Semple McPherson's theology was influenced by the holiness tradition via the Salvation Army, the works of A.B. Simpson,¹²⁴ and the writings of Jessie Penn-Lewis,¹²⁵ but her flamboyant lifestyle did not fit the holiness tradition. Nevertheless, Aimee's dynamic ministry and her leadership of a religious empire became a model for many women in the Pentecostal movement.

Women's ministry was a hotly contested issue in the fundamentalist movement. Prominent fundamentalists such as J.H. Brookes, Mark Matthews, T.T. Shields, A.C. Gaebelien, William Aberhart, and John R. Rice, who were left-brained, opposed the ministry of women.¹²⁶ They were Calvinistic and in most cases influenced by the Plymouth Brethren. On the other hand, there were many proto-fundamentalists and fundamentalists, who had been influenced by the Methodist and Keswick holiness tradition, who welcomed the ministry of women. They tended to be right-brained in their approach.

A.B. Simpson, a Presbyterian minister from Canada, attended the holiness meetings of Robert Pearsall Smith, read the Quietist writers, and experienced faith-healing from Dr. Cullis. Simpson soon left the Presbyterian Church and founded the Christian and Missionary Alliance in New York City. One of Simpson's innovations was the acceptance of women as elders.¹²⁷ Women played a great role in his enterprises and within his theology there was the possibility for the ordination of women, but it does not appear to have been practised, although women worked as preachers, evangelists and missionaries in his organization.¹²⁸ Simpson even adopted the idea of the motherhood of God.¹²⁹ Prominent Christian feminists such as Frances Willard and Jessie Penn-Lewis spoke from his platforms.¹³⁰ Simpson's Bible college had a majority of women students who entered many facets of ministry including preaching.¹³¹

Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and A.J. Gordon's Boston Bible Training School, which were in the Keswick tradition, also played a prominent role in the training of women for ministry.¹³² Jessie Penn-Lewis and Christabel Pankhurst were welcomed speakers at Moody Bible Institute.¹³³ Even William Bell Riley, one of the most militant of fundamentalists, trained women as pastors and evangelists at his North-western Bible and Training School in Minneapolis. Female students made

up the majority of the student body.¹³⁴

Another prominent fundamentalist, John Roach Straton of New York City, actively supported the ministry of women. Christabel Pankhurst was welcomed to his pulpit.¹³⁵ He also promoted the preaching of Uldine Utley, a fourteen-year-old former child actress, who had been converted by Aimee Semple McPherson. Utley became his associate pastor.¹³⁶ Straton regarded Utley as “the Joan of Arc of the modern religious world.”¹³⁷

Oswald J. Smiaw, a former Presbyterian minister, who worked with the Christian and Missionary Alliance before founding his own independent Peoples Church in Toronto, defended the ministry of women.¹³⁸ He promoted the work of Aimee Semple McPherson,¹³⁹ published articles by Jessie Penn-Lewis,¹⁴⁰ and had Christabel Pankhurst in his pulpit.¹⁴¹

Watchman Nee, a Chinese fundamentalist, was another disciple of Madam Guyon.¹⁴² Writing in the Keswick tradition, his book *Love not the World* was thoroughly manichaeian, being self-deprecatory and seeing the Devil everywhere.¹⁴³

This paper has attempted to correlate a variety of issues associated with fundamentalism: gender, scholasticism versus mysticism, and Calvinism versus Arminianism. The conclusions are only tentative. Much ink has already been spilled on trying to define fundamentalism and evangelicalism.¹⁴⁴ Gender may be a way of defining the differences. William McLoughlin and Richard Hofstadter long ago noted the “militant masculinity” of fundamentalism.¹⁴⁵ This was especially true of Billy Sunday, T.T. Shields, William Aberhart, and John R. Rice. On the other hand, psycho-historian Philip Greven has noted the overall feminine orientation of evangelicalism. Could militant fundamentalism be seen as a masculine backlash? While the proto-fundamentalists who were associated with the early Keswick movement were open to women in ministry, most of the militant fundamentalists after World War One were not.

The Keswick holiness movement played a greater role in popular fundamentalism and evangelicalism than has been generally understood, but early in this century the Keswick tradition experienced a split. Due to antinomianism, which was becoming too common, the Keswick movement adopted a more masculine, Calvinistic model of sanctification which rejected perfectionism and sought victory over sin. Those influenced by the Plymouth Brethren appear to have dominated the American Keswick movement beginning in the teens of this century.

Virginia Brereton has noted that too much attention has been focused on the Calvinistic side of fundamentalism,¹⁴⁶ even Betty DeBerg's interesting book *Ungodly Women*, which pioneered the study of gender in fundamentalism, focussed almost exclusively on the Calvinists.

The Arminian/Wesleyan holiness influences continued through the work of Hannah Whitall Smith, the Salvation Army, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and various pentecostal groups. These holiness groups continued to champion the cause of women's ministry, while the Calvinistic Keswick group generally did not. However, these two movements paralleled each other and there was considerable cross-fertilization.

Both brands of holiness, but especially the Wesleyan version, through the mystical, devotional writings of Madame Guyon and her disciples, provided women in the fundamentalist movement with their own version of piety which informed their thinking, gave them a wider role in ministry, and helped sustain them during the often testy fundamentalist controversies carried on by their ministers and husbands.

This "feminine theology" tended to empower these women, but it was sometimes psychologically unhealthy, contributing to depression and encouraging passivity and passive/aggressive behaviour.¹⁴⁷ Some of those, including men, who advocated this view of holiness suffered from manic-depressive illness and had been hospitalized for it: Robert Pearsall Smith, A.B. Simpson, Oswald J. Smith, Aimee Semple McPherson, and John Roach Straton.

H.A. Ironside, one of the leaders of American fundamentalism and the Keswick movement, justified his switch to Calvinistic holiness by pointing out the psychological dangers of the Arminian approach to holiness he had learned in the Salvation Army:

I reflect that thousands are yearly being disheartened and discouraged by their teaching; that hundreds yearly are ensnared into infidelity through the collapse of vain effort to attain the unattainable; that scores have actually lost their minds and are now inmates of asylums because of their mental grief and anguish resultant upon their bitter disappointment in the search for holiness.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, James I. Packer, an evangelical Anglican theologian, has even pointed out the dangers of the legalistic, Calvinistic, Keswick brand of

holiness: “. . . it will tend not to help you but to destroy you.”¹⁴⁹

These psychological dangers can be traced to manichaeic thinking which was very strong in the holiness theology, especially in the works of Madame Guyon, Hannah Whitall Smith, Jessie Penn-Lewis, Amy Carmichael, Watchman Nee, and Catherine Marshall.¹⁵⁰ The gospel songs of Fanny Crosby, Frances R. Havergal and others were also very manichaeic.

This brand of “feminine” theology had a considerable impact on evangelicalism and fundamentalism. Some of the proto-fundamentalist males, such as William Booth, D.L. Moody, A.B. Simpson, A.J. Gordon, and fundamentalists such as P.W. Philpott, Roland V. Bingham, H.A. Ironside, L.E. Maxwell and Oswald J. Smith, who were influenced by the holiness tradition, tended to be less militant and less separatist in the fundamentalist controversies. Their movements were more successful and longer enduring, maybe because they won greater support from women because they were right-brained, accepted mysticism, and gave a greater role to women in ministry. Their organizations also came to reject the militant separatism commonly associated with fundamentalism and became part of the larger evangelical movement.

Endnotes

1. See Janette Hassey, *No Time For Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986); and Betty A. DeBerg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990). DeBerg’s interesting study is limited in that it focuses mainly on the misogynist male fundamentalists who were primarily Calvinists.
2. I am indebted to Bruce Shelley, “Sources of Pietistic Fundamentalism,” *Fides et Historia* 5 (1973): 68-78, for pointing me in this direction. John G. Stackhouse, Jr., “Women in Public Ministry in 20th-Century Canadian and American Evangelicalism: Five Models,” *Studies in Religion* 17, No. 3 (Fall 1988): 471-485, explores fundamentalist and evangelical responses to feminism.
3. Gender differences in personality and religious experience have long been known (see Henry C. McComas, *The Psychology of Religious Sects: A Comparison of Types* [New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912]).

4. Marilyn Ferguson, *The Brain Revolution: The Frontiers of Brain Research* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1973), and *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980s* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, Inc., 1980).
5. Edward McNall Burns, Robert E. Learner, Standish Meacham, *Western Civilizations*, 10th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1984), p. 488. This characterization of Calvinism is in its classic, most extreme sense. There were less rigid forms of Calvinism which engaged in revivalism.
6. Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), especially chapter five.
7. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 135. Manichaen has been used here as an adjective.
8. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 20.
9. The role of oral transmission in the spread of heresy has been noted by Claus-Peter Clasen, "Medieval Heresies in the Reformation," *Church History* 32 (December 1963): 392-414.
10. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 113.
11. Madame Guyon, *Autobiography* (Chicago: Moody Press, n.d.), pp. 28-32.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 81-82, 120, 141, 194.
13. Thomas C. Upham, *Life, Religious Opinions, and Experience of Madame Guyon* (London: Allenson and Co., 1905), p. 95.
14. See George Balsama, "Madame Guyon, Heterodox . . .," *Church History* 42 (September 1973): 361.
15. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 321.

16. See Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).
17. Balsama, “Madame Guyon,” p. 357.
18. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 314.
19. Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1952), p. 72.
20. Phyllis Thompson, *Madame Guyon: Martyr of the Holy Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986).
21. Robert G. Tuttle, Jr., *Mysticism in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1989), pp. 48-50.
22. V.H.N. Green, *The Young Mr. Wesley* (London: Edward Arnold [Publishers] Ltd., 1961), p. 52.
23. See John Leland Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985), p. 20, and Tuttle, *Mysticism in the Wesleyan Tradition*, p. 133.
24. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, pp. 235-237.
25. A.B. Simpson also used such terminology (see Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990], p. 45).
26. Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), pp. 124-125.
27. Mary Maples Dunn, “Saints and Sisters: Congregation and Quakers Women in the Early Colonial Period,” in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 27-46, and Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991), pp. 10, 16, 29.

28. According to P.W. Wilson, *General Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 18, the Mumfords had Quaker connections.
29. St. John Ervine, *God's Soldier: General William Booth* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), 1:123-125.
30. Catherine Booth, "Female Ministry; or Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel;" reprinted in *Holiness Tracts Defending the Ministry of Women*, ed. Donald Dayton (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 4, 12.
31. St. John Ervine, *God's Soldier*, pp. 223-226.
32. Norris Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1977), pp. 112-117.
33. Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).
34. Norman H. Murdoch, "Evangelical Sources of Salvation Army Doctrine," *Evangelical Quarterly* 87, No. 3 (1987): 240-243.
35. Hannah Whitall Smith, *Philadelphia Quaker: The Letters of Hannah Whitall Smith*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1950), p. 4. This book was published earlier in England under the title, *A Religious Rebel: The Letters of "H.W.S."* (London: Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1949). See also Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It: A Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), p. 232.
36. Smith, *Philadelphia Quaker*, p. 3.
37. The Smith's appear to have been raised in the Wilburite branch of Orthodox Quakerism, but moved into the Gurneyite branch which was aligned with the wider evangelical movement. Hannah and Robert appear to have been the instigators of the holiness branch of Quakerism which broke away from the Gurneyites (see Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: The Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*

[Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988], p. 95).

38. Smith, *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It*, pp. 288-289.
39. Robert Allerton Parker, *A Family of Friends: The Transatlantic Smiths* (London: Museum Press Limited, 1960), p. 32, and a work by Hannah's great-granddaughter, Barbara Strachey, *Remarkable Relations: The Story of the Pearsall Smith Family* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1980), pp. 23, 159-160, 291, 309.
40. Cited in Marie Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Corporation, 1984), p. 46.
41. See Melvin E. Dieter, "Hannah Among the Methodists: A Quaker Woman in the Methodist Holiness Revival," *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* (1989): 99-114.
42. The relationship with their parents was later restored.
43. Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Record of a Happy Life: Being Memorials of Franklin Whitall Smith* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1873).
44. Hannah disguised his name by calling him Dr. "R." Barbara Strachey, who possesses the Smith Archives, has been able to identify him as Dr. Foster (see *Remarkable Relations*, p. 34, and Ray Strachey, ed. *Group Movements of the Past and Experiments in Guidance* [London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1934], pp. 168-171).
45. Ray Strachey, ed., *Group Movements*, pp. 177-178, 198.
46. Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, p. 38.
47. Marie Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith*, p. 61; Catherine Marshall, *Something More: In Search of a Deeper Faith* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), pp. 242-243; and Melvin E. Dieter in the introduction to R. Pearsall Smith and Hannah Whitall Smith, *Walking in the Light* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986), p. 17. Even the more critical study by Debra Campbell, "Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911): Theology of the Mother-Hearted God," *Signs* 15, No. 1 (1989): 79-

- 101, missed Hannah's role in Robert's "fall from grace."
48. Mrs. W.E. Boardman, *Life and Labours of Rev. W.E. Boardman*, 2nd ed. (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1888), pp. 155-159.
 49. W.E. Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1859; reprint, 1888). For Upham see pp. 83-85.
 50. Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, p. 39.
 51. Smith, *Philadelphia Quaker*, p. 27.
 52. For the content of his sermons see Smith and Smith, *Walking in the Light*.
 53. For a further discussion, see Phyllis D. Airhart, "'What Must I Do to Be Saved?': Two Paths to Evangelical Conversion in Late Victorian Canada," *Church History* 59, No. 3 (1990): 372-385.
 54. Hannah Whitall Smith, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1875), pp. 28, 60, 142, 156, 159 (page numbers refer to the paperback version published by Spire Books).
 55. Smith, *A Religious Rebel*, pp. 27-28, 34-35.
 56. Cited in Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith*, p. 81. For Logan P. Smith's account of the incident see his *Unforgotten Years* (London: Constance and Company Ltd., 1938), pp. 47-60.
 57. Smith, *Philadelphia Quaker*, p. 29.
 58. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
 59. Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, p. 50.
 60. L.P. Smith, *Unforgotten Years*, p. 63.
 61. Hannah Whitall Smith, *Bible Readings on the Progressive Development of Truth and Experience in the Old Testament* (Boston: Willard Tract Repository, 1878), pp. iii, 14, 40. This book later appeared under the title *Old Testament Types and Teachings*.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
64. Strachey, *Religious Fanaticism*, pp. 194-195.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
69. Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith*, pp. 102-103. Henry’s footnotes for this chapter are incomplete.
70. Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, pp. 80, 93.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
72. H.W. Smith, *Philadelphia Quaker*, pp. 175-178.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
76. Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, p. 165.
77. Hannah Whitall Smith, *Every-Day Religion or the Common-Sense Teaching of the Bible* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1893), p. 2.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

80. See Grant Wacker, *Augustus H. Strong and the Dilemma of Historical Consciousness* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), pp. 146-147.
81. Smith, *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It*, pp. 196-209.
82. Hannah Whitall Smith, *The God of all Comfort* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1906; reprint, 1956), pp. 12, 136-137.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
84. Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967), 1:148-149.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
86. See Robert Gathorne-Hardy, *Recollections of Logan Pearsall Smith: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. ix.
87. Ray Strachey, *A Quaker Grandmother: Hannah Whitall Smith* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1914). This was a collection of Hannah's letters to her grandchildren.
88. Ray Strachey, *"The Cause": A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1928).
89. See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 174-175.
90. Catherine Marshall, *Something More: In Search of a Deeper Faith* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), pp. 7-9, 83, 115, 135, 239-243.
91. Juanita C. Snyder, *Raise up the Foundations: Memorials of Maria Marshall* (Three Hills: Prairie Bible Institute, 1966), pp. 17, 53.
92. See the 1973 Spire edition of *The Christian Secret of a Happy Life*, p. 8.
93. Campbell, "Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911)," p. 99.
94. For biographical details on Jessie Penn-Lewis see Mary N. Garrard, *Jessie Penn-Lewis: A Memoir* (Streetsville, ON: Ontario Christian Books, 1989).

