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# BULLETIN OF THE CANADIAN BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <i>Taylor Murray</i><br>Preserving Baptist Heritage in Canada for 160 Years   | 5  |
| <i>Michael A. G. Haykin</i><br>“Revolutions of Empires”: Robert Robinson, Andrew Fuller,<br>and the Politicization of the English Particular Baptists | 7  |
| <i>Adam McCulloch &amp; Gordon L. Heath</i><br>Canadian Baptist Archives: Collection, Issues, and<br>Opportunities                                    | 24 |
| <i>Melody Maxwell</i><br>Baptist Women Called to Serve: Facing Challenges in Great<br>Britain and Atlantic Canada                                     | 38 |
| Book Reviews  | 52 |
| Book Notes  | 64 |
| Announcements   | 67 |
| Recent Works  | 75 |
| Recommended Resources   | 78 |
| Index of Names  | 81 |





## Preserving Baptist Heritage in Canada for 160 Years

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*Taylor Murray*

Perhaps nothing excites historians more than commemorating significant milestones that end in the year zero or five. Even more exciting is when the year in question is divisible by 50 or 100. In 2017, for instance, historians of the Reformation were thrilled to mark the 500th anniversary of the day Martin Luther affixed his *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of the cathedral chapel in Wittenberg. Historians like to reflect on these kinds of anniversaries and take stock of lingering influences and changing interpretations.

In some ways, the year 2025 is one such date for Baptist historians in Canada. Indeed, the earliest iteration of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society (CBHS) took shape 160 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The records from those early years (and, therefore, the nature of the connection to the body that bears that name today) were regrettably lost to time. Nevertheless, it shows a long history of interest in preserving Baptist heritage in Canada.

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1. On the early history and goals of the CBHS, see Wilson, “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” 7–18. On the later years and other projects, see Steinacher, “Canadian Baptist Archives,” 290–96.

While this particular milestone is not divisible by 50 or 100, it should cause us to reflect on the work of the CBHS today and how we have contributed to the study of Canadian religious history. With both a thriving book series and plans to co-host the first national Baptist history conference in Canada in almost three decades, the CBHS remains dedicated to the original goal of preserving the story of the Baptist denomination.

This edition of the *Bulletin* is an example of this ongoing effort. The first article takes us outside of Canada and looks at the theme of politicization and the English Particular Baptist response to it. Next, the overview of the Canadian Baptist Archives shows that there are a number of opportunities for researchers moving forward. Finally, the book reviews and notes also demonstrate a genuine interest in Baptist studies in Canada, both from established scholars and early-career researchers.

There is always more work to be done—but 160 years after the formation of the CBHS, there are many reasons to be optimistic about the future of Baptist studies in Canada.

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“Revolutions of Empires”:  
Robert Robinson, Andrew Fuller, and the Politicization  
of the English Particular Baptists

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*Michael A. G. Haykin*

A series of epochal political events in the British world at the close of the long-eighteenth century—revolutions in America, France, and Ireland; campaigns to abolish the British slave trade and end slavery in the British Empire; repeated attempts to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts that had essentially constituted Dissenters as second-class citizens; and a battle with the East India Company for the freedom of the Particular Baptist mission at Serampore to evangelize in the Indian subcontinent—led to a significant politicization of the British Particular Baptist community from the 1760s onwards.<sup>1</sup> Their denominational origins in the tumult of the British Civil Wars (1638–1651) had been attended by radical political leanings, but their history for the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century had witnessed a significant moderation of this initial radicalism. Under the first two Hanoverian sovereigns, George I (r. 1714–1727) and

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1. See, for example, Rutz, “The Politicizing of Evangelical Dissent,” 187–207.

his son George II (r. 1727–1760), Baptist ministers were almost without exception unequivocal in their praise and support of the government. In the words of Anthony Lincoln:

For nearly sixty years after the Revolution of 1688 the Throne could look for its firmest friends among the Protestant Nonconformists. . . . The Dissenters were a Hanoverian bodyguard. They bombarded the Throne with lengthy but fervid declarations of loyalty and esteem.<sup>2</sup>

However, from the 1760s onward, there was a growing disenchantment by the Particular Baptists, along with other Dissenters, with the governments of the king, George III (r. 1760–1820). The initial reason for this disenchantment was undoubtedly the conflict in North America over taxation, political representation, and the sovereignty of the British Parliament.

Yet, as James E. Bradley has pointed out, there was also a more strictly theological reason at work: at the heart of the Particular Baptist experience were deep convictions regarding the biblical necessity of congregational polity and the misguided nature of the concept of a state church.<sup>3</sup> In the words of John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825), uttered at the time of his ordination in 1781 by the Baptists in Northampton: "I believe that Jesus Christ the crowned King of Zion is the alone Head of the Church—that neither Kings, Queens, nor Parliaments have any right to determine Controversies about matters of Faith, nor to appoint rites and ceremonies in the Church."<sup>4</sup> Under the press of the events leading up to and surrounding the American Revolution, this traditional Baptist opposition to Anglicanism became overt and outspoken, and further fostered a re-orientation of political attitude towards the government.

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2. Lincoln, *Some Political & Social Ideas*, 22–23.

3. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*, 57–59. See also Robison, "The Particular Baptists in England," 401–404.

4. "A Confession of Faith delivered by John Ryland junr of Northampton at his Ordination to the Pastoral Care of the Church in College Lane, June 8. 1781" (Ms., Bristol Baptist College Archives, Bristol, England), 18.



**“An ardour that bordered upon enthusiasm”**

Exemplifying this change in attitude was Robert Robinson (1735–1790), who had been converted under the ministry of George Whitefield (1714–1770). After a short career as a Methodist preacher, Robinson went on to build a thriving work at St. Andrew’s Street Baptist Church, Cambridge, where he became known as one of the finest colloquial preachers in England during the 1760s and 1770s.<sup>5</sup> In the final fifteen years of his life, though, he became increasingly devoted to political concerns, especially the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and the cause of civil liberty. George Dyer, who penned an early biography of Robinson, noted that when it came to “politics he felt an ardour that bordered upon enthusiasm: with subjects connected with government few men of his time were more conversant, none possessed more variety, or greater originality of ideas.”<sup>6</sup> After a visit by three Americans, including George Washington’s aide-de-camp, Joseph Reed (1741–1785), to his home in the village of Chesterton in June of 1784, Robinson wrote to Daniel Turner (1710–1798), the minister of the Baptist congregation in Abingdon, that he and some like-minded colleagues had sat “listening to the honied accents of their tongues, distilling with all the richest and most fragrant sounds of liberty, law, commerce, religion, and future state of perfect and everlasting felicity.” He closed the letter with an encomium about America that left little doubt as to what his political sentiments would have been during the revolutionary conflict of the previous decade:

Happiest of countries! Peace and prosperity attend you! I shall never see you; but if I forget the ability and virtue, that struggled to obtain, and actually did obtain, all that mankind hold dear; let my right hand forget her cunning.<sup>7</sup>

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5. On the life and thought of Robert Robinson, see especially Hughes, *With Freedom Fired*; Champion, “Robert Robinson,” 241–46; Addicott, “Introduction,” viii–xviii; Smith, “The Liberty Not to Be a Christian,” 151–70.

6. Dyer, *Memoirs*, 121.

7. Dyer, *Memoirs*, 250–51.

The early events of the French Revolution were similarly greeted by numerous Baptists with “an enthusiasm bordering upon frenzy,” as the ultra-conservative *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* once put it.<sup>8</sup> Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832)—who became the pastor of St. Mary’s Baptist Church, Norwich, only a few months before the opening salvos of the Revolution in the summer of 1789—wrote to his father, David Kinghorn (d.1822), in August of 1789, a month or so after the storming of the Bastille (July 14): “I rejoice with all my heart at the destruction of that most infamous place the Bastille.”<sup>9</sup> Another Norwich Baptist minister, Mark Wilks (d. 1819), began a sermon on the second anniversary of the storming of the Bastille with the provocative statement, “Jesus Christ was a Revolutionist.” He went on to inform his congregation that the French Revolution “is of God and that no power exists or can exist, by which it can be overthrown.”<sup>10</sup>

Robert Hall, Jr. (1764–1831), the most celebrated Particular Baptist preacher in the early nineteenth century, was equally enthralled by what was taking place in France. In a tract that went through a number of pirated editions, *Christianity Consistent with a Love of Freedom* (1791), Hall stated:

Events have taken place of late, and revolutions have been effected, which, had they been foretold a very few years ago, would have been viewed as visionary and extravagant; and their influence is yet far from being spent. . . . The empire of darkness and of despotism has been smitten with a stroke which has sounded through the universe.<sup>11</sup>

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8. *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* 1.6, December 1798, 630.

9. Cited in Jewson, “Norwich Baptists,” 209. On Kinghorn’s life and ministry, see Olive, “Joseph Kinghorn (1766–1832),” 3:84–111. This biographical piece does not discuss Kinghorn’s political views.

10. Wilks, *The Origin and Stability of the French Revolution*, 5–7, cited in Hole, “English Sermons,” 23–24.

11. Hall, *Christianity Consistent with a Love of Freedom* in *The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall* 2:37. For an excellent overview of Hall’s life and ministry, see Brackney, “Hall, Robert, Jr.,” 284–86. For a study of Hall’s

And in his justly famous defence of the freedom of the press, Hall had no doubt that the French Revolution was nothing less than “the most splendid event recorded in the annals of history.”<sup>12</sup> Again, one finds a similar attitude to this revolution expressed in an appended paragraph to a circular letter of the Northamptonshire Baptist Association that was written between 1 and 3 June 1790:

The astonishing Revolution in France, and the increasing thirst among the nations after *civil* and *religious* Liberty, should greatly encourage us to pray, that they also may enjoy *spiritual and evangelical* Liberty, or the glorious Liberty of the Children of God! . . . May the ravenous *Beast* Despotism, which has so long supported the *Harlot* False Religion, be shortly slain, by the well-tempered, great and strong sword of Jehovah!<sup>13</sup>

Such sentiments proved to be utterly naïve and uninformed, for right from the start the powerhouse behind the French Revolution had been violence. As one of the moderate revolutionaries had remarked, “There must be blood to cement revolution.”<sup>14</sup> In 1793 and 1794, the Revolution descended into a vortex of unspeakable violence and totalitarian terror. During this period, known to history as the Reign of Terror, at least 300,000 were arrested, with some 17,000 people being executed by the guillotine. Many others died in prison or were simply killed without the benefit of a trial. French revolutionary armies sought to spread the ideals of the Revolution to neighbouring nations. What they exported, though, was “unprecedented destruction and warfare”<sup>15</sup> to the rest of Europe, and so

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attitude to the French Revolution, see especially Bellenger, “The Persecution Chalice,” 154–59.

12. Hall, *An Apology for the Freedom of the Press*, 118.

13. Cited in Elwyn, “Particular Baptists,” 372. Italics and capitalization original.

14. Attributed to Manon Philipon Roland; see Schama, *Citizens*, 859. I am indebted to Schama’s perspective on the Revolution, especially the summary on pp. 851–61.

15. These words are those of Mark A. Noll in his discussion of the French Revolution as a turning-point in the history of Christianity: *Turning Points*, 251.

plunged the continent into a war that more or less lasted until 1815.