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35, 177, 291.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
97. Jessie Penn-Lewis and Evan Roberts, *War on the Saints: A Text Book on the Work of Deceiving Spirits Among the Children of God and the Way of Deliverance* (Nashville: The Lighthouse, 1912).
98. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 196.
99. Jessie Penn-Lewis, “Satan and His Kingdom,” *The Fundamentals* (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910-1915), 10:48-63.
100. W.H. Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), p. 285.
101. Jessie Penn-Lewis, *Soul and Spirit: A Glimpse Into Bible Psychology* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, n.d.).
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
103. Jessie Penn-Lewis, *The Magna Charta of Woman According to the Scriptures* (Bournemouth: Overcomer Book Room, 1919; reprint, Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1975), pp. 19-24.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, 71, 73, 94-95, 100.
107. Jessie Penn-Lewis, “The Cross and Sickness,” *Herald of the Times* (August 1927): 14-15, 18.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
109. See J.C. Metcalfe’s introduction to the abridged version of *War on the Saints* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1956).

110. Elizabeth Elliott, *A Chance to Die: The Life and Legacy of Amy Carmichael* (Old Tappen, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1987), pp. 51-59.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 99-103.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-272.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
115. The library of the Billy Graham Centre at Wheaton College lists forty-one of her books.
116. Elizabeth Elliott, *A Chance to Die*, p. 146.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 327-328, 339.
119. Christabel Pankhurst, *Unshackled: The Story of How We Won the Vote* (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1959).
120. I have been able to examine only two of Pankhurst's religious titles: *The World's Unrest: Visions of the Dawn* (New York: Harper and Brothers, c. 1925), and *Seeing the Future* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1929).
121. See C. Mark Schinkel, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: The Influence of Fundamentalism on Articles Appearing in the *Pentecostal Testimony*" (M. Rel. Thesis, Wycliffe College, 1990), p. 33, who refers to her article in the December 1922 issue of the *Pentecostal Testimony*. See also the *Toronto Globe* 10 October 1925, for an ad for Pankhurst's articles in the *Sunday School Times*.
122. After a brief reconciliation Aimee and Harold McPherson split and were divorced. For her autobiography see Aimee Semple McPherson, *This is That: Personal Experiences, Sermons and Writings* (Los Angeles: Echo Park Evangelistic Association, Inc., 1923). This book, which was first published in 1919, went through several editions and transformations.

123. See Aimee Semple McPherson, *Divine Healing Sermons* (Los Angeles: Biola Press, 1921).
124. Aimee’s Four-Square Gospel was almost identical to Simpson’s Four-Fold Gospel.
125. Penn-Lewis’s books were available in the bookstore of Angelus Temple in 1984.
126. DeBerg, *Ungodly Women*, pp. 79, 85; Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit*, p. 190,
127. A.W. Tozer, *Wingspread: Albert B. Simpson: A Study in Spiritual Altitude* (Harrisburg: Christian Publications, Inc., 1943), p. 91.
128. See William H. Howland, “Women Preaching: A Sign of the Last Days,” *Faithful Witness*, 14 June 1890, reproduced in Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Toronto: Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, 1981), pp. 543-550. See also Leslie A. Andrews, “Restricted Freedom: A.B. Simpson’s View of Women,” in *The Birth of a Vision*, eds. Hartzfeld and Nienkirchen (Regina: Canadian Theological Seminary, 1986), pp. 219-240.
129. Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, p. 16.
130. Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums*, pp. 135-136; and Garrard, *Jessie Penn-Lewis*, pp. 187-188.
131. Brereton, *Training God’s Army*, pp. 69, 129-132.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132; and Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, pp. 125, 149.
133. Garrard, *Jessie Penn-Lewis*, p. 184; and Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, p. 136.
134. See William Vance Trollinger, Jr., *God’s Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 104-106.

135. Hassey, *No Time for Silence*, p. 137.
136. See *Victoria Daily Times*, 9 July 1927, p. 10.
137. John Roach Straton, "Does the Bible Forbid Women to Preach and Pray in Public?" (New York: Calvary Baptist Church, n.d.).
138. Oswald J. Smith, "Women's Ministry," *Alliance World* (Nov. 1923): 7-8, 18.
139. Oswald J. Smith, "The World Beats a Path to Her Door," *Tabernacle News* (March 1925).
140. Jessie Penn-Lewis, "Doctrines of Demons," *Alliance World* (Dec. 1923): 7-8, 18; "The Cross and Sickness," *Herald of the Times* (Aug. 1927): 14-15.
141. *Toronto Star*, 13 August 1932, p. 22.
142. Phyllis Thompson, *Madame Guyon*, p. 10.
143. Watchman Nee, *Love Not the World* (London: Victory Press, 1968).
144. See George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991).
145. Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, p. 119.
146. Brereton, *Training God's Army*, p. 167.
147. Passive-aggressive behaviour appears in Hannah Smith's disciples Catherine Marshall and Marabel Morgan. See Marabel Morgan, *Total Woman* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1973), and Paul Boyer, "Minister's Wife, Widow, Reluctant Feminist: Catherine Marshall in the 1950s," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 253-271.
148. H.A. Ironside, *Holiness: The False and the True* (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, Publishers, n.d.), p. 6.

149. James I. Packer, *Keep In Step With the Spirit* (Old Tappen, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1984), p. 159.
150. Although not dealt with in this study, the co-founder and theologian of the Seventh-Day Adventists, Ellen G. White (1827-1915), was exceedingly manichaen in her thought. Her writings were used by a number of fundamentalists. She saw the medieval Albigensians as her link to the primitive church (*The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* [Oshawa: Signs of the Times Publishing Company, 1888; reprint, 1944], pp. 109, 309).

Spiritual and Patriotic Duty: Understanding Why Anglican Clergy Enlisted As Chaplains in World War II

TOM HAMILTON

On 10 September 1939, Canada threw herself into a global conflict known as the Second World War. Throughout the following six years of battle, Canada's newspaper, magazine, and radio journalists almost exclusively reported battles, speculated on military strategy and discussed the personalities and abilities of Allied politicians and military leaders. Since World War II historians have analysed the battles and critiqued the leaders of this crucial era. However, both the journalists (in the Second World War), and the historians (since World War II) have failed to comment adequately on the military personnel who brought the Christian religion to Canada's fighting men and women in World War II.¹

An important, and often neglected, aspect of Canada's war effort was the contribution of the Canadian chaplains (Protestant and Roman Catholic) who ministered to the military personnel of Canada's Army, Navy and Air Force during the Second World War. Beginning with the first troops sent overseas in 1939, to the last returning unit in 1946, Canadian chaplains accompanied and served Canada's military personnel wherever they were ordered to fight. These chaplains were classified according to three different designations – Roman Catholic, The Church of England in Canada (Anglicans) and or Other Denominations (OD). Most Canadian Protestant chaplains were chosen from the four largest denominations in the Dominion – The United Church of Canada, The

Church of England in Canada (Anglicans), The Presbyterian Church in Canada, and Baptists in Canada;² chaplains were also chosen from a few of the smaller Canadian Protestant denominations. The few Jewish Rabbis who ministered as chaplains were included in the Protestant chaplaincy.

One fascinating aspect of the Canadian chaplaincy in the Second World War concerns understanding why Anglican clergy enlisted as chaplains. Most Anglican clergy joined the chaplaincy because of nationalistic and not spiritual or religious factors. However, because these ministers were serving the military in a religious role it is important that their religious beliefs be understood. Furthermore, for many of these clergy, the nationalistic, or patriotic, reasons why they became chaplains have remarkable similarities to their religious beliefs. These similarities are evident following a thorough examination of Anglican chaplains' religious beliefs and their nationalistic reasons for enlistment. Before proceeding with this study a few comments concerning methodology are in order.

The methodology for this study is based mostly on primary research, comprised of thirteen "personal interviews" and fourteen "mailed questionnaires." The questions used in the "personal interviews" and "mailed questionnaires" were identical. While 27 chaplains is only a small part of the more than 228 Anglican chaplains who served Canada's army, air force and navy in World War II, these 27 chaplains are an important historical source because they represent all three branches of the military, including various ranks and locations of service. Concerning secondary sources, a few articles in the magazine, *The Canadian Churchman*, published during the Second World War for Canadian Anglicans, were helpful. There were several limitations inhibiting research on this topic. Firstly, there is the obvious limitation that many of the chaplains who served in the Second World War have died. Secondly, there are very few books that discuss Canadian Protestant chaplains in World War II. The histories and writings that do exist are either institutional histories³ or anecdotal narratives.⁴ While interesting, these writings fail to provide much historiographical insight concerning the enlistment of chaplains in World War II.

This study is one aspect of my thesis entitled, "The Military's Conscience: A Study Of The Canadian Protestant Chaplains Who Served In World War II," recently completed as part of a Master of Divinity degree, under the patient and insightful supervision of Dr. Ian Rennie at Ontario Theological Seminary. In addition to Dr. Rennie I am indebted to Dr. Airhart of Emmanuel College, and Dr. Hayes of Wycliffe College who

oversaw independent graduate research of the United Church and Anglican chaplains in World War II. In my thesis I examined the work of United Church, Anglican, Baptist and Presbyterian chaplains.

The Religious Beliefs of Anglican Chaplains in World War II

Anglican chaplains identified their religious beliefs as liberal, anglo-catholic, traditional, and evangelical. This section will explain how the chaplains' religious beliefs were determined. Then they will be summarized and defined.

To determine the religious beliefs of Anglican chaplains who served in World War II, chaplains interviewed and surveyed by mailed questionnaire were asked the following question.

15. What most closely identifies your theological belief upon entering the war? (please circle one)
- a) liberal
 - b) neo-orthodox
 - c) anglo-catholic
 - d) traditional
 - e) evangelical
 - f) fundamentalist

Briefly explain your definition of the choice you circled.

Table I is a summary of the answers given to question 15.

Table I. The Theological/Religious Beliefs of Anglican Chaplains in World War II

Theological Belief	Total	Questionnaires	Interviews
a) liberal	3	2	1
b) neo-orthodox	0	-	-
c) anglo-catholic	9	4	5
d) traditional	9	6	3
e) evangelical	5	1	4
f) fundamentalist	0	-	-

Table I indicates that the religious beliefs of Anglican chaplains in World War II may be summarized according to four categories of classification: liberal, anglo-catholic, traditional and evangelical. I made it clear to the chaplains interviewed that liberal was to be understood as liberal / modernist.

The liberal category is somewhat of an anachronism and should be minimized; while liberal elements existed within the religious thinking of some Anglican chaplains it was not a prominent standard of Anglican belief. Because only three chaplains (Bishop, Ongley and Candy) chose liberal as their religious belief, it is doubtful whether this view was widespread amongst Anglican chaplains. Furthermore, two of the three chaplains displayed some skepticism and uncertainty in choosing liberal as their religious belief at the beginning of the war. For instance, Padre Bishop's questionnaire was completed by his wife (due to her husband's illness) and, unsure of her husband's religious belief during World War II, she circled liberal and then placed a question mark beside her response (this was the only questionnaire completed by someone other than the chaplain to whom it was addressed). As well, Padre Ongley circled liberal and instead of explaining his choice simply wrote, "whatever that means." Thirdly, when Padre Candy was asked to state his religious belief he replied, "liberal" and then quoted a few lines from Bob McClure – a former United Church missionary to China with liberal religious views – suggesting that the liberal religious beliefs typical of the United Church had a profound influence on his own religious views.

Before proceeding further several words of caution should be noted. Firstly, absolute conclusions should not be drawn from the previous table because this sampling represents only a small percentage of the total number of Anglican chaplains who served in World War II. Secondly, when the questionnaires were completed, some chaplains circled more than one answer (although their written definitions classified them into one of the three remaining categories). This second point illustrates the difficult process of categorizing chaplains' religious beliefs, and is a reminder that these categories must not be superimposed upon every chaplain. It must be understood that each chaplain may not fit exactly into the definition of one category. In fact, such descriptions as Padre Doidge's "High Church Evangelical" are particularly frustrating for the historian. However, when the chaplains' responses are examined collectively, tentative categories may be created. Thirdly, in order for the historian to create accurate

definitions for each category, chaplains are compelled to try to remember what they believed some fifty years ago. Thus, each category is defined on the basis of a projection many years backward into the past and not on a present reality. For some of the chaplains with alert minds this was not a problem; however, for others travelling back in their minds to the Second World War was an arduous task. Furthermore, over the years the religious beliefs of some chaplains may have altered, without their being aware of the change. Despite all of these shortcomings and cautions, classifying Anglican chaplains into definable categories is possible, and greatly enhances the historical understanding of this subject.

The religious beliefs of Anglican chaplains in World War II may be regarded as anglo-catholic, traditional and evangelical. With the anglo-catholic classification, this group defined itself according to the common beliefs held by Anglican chaplains who shared "High Church" values. Anglo-Catholic chaplains agreed on two principles of belief: adherence to High Church creeds and practices, and obedience to duty and order. Almost without exception, when asked to define anglo-catholic, both principles of belief were given (on a few questionnaires the explanation section was left blank). For instance, Padre Caulfield defined anglo-catholic by stating, "a strong conviction of the worth and necessity of baptism and Holy Communion is fundamental in Christian lifestyle, with a desire that all be done decently and in order." Other anglo-catholics, like Padre A, explained, "the creeds are very important, and the only prayers prayed should come from the prayer book." He went on to state that Anglicanism should have been the only denomination allowed in the Second World War because only in Anglicanism did the troops find the discipline and order needed to win the war. While most anglo-catholic chaplains were not as dogmatic as Padre A, some were equally as provoking. In a provocative combination of adherence to High Church creeds and practices, and obedience to duty and order, Padre B spoke of one belief held by several anglo-catholic chaplains in World War II: "the creeds are not to be believed, they are to be obeyed." Another explanation of anglo-catholic belief is equally thought provoking. During his ministry in Newfoundland and Labrador, Padre Tomkins kept the Eucharist as an important priority in his ministry because "certain people just felt something *mystical* (italics are mine) about the Eucharist services." These observations lead to two conclusions. Firstly, Anglican chaplains who defined themselves as anglo-catholic agreed on the importance of

adherence to High Church creeds and practices, and obedience to duty and order. Secondly, some diversity existed among anglo-catholic, Anglican chaplains depending on which was given greater emphasis, either “adherence to High Church creeds and practices” or “obedience to duty and order.” While some like Padre Stewart, in explaining himself as a “follower of the Oxford Movement,” professed a conservative anglo-catholicism, others like Padre Kerr avowed a much more liberal “first-century” view of anglo-catholicism. Padre Kerr described himself as a “follower of the early Christian Church,” who tried to direct people (using High Church tradition), to a Christ who provided individuals with the power to leave sin behind.

Other Anglican chaplains chose traditional as the term that best described their religious beliefs when their chaplaincy work began in World War II. One traditional Anglican chaplain, Padre Peglar, stated that the traditional creeds of the church were the best description of his theology. Another chaplain, Padre Harrison, defined traditional simply as “the Book of Common Prayer.” This view was reiterated by Padre Flagg when he describes traditional as “guided by the teaching and principles set out in the Book of Common Prayer.” After initial observations are made it appears that traditional Anglican chaplains identified with a theology steeped in the traditions of the Anglican Church. However, when this religious category is examined more closely, its foundational principles are not only religious but reactionary also.

The explanations provided by several traditional Anglican chaplains suggests that some chose “traditional” because it appeared to be a moderate position avoiding any association with liberalism or evangelicalism (often regarded as synonymous with fundamentalism) – each perceived as extreme views. While Padre Cleverdon described traditional as “not fundamentalist and against the garb of High Church,” Padre Owen included in his explanation, “. . . [My beliefs were] not John Robinson – God is dead, nor did I have much use for charismatics.” Stated in a straight forward manner Padre Graven supplied this definition of traditional, “I love the Anglican Church but not the extreme positions.” In addition, Padre Doidge’s understanding of traditional involved “great respect for the church’s sacramental emphasis and teaching, but also great respect for the preaching of the Gospel and personal ministry to persons.” The explanations provided by these chaplains testifies, firstly, that those who defined their religious belief as traditional were, at least in part, reacting against

certain aspects of anglo-catholicism and evangelicalism. While some like Padres Cleverdon, Owen and Graven reacted negatively, others such as Padre Doidge responded positively. Instead of stating what he opposed in anglo-catholicism and evangelicalism, he used it to define his theology. Secondly, perhaps the Book of Common Prayer was so frequently used by traditional Anglicans because it represented a balance between anglo-catholic and evangelical belief. In summary, it would appear that much of the basis of the traditional classification is not a different religious belief, but rather a reactionary expression against the worst extremes of, or in support of the best aspects of, anglo-catholicism and evangelicalism. Furthermore, with no foundationally religious principles or beliefs in and of itself, traditional Anglican chaplains were more likely to change their beliefs in the direction of anglo-catholicism or evangelicalism depending on a particular religious aspect or belief. Thus, it is quite difficult to define, absolutely, the religious belief of those chaplains calling themselves traditional Anglican chaplains.

Evangelicals occupy the final classification. In belief, evangelical Anglican chaplains rooted their religious belief in the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation. This view emphasized a personal experience of Christ practically displayed in the everyday life. This notion of belief and practice is evident in the descriptions supplied by evangelical Anglican chaplains defining their understanding of evangelical. On the one hand, Padre Smyth's words, "the Bible must be accepted as the Word of God, and justification by faith alone is important," reiterated the importance of a religious belief steeped in the theology of the reformation. On the other hand, Padre Daisley reflected the practical, personal dimensions of his faith when he described evangelical as ". . . fulfilling the Lord's command to go and preach the Good News, calling men to accept Christ and accept His promise, 'Lo I am with you always.'" While Padre Daisley's evangelistic enthusiasm apparently was not indicative of all evangelical Anglican chaplains, most evangelicals believed it important to share their religious beliefs with others if the opportunity presented itself. One chaplain who expressed this view was Padre Phillips. He wrote, "evangelical meant preaching the Word as best one could and living as a Christian. I did not proselytize, I preferred troops to approach me. However, if circumstances were such, I would try to present the Gospel to them." It is interesting that Padre Phillips spoke of handing out "Christian Tracts" and being quite evangelistic during his summer work in Northern Ontario before the war.

When asked why he did not continue in evangelistic work as a chaplain he shook his head and replied that he didn't know. In summary, evangelical Anglican chaplains adhered to the religious beliefs of the Protestant Reformation, and believed in sharing their faith in a manner without an overwhelming evangelistic emphasis.

B. The Nationalistic Beliefs of Anglican Chaplains in World War II

In accepting the role of chaplain in World War II, Anglican clergymen became military personnel. A variety of nationalistic factors were responsible for causing these Christian ministers to leave the freedom of parish ministry and agree to practise their priestly duties within the restrictions of Canada's Armed Forces. Furthermore, the nationalistic reasons supplied by Anglican chaplains have remarkable similarities to their religious beliefs.

Every Anglican chaplain who served in the Second World War did so voluntarily. No one forced Anglican clergy to offer their services in the fight against Hitler; joining the Canadian military was the individual decision of each Anglican clergyman. However, when critically examined, several nationalistic factors were quite instrumental in influencing an Anglican priest's decision to become a chaplain.

The Anglican chaplains personally interviewed or contacted through mailed questionnaires were asked two questions regarding their decision to enlist as chaplains in World War II. The questions read as follows:

13. Why did you enlist in the armed forces as a Padre/Chaplain? Please explain.

14. In deciding to enter as Padre/Chaplain which was the greatest motivating factor (please circle one):

- a) to serve a spiritual role
- b) to serve a social/humanitarian role

Please explain.

In response to question 14, all Anglican chaplains (except for one) circled either a), or both a) and b). When asked to explain their choice most provided no statements. However, many of those who provided an explanation of their choice in question 14 stated that they considered both

the spiritual and social/humanitarian roles as inseparably connected, but affirmed the spiritual role as the most important. In response to question 13, the answers provided by chaplains may be classified into three categories. The table below is a helpful summary of their responses.

Table II. The Nationalistic Factors Responsible For Influencing Anglican Clergy To Enlist As Chaplains in World War II

Categories	Nationalism and Patriotism			Total	Spiritual	Other
	A	B	C		Role	Role
Interviews / Questionnaires	I / Q	I / Q	I / Q		I / Q	I / Q
Anglo-Catholic	5 2 ^k	- 1 ^k	- 1	(8 ^k)	- -	- -
Traditional	1 4 ^f	1 -	2 1	(10 ^f)	- 3 ^f	- 1
Evangelical	- 1 ^d	2 -	1 -	(4 ^d)	1 1 ^d	- -

Notes

1. Categories A, B and C are defined in the following manner:
Reasons in Category A include: love of Britain, belief in the necessity to destroy Hitler, and “peer pressure” (pressure from society and friends to enlist in the armed forces.

Reasons in Category B include: family military tradition of serving in the chaplaincy or armed forces.

Reasons in Category C include: advised or challenged to join chaplaincy by Anglican superiors (Bishop etc.), chaplain, or armed forces officer.

2. Special footnotes ^k, ^f and ^d refer to the following chaplains whose answers fit into more than one category: ^k = Padre Kendell, ^f = Padre Flagg, and ^d = Padre Daisley.

3. The three chaplains classified as “liberal” in Table I have been listed as traditional in Table II.

Several interesting observations can be made when Table II is compared to the definitions of the three religious categories (anglo-catholic, traditional and evangelical) summarized in Table I. Firstly, Table II indicates that nationalism and patriotism were very important factors in persuading anglo-catholic Anglican clergy to enter the chaplaincy. When one considers that all of the anglo-catholic Anglican chaplains consulted in this study indicated that their “greatest motivating factor” was to serve a spiritual role, it appears that questions 13 and 14 are contradictory. However, for these chaplains a very strong connection existed between Christianity (the spiritual role) and fighting in a war sanctioned by the ruling authorities (nationalism and patriotism). As categories A, B and C indicate, there were often several different patriotic reasons which compelled anglo-catholics to enlist as chaplains in World War II. The connection between military involvement and Christianity is evident in Padre Kendell’s response to question 13. He remarked, “it [enlisting as a chaplain] was a natural action. Our males had served King and Country for generations.” Apparently, Padre Kendell connected his work as chaplain and his family’s military tradition together. The inseparable connection between “spiritual duty” and “patriotic duty” (as exemplified by Padre Kendell) is not surprising when one remembers that the Church of England has traditionally supported Britain’s wars – at least until the recent Falklands war. Thus, in September 1939 the Church of England wholeheartedly threw its support into defeating the Axis powers. Furthermore, the connection between the “spiritual duty” and “patriotic duty” of Anglicans in Canada is not unusual when one recalls the inseparable tie between Canadian Anglicans and their British counterparts. A tangible example of this tie is apparent as one turns through the pages of *The Canadian Churchman*. Many of the cover articles were written by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and other prominent British church leaders.⁵

Anglo-Catholic Anglican chaplains were not the only Anglicans who enlisted as chaplains out of a sense of nationalistic or patriotic conviction; traditional Anglican chaplains also felt compelled to enter the chaplaincy as a responsible act of national duty. However, Table II indicates that several traditional Anglicans volunteered as chaplains exclusively because they felt a responsibility to provide a spiritual role to Canada’s military personnel. Furthermore, Table II attests that, of the three religious categories, traditional Anglicans were the most diverse in their responses.

It is an interesting coincidence that diversity was a significant characteristic of traditional Anglican chaplains' religious beliefs and nationalistic views.

The reasons for enlistment given by evangelical Anglican chaplains appear to contradict the religious findings of the previous section. Because of their evangelical beliefs one might expect many evangelical Anglicans to include some reference to "spiritual or pastoral role" as part of the reason for their enlistment. However, the majority of evangelical Anglican chaplains stated that they joined the chaplaincy because of nationalistic motivations. Thus, apparently, a strong sense of nationalism was intrinsically shared by all Anglican chaplains, and not exclusively anglo-catholics or anglo-catholic minded traditionals, although the largest concentration of nationalistic motivation was found in Anglican chaplains inclined towards anglo-catholicism.

One should be cautious in drawing conclusions based upon Table II. To be truly accurate a much larger sampling of chaplains should be gathered. As well, Table II represents the nationalistic views of chaplains when they began their chaplaincy work. These views were not static but were subject to dynamic changes. For instance, as a chaplain experienced the London Blitz of 1940 or sadly observed the devastation of the French people by the Nazi military machine, his views concerning the connection between church and state, or his long family military tradition (strong reasons for enlisting), may have diminished, and his sense of the conflict as a "Just War" may have become a resolute conviction.

In conclusion, it is evident that the reasons why Anglican clergy enlisted as chaplains in World War II are found in a careful examination of their nationalistic views. However, these views were not held in isolation; in many instances the religious beliefs of Anglican chaplains had remarkable similarities to their nationalistic views. Apart from the connection with nationalistic views, understanding the chaplains' religious beliefs is essential because their military responsibility, first and foremost, was religious. Furthermore, while Anglican chaplains adhered to liberal, anglo-catholic, traditional and evangelical religious beliefs, their nationalistic or patriotic views included such aspects as the connection between church and state, a strong family military tradition, the influence of religious or military officials, and so forth. Finally, this study of the religious beliefs and nationalistic views of Anglican chaplains is by no means an end in itself. This paper is only one aspect of the larger

historiographical study of the important work of Anglican chaplains – including their tasks, problems, encounters with death and dying situations, and successes and failures, all of which were essential aspects of the service provided by Anglican chaplains in the Second World War.

Endnotes

1. Walter T. Steven notes that, despite its many volumes, the author of the “official history” of the Canadian Army (i.e., See *The Canadian Army At War, The Canadians in Britain 1939-1944*, No. 1) allocated only four and a half lines of writing to describe the organization and work of the Canadian Chaplain Service (*In This Sign* [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948], p. 32).
2. In World War II Canadian Baptist chaplains were appointed from six Baptist denominations in Canada (the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, the United Baptist Convention of the Maritimes, the Baptist Union of Western Canada, which in 1944 joined to form the Baptist Federation of Canada; the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec, the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches of Canada, which in 1953 joined to form the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada; and the Ontario Baptist Association [German], part of the North American Baptist Conference).
3. For a study featuring chaplaincy work in the Air Force see Minton C. Johnston, *Sky Pilots in Blue: A Presentation of the Organization and Work of the Protestant Chaplaincy Service of the R.C.A.F.* (Ottawa: DH/NDHQ photocopy, nd); in the Army, see Steven, *In This Sign* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948); and in the Navy, see Waldo E. Smith *The Navy Chaplain and His Parish* (Ottawa: The Queen’s Printer, 1967).
4. Two biographical or autobiographical books written by or about Anglican chaplains in World War II include, George Anderson Wells, *The Fighting Bishop* (Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971), and Rev. Canon Minto Swan, *Props, Bars and Pulpits, or Minto’s Minutes* (Kingston: Hanson & Edgar Printers, 1961).
5. See for example, the Archbishop of Canterbury, “The Sources of Our Strength,” *The Canadian Churchman*, 24 April 1941; the Archbishop of Canterbury, “Channels of Living Energy,” *The Canadian Churchman*, 14 May 1942, 307-8; Dr. Matthews (Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral), “Things

To Come," *The Canadian Churchman* 3 June 1943, 339-40; and Rev. Dr. Leonard Hodgson, "We Anglicans Are One," *The Canadian Churchman*, 16 September 1943, 509.