Not surprisingly, Baptists like Kinghorn and Hall became increasingly critical of what was taking place in France. By April of 1798, Kinghorn was convinced that “all those notions of liberty which the French Revolution very generally raised a few years ago are at an end, they [that is, the rulers of France] are the tyrants not the deliverers of men.”<sup>16</sup> Hall’s views had likewise been transformed. In a sermon entitled *Modern Infidelity Considered, with respect to its Influence on Society* (1800), a work that made Hall something of a celebrity in England, Hall spoke of divine revelation having undergone “a total eclipse” in France, “while atheism, performing on a darkened theatre its strange and fearful tragedy, confounded the first elements of society, blended every age, rank, and sex in indiscriminate proscription and massacre, and convulsed all Europe to its centre.”<sup>17</sup> Hall was now convinced that at the root of the sanguinary violence of the revolution—what he rightly described as “atrocities . . . committed with a wanton levity and brutal merriment”—lay the skepticism and rationalism of *les philosophes*, men like François-Marie Arouet (1684–1778), aka Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and Denis Diderot (1713–1784).<sup>18</sup> “Settle it therefore in your minds, as a maxim” he told his hearers, “that atheism”—he is referring to the rationalism of *les philosophes*—“is an inhuman, bloody, ferocious system . . . its first object is to dethrone God, its next to destroy man.”<sup>19</sup>

### “Discussing politics”

Alongside this passion for politics, though, there was a clear recognition of the dangers that politics posed for the Christian life. In an ordination sermon entitled *The Christian Minister’s Duty and Reward*

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16. Cited in Jewson, “Norwich Baptists,” 215.

17. Hall, *Modern Infidelity Considered* in *Works of the Rev. Robert Hall*, 1:47.

18. Hall, *Modern Infidelity Considered* in *Works of the Rev. Robert Hall*, 1:38.

19. Hall, *Modern Infidelity Considered* in *Works of the Rev. Robert Hall*, 1:39. On the atheism, actual and implicit, of Voltaire and Diderot, see Byrne, *Religions and the Enlightenment*, 124–43.

(1807), William Steadman (1764–1837), who played an important role in the Particular Baptist world of northern England, advised the man being ordained, Richard Pengilly (1782–1865): “I do not wish you to be wholly ignorant of the political state of your country . . . but do not, I beseech you, let politics engross so much of your thoughts, or your conversation, as to cause the duties of the citizen to interfere with those of the preacher.”<sup>20</sup> Steadman’s friend and fellow Baptist, Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), had similar advice for John Fountain (1767–1800) when he was going out to India as a missionary: “All political concerns are only affairs of this life with which he that will please Him, who hath chosen him to be a soldier, must not entangle himself.”<sup>21</sup> Fuller’s perspective on politics and the politicization of his denomination is particularly significant since he was undoubtedly the leading Baptist theologian in the transatlantic anglophone world of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> In an allusion to the weight of his theological influence, the nineteenth-century Welsh author David Phillips described Fuller as the “elephant of Kettering.”<sup>23</sup> And James Davis Knowles (1798–1838),

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20. Steadman, *The Christian Minister’s Duty and Reward*.

21. Andrew Fuller, Letter to John Fountain, March 25, 1796, cited in Amey, “Baptist Missionary Society Radicals,” 367. See also Fuller’s advice about the work of the Gospel in his sermon *The Christian Ministry a Great Work*, which was based on a text from Nehemiah 6 and was given at a commissioning service for two missionaries and their wives: “It is a work that must occupy your whole attention. Nehemiah could not be diverted from his work, nor must you. . . . You may wish to attend to other things; but every thing must be done in subserviency to your great work. Never lose sight of this. If politics or worldly speculations invite your attention, you must reply, “I am doing a great work: why should the work cease whilst I come down to you? [cf. Nehemiah 6:3]” (*The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2:514).

22. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–1892) once described Fuller as “the greatest theologian” of his century. See Laws, *Andrew Fuller*, 127. For Fuller’s life, the classic study is that of Ryland, *The Work of Faith* (1816). A second edition of this biography appeared two years later: *The Work of Faith* (1818). The two best recent biographies are those of Brewster, *Andrew Fuller* and Morden, *The Life and Thought of Andrew Fuller*.

23. Phillips, *Memoir of the Life*, 74.

a professor at the Newton Theological Institution in Massachusetts, likewise reckoned that “the works of Fuller are justly entitled to rank with those of [John] Owen and [Jonathan] Edwards.”<sup>24</sup>

By the 1780s, Fuller was deeply concerned by the way that political issues had come to inflame, and to his mind mar, Robert Robinson’s public life and writings. He noted:

It has long been the opinion of many persons, who are by no means unfriendly to liberty, that Mr. Robinson’s notions of it are licentious and extravagant . . . Now, suppose Mr. R.’s notions of civil and religious liberty be just, yet surely he makes, if not too much of these, yet too little of that which is of far greater importance—moral liberty. This is the liberty of which the Scriptures chiefly speak; this is the glorious liberty of the gospel. This is that of which every unregenerate man is destitute, being a slave to sin and Satan. This is the liberty with which the Son makes us free; without which all other liberty is but a shadow and an empty boast. This is implied in the reply of our Lord to the boasting Jews, who said they were never in bondage to any man “If the Son make you free, then are ye free indeed” [cf. John 8:36]. It is allowed, indeed, that religious liberty, or a freedom to think and act according to our consciences, without fear, is of great value, and perhaps we none of us prize it sufficiently; but what is this to moral liberty? Suppose a man liberated from the tyranny of sin and Satan, and deprived of all religious and civil liberty, groaning under the yoke of powerful persecution, would he not be in an unspeakably better situation than another man, possessed of all the liberty he desired, whose soul was enslaved to sin?<sup>25</sup>

Among the “many persons” were figures like the Anglo-Irish politician Edmund Burke (1729–1797), who was horrified by Robinson’s

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24. Knowles, “Character of Andrew Fuller,” 113. More recently, the English evangelical historian David Bebbington has spoken of Fuller’s “extraordinary importance in the history of theology” (e-mail to the author, March 11, 2009).