“The Making of a Nation”: Nationalism and World War I in the Social Gospel Literature of Ralph Connor¹

BETH PROFIT

The rise of liberal theology in general, and the social gospel in particular, during the late-nineteenth century has been attributed to a number of factors. The frequent expressions of unqualified faith in progress that accompanied the Industrial Revolution evoked an aura of the dawning of a new era, full of unlimited potential for improving the quality of life through technology. Changing demographic and economic patterns created a new complex of social issues which challenged philosophers, social scientists and theologians to find corresponding new approaches to these problems. Urbanization brought with it the development of slums in which huge numbers of the working poor were alienated from the support and authority systems of family, village and church. The gap between rich and poor widened, both socially and economically. In North America especially, but also in England, these problems were complicated further by immigration which brought with it language and cultural barriers. The question confronting the church and, in fact, all of society was how to adapt to this new social configuration.

Intellectual developments also brought challenges to traditional Christian theology in the nineteenth century. The evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin, and the use of historical and social-scientific methodology by biblical scholars, demanded a new Christianity that could withstand the challenges of this new scientific and social-scientific age. Thus the social gospel may be seen as a product of these intellectual movements, and a whole complex of nineteenth-century currents of thought, including the

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revivalist emphasis on perfectionism and active Christianity, the Darwinian recognition of the importance of the environment for progress, the new positive view of the state, a Hegelian view of history as a progressive expression of the eternal idea, and the search for the historical Jesus.

William R. Hutchison, in *American Protestant Thought: The Liberal Era*² has however identified the liberal enthusiasm for modernity as a strain of thought unique to nineteenth-century liberal theology. This concern with cultural adaptation, and making theology "relevant" to the modern world, may be seen as an attempt on the part of liberal theologians to create persuasive religious rhetoric at a time when traditional religious authority was being seriously questioned.

The social gospel is one such endeavour. For the purposes of this discussion, the social gospel may be defined as that movement of Christian social thought emerging in the late-nineteenth century, which emphasized the social ethics of the Gospels as principles for ordering modern society and the immanence of God in human history. Building on these two ideas social gossellers urged the church, as embodied institutionally and by individual believers, to work towards the building of the Kingdom of God on earth. A key premise of such work was the prior necessity of social salvation to the salvation of individuals, especially among the poor. It was an essentially optimistic movement, based on a belief on the innate goodness of human beings, and a faith in progress. As such, it was particularly suited, or to use the terminology of that era, "relevant" to the Canadian situation in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The achievement of Confederation in 1867, the opening up of the West (and with it an increasing awareness of the wealth of Canada's natural resources), and the great floods of immigrants entering the country created a sense of excitement about the potential development of this new nation. Wilfrid Laurier's oft-quoted belief that the twentieth century would be Canada's century was sincerely shared by the majority of his contemporaries in Canada. The future of Canada, and the development of a Canadian identity, was a favourite topic in the public forum. Among those who voiced dearly cherished hopes for the character of the Canadian identity were the Protestant churches of Canada. As Keith Clifford pointed out in his article, "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis,"³ the leadership and membership of the Canadian Protestant churches, particularly those in Ontario, were anxious to preserve, in the face of immigration from Catholic and non-English speaking countries, the cultural dominance that

the English Protestant tradition had historically enjoyed in the nation. Thus, the churches took on an active role in the task of nation-building. Visions of “His Dominion” emerged; Canada was to be the Kingdom of God on earth. At the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference in London, Nellie McClung asked the delegates:

Does it thrill you to think of a new land to be settled, where the pages of life are all white, ready to be written upon; where precedents are being made every day, and history written? We want to make it a Christian country . . . We need doctors, teachers, preachers; we need Christian people, who will prepare the way of the Lord, and make His path straight, for we know that in spite of our wonderful country, with its untold riches of mine and forest and plain, its oil-fields, coal-mines, and wheat-fields, it is only righteousness that can exalt a nation. “Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it!”⁴

This almost millennialist view of the future of Canada as a Christian nation prepared the way for the propagation of the social gospel. The social gospel, with its emphasis on active, practical Christianity and the techniques of social science and education, presented a plan for building the nation on Christian principles, the social teachings of Jesus, translated into social and political action. The nationalist hopes for Canada were linked to the modernist social gospel as a principle for building a truly Christian nation, and for avoiding the problems of urbanization, industrialization and immigration as experienced by the older nations of the United States and England. The social gospel also provided a way of dealing with the threat to the English Protestant vision of Canada posed by immigration. “Canadianizing” immigrants became a part of the social gospel’s mission. As Ralph Connor wrote in the preface to his 1909 novel, *The Foreigner*,

in Western Canada there is to be seen today that most fascinating of all human phenomena, the making of a nation. Out of breeds diverse in traditions, in ideals, in speech, and in manner of life, Saxon and Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul, one people is being made. The blood strains of great races will mingle in the blood of a race greater than the greatest of them all.

It would be our wisdom to grip these peoples to us with living

hooks of justice and charity till all lines of national cleavage disappear, and in the Entity of our Canadian national life, and in the Unity of our world-wide Empire, we fuse into a people whose strength will endure the slow shock of time for the honour of our name, for the good of mankind, and for the glory of Almighty God.⁵

Linking theology to nationalist hopes for Canada was an effective selling tactic for the social gospel. At a time when traditional religious authority was being questioned, nationalism, whose positive value few doubted, could be used to make Christianity relevant, current and interesting. The popular success of such best-selling novelists as Nellie McClung (1873-1951) and Ralph Connor (1874-1958) is indicative of the effectiveness of this approach to the social gospel. Both McClung and Connor were proponents of the social gospel and their books served as vehicles for propagating this particular brand of Christianity. They wrote stories of nation-building with a strong emphasis on active social Christianity and social reform. These social gospel novels are valuable historical sources which have too frequently been overlooked by historians. Literary critics, too, seem to have neglected this genre of writing, perhaps because its didactic character frequently overpowers any artistic achievement. But this approach to the social gospel draws attention to an important aspect of the theology, that is, how it was presented to the person in the pew, or to an entire nation of readers. These novels can be used as a source for locating and understanding the social gospel as it was received by the culture at large.

The topic of the relationship of nationalism and the social gospel is an enormous one; there are many interesting themes one can pursue within the topic such as the Christianization / Canadianization relationship mentioned above, or promised land and Kingdom of God theology. This paper focuses on one particular aspect of the relationship which I have found especially interesting: interpretations of the First World War. Traditionally, studies of the social gospel have emphasized the disillusionment suffered by proponents of liberal theology as a result of World War I. The war, it is said, demonstrated the inherently evil nature of humanity. After witnessing such devastation, the optimism and faith in progress espoused by liberal theologians could no longer be sustained. An alternative interpretation maintains that the war simply accelerated or intensified the self-criticism which had begun among liberal theologians

before the war, or shattered a consensus already beginning to fall apart. Whatever the particular relationship between the demise of the social gospel and World War I, many scholars believe that there is a direct relationship and that the social gospel movement ended with World War I.

There are, of course, other interpretations. For example, Roger Hutchinson has argued on the basis of his studies of the United Church of Canada that the social gospel continues within the church well into the late 1930s, and perhaps beyond.⁶ Related to this contention that the social gospel survived World War I, I would like to present some evidence for an alternative interpretation of World War I based on the writings of a leading Canadian social gospel figure, Ralph Connor. Surprisingly enough, this interpretation emphasizes, from a nationalist perspective, the positive aspects of World War I. These optimistic understandings of the historical significance of the First World War may provide at least a partial explanation for the ability of a theology built on such optimism and faith in progress to withstand a devastating world event such as the war. Ralph Connor, and to a much more limited extent, Nellie McClung, saw in World War I some positive results, the primary one being the coming of age of Canada as an international power.

This dynamic is evident in a number of Ralph Connor's novels. *To Him that Hath* (1921) is the story of a northern Ontario labour dispute set in 1919. The hero is a young returned soldier, Jack Maitland. A recurrent theme in the novel is the benefit that Jack's wartime experience has brought him in terms of personal development and maturity. He has developed leadership qualities, the ability for teamwork and compassion for others. He has even become a better hockey player. In short, the war has made Jack a "real man" (by Connor's repeatedly enumerated standards of manhood), and Canada, whom Jack represents in microcosm, a real nation. Most interestingly, the war is credited with bringing to Jack (and to all Canadians) a restored faith in the human race and the ability of good to overcome evil. The war also serves as a unifying force for Canadian society. During the labour dispute shared war-time experience gives labour and management a common patriotic ground on which to meet each other and begin negotiations. And, just in case the reader still fails to grasp the moral of the story, Connor provides one or two more blatant statements of his message. The following excerpt is taken from the reflections of the clerk at Jack's father's mine:

Thirty-one years at the desk! And to show for it a home for his wife and himself, a daughter in a home of her own, a son dead for his country, leaving behind him a wife and two lads to carry the name – was it worth while? Yes, by Jove, it was worth it all to be able to give a man like Stephen Wickes to his country. For Stephen Wickes was a fine stalwart lad, a good soldier, steady as a rock, with a patient, cheery courage that nothing could daunt or break.⁷

Another of Ralph Connor’s novels which deals with the First World War is *The Major* (1929). It is the story of Larry Gwynne and his Quaker family who move from Ontario to the West in search of a more prosperous life. The novel largely consists of lengthy speeches and dialogues between rather stereotypical characters, who are endlessly debating the Quaker pacifist position, or extolling the glories of Canada, with the plot taking a position secondary in importance to the rhetoric. To summarize the plot: Larry and his sisters grow up; the sisters each get married; Larry goes to university, takes a job in Chicago, wrestles with the question of his participation in World War I, and ultimately returns to Canada to enlist “for the high and holy mission of justice for the wronged and protection for the helpless”⁸ and to marry his childhood friend Jane. Instead of riding off into the sunset together, they head off to war together. And Ernest Switzer, the German neighbour, loses his temper frequently, beats his mother and his sister, attempts to assault sexually Larry’s sister, Kathleen, tries to destroy the Gwynne family mining business and enlists in the German army.

There are many fascinating themes one could pursue in this novel, if time allowed. But for now, just a sampling must suffice. As in *To Him That Hath*, the war is presented as contributing to the development and maturity of individuals, such as Larry and Jane. Connor is anything but subtle in his presentation as the message, as the following excerpt will illustrate. Larry is visiting the home of Jane and her father in Winnipeg after his lengthy absence in Chicago:

such animation, with such radiant smiles, with such flashing eyes, such keen swift play of thought that Larry could hardly believe his eyes and ears, so immense was the change that had taken place in Jane during these ten months. He could hardly believe, as he glanced across the table at her vivid face, that this brilliant, quick-witted, radiant girl was the quiet demure Jane of his college days, his good

comrade, his chum, whom he had been inclined to patronise. What was this that had come to her? What had released those powers of mind and soul which he could now recognise as being her own, but which he had never seen in action. As in a flash it came to him that this mighty change was due to the terribly energising touch of War. The development which in normal times would have required years to accomplish, under the quickening impulse of this mighty force which in a day was brought to bear upon the life of Canada, this development became a thing of weeks and months only. War had poured its potent energies through her soul and her soul had responded in a new and marvellous efflorescence. Almost over night as it were the flower of an exquisite womanhood, strong, tender, sweet, beautiful, had burst into bloom. Her very face was changed . . . Yet withal there remained the same quick, wise sympathy, quicker, wiser than before war's poignant sorrows had disciplined her heart; the same far-seeing vision that anticipated problems and planned for their solution; the same proud sense of honour that scorned things mean and gave approval to things high.⁹

While Jane matures as a person, Larry matures as a Canadian and a Christian. During the early days of the war, while living in Chicago, Larry comes to a realization of his Canadian identity as distinct from the Americans among whom he lives. As he wrestles with the issue of the responsibilities attached to his Canadian citizenship, he is also confronted with the duties of his citizenship in the Kingdom of God. The war brings him to a realization that Christian love does not always mean pacifism. Sacrificing oneself to protect those who are weaker is the truest expression of Christian love. Larry, by going off to war, is imitating Christ. Connor's description of the farewell scene between Larry and his pacifist Quaker mother leaves nothing to the reader's powers of interpretation: "we must not grudge our offering. No, with willing hearts we must bring our sacrifice." She passed into prayer. "Thou, who didst give thy Son, Thine only Son, to save Thy world, aid me to give mine to save our world today."¹⁰

As in *To Him That Hath*, so in *The Major*, Canada also comes to maturity during the war, following a pattern that parallels the development of the hero and heroine; that is, Canada matures as a nation, as Larry and Jane mature as people, coming to terms with their own responsibilities to their country in the war effort. The government's declaration of war

"rallied and steadied the young nation, touched her pride, and breathed serene resolve into the Canadian heart."¹¹ Canada realizes her "Canadianness," as Larry realizes his "Canadianness." National unity is strengthened, Connor writes, as Canadians from all regions, classes and ethnic backgrounds wholeheartedly enter into the war effort. And, for the first time, a genuine patriotic Canadian spirit surfaces:

A completely new set of emotions filled their hearts, a new sense of exultation, a new pride in that great British Navy which hitherto had been a mere word in a history book, or in a song . . . Some of them were carrying little Union Jacks in their hands. For the first time in their lives that flag became a thing of pride and power, a thing to shout for. It stood for something invisible but very real . . . Hitherto they had taken that flag for granted. They had hung it out of their windows on Empire Day or on Dominion Day as a patriotic symbol, but few of them would have confessed, except in a half-shamed, apologetic way, to any thrill at the flapping of that bit of bunting. They had shrunk from a display of patriotic emotion. They were not like their American cousins, who were ever ready to rave over Old Glory. That sort of emotional display was un-Canadian, un-British. But to-day somehow the flag had changed. The flag had changed because it fluttered in a new world, a new light fell upon it, the light of battle. It was a war flag to-day. Men were fighting under it, were fighting for all it represented, were dying under its folds, and proudly and gladly.¹²

Finally, Connor tells us, Canada comes to a realization of the real meaning of Christian faith, as did Larry, as the onset of the war brought people back to the church:

On the first Sunday of the war the churches of Winnipeg were full to the doors. Men, whose attendance was more or less desultory and to a certain extent dependent upon the weather, were conscious of an impulse to go to church. War had shaken the foundations of their world, and men were thinking their deepest thoughts and facing realities too often neglected or minimised. "I have been thinking of God these days," said a man to Mr. Murray as they walked home from business on Saturday, and there were many like him in Canada in those first days of August. Without being able definitely to define it there was in the hearts of men a sense of need of some clear word of

guiding, and in this crisis of Canadian history the churches of Canada were not found wanting.¹³

The enormous success of Ralph Connor's novels would seem to indicate that there is some significant degree of resonance between Connor's views of the war and those of the general reading public in Canada. Indeed, Connor's interpretation of World War I is not unique. Other Canadian writers of the period echo many of Connor's themes and attitudes. It seems only fitting, given the location of our conference, that I should offer as an example, Lucy Maud Montgomery. In her journal we find the following echo of Connor's words regarding the war and its implications for the church: "oh, we all come back to God in these times of soul-sifting – humbly, starkly, unconditionally. Perhaps this is why this awful war has come. The world was forgetting God. It had to be reminded of Him."¹⁴

Montgomery's novel *Rilla of Ingleside*, part of the second generation of the Anne series, is set during World War I and largely drawn from Montgomery's own war-time journal entries. Montgomery presents the same pattern apparent in Connor's work, the maturity story. Her heroine, Rilla, a rather frivolous, silly girl becomes a responsible, independent and mature woman through war-time experience. Another theme of this novel is the new-found unity in Canadian society. Nellie McClung also testifies to the effectiveness of World War I in enabling Canadians to disregard traditional social barriers. She tells the story of her journey by car to speak at a Red Cross meeting, accompanied by three other women speakers. They lost their way and sought directions from an Indian, who offered to guide them, riding on the running board of their car. As they talked, the women discovered that the Indian man had a son who was fighting in the war.

Then suddenly it occurred to the whole four of us that the running board of a car was not the place where this man should be riding. We stopped the car, and we found room for him in the back seat by putting one big valise on the front. He was no longer a plain Indian with torn clothes and a dirty face. He was one of us – and one who had made a big contribution. We were all citizens of the British Empire; we were all of the great family of the Next-of-Kin, and, after all, what is a dirty face and a torn coat?¹⁵

McClung and Montgomery also share Connor's solid belief in the immanence of God acting in human history. All three writers firmly believe that God is on the side of the Canadians – Montgomery even refers to the failed German siege of Paris as the "finger of God" holding back the enemy.¹⁶

A key element of these interpretations of World War I is the conviction that this is truly the war to end all wars, the great triumph of good over evil which will bring the dawning of the new age, perhaps even the Kingdom of God on earth. Nellie McClung predicts that

there will . . . come out of the war a new idea of empire, clear as the sunlight and wide as the earth! We will cease to think locally and to boast of a narrow patriotism . . . Our citizenship will be world citizenship – our neighbour will be every man, of whatever race, or creed, or color, or tongue . . . There will be no war lords with the iniquitous power to plunge innocent and inoffensive people into warfare! Women are going to come into their own. We will hear less about woman's unfitness for public life. Man's pride in masculine statecraft has received a jolt, and they are not so sure of things as they were four months ago! There can be no true democracy where one-half of the race is ignored, and this war, if it has any significance at all, is a war against autocracy. The mother's point of view will be represented in the days to come – the good days to which our longing eyes are turning in hope and faith.¹⁷

In McClung's position, we see a somewhat more ambivalent interpretation of World War I. While McClung recognizes the necessity of the war and presents it as a noble cause she is sharply critical of the very idea of war, and doubtful about the notion of an unqualified victory. This brings me to question, then, Connor's seemingly absolute confidence in, and repeated insistence on, the ultimate triumph of good over evil that was signified by the Allied victory in World War I. It is almost as if he "doth protest too much." To what extent is Connor attempting to reconcile himself and his readers to the incredible losses of human life sustained by Canada, and the other nations who fought the war? To represent the war as a "sacred cause" in which Canadians were assured that "[t]he God of righteousness was still ruling in his world, and righteousness would be done"¹⁸ was perhaps a way of making the horrible realities more bearable.

Perhaps then it is not World War I itself that causes the social gospellers such as Connor to doubt the adequacy of liberal theology, but an unavoidable confrontation with the Great War's failure in the form of the rise of Hitler in the 1930s and the beginning of World War II.

Endnotes

1. Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto: The Westminster Co., 1909), preface.
2. William R. Hutchison, *American Protestant Thought: The Liberal Era* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1986).
3. N.K. Clifford, "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis," *Sciences Religieuses / Studies in Religion* 2, No. 4 (Spring 1973): 315-326.
4. Nellie L. McClung, "Address to the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference," in *Proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference Held in the Central Hall, Westminster, London, September 6-16, 1921*, intro. Rev. Dr. Workman and Dr. H.K. Carroll (Toronto: The Methodist Book and Publishing House, [n.d.]), p. 260.
5. Connor, *The Foreigner*, preface.
6. Roger Hutchinson, "The Canadian Social Gospel in the Context of Christian Social Ethics," in *The Social Gospel in Canada*, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 286-316.
7. Ralph Connor, *To Him That Hath: A Novel of the West Today* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1921), p. 42.
8. Ralph Connor, *The Major* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1929), p. 366.
9. Connor, *The Major*, pp. 377-378.
10. Connor, *The Major*, p. 372.
11. Connor, *The Major*, p. 346.
12. Connor, *The Major*, pp. 322-323.
13. Connor, *The Major*, pp. 333-334.
14. Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Selected Journals of Lucy Maud Montgomery*, eds. Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), II:154.

15. Nellie L. McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1946), p. 158.
16. Montgomery, *Journals*, II:158.
17. Nellie McClung, "What Twelve Canadian Women Hope to See as the Outcome of the War," *Everywoman's World* III, No. 4 (April 1915): 33.
18. Connor, *The Major*, p. 312.

**Canadian Society of Church History, Canadian Theological
Society, and Canadian Society for the Study of Religion**

PANEL DISCUSSION

“How Ought Church Historians to do Church History?”

What Do Church Historians Study?

TOM SINCLAIR-FAULKNER

By rights answering this question ought to be as easy as shooting fish in a barrel. Everybody knows that decent historians take pride in facing the facts, the material that is given. When they are told to study the church, then they study the church. And that's it.

And if a church historian such as myself is ever tempted to forget this, there will always be a theologian or two around who will be glad to remind me at length that it is my task to stick to the facts. No theologian, of course, has ever suffered such inhibitions but they certainly know how to remind church historians how to observe boundaries. Take, for example, Schleiermacher who presented *An Outline of Theology* and placed church history along with statistics at the base of the totem-pole of knowledge, leaving all the interesting questions for the theologians to play with up at the top.¹

There is a part of me that relishes the prospect of stupidly insisting that a church is a church if it calls itself a church, and church historians had better take that seriously. Consider, for example, the position taken by the Anglican bishop who happened to head up the chaplaincy corps (Protestant) during the Second World War in Canada. Like many of the

mainstream clergy in Canada he had little respect for the Salvation Army and early in the War he paid an official visit to the Minister of National Defence and informed him that Salvationist officers were not clergy, that they had never been clergy, that they had never served in the armed forces as clergy during the First World War, and he was not going to countenance their presence in the chaplaincy services in this war. All of this is recorded in the bishop's personal memoirs published later by the Anglican Church.²

Of course it is all nonsense. Salvation Army officers served with distinction in the First World War, ministering to the troops. They served again in the Second World War as Protestant chaplains, and the papers of the Ministry of National Defence clearly show that the government admired and relied upon the work of Salvationists in both wars.³

Yet the bishop was perfectly sincere in his report of the facts in his official memoirs – including the totally untrue assertion that the Minister of National Defence was in complete agreement with him. And therefore I want to make two opening observations. First, sincerity is probably the most over-rated of all the Christian virtues. And second, it is not enough simply to take the word of church leaders about what is a church.

In order to avoid the little lapses into prejudice that sometimes afflict church leaders, theologians often state some variation of the “marks of the Church” that are traditionally invoked to determine what is a church and what is not. But rather than resort to an abstract definition I want to pursue the possibilities inherent in the notion that historians must above all focus their “inquiries” – a word that adequately translates the Greek word that gave us both the word “history” and the word “story” – on the material that is given to them by what has happened.

This may help me to make sense of some fairly difficult historical events in which the question of what is a church has arisen. Consider, for example, the efforts of the Metropolitan Community Church to get itself recognized by sister churches as an honest-to-goodness church. I do not know what their experience has been in Canada but at the level of the National Council of Churches in the United States their effort to be admitted was brought to nought by the Presbyterian representatives who arranged to table the motion to grant membership. (Those who treasure the notion that Presbyterians are renowned for doing things “decently and in right order” should recall that this is the only abuse of parliamentary procedure which General Roberts permitted to stand in his *Rules of Order* but which he decried to his dying day.) In Massachusetts the story was

slightly different: here a Reformed theologian wrote an analysis of the MCC application for membership in the state council of churches, arguing successfully that the application should be refused outright on the grounds that it was in fact a play for legitimacy by a body that is not a church.⁴

Sometimes the notion of what is a church shows up when groups are being included in interchurch bodies. Here in Canada, for example, the Catholic Church has become an “Associate Member” of the Canadian Council of Churches – a category of membership that was created solely to accommodate that church. My reading of the Vatican II documents, by the way, suggests that the official Catholic position is still that it is the one true Church.⁵ The decision to seek Associate Membership status in the Canadian Council of Churches is therefore an interesting if somewhat messy compromise.

So how are we to determine what is a church? Let me suggest going back to the root meaning of the word: *ton kuriakon*. I know that words change their meaning over the years. And I know that this particular etymology is more than a bit sticky in light of our customary understanding of the word “church.” But I think that we can learn something very interesting from an inquiry into the original meaning of the word that people produced in order to identify the body of Christ.

It literally means “the things that belong to the LORD.” Now you know that this term “LORD” has all kinds of complexities swirling around it because of traditional Jewish reservations about the pronunciation of the name of God. But you may not know that the Greek word for “lord” [*kyrie*] – which is preserved today in the modern Greek honorific that plays the part for Greeks that “Mister” plays for us – is in fact not a Greek word at all. It is a Persian word. And it comes from the period of the conquests of Kurush – we know him as Cyrus the Great – when the Greeks themselves were so impressed by the extraordinary reach, magnificence and power of this oriental ruler that they took his personal name into their language as a means of recognizing rulers or lords in the most generic sense.

Consider the possibilities. This means that the “church” – or the “kirk” if you come from Nova Scotia and prefer to use the language that was used in the Garden of Eden – refers to the things that belong to the conqueror of the world. I infer that evidence in support of the authenticity of any particular body’s claim to the name “church” must demonstrate mastery of the world – or at least a significant part thereof. If you genuinely belong to the LORD, then it is a lord who has mastered the vast

world.

That immediately casts into disrepute the claims of many modern churches to be *kuriaka* purely on the grounds that these churches pursue an increasingly private form of religion. But it opens up some interesting possibilities when it comes to considering the rôle of other bodies in history.

My favorite example here is the body whose deliberations are recorded by A.S.P. Woodhouse as *The Putney Debates*.⁶ This body calls itself the Council of the Army, and sure enough it consists of the officers and men's representatives of Oliver Cromwell's army, meeting at Putney on the outskirts of London to debate the terms on which they will wage war against the King's last stronghold during the English Civil War. But according to Woodhouse the Council of the Army looks like a church, walks like a church and talks like a church. I think that he is right. Its commitment to the authority of Christian revelation – whether in the form of scripture, personal experience or tradition – is wonderful to behold.

Or consider the record of the Colonial Office under William Knox during the American Revolution. William Knox was the British under-secretary of state for America during 1770-1782, and he drew the conclusion that “the most effectual means of excluding Republicans” from British North America would be to establish the Church of England “in all its forms” (i.e., including a school and university system under Anglican hegemony) and to grant “full toleration to the Roman Catholic.”⁷ Alas, Knox and his successors repeatedly underestimated the resources required for effective establishment, and never resolved with the Anglican hierarchy the contradiction implied by what they called “toleration” in British North America for the Roman Catholic.

I think it is interesting, however, to note that William Knox was a layman of the Anglican Church, serving on the advisory board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and in that respect he was like many other influential officials of the British government. His statement reflected the assumption that church and state are one. Officials of the colonial government were often religious men themselves – and in particular men who saw no need to isolate their religious inclinations from their government activities. In the late eighteenth century the “church” to be studied was the British state, including that branch of the civil service known as the Church of England.

This is not to say that any group with ambitions to recognize the

lordship of God in the world merits the name “church.” By contrast I set before you the comments of evangelical leader Brian Stiller in *Faith Today* where he asserts that the preamble to the proposed Canadian Constitution contains a reference to God’s lordship “with a clear and concise definition that Christians can not merely support, but celebrate.”⁸

I think that this claim lacks the solid investment of real, secular power that characterized the assertions of God’s lordship that you find in the Putney debates and in William Knox’s documents. Chesterton may once have described the United States as “the nation with the soul of a church,”⁹ but I doubt that anyone will every describe Canada in this manner – at least not on the basis of the preamble to our existing or proposed constitution.