25. Fuller, “Letter III: On Liberty” in *Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 3:597.

*Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity* (1778), a strident attack on both the Church of England and the monarchy that was designed to provide a political catechism of sorts for the rising generation in Dissenting homes. It was approved by the Eastern Association of Baptist Churches and quickly went through some five editions by 1781. Burke told the House of Commons in March of 1790 that Robinson's book contained not "one precept of religion" and was merely "one continued invective against Kings and Bishops." It was, he stressed,

a catechism of misanthropy, a catechism of anarchy, a catechism of confusion! Grossly libelling the National establishment in every part and passage, these catechisms were to be put into the hands of Dissenters' children, who were thus to be taught in their early infancy to lisp out censures and condemnation of the Established Church of England, and to be brought up as a rising generation of its determined enemies.<sup>26</sup>

Burke was convinced that Robinson and his ilk were turning Dissenting chapels into a "sort of places of exercise and discipline for politicks; and for the nourishment of a party which seems to have contention and power much more than Piety for its Object."<sup>27</sup>

It is no wonder that at the close of the 1790s, Fuller penned a rebuttal of what he viewed as a mania for politics. It can be found in two texts: his preface to *The Gospel Its Own Witness* (1799), which was the definitive Baptist response to the Deism of men like Thomas Paine (1737–1809), and a tract entitled *The Backslider: or an Inquiry into the Nature, Symptoms, and Effects of Religious Declension, with the Means of Recovery*, which was printed two years later.<sup>28</sup> Let us especially consider the preface to his treatise on Deism. There, Fuller posited a link between the progress of irreligion in his day and the

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26. Cited in Seed, *Dissenting Histories*, 142–43. For further discussion of Robinson's book, see pp. 137–43.

27. Cited in Seed, *Dissenting Histories*, 163.

28. Fuller, *The Gospel Its Own Witness* in *Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2:3–4; and Fuller, *The Backslider* in *Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 3:640–42.

immersion in political disputation.

One thing which has contributed to the advantage of Infidelity, is the height to which political disputes have arisen, and the degree in which they have interested the passions and prejudices of mankind. Those who favour the sentiments of a set of men in one thing, will be in danger of thinking favourably of them in others; at least, they will not be apt to view them in so ill a light, as if they had been advanced by persons of different sentiments in other things as well as in religion. It is true, there may be nothing more friendly to infidelity in the nature of one political system than another; nothing that can justify professing Christians in accusing one another merely on account of a difference of this kind, of favouring the interests of atheism and irreligion: nevertheless it becomes those who think favourably of the political principles of infidels to take heed, lest they be insensibly drawn away to think lightly of religion. All the nations of the earth, and all the disputes on the best or worst modes of government, compared with this, are less than nothing and vanity.

To this it may be added, that the eagerness with which men engage in political disputes, take which side they may, is unfavourable to a zealous adherence to the gospel. Any mere worldly object, if it become the principal thing which occupies our thoughts and affections, will weaken our attachment to religion; and if once we become cool and indifferent to this, we are in the high road to infidelity. There are cases, no doubt, relating to civil government, in which it is our duty to act, and that with firmness; but to make such things the chief object of our attention, or the principal topic of our conversation, is both sinful and injurious. Many a promising character in the religious world has, by these things, been utterly ruined.<sup>29</sup>

Fuller may well have had Robinson in mind as he penned this passage, for Robinson’s involvement in radical politics had allied him

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29. Fuller, *Gospel Its Own Witness* in *Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2:3–4.



with a circle of figures—men like Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), the apostle of Socinianism—whose politics aligned with those of Robinson, but whose theological convictions were quite heterodox. Fuller would not have been surprised that in the late 1780s, Robinson began to drift theologically with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the latter’s final sermon was delivered in Priestley’s Socinian meeting-house. Moreover, compared to the weightier matters of the kingdom of Christ, political arguments were “nothing less than nothing and vanity” in Fuller’s mind. Or, as he put it in another context: “The world is busy in . . . discussing politics, and in struggling for dominion; all trifles of a moment.”<sup>31</sup> Fuller was conscious that politics had a way of usurping one’s devotion to Christ and weakening “our attachment to religion.” Instead of the eternal gospel being “the principal thing” in the “thoughts and affections” of believers, the politics of the day came to have dominion in their lives.

### Coda

Yet, Fuller was not advocating a total retreat from the political realm. As he noted in this preface, there were “cases . . . relating to civil government, in which it is our duty to act, and that with firmness.” One of those instances occurred in 1813 when the charter of the East India Company was up for renewal. The Company had been opposed to the presence of missionaries in the Indian subcontinent, including those of the Baptist Missionary Society at Serampore. As the

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30. Fuller appears to have been convinced that Robinson died a Socinian; see his *Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared in Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2:168, 222–24. On the other hand, one of Robinson’s oldest friends, Coxe Feary (1759–1822), pastor of the Particular Baptist work in Bluntisham, Huntingdonshire, recorded a conversation that he had with Robinson but a month before the latter’s decease in 1790. Robinson affirmed that when it came to the doctrine of the Trinity he was neither a Unitarian nor an Arian. “My soul rests its whole hope of salvation,” he solemnly told Feary, “on the atonement of Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God” (Belcher, “Note \*,” 2:223–24).

31. Fuller, *Dialogues and Letters Between Crispus and Gaius* in *Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 2:647.

secretary of the Society, Fuller, along with some fellow Baptists, arranged to meet with the influential Whig politician Charles Grey (1764–1845), the 2nd Earl Grey who was in the House of Lords, to secure his help in reversing this policy. During their meeting, Earl Grey stated that while his views might not exactly coincide with those of the Baptists, he ardently wished that every man had the liberty to think for himself.

Fuller had not taken any part in the conversation to that point, and he was actually sitting apart from his fellow Baptists in a corner of the room. Did his body language and his silence possibly indicate a reticence to seek the Earl’s political help? Be this as it may, when he heard the Earl’s statement regarding liberty of conscience, he exclaimed “in a loud and rather harsh tone of voice, ‘Liberty to think is no liberty at all. The greatest despot cannot deprive the meanest slave of liberty to think. What we want is liberty to every man to disseminate his thoughts.’” The Earl seemed startled at both Fuller’s remarks and the authority with which he made them. But he quickly regained his composure and assured Fuller and his friends that by and large, he agreed with the Kettering pastor.<sup>32</sup>

During the ensuing debate in Parliament regarding the details of the renewed charter, the Earl played a key role in arguing for an amendment to allow Christian evangelism within India.<sup>33</sup> Thus, despite his critique of the politicization of elements of his denomination, Fuller was not prepared to dismiss entirely the place of human politics in the advance of the kingdom of Christ. To put it differently, as he once admitted: “Revolutions of empires are permitted for the sake of the people of God.”<sup>34</sup>

There is great wisdom in Fuller’s stance toward the church’s involvement in the political realm. And it is especially relevant in light of recent events in North America and the rediscovery of “political

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32. Balmer, *Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses*, 1:105. I am indebted to the Revd. Jared Skinner, one of my doctoral students, for this anecdote.