Before I offer two criticisms of this insistence that a church has by definition a solid investment in recognition of God’s real, secular power, let me adduce a comparativist argument in support of it. The traditional Jewish address to God as *malkhuto le-olam* or Master of the Universe supports, I think, my inclination to think that early Christians wished the LORD to be honored as lord of this world. So too does the Muslim appellation of God as *malik* of the Day of Judgment in the opening *sura* of the Qur’an. This is one of the few words in the Qur’an about which there is some ambiguity because the absence of vowels in the written form of classical Arabic leaves us unsure whether God is an “owner” above all other owners or a “king” above all others. Within the narrow bounds of this disagreement among the commentaries, however, there is no doubt that God is master of all worlds.¹⁰

Now let me offer two criticisms of the argument that the “church” by definition is the institution that offers honor to God as ruler of the world. First, if Jesus can stand before Pilate and say, “My kingdom is not of this world,”¹¹ why would early Christians choose to call their institution after an oriental conqueror? I simply put it to you that both views are part of the earliest *kerygma* (proclamation) of the Christian community and must therefore be taken seriously.

My second criticism cannot adequately be discussed in this language. Il nous faut l’exprimer en français, la première langue officielle de notre pays. J’étais en train d’écrire un manuscrit intitulé “Christianity” pour *L’Encyclopédie Canadien* et j’envoyai un exemplaire à mon cher collègue, Louis Rousseau à l’Université du Québec à Montréal. “Ils sont foux, ces Anglais,” cria Louis. “Le mot ‘église’ n’est pas basé sur le mot

grec qui veut dire ‘ceux qui appartiennent au Seigneur.’ C’est tiré de la langue grecque, c’est vrai, mais il signifie ‘ceux qui sont appelés à sortir (du monde).’”

And of course Louis was right – *grosso modo*, to use one of his own favorite phrases. The French word “église” has the same pedigree of antiquity that the word “church” has and it even shows up in English as “ecclesiastical” and related words. It means the opposite of “church”; it means “those who are called out [of the world],” not “those who belong to the LORD [of the world].”

How do we reconcile these opposites? If we are theologians then we shall follow either Martin Luther’s lead, arguing that only one can be right and therefore we should trash the other,¹² or John Calvin’s pattern, insisting that both are right and that properly conceived (by me!) they really mean the same thing.¹³

But a church historian cannot do that. The church historian has to accept both as valid explanations of the consciousness of the Christian community, and has to accept that it is possible that the two historic meanings of “church/église” cannot be reconciled. Instead they must simply be recounted.

Endnotes

1. Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology*, trans. Terrence N. Tice (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1966).
2. George Anderson Wells, *The Fighting Bishop* (Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971), p. 452. See also minutes of the meeting of the Protestant Advisory Committee on the Chaplaincy (3 June 1941) in the papers of Right Reverend Arthur Carlisle (Anglican Diocesan Archives, Montréal).
3. See, for example, a letter from Charles Burns (Assistant Deputy Minister of National Defence) to Commissioner Carpenter (8 October 1938) in the file entitled “Salvation Army to Render Service to the Troops of the CASF” (Public Archives of Canada).
4. Max Stackhouse, private communication (14 October 1989).

5. When this essay was originally presented Dr. Walter Principe disagreed with my reading, pointing out that the Second Vatican Council had declared that the Orthodox Churches of the East and the Anglican Church of the West are recognized as “ecclesial communities,” virtually churches. And indeed it is true that the conciliar document *Unitatis Redintegratio* (Decree on Ecumenism) does introduce this reconciling formulation, offering an explanation of the carefully chosen phrase “ecclesial communities” (*The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. [New York: Guild Press, 1966], note 45, p. 355). While I respect Father Principe’s authority and am personally grateful for his interpretations of Catholic doctrine that are consistently generous towards other Christians, I note that many other Catholic authorities continue to insist that the comments in the Council documents must not be construed as undermining the traditional claim of the Catholic Church that it alone is the one true Church. See, for example, Michael Richards, *The Nature and Necessity of Christ’s Church. An Introduction to Ecclesiology* (New York: Alba House, 1983), especially pp. 84-100.
6. *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts with Supplementary Documents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).
7. Excerpts from Knox’s papers were republished in *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths*, ed. L.F.S. Upton (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967), pp. 50-55.
8. *Faith Today* (May/June 1992), p. 90.
9. Quoted by Sidney E. Mead, “The ‘Nation with the soul of a Church,’” *Church History* 36 (1967): 262-283.
10. Mahmoud Ayoub, *The Qur’an and Its Interpreters* (Albany: State University Press, 1984), I:48.
11. John 18:36.
12. See for example, Luther’s famous dismissal of works-righteousness

in the Letter of James in the light of grace as it is described in the letters of Paul (“Preface to the New Testament, 1522,” in *Martin Luther: Selections From His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger [Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1961], p. 19).

13. John Calvin, “James against Paul?” in *The Institutes*, trans. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), book III, chapter xvii(11), pp. 814-5.

How Do Historians Determine What is Authentic Christianity?

WALTER PRINCIPE

We panellists ended up with two different titles for this discussion, titles not so entirely different that they cannot be related. The title I received and will speak to was: “How do historians determine what is authentic Christianity?” My first instinctive reaction was to say that to determine the authenticity of Christianity is something that falls outside the competence of historians and belongs rather to theologians – theologians needing and using the help of biblical theologians, historical theologians (to be distinguished from historians of theology) and contemporary theologians using all the resources available today, including especially the new developments in hermeneutics, analysis of paradigm shifts, etc.

But then, realizing that theologians are not inspired (at least usually!), that they carry the weight of their own particular tradition, their times, their methodologies, I thought that neither can theologians be judges of authenticity. To put it in another way, when we do historical work, we tend to judge the meaningful content to be examined and the fundamental causes at work, especially in changes, by *analogy* with what we ourselves

consider most important. I remember one of my professors, Harold Innis, remarking that one knows better the century of the historian who is writing than the century the historian is writing about!

This approach to the past by analogy can be both beneficial and distorting. On the one hand, it was certainly a gain for history when Marxist ideas pointed to the economic forces at work in history and helped replace the overly simplified “great persons” or purely political approach to history, and when they tested the ideological assumptions of many historians. On the other hand, when this approach insists that economics is the basis of everything, its analogical approach becomes distorted by failing to take account of other forces or causes at work.

Another example: although the hermeneutics of suspicion and deconstructionism have helped overcome too easy assumptions, they can become ideologies suppressing legitimate conclusions. On a Ph.D. examination a while ago, I saw such an attempt to apply the hermeneutics of suspicion to a discussion of Trinitarian theology. Surely, one professor said, these debates had little meaning or importance in themselves; they were simply a camouflage for ideological positions of people seeking power for themselves. The student being examined pointed out that these doctrinal issues were important enough that some persons were ready to give up their lives for them, so that they were not simply meaningless intellectual skirmishes hiding other motives.

Again, the feminist approach to history has made great contributions by overcoming the blindness of historians, whether men – or women trained in their mindset – to the important roles played by women in history. I had an example of the blindness of historians to women when I wanted to give some examples of important medieval women in a lecture. I went to the quite recently published *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* for its article on one of the most brilliant and learned women of the twelfth century, Heloise. What I found under Heloise was the laconic note: “See ‘Abelard’”! Even the article on women in the middle ages, which did speak of women abbesses who ruled men as well as women and exercised functions denied women today in the Catholic Church, failed to give the names of any but a very few. So the efforts being made by feminist historians – and I believe that there is growing sensitivity to this issue among men – is a good example of how analogy with the present can help us to know the past better. But, one might ask whether, in redressing the balance, some feminist historians are not falling into their own distortions

of the past. I think of the book by Marina Warner,¹ which contains rich historical material on Mary, the mother of Jesus, but is constantly distorted by her prejudicial assumptions revealed in the very preface of the book and frequently invoked throughout.

All this is to say that I do not think historical theologians can, while able to make important contributions, be any more than historians the true arbiters of what is authentic Christianity. Where is such judgment to be found, if indeed it can be found?

Here I do speak as a theologian – that is, as a person beginning from faith and seeking understanding of that faith by the use of all available intellectual tools – as opposed to stricter religious studies people, who bracket faith and use approaches such as history of religions, phenomenology of religion, comparative studies in religion, philosophy, psychology, sociology of religion, etc. I do not mean to denigrate such religious studies approaches. I remember, when being interviewed at the time the Centre for Religious Studies was being thought of at the University of Toronto, saying to Vann Harvey that I thought such a centre needed both kinds of scholars, those personally involved in a religious tradition and those not so involved. I am sure, I said, that I could learn something about Buddhism or Islam from persons truly committed in these religions that I could not get from an outsider giving a non-experiential or non-experienced description of Buddhism or Islam. However, such a centre would need equally if not more the other approaches I have mentioned. Those of us in the Christian tradition know – or are informed by those in other fields about it – how biased we can be, and how much we need the challenge at those examining Christianity from the viewpoints of various methods in religious studies.

To return to my theological point. For me, the determination of what is authentic Christianity belongs to the working of the Holy Spirit of God leading *the entire Christian Church* into truth. To find this leading into truth by the Spirit requires dialogue among all the Christian Churches – and, indeed, in our day more than ever, dialogue with Christians who are unchurched, with religious studies scholars, and with those of other religions or no religion. It is here, in this dialogue, that are needed the necessary and valuable contributions of historians of all types, secular or ecclesiastical historians, historians of theology and philosophy, historians of popular religions, comparative religionists, etc. But also needed are social historians, sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists,

economic and political historians, and the contributions of those engaged in hermeneutics.

In a paper delivered at the 1991 convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America, I tried first to convince our theologians of the absolute need of history of all kinds for contemporary theology. When invoking all that is needed for historical work, plus all that is needed in our contemporary disciplinary explosion of knowledge, I concluded, as I do here, that the only way any scholarship of this kind can be done is by multidisciplinary focus on particular topics.² It is high time that we all acknowledge that no one person, no one discipline or department, can do everything, that there is a professional hubris in those who think that they can work alone without consulting many others.

Two big problems I see in such a search for authenticity are those raised by Scripture and those raised by Tradition. With respect to Scripture, we are more aware that there is no one theology in the Scriptures, even in the Christian Scriptures, but rather a certain pluralism of approaches. To determine authentic Christianity by recourse to biblical studies runs into the problem of such diversity. Indeed, one result of such inquiry may lead to the conclusion that authentic Christianity can take several different forms by stressing different aspects of the Christian message so long as it does not neglect essential aspects of the message. As for Tradition, the problem is with the distinction between what is a tradition that truly hands on authentic Christianity and one that is either secondary and changeable or even contrary to authentic Christianity. This question has occupied us in the Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States.

In any case, I think we need, in dialogue, to build up a list of questions to be put to any presentation of Christianity claiming to be authentic. Such a list has proved useful in testing authentic Christian spirituality, and the same or similar questions could be used to test authentic Christianity, since authentic spirituality and authentic Christianity go hand in hand.³ Perhaps something like this could be developed in the multidisciplinary dialogue that I see as the way to find what the Spirit is saying to the Christian Churches and to all who are interested in authentic Christianity.

Endnotes

1. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976). Warner ignores or denies the beneficial role of Marian devotion, despite its evident aberrations, in overcoming exclusively masculine symbolization of God; she also fails to appreciate the role of popular religious practice in the pastoral field or the profound psychological import of a benevolent female intercessor.
2. See, "Presidential Address: Catholic Theology and the Retrieval of its Intellectual Tradition: Problems and Possibilities," *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 46 (1991): 75-94.
3. For this list see my article, "Theological Trends: Pluralism in Christian Spirituality," *The Way: Contemporary Christian Spirituality* 32, No. 1 (January 1992): 54-61.

How Ought Church-Historians to do Church-History?

Martin Rumscheidt

I begin by delineating my underlying assumptions. 1) The notion of “objective” as understood in the academy as *Wissenschaft*, as “unbiased,” rigorously guided methodical pursuit of knowledge, is untenable to me. I reject it as a useful tool. It is too steeped in the objectification of what I need to deal with when I do church-history. It pushes me into the position of the outsider, the observer who believes that by hovering above things one may form an indeed correct judgment. Also, it rests on the false assumption that whatever is to be “studied” can be studied adequately, and consequently known appropriately, by projecting one’s own self-perception unto the reality studied. I mean some thing as follows: *homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto* wrote Terrence; because I am a human being there is nothing about humanity that is alien – I would read: inaccessible – to me. This perception, when I see it at work, for example, in Adolf von Harnack, becomes the motor of the belief that as an “objective” scholar of things pertaining to humanity one can understand, know, interpret everything authoritatively. I reject this as simple academy-imperialism. 2) A crucial dimension of truth, for me, is relationality; relations mid-wife truth. Since relations are experiential, truth to be found and known is dependent on the imagination of people, on their ability to use what Germans call *Phantaise*, possible translatable as “fantasy” if that means the ability to use creativity in experimental ways unchartered by established method. Truth requires, I believe, experiences in which there are dimensions that objectivity and rationality do not by themselves provide.

I speak of the activity I engage in as church-historian as “remembering,” putting things back together as well as bringing things before the mind so as to have them present. In this activity there is objectivity, of course: meticulous respect for what emerges as factual and, in a second instance in the way conclusions and interpretations are shaped. It is the process of *understand*, of seeking to establish meaning or significance which also depends on imagination or fantasy.

We know that Paul said some dreadful stuff about women: they were

to submit. *Why* did he say that? What did that mean to him and then also to his hearers? Here my imagination has to come in. And this requires attention to the simple fact that it is I who put questions to Paul, to the past. It is, of course, always helpful to look at other ages' answers to those questions. But as ages change so do the questions they put to the past; our questions, even if they are identical in their wording, cannot be simply assumed to be the same as those of our forebears.

I work with an approach to the study of the church's history I learned from Samuel Laeuchli of Temple University. The first point to note is that when I venture into that study I re-member, that is, I do not merely describe but I also confront: I recreate. In re-creation I am aware of being involved. The attempt to understand, to com-prehend, demands the imposition of structures, patterns on the material studied. This is needed because I am in and of my century and that history is of another; without re-creating the twain do not meet. Through what Laeuchli calls "the drama of replay" one can bridge the gap to a reasonable extent. It is not a reproduction as if on a film of what others there and then did, said and meant; I cannot watch it from the outside; I need to enter, re-create and experience – in "the drama of replay" (in which I am very much an actor) – the event, etc. studied. It is as if I were there, involved.

I use now, as if a case-study, the example of Ignatius of Antioch and his seven letters. The letters illustrate the problem. The cities he wrote to and visited still exist: either in ruins (Ephesus, Sardis) or as modern-cities (Smyrna, Rome). The fact of their cultural mutation is obvious: the cities that live today are not what they were in Ignatius' time. The town-square of Smyrna has been excavated and some marble columns and inscriptions remain as monuments, some from the very age of Trajan when Ignatius passed through the city. But quite another city now lives around that square, a bustling seaport of some 400,000 people. It is now called Izmir, the Jonians and Romans have been replaced by Turks. In order to re-create the city as it was under Trajan – so that I may not only see but, above all, understand Ignatius – I must dig, like an archaeologist, beneath the surface: I must discard and save, I must reconstruct.

But more: Ignatius is dead; there is no direct analogy between him and me, no direct access from me to him. All I have is his words. Words are problematic, they hide and reveal. I cannot assume that everytime he used words like *henosis*, *soter*, *kyrios*, *thanatos*, etc., he did an adequate job; I must keep before me that these words include evasion, expectation,

illusion; Ignatius may have tried to talk himself into believing what he had perhaps not deeply experienced or he might indeed be saying in those words precisely what he meant. And yet we are dealing here with a concrete product of a concrete event: a Christian from Antioch on the Orontes River in Syria, captive to Roman soldiers, sent in their company to Rome to face charges of insulting the Emperor and this man wrote letters. Sitting on board ship in the harbour of Ephesus he received people who came to speak to him; he tried to communicate, surrounded by slaves loading and unloading other ships, workers rebuilding the city – houses, streets, temples – under a new, aggressive administration. We have none of that action, we don't have the sounds of the words, the motions of human bodies; we have a single consequence of all that: written letters. All I have is words with which to reconstruct that action. The duality of Ignatius' words, which have survived and can be analyzed, and his actions, which can be inferred only from their verbal expressions, is the matrix of my historian's work: "the drama of replay."

Re-enactment, or remembering, in order to experience in order to gain and understanding, knowledge, to find wisdom, truth.

I begin by making myself aware of where I am culturally, intellectually, personally (race, gender, class). Indeed, I must begin my study of church history (Ignatius in the present case) by knowing where I am and who for it is *I* who seeks to know. I live in a pluralistic twentieth-century town and province, in a crisis-laden, fragmented, democratic culture, an age of new sensitivities towards war, justice, creation, women, sex, an age with its entirely new ways of communicating. Having determined as best I can where and who I am, I can then ask – where and who was Ignatius? What was his context culturally, intellectually, personally? And how far back does that quest have to take me? To Herodotus or Homer? The immediately history must suffice (a decision not above dispute!). But what a large amount of information one could produce on that immediate period – about its religious, social, economic, gender questions, the New Testament, the city of Antioch, the Jewish diaspora. Thus, once again, I must set limits; like the archaeologist I must discard and save, reject and reconstruct. And again this is *our* choosing at work here; an activity not of simple methodic objectivity. What contexts come to mind then? *Geography*: Asia Minor; *an urban milieu*: Antioch, the empire's third largest

city, and the cities to whom Ignatius writes; *politics*: Trajan was Emperor, Domitian, the oppressor, was dead, the new ruler was humane; *economics*: a new highway was being built from Asia Minor to the Euphrates, peasants were allowed to burn their debts, but the poor (like today) were getting ever poorer; *the law*: Pliny, the Governor, wondering what to do with all those crazy sectarians called Christians and being told: don't seek them out specifically but if they are captured and refuse to do homage to my statue kill them on the spot, if they comply send them home; *religion*: highly pluralistic; *psychology*: a mass urban culture in its form of alienation looking for immortality, rebirth, salvation, seeking unity in meaning because their world had come apart. The context of Ignatius is that, plus Jewish and Christian, it had intimate communal groups and mystery cults. This was Ephesus with the library of Celsus, symbolic of learning; outside the city the Temple of Artemis, a fertility deity. Amphitheatres teeming with people, cities teeming with slaves, brothels, wine shops, dealers of drugs to heal, to make love, to destroy. Here, Ignatius, a man the church beatified, a man who, as I see it, pathologically sought martyrdom, wrote letters, the focus of my study.

The letters are fragments, not only because they offer a small bit of evidence written in moments of intense excitement, but also because all language is limited and all data are fragments. But in engaging in what is called here "the drama of replay," I discern that they are not closed bits, but open documents both in relation to his life and to mine. And there lies for me the clue not only as to how, but also as to why, I ought to do church history.

CSCH President's Remarks 1992

Recovering Religious Experience: Some Reflections on Methodology

MARGUERITE VAN DIE

That religion in Canada is moving into the mainstream of historical discourse is thankfully a commonplace observation today. Long acknowledged as central to the history of French-speaking Canada, religion in English Canada has belatedly, but surprisingly quickly, aroused the interest of historians, as witnessed by an increasing number of graduate students entering the field, the steady growth of monographs and a remarkable output of historiographical articles analysing the interaction of religion with other dimensions of Canadian culture.¹

A recent survey of the growing literature on women and religion in Canada by Ruth Compton Brouwer (along with over half of this year's CSCH programme) reminds us that a second barrier as well has been dismantled, and that gender has now come to be included as a significant category in the study of religion.² Such revision enriches our dialogue, and I can think of no better place than this annual conference to remind ourselves that the work each of us does in isolation, and often with some frustration, is part of a larger process which continues to show gratifying results.

However, the title of this last session of the programme, "Ongoing Questions" also reminds us, with what may be the residue of a Calvinist or Jansenist heritage, that while progress has been made, the "heavenly city"

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is still a long distance away. Indeed, like Christian in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as we travel hopefully, each barrier we cross appears often to reveal to us another, yet more intractable. It is thanks in large part to refinement of critical theory in social history, including the increasingly sophisticated use of categories such as class and gender, that religion has come to be recognized as a significant force in the modernization of western society. While this has helped turn religion into a valid and tantalizing field of scholarly inquiry, there is the danger of uncritically applying to its study theories intended primarily to clarify socio-economic change. Thus we fail to do justice to the complexity of religious experience and its subtle interaction with culture.

This would not be the first time that the prevailing understanding of reality distorts the historian's vision. In 1984 in a seminal paper, "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility," feminist historian, Ann Firor Scott pointed out the impact of patriarchy in making invisible the activities of women in providing leadership in moral reform and benevolent societies in nineteenth-century America.³ Today in a secular age, it can be argued that historians face substantially the same problem in recovering the transcendent, spiritual dimension of men and women's past religious experience. The need and the means to bring out this dimension in the writing of religious history is then the ongoing question which I want to place very briefly before us today. While it repeats essentially the topic of this morning's panel discussion, "How should church historians do church history?" my approach will be different, and will draw on my own field of current research, the study of evangelical Protestantism and the family in Ontario from 1830-1885.⁴ As such, these brief reflections are also a response to the request by this year's programme director, that rather than present a formal address, I simply speak a little about some of my current research.

A study of religion and the family adopts as its central point of investigation not the public world of the institutional church and the workplace, but rather the domestic space occupied by men, women and children, and moves from there to exploring its interaction with the public world. The resources available to understand the domestic world are many and eclectic – from examining the advertisements and lists of adult and children's literature in religious periodicals to reconstructing the theological perimeters of people's attitude to life and to death. Up to this point the lion's share of my research time and thought has been devoted to three

sources: obituaries; personal material of a more detailed nature such as private correspondence, published and unpublished diaries, spiritual journals, autobiographies and biographies; and finally contemporary tracts, monographs, and articles in the periodical press in which church hierarchy defined religious belief, behaviour, gender and family relations.

Not surprisingly, given the topic, as well as the personal and private nature of many of the primary sources, much of my methodology has been informed by some of the approaches adopted by historians of gender, or to be more exact, by some of the ongoing feminist critique. Influenced by postmodern philosophy and deconstruction, revisionist feminist critical theory, such as that advanced by Joan Wallach Scott has urged the need to broaden gender as an analytical category and abandon the search for single origins in favour of conceptual processes “so interconnected that they cannot be disentangled.”⁵

This replacement of earlier dichotomies such as the state and the family, the public and the private, male and female by an approach which still assumes gender as a central organizing principle but also accepts the organic nature of life, and the interconnectedness of human experience is especially congenial to historians of evangelicalism. The more inclusive approach to gender, for example, draws us to explore the ambiguities inherent in the fact that though unequal in society, spiritually men and women were seen to be equal before God, and as sinful creatures shared in the need for salvation. The organic understanding of reality too dovetails with the evangelical acceptance of the transcendent as an organizing principle, whereby all of life, the sacred and the secular, the individual and the community, this world and the hereafter were joined together into one seamless whole. Finally, this ongoing revisionism takes seriously two basic principles of feminist canon which are also necessary for the reconstruction of religious experience: listening to women’s [and men’s] own words, and the importance of reconstructing not only isolated events, but a person’s complete life cycle.⁶

All of this – the importance of being open to our sources first on their own terms, and only then searching for an appropriate critical theory, of recognizing the continuity of experience, the interconnectedness or organic nature of reality – all of this may be simply common sense. Yet when we apply this approach consistently to the reconstruction of religious experience, and only thereafter draw on, what for secular historians are the more familiar categories of gender and class, the implications for the

history of religion are significant. As I am beginning to recognize in my own work, such an approach can lead to the revision of earlier studies in which gender and class served as the central categories.

Let me structure this approach and its implications around one example, familiar to many. Attempting to chart the changes in women's economic, social, and political position, feminist historians such as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg have pointed to evangelical women's enthusiastic participation in the revivals of the Second Great Awakening and the opportunities these provided to engage in unconventional and anti-ritualistic behaviour. Occurring in America's growing urban centres at a time of transition from an agrarian based to a commercial and industrial economy, these revivals were seen as a brief hiatus of freedom for women before they were reintegrated into a narrowly circumscribed private sphere. Commonly referred to as the "Cult of True Womanhood," theirs was a world, "bound by kitchen and nursery, overlaid with piety and purity, and crowned with subservience."⁷

Initially compelling, this reading of the impact of nineteenth-century economic change has since come under review by other feminist scholars who point out that its basic tenet, the separation of spheres which labelled women as private beings bears little relation to the actual lives of many nineteenth-century women.⁸ However, it also fails to do justice to women's religious experience, and to the pattern which evangelical women themselves placed on their lives. Take for example, this brief introduction written in Lanark County in 1861 by a daughter to the memoir of her Methodist mother:

My dear Mother, Mrs. Margaret Hammond, being near the close of her life, and looking back upon it, considers that she is called upon to leave her testimony for the glory of God, to the power of his grace, who called her in her youth and brought her from darkness to light and from the thralldom of sin into the glorious liberty of the children of God, and sustained her in her pilgrimage even down to old age . .

Her daughter,
Sarah Jane⁹

"The glorious liberty" experienced by Margaret Hammond in conversion was in the first place conditioned by and in response to her

understanding of a world which transcended time and space, but which also interpenetrated the lives of ordinary men and women. To reconstruct the meaning of conversion for Methodist women such as Margaret Hammond and the evangelical women whose behaviour has been of interest to feminist scholars, it is imperative to place the experience of conversion within the wider context of evangelical piety. Such an approach, implied already in Sarah Jane's use of the term "pilgrimage" entails a reading of the past which looks not just at the brief but glorious moment of conversion which figures so prominently in current feminist historiography, but at the continuity which religion provided in life.

In Ontario, in the years 1830 to 1885, the period of my study, this is doubly significant. A survey of sermon and periodical literature shows that in a society of recent immigrants, evangelical clergy placed a strong emphasis on the practical, ethical nature of conversion. Concerned to combat what they considered the excessive individualism of North American life, and wishing to maintain continuity with the more conservative religious life in Britain, they took pains to link conversion to its ethical expression of a life of service.¹⁰ Secondly, by this period too, the majority of those who experienced conversion were young people raised in evangelical homes. An analysis of obituaries in two evangelical papers, the *Christian Guardian* for 1870-3, and the *Canadian Baptist* for 1867-70 shows that most men as well as women were experiencing conversion between age 12 and 29, and that parents played an important role in the conversion of their children.¹¹ Raised in evangelical homes, and encouraged to experience conversion, these young people had been exposed to religious influences since childhood.

Conversion, therefore, was part of a growing awareness of human sinfulness and need for repentance (encouraged by evangelical childhood training), where the individual moved from self-absorption and self-justification to a point where he/she was finally able to rely not on self, but on an acceptance of God's forgiveness through Christ's atonement. It was at this time, that God became, no longer a source of condemnation, but a loving parent to be addressed as *Abba*, or Father, to use a favourite evangelical image. This experience of God as *Abba* was the supreme turning point in the spiritual life, in other words, this was conversion. For many evangelicals, especially Methodists and Baptists, this experience of forgiveness was also accompanied by a warm, often emotional, liberating, even mystical experience, where to use John Wesley's terms, the Spirit of

God witnessed to their spirits that they had entered into a new relationship as God's adopted children.¹²

It is this experience of assurance with its potential for "anti-structural liminality," allowing unconventional and uninhibited behaviour which has figured so prominently in the historical reconstruction of revivalism by feminist historians. However, for evangelicals – and here it is important to draw also on the theology, sermon literature and periodical press – conversion or the new birth was only the beginning of a process of moral regeneration, or change in response to the Spirit. Hence the term "pilgrimage" used by Margaret Hammond is important, for it underscores the continuity and growth which undergirded evangelical piety, where Scripture reading, private prayer, as well as the more public activities of church and prayer meeting attendance, pious conversation, charitable and moral reform activity all played a nurturing role.