33. For a brief discussion of the renewal of the charter, see Appleby, *I Can Plod ...*, 244.

34. Fuller, *Christian Ministry a Great Work* (*Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, II, 514).

theology.” For some ardent advocates of what amounts to an attempt to rebuild Christendom, Fuller’s position falls under what they derisively label as “pietistic,” a capitulation of the public square to the forces inimical to the Christian Faith. In actuality, Fuller’s position was one of Augustinian realism that recognized the dangers that immersion in politics poses for the faith of God’s people. It is a posture of wisdom that not only served his Baptist community well during the turmoil of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, but can serve God’s people well in our equally tumultuous days.

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## Canadian Baptist Archives: Collection, Issues, and Opportunities

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*Adam McCulloch & Gordon L. Heath*

This brief article provides information on the collection of materials at the Canadian Baptist Archives (CBA) at McMaster Divinity College (MDC), which is one of the largest Baptist archives in North America. It also highlights a few of the issues and opportunities facing the CBA. The authors hope this attention to the Canadian Baptist records will spur further research in the archives.

### **Background**

The Baptists in Ontario and Quebec initially struggled to maintain their historical collections. The first attempt was in 1865 when Baptists in Ontario established a historical society to gather and preserve Canadian Baptist material.<sup>1</sup> Another concerted effort to develop a

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1. For a study of the historical society during these early years, see Wilson, "The Canadian Baptist Historical Society," 7–18.



collection of historical material was in 1912 when a historical committee was given the mandate of collecting historical material, which was to be stored at McMaster University.

After McMaster University became a public institution in 1957, Baptists in the region formed MDC as an affiliated institution (with its own independent Board and Senate, but its degrees granted by the university). When it was decided that MDC was to have its own building on the McMaster campus, plans were made for the Canadian Baptist Historical Collection to be housed in the basement, under the MDC chapel. After the building was completed in 1960, the collection that had been held at the university library was moved to the new building. In 1971, the name changed to the Canadian Baptist Archives. Over the past six decades, the archives' holdings have grown in size and scope.<sup>2</sup>

For the past two decades, the collections have been used by hundreds of users annually for a variety of personal, academic, and denominational projects, and local church celebrations (usually milestone anniversaries). Currently, the collection is supervised by the Director of the Canadian Baptist Archives and staffed with a part-time archivist (the two authors of this article).

### **The Collection**

The CBA houses material from a variety of sources. It is the official archives of the Canadian Baptists of Ontario and Quebec (CBOQ), including its affiliated associations, organizations, and churches.<sup>3</sup> The CBOQ is in partnership with Canadian Baptist Ministries (CBM), an organization that coordinates the mission and relief work

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2. See Mark Steinacher's article in the *American Baptist Quarterly* for a much more detailed summary of the CBA's history and projects into the 1990s. Steinacher, "Canadian Baptist Archives and Historical Society."

3. The CBA does hold the records of churches that were disfellowshipped or decided to leave the CBOQ in 1927 and following (most of those churches eventually entered the Fellowship of Evangelical Churches). While the CBA currently holds such records, it does not take in any new material from such churches. At the present time, there are talks of the Fellowship starting its own archives at Heritage College and Seminary. If that becomes a reality, it would be a boon for their churches for many currently have no archives to preserve their records.

of four regional conventions: Canadian Baptists of Western Canada, Canadian Baptists of Ontario and Quebec, Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada, and L' Union D'Eglises Baptistes Francophones Du Quebec (The Union of French Baptist Churches in Canada).<sup>4</sup> The CBA holds historical records for Canadian Baptist Ministries and pre-1957 records for McMaster University. Additionally, the archives holds Canadian Baptist periodicals, pamphlets, and biographical files on prominent individuals, and a large collection of books (over 3,100) written on or about Baptists.

### Canadian Baptists of Ontario and Quebec

The CBOQ denomination stores its archival records at the CBA. The CBOQ (formerly known as the Regular Baptists of Ontario and Quebec; and, later, as the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec) became a denomination in 1888 by a vote of member churches and was formally recognized by the Canadian government by an Act of Parliament in 1889. The CBOQ collection consists of minutes and publications from various groups and committees, which make up the majority of CBOQ records. Closely affiliated with the CBOQ are groups like the Canadian Baptist Women of Ontario and Quebec, the Baptist Young People's Union, and various Baptist camps. These records are broken into three major groups: local church records, association records, and denominational records.

There are two major factors that affect the local church collections at the archives. The first factor is the late establishment of the archives. Since the archives was not fully established until the 1960s, some church records have been lost to time, especially churches that were established in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century. While some churches were fortunate to have their records well-kept until the archives was established, it is not uncommon for churches to have gaps in their minutes and membership rolls, especially if a church building was lost to a fire or if a church clerk did not relinquish the record books.

The second factor that affects local church records is that the submissions of material to the archives is on a voluntary basis. CBOQ

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4. For background to the Baptist movement in Canada, see Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*; Heath, Friesen, and Murray, *Baptists in Canada*.

churches voluntarily send their records to the archives, which means that some churches have sent records, while other churches have decided to keep their records on-site. Local churches retain ownership of the material they submit to the CBA. Ownership of the records of closed churches is transferred to the CBA. Also, churches that do send records to the archives may send all of their historical records or just some of their records to the archives. The result is that some churches have small collections, and other churches have extensive collections. With these two factors in mind, the collection of local church records at the archives is quite extensive. The CBA database lists 1,131 Ontario churches (this includes about 100 Fellowship Baptist churches), and 78 Quebec churches (this includes about 11 Fellowship Baptist churches). Unfortunately, the database does not combine those churches that have changed their names over time and instead lists each of them as a separate entry; moreover, many of the entries refer to Baptist mission churches or small churches that did not survive the nineteenth century. The archives probably has significant records (annual reports, minute books and/or membership rolls) for between 300 and 400 churches in Ontario and Quebec. A number of mission churches or nineteenth-century churches do not have records but are mentioned in newspaper clippings or extracts from periodicals.