The new birth was therefore, literally an entry to a new reality with its own rituals, and its own sacred time which directed the believer to look beyond the difficulties of her present circumstances to an eternity, whose transcendent dimension was already sensibly present in the experience of daily life. Leigh Eric Schmidt, for example, analysing the symbolic significance of the Presbyterian long communion in mid-nineteenth-century America (in which only the converted participated) has pointed out that in such rituals evangelicals experienced not only the bonds of a community set apart in sacred space and time, but also gained a "sense of the continuity of the faith and the generations."¹³

This awareness of the continuity of religious experience is important, for it allows us to draw on the wide range of resources exploring spirituality in the Christian tradition. Including Puritan, but also Reformed, medieval and patristic spirituality, the resources are rich and varied, and helpful in taking greater critical distance from the terminology and imagery used by evangelicals, which as Virginia Lieson Brereton has recently shown in an analysis of women's conversion accounts, was highly formulaic.¹⁴ To get behind the formulaic phrases to the transformative experience which the accounts were intended to describe, much can be learned from current efforts by Roman Catholic writers and others to apply to insights from the social sciences to historical expressions of spirituality.

Informative, for example, in analysing the lives of evangelical young women is the approach taken by a Carmelite, John Welch exploring the spirituality of the sixteenth-century mystic, Teresa of Avila. Combining

Victor Turner's structural analysis with Carl Jung's depth psychology, Welch portrays conversion and union with God as part of the human individuation process whereby a person moves from structure to anti-structure and back again to structure through a series of transitional or liminal experiences expressed in powerful imagery. Such an approach takes the view that conversion is not a sudden event of brief duration, but rather a central event in a human journey of awareness, where thought and activity become directed away from the self and refocused towards God and one's neighbours.¹⁵

While such a resource may seem incongruous given the well-documented anti-Catholicism of nineteenth-century evangelicals, it finds support in the fact that John Wesley who played such an influential role in shaping their spirituality drew on a wide range of sources in the Christian tradition, including such Roman Catholic mystics as Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross. Central, in short, to our methodology in recovering religious experience is the awareness of the continuity of the Christian tradition, and the resulting connections which this permits.

Equally important in the recovery of religious experience is recognizing its communal nature. For evangelicals this included the use of the terms "sister" and "brother" when addressing one another, thereby underscoring the belief that through the new birth the bonds of family had been extended to the wider community. Crucial to reinforcing such bonds were a number of communal gatherings – baptisms, love feasts, long communions, camp meetings – varying with the denominational tradition, and often held out of doors. Here, in a time and space set apart from daily routine and workplace, participants were reminded symbolically of a transcendent reality, separate from yet interpenetrating the every day world. Suggestive in this respect are insights from cultural anthropologists such as Mary Douglas, Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz, exploring the role of symbolic lines and boundaries in bringing order into experience.¹⁶

Equally insightful, and more concrete in the reconstruction of community life which resulted from such ordering are recent studies by historians of gender, such as Deborah Valenze's study of the piety of male and female sectarians in early Victorian England, or the monumental work by Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff on the *mores* of middle-class English evangelicals in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Though dealing with different socio-economic groups, these works are especially valuable in underscoring the organic nature of evangelical piety, where the

sacred and the secular, the public and the private, this world and the next were inextricably connected.

The implications of such an understanding of reality upon gender formation and the family are most significant and intimately related to socio-economic context. Thus, examining the importance of camp meetings in popular religion, Bruce Dickenson has perceptively noted that while such meetings allowed converts to live in two worlds: “the saints described their new world in the language of evangelical Protestantism, but what they described was distinctly relevant to the place and time in which they lived.”¹⁸ In other words, to recover evangelical religious experience, not only must an awareness of the transcendent be acknowledged, but the question also has to be raised to what extent this perceptibly influenced the way men and women responded to socio-economic change.

My own research in this important but understudied field of investigation is only in its initial stage, and will include a careful correlation of the church and society membership lists of a selected Ontario community (Brantford) with census data and assessment rolls over the period under examination. Based largely on the qualitative sources examined thus far, evidence does suggest, however, that in ways which were different for men and women, for both, evangelical religion was not a catalyst in socio-economic change, as has often been suggested. On the contrary, with its emphasis on continuity and community, it appears to have served as a countervailing force in Ontario against the individualism and fragmentation associated with the commercial and industrial revolutions of the nineteenth century.

In the case of evangelical women, for example, the communal and organic nature of their piety raises grave doubts about the accuracy of the “Cult of True Womanhood” as a relevant cultural construct. Conversion, rather than marking a brief hiatus in the socialization of these women from the values and relationships of an agrarian society into the hegemony of the new commercial and industrial state, may actually have delayed such a development. We need to be even more cautious here about the uncritical adoption of American constructs, for as Marjorie Griffen Cohen has persuasively argued, in Ontario industrialization, with its attendant separation of the home and the workplace influenced the lives of women at a significantly slower pace than in the eastern and mid-western United States.¹⁹ This slower pace of change, it can be argued further, permitted women converts a longer period to maintain the values and folkways of an

earlier agrarian society, values, which, Valenze and others have suggested, were incorporated into the evangelical.²⁰

When finally structural change did begin dramatically to affect Ontario during the final decades of the century, the evangelical voice, as John Grant, William Westfall and others have demonstrated, had moved to a dominant position in culture and society. A socio-economic profile of Ontario's evangelicals is still unavailable, but scattered samples do suggest that by the 1880s in urban centres the movement had become largely identified with the middle class.²¹ Hence in the latter decades of the century, women's moral reform and benevolent societies with their strong support for missions and urban reform are an indication not only of class interest, but also of the enduring vitality of an earlier an organic understanding of reality informed by responsibility towards one's neighbour and community.

For men such a piety where religion permeated all of life, connecting the secular with the sacred, the public with the private, was more problematic. Faced with the demands of life in the secular work place, men were more directly exposed to the encroaching individualism and compartmentalization of the nineteenth-century commercial and industrial revolutions, and thus experienced considerably more difficulty in retaining an organic approach to life than women (or for that matter ministers). Expressing this same observation in somewhat different terms, Clyde Griffen in a survey of the historiography of constructs of nineteenth-century masculinity, has thoughtfully noted that evangelical manhood "still has not received enough attention from historians of masculinity, perhaps because it does not address what seems to us to be peculiarly masculine."²²

In my own research, in what is only a preliminary probe, I have tried to reconstruct some of the contours of evangelical men's religious life through the records of a number of urban men's mutual improvement and benevolent societies between 1850 and 1885. When one correlates the activities of these societies with available information on evangelical child nurture (including the importance of the mother in the socialization of boys), and the dominance of Common Sense philosophy in the curriculum of Ontario's colleges, it becomes clear that evangelical men too were encouraged to take seriously the vision of an organic society. Society records show young men engaged in trying to provide mutual support for one another, sharing with female members a concern to help the poor, bringing young boys into the pale of evangelicalism through Sunday

School activities, and taking an active role in church fundraising.²³ Fragmentary evidence drawn from diaries and biographies further underscores that for some evangelical men at least, whether as, farmers, craftsmen or entrepreneurs, religion had not become privatized and absorbed significant amounts of time and energy.²⁴

The dynamic relationship between religion and class is never simple, and against this must also be set evidence of a contradictory nature. The repeated warnings by clergy against worldliness and obsession with material advancement, male unwillingness to assume responsibilities of leadership in church life, including the assumption of full church membership, all of these suggest that men faced much more difficulty than women in maintaining the ideals of community and continuity which figured so prominently in evangelical piety.

While such a piety did create considerably more tension for men than women, here too the comparatively slower pace of socio-economic change in Ontario must be taken into account, and results in a distinction with the American experience. Not only was there a longer period for evangelicals to consolidate their position in Ontario society, but the growing dominance of the evangelical voice and vision offered men increased opportunities of leadership. Within a patriarchal society, participation in the wide network of voluntary societies enhanced male power and influence as evangelical men attempted to address the onslaught of massive structural change at the turn of the century. Historians have often observed that two significant features of Canadian religious life in the early-twentieth century have been the dominance of the social gospel movement and the unification of three of the country's major evangelical denominations.²⁵ My research stops just short of these two developments, but it should point to their continuity with the earlier transcendent vision of evangelical Christianity. Powerfully expressed in the symbol of the Kingdom of God, and in language of family imagery, this movement confronted the ravages of urbanization and immigration with an earlier concept of organic community, even as it adopted a tone of protest and reform.

Much of this, I realize, is still incomplete, and the final outcome remains therefore elusive. By its nature, what is speculative may, however, also be suggestive—as suggestive for ultramontane Catholics, for example, as for evangelical Protestants, for while much separated the two in the nineteenth century, what they did share was an affinity in their understand-

ing of the organic nature of religion. Given the reality then of the interconnectedness of religious experience and the ordering of life, I can think of no better way to end these remarks than to remind all of us who seek to reconstruct religious life in the past, of the cogent summary of the historian's task recently offered by Mark Carnes in the conclusion of a similar endeavour, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*:

The historian's task is to find out both what happens and why, to link behavior and motivation. He attempts by defective means to stitch the shreds of the past into something resembling the original. Social theory offers patterns, contradictory though they may often be which can guide the historian's hand. But they must never lead it. Social scientists rightly maintain that, without a theoretical template, the historian will fail to find any order whatsoever in the tattered remnants of the record. Conversely, he may arrange them according to his own preconceptions because of its mindlessness: He deceives himself in believing he can leap backward in time into the minds of others. But he has no choice, for all history is essentially a task of imaginative reconstruction.²⁶

To recognize the limitations of our work, to reconstruct imaginatively, without falling into subjectivity and ahistoricism, to be guided, but never governed by social theory, including the insights offered by class and gender, all of this makes our task as historians of religion both complex and challenging. But that is also the reason why we face "Ongoing Questions," not least of which is that transcendent dimension with which imaginatively we continue to grapple – even as by its nature it continues to elude us.

Endnotes

1. See for example: Terrence Murphy, "Religion and Ethnicity in Canadian Historiography," *Studi Enqrazione/Etudes Migrations* 28 (September 1991): 305-318; David Gagan, "Writing the History of Ontario in the 1980s: Defining a Distinctive Society," *Acadiensis* 21, No. 1 (Autumn 1991): 166-179; Michael Gauvreau, "Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture," *Acadiensis* 20, No. 2 (Spring 1991): 158-177; and Brian Clarke, "Religion, Culture, and Society: Some Recent Studies on Christianity in Canada," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 2, No. 2 (1990): 268-295.
2. Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into Canadian Women's History," Paper presented at the joint session CHA/CSCH, Kingston, 5 June 1991 (forthcoming in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Fall 1992).
3. Anne Firor Scott, "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility," *Journal of American History* 71, No. 1 (June 1984): 7-21.
4. By "evangelical Protestantism" I mean, very briefly, the nineteenth-century transdenominational movement (consisting primarily of Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and numbers of Presbyterians and Anglicans), which emphasized the centrality of the experiential doctrines of sin, salvation and a life of service. Often articulating these doctrines against what they perceived to be the sacramentarian and the hierarchical nature of ultra-montane Catholicism, evangelicals nevertheless shared with Roman Catholics the conviction that religion ordered all of life. For this reason my comments may be suggestive either as comparison or contrast for historians of Roman Catholicism.
5. Joan Walloch Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 42.
6. For a thoughtful approach to writing female auto/biography see Carolyn G. Heibrun, *Writing A Woman's Life* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1988).
7. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 13. For an early expression of this concept see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174.
8. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp. 15-27; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Culture and Consciousness in the Intellectual History of European Women," *Signs* 12, No. 3 (1987): 529-547; Jane Flax, "Post-Modernism and Gender

relations in Feminist Theory,” *Signs* 12, No. 4 (1987): 621-643; and Joy Parr, “Nature and Hierarchy: Reflections on Writing the History of Women and Children,” *Atlantis* 11 (1985): 39-44.

9. Typescript Family History and Testimony of Mrs. Henry Hammond (nee Margaret Boyd) (1790-1861). In possession of the author. I thank J. William Lamb for this source.
10. I have developed this point in “The Double Vision: Evangelical Piety as Derivative and Indigenous in Victorian Canada,” Paper presented at the conference, Evangelicalism in Trans-Atlantic Perspective, Wheaton, Illinois, April 8-11, 1992.
11. In the *Canadian Baptist* 1867-70, of 73 women’s obituaries stating the age of conversion, 73% gave an age between 12 and 29; of 74 men’s obituaries 63%. In the *Christian Guardian* 1870-73, of 166 women’s obituaries 75%; of 104 men’s obituaries 67%. I thank David Zub and Margaret Trapnell for many hours spent analysing the obituaries of evangelicals.
12. See for example the obituaries of Louisa Matilda Maynard, *Canadian Baptist*, 22 July 1869, and of Maria A. Forward, *Christian Guardian*, 16 March 1870.
13. Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 102.
14. Virginia Lieson Brereton, *From Sin to Salvation. Stories of Women’s Conversions: 1800 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 13.
15. John Welch, *Spiritual Pilgrims: Carl Jung and Teresa of Avila* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 7-28.
16. Examples of the insights derived from such an approach are Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, pp. 129-164; and Gwen Kennedy Neville, *Kinshio and Pilgrimage: Rituals of Reunion in American Protestant Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
17. Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Piety in Industrial England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
18. Bruce D. Dickenson, *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp Meeting Religion 1800-1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974), p. 99.

19. Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 3-28, 118-158 especially.
20. While Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters* focuses on English agricultural labourers, a case for the role of evangelical religion in easing the transition from an agrarian to a capitalist society in mid nineteenth-century America can be found in Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
21. Doris Mary O'Dell, "The Class Character of Church Participants in Late Nineteenth-Century Belleville," (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1990). Demographic patterns in Toronto show that by 1899 Methodists had achieved largely middle class status (Peter G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto 1850-1900* [Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1970], p. 188); for Presbyterians see Douglas F. Campbell, "Presbyterians and the Canadian Church Union: A Study in Social Stratification," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1991): 1-32.
22. Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 188-189.
23. "'Young Daniel in Babylon': Young Men's Voluntary Societies and the Reconstruction of Evangelical Manhood in Urban Ontario, 1850-1880," Paper presented to the Gender and Religion Workshop, Emmanuel College, 31 January 1992.
24. See for example, the Diary of William Coates (1865), and the Diary of a Methodist Farmer and Cobbler, Near Picton, 11 August 1869 to 10 November 1877, both in the Archives of Ontario.
25. An extensive survey of the literature on church union and the social gospel in Canada can be found in Phyllis D. Airhart, "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism 1867-1914," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1990), pp. 133-138.
26. Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 157-158.