Local church collections can consist of membership records, church minutes, annual reports, historical and anniversary material, marriage records, and other miscellaneous material. Examples of local church records include *Vittoria Baptist Church, Minute Book, 1820–1880*; *First Baptist Church of Woodstock, Minute Book, 1822–1844*; *St. George Baptist Church, Membership Roll, 1827–1921*; and the *History of the First Baptist Church, Montreal, 1831–1981*.

The various associations of Baptist churches in the CBOQ are another key source of historical records. The earliest associations in Ontario and Quebec were formed before 1850. The associations were responsible for overseeing the ordination of ministers and for making sure that local churches were supporting each other and adhering to Baptist norms. As the number of Baptist churches increased, so did the number of associations in Ontario and Quebec. Here are some examples of key association records: *Western Association Minutes, 1830–1929*; *Ottawa Association Minutes, 1837–1890*;

*Amherstburg Association Minutes, 1841–1894; and Toronto Association Minutes, 1875–1930.*

The CBOQ and its affiliated groups also published extensively. These are some of the key publications that tell the story of the CBOQ: *Canadian Baptist Magazine and Missionary Magazine, 1837–1841; Canadian Baptist (Christian Messenger), 1854–1967; Baptist Register, 1857–1876; and the Baptist Yearbook, 1877–2007.*

### Canadian Baptist Ministries

The CBM can trace its roots back to the 1870s when Canadian Baptist missionaries John and Mary McLaurin were commissioned to serve in India.<sup>5</sup> A second mission field in Bolivia was established by Archibald Reekie in 1898. In the early twentieth century, the Ontario/Quebec and the Atlantic Canada mission boards merged to form the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board, and after a few more name changes, the current iteration of Canadian Baptist Ministries was established in 1995.<sup>6</sup>

The CBM now operates in over twenty-five countries around the world. Key periodicals that tell the story of CBM include the *Canadian Missionary Link, Among the Telugus, Among the Bolivians, and The Enterprise*. Some of the key historical resources regarding CBM are: *Regular Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Minute Book, 1873–1891; Regular Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Minute Book, 1891–1903; and Peniel Hall Society (Bolivia), Minutes, 1911–1969.*

### McMaster University (1888–1956)

The McMaster University collection covers the Toronto era (1888–1930) and the Hamilton era (1930–1956) when the university was a Baptist institution. Key components of the collection include the *University Calendars*, the *McMaster Monthly*, the early *Marmor* yearbook, and material from Woodstock College, Moulton College, and

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5. Baptists Richard and Laleah Burpee left the Maritimes for Burma in 1845; however, they went with the American Baptist mission board.

6. In 1995, the Canadian Baptist Federation (est. 1944) eventually morphed into what is now called Canadian Baptist Ministries. See Daniel, *Moving with the Times*; Bentall, *From Sea to Sea*.

Toronto Baptist College. Student records have not yet been integrated into the archive collection.

Historical records that reflect the administration of McMaster University, such as the Senate minutes, Board of Governor's minutes, and minutes from various faculties and departments, *are not* part of the collection of pre-1957 McMaster University material. Those record sets are still active and are being used by their departments. Finally, the CBA also contains records of McMaster Divinity College, such as Board and Senate minutes, and minutes from various committees and faculty meetings.

### Outliers

Over the decades, some material outside the specific mandate of the CBA has found its way into the archives. For instance, the archives holds both digital and hardcopy periodicals from Baptists in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. There is a robust microfilm collection of Maritime Baptist periodicals, and hardcopies of yearbooks and periodicals from Western and Maritime Baptists. There is a modest collection of American Baptist periodicals, yearbooks, and pamphlets. The CBA also includes a small collection of roughly nine boxes of Plymouth Brethren monographs and pamphlets; however, there are no local congregational records for the Plymouth Brethren.

### Digitizing Projects

The CBA continues to assist researchers with their queries and provide physical and digital storage to a variety of collections, although the physical storage space has reached its capacity. The issue of a lack of physical storage space is mitigated by the fact that most of the early physical records have already been placed in the archives. Since the 1990s, most records have been created digitally, and these records are referred to as “born-digital records.” These born-digital records will need to be stored digitally, with only a small percentage of the born-digital records having an accompanying physical record stored in the archives.

Currently, the CBA's most important initiative is the digital preservation of physical records. Many records from the nineteenth century are deteriorating with failing bindings and fading ink. As

well, many of the high-use periodicals were printed on acidic paper, which has begun to tear during normal use. Over the past few years, the archives has started to scan key periodical collections and association records.

Here is a list of periodicals that have been scanned to date:

| <b>Periodicals</b>                                       | <b>Year(s)</b>   |
|--|------------------|
| <i>Among the Bolivians</i>                               | 1929–39          |
| <i>Among the Telugus</i>                                 | 1918/19–1931     |
| <i>L'Aurore</i>  | 1877–79, 1883–86 |
| <i>Baptist Register</i>                                  | 1857–1876        |
| <i>Baptist Visitor</i>                                   | 1916–1927        |
| <i>Canadian Baptist</i>                                  | 1908–1956        |
| <i>Canadian Baptist Magazine and Missionary Register</i> | 1837–1841        |
| <i>Link and Visitor</i>                                  | 1927/28–1946     |
| <i>Canadian Missionary Link</i>                          | 1878/79–1927     |
| <i>Marmor</i>  | 1932–1934        |
| <i>Ontario and Quebec Yearbook</i>                       | 1877–1947/48     |
| <i>Regular Baptist Call</i>                              | 1927–1930        |
| <i>Western Yearbook</i>                                  | 1938/39–1946/47  |
| <i>Western Baptist</i>                                   | 1938–1947        |

Here is a list of the Association records that have been scanned to date:

| <b>Associations</b>  | <b>Year(s)</b> |
|--|----------------|
| Amherstburg Association (minutes)                          | 1841–1894      |
| Eastern Association (Missionary Society)                   | 1829           |
| Eastern Association (Johnstown Association, Constitution)  | 1829           |
| Eastern Association (Johnstown Association, Minutes, 1828) | 1828           |
| Eastern Association (Thurlow Association)                  | 1804           |
| Grande Ligne Mission (Annual Reports)                      | 1909–1962/63   |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Grande Ligne Mission (Association Minutes) | 1933–1950 |
| Guelph Association (Annual Reports)        | 1894–1936 |
| Haldimand Association (minutes)            | 1850–1865 |
| Long Point Association (minutes)           | 1839–1844 |
| Midland Counties (minutes)                 | 1870–1894 |
| Ottawa Association (minutes)               | 1837–1856 |
| Ottawa Association (minutes)               | 1858–1880 |
| Ottawa Association (minutes)               | 1881–1890 |
| Toronto Association (minutes)              | 1875–1931 |
| Western Association (minutes)              | 1830–1929 |

Unfortunately, the archives does not yet have an online catalogue that allows researchers to access these files offsite. In the meantime, the archives can grant access to these records upon request, and researchers are encouraged to request them. Finally, while some of the local church records have been scanned, most of local church collection from the nineteenth century still needs to be completed. The archivist can answer questions about specific local church collections upon request.

### Issues

The following are some of the most pressing issues that the CBA is currently dealing with or will have to face soon. Some are universal issues for archives, and others are unique to the CBA.

The archives is basically full. Attempts are being made to mitigate the situation (e.g., reshelving and re-boxing more efficiently, reducing duplicates), but there is a pressing need for more space. Since MDC has no more overflow space for the archives, possible solutions are moveable shelving and/or offsite storage.<sup>7</sup> The clock is ticking, and a solution needs to be found soon in the coming years; however, both options are expensive and time-consuming.

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7. It is interesting to note the annual report in the 1995 Baptist Yearbook noted that the archives needed to start looking for offsite storage to make room for the growing collection. That need is even more pressing today. See “Archives and History Committee,” *Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec Annual Report* (1995), 131.

Like many archives, the issue of funding is always a concern. The CBA receives no government funding and has, up until now, relied on MDC to host and fund the CBA.<sup>8</sup> Recent additional financial assistance from the CBOQ and CBM has made the situation more tenable, but funding, in general, is an ongoing concern. There has been an endowment fund established by the CBOQ to provide funding for the CBA, but that is in its infancy and needs more attention to meet the million-dollar goal.

Unless there is a significant revival of local church life, several smaller churches will close in the next decade or so (a trend not unique to the CBOQ<sup>9</sup>). Those closing churches will need a place for their records. Yet, the above-noted problem of a lack of space means that the CBA will be hard-pressed to take in such material. One option is for those churches to see if local town or county archives can take their records; however, that works contrary to the advantage of having all the CBOQ records under one roof.

As noted above, another problem is aging records. Some handwritten records, such as minutes and baptismal records, are starting to fade, and soon, some script will be illegible. That being the case, the main focus for the foreseeable future will be the digital preservation of the various collections. Although periodicals and association minutes will continue to be scanned as needed, the local church material from the nineteenth century is now the focus. Also, the digital preservation of photographic material will need to start as well.

A more universal concern among some in the small coterie of archivists and historians is that the very future of archives is in question. The problem, so the argument goes, is that archivists and historians often point to the usefulness of an archives for future generations. But, as David B. Grace argues, the need is also to show detractors that archives are also vital now:

The case that the use of archives (both in the present and in the future) is vitally and broadly important has to be made to our

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8. The CBA does graciously receive some direct donations from CBOQ churches. The CBA also generates a small amount of revenue from charges for services such as copying material.

9. See Clarke and Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity*.



contemporaries. Through appreciation of the use of records from former times in solving the problems of our age, we can both contribute a service now and make a case for preservation of records for use in the future. Contemporaries must find value for themselves in the use of archives, or we risk their supposing the opposite, a calamity we archivists cannot even comprehend.<sup>10</sup>

The CBA has been fortunate that there have been a number of pressing needs that the archives has been able to help with—such as searches for legal documents, historical precedents, and so on. In those cases, the future was not the issue; rather, the issue was how the archives can help *now*, what Grace says is the archives' need to "work for the present generation."<sup>11</sup>

## Opportunities

### Research

There are a wide variety of researchers who use the material at the CBA in their projects. In addition to genealogists and local church historians, there are students and teachers from Canada and throughout the world who use the archives in their work. As well, the Canadian Baptist Historical Society uses the archives regularly in the various projects on Canadian Baptist life and thought. MDC students, especially those studying the history of Christianity, often make use of the archives. In fact, as a number of recent MA and PhD students at MDC have discovered, there are numerous opportunities for graduate-level theses and dissertations based on the records at the CBA.

The following are some categories of collections that make for excellent research subjects, some of which are directly related to contemporary issues facing the churches:

- Canadian Baptist Women
- The Grande Ligne Mission within French Protestantism
- Canadian Baptists and Missions (both domestic and overseas)

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10. Grace, "Is There a Future in the Use of Archives?" 5.

11. Grace, "Is There a Future in the Use of Archives?" 8.

- Telugu Records from India
- Canadian Baptists and Culture
- Indigenous Baptist Churches
- Black Baptist Churches
- The Evolution of Canadian Baptist Polity and Practices
- Issues of Church and State (e.g., Education, War, Human Rights)
- Nineteenth-Century Print Culture
- Baptists and Education
- Biographical Studies of Canadian Baptists

### New Technology

Decades ago, archivists were excited over microfilming sources and, thus, new possibilities for research into original sources—something that was seen as democratizing access to once inaccessible sources.<sup>12</sup> Now, new digital technology opens up fresh opportunities for the CBA, opportunities not yet fully exploited.<sup>13</sup> The digitizing of the CBA records, concomitant with access to that material for researchers, will make it possible for people anywhere to access CBA records. Further developing the digital collection at CBA (and among other Baptist archives) will also allow for a sharing of material, creating archives that increasingly provide a more global view of Baptist life and thought. One further advantage of the sharing of digital records with other Baptist archives is the possibility of mitigating a disaster. For instance, if one archives has its digital files wiped out (e.g., virus, electromagnetic pulse) the collection will remain safe elsewhere.

But what of the future of archives in a digital age? Will the ongoing digitizing of so many records lead to the demise of archives? Ivan Szekely asks this very question, and he is convinced that they will survive. His six-point reply summarized below applies to the work of the CBA. First, “institutional inertia and traditions” will bolster the

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12. Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 38.

13. The impact of how digital records impacts the work of historians is not the focus of this article, but the following is an insightful analysis of historians and digital evidence. See Owens and Padilla, “Digital Sources and Digital Archives,” 325–41.

ongoing existence of archives. Archives are “deeply imbedded” in society and are required for the formation of memory and ongoing administrative functions of business. Second, “persistent functions of documents and data” means that while the type of documents may evolve over time, an archives is responsible for the preservation and integrity of critical legal and cultural documents—and that need will remain into the future. Third, the “preservation of physical copies” remains vital. Some items will never be digitized, and thus need to be preserved. But even those documents that have been digitized will, at times, need to be seen in their original forms. Fourth, the “preservation of context” means that a record can be seen in its original context, something critical when all one often gets in digital searches is a list of “hits” that may or may not be intelligible or relevant to the intended search. Fifth, the “migration of document formats” requires the original to remain intact. Sixth, “institutional responsibility” requires a trustworthy place for its records, and an archives serves that purpose. In other words, “the institutional responsibility and public work of archives fill an essential social, legal, and public administration need that would argue for their reinforcement, development, and modernization, rather than their scrapping.”<sup>14</sup>

### Conclusion

The CBA carries on the aspirations of nineteenth-century Baptists to preserve their records. It is a large and diverse collection of national and international records that provides churches, researchers, genealogists, and church officials access to vital information for a host of needs—legal, historical, familial, and personal.

As the title indicates, this brief article provides information on the CBA collection, and some commentary on the issues and opportunities facing it. It is hoped that this attention to the Canadian Baptist records at MDC will spur further research in the archives—an archives that is one of the largest Baptist archives in North America. And our hope is also that it remains a vital resource for the foreseeable future.

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14. Szekely, “Do Archives Have a Future in the Digital Age?” 1–16. Each of the quotations in this paragraph is from this article.

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## Baptist Women Called to Serve: Facing Challenges in Great Britain and Atlantic Canada

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*Melody Maxwell*

Since the beginnings of the Baptist movement in the seventeenth century, God has called Baptist women to serve in God's mission. Whether formally or informally, women have served in roles such as Sunday school teacher, worship leader, pastoral counsellor, and preacher. Beginning in the twentieth century, various Baptist groups began exploring the possibility of ordaining women to ministry. In Great Britain, Violet Hedger was the first woman to enter a Baptist college to be trained for ministry; she began studies in 1919 and was ordained in 1926.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, women's ordination came a bit later. This paper will focus on the four Atlantic Canadian provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, although Baptists in central and western Canada experienced similar milestones.<sup>2</sup> While the first woman licensed to ministry in the group of churches affiliated with what is today called the Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada was in 1918, the first woman

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1. "Violet Hedger," n.p.
2. The first woman was ordained by a Baptist denomination in central Canada in 1947; in western Canada, in 1959.

was not ordained until 1954.<sup>3</sup> Male denominational leaders in the early twentieth century were apparently hesitant to formally recognize women's callings to vocational ministry in the same way as they recognized men's. Following 1954, only eight other women were ordained across three decades. Between 1984 and 2024, though, more than one hundred women were ordained by Atlantic Baptist churches, as women's roles began to expand in church as well as in society.<sup>4</sup> In 2024, women made up around eighteen percent of accredited ministers in both Atlantic Canada and Great Britain.<sup>5</sup>

In Great Britain, "Project Violet" has recently researched the status of Baptist women in ministry through conversations, theological reflection, and statistical analysis. The project sought to "understand more fully the theological, missional, and structural obstacles women ministers face in the Baptist community in Great Britain and identify ways forward."<sup>6</sup> Led by Helen Cameron and Jane Day, with support from the Baptist Union of Great Britain and the Centre for Baptist Studies at Regent's Park College, Oxford, the project sought input from women throughout British Baptist life. It culminated in 2024 with fifty-seven requests for change to support equity among British Baptists.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the Project Violet International Symposium was held online in January 2025. This paper was originally presented at that symposium.

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3. Churches affiliated with what is today the CBAC are the focus of this paper. Among other Baptist groups in Atlantic Canada, Ella Hadassah Kinney Sanders, a Reformed Baptist, was ordained in 1901 in preparation for missionary service. Townsend, "Ella Hadassah Kinney Sanders," n.p.

4. Other denominations followed similar trends. See Muir and Whiteley, eds., *Changing Roles of Women*; Korinek, "No Women Need Apply," 473–509; Murray and Friesen, "It takes a While," 89–112; and Maxwell, "Proceed with Care," 52–69.

5. Project Violet, "Women in Ministry," n.p.; email from Andrew Myers, Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada, 2 January 2025. Today there are around 420 churches in the Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada, which I have referred to as Atlantic Baptists in this paper.

6. Project Violet, "What is Project Violet?" n.p.

7. Project Violet, "Project Violet Findings—An Overview," 1.

My research project, “Called to Serve,” features oral histories of more than eighty-five ordained Baptist women in Atlantic Canada.<sup>8</sup> Like “Project Violet,” it probes women’s experiences in vocational ministry, including in training for ministry roles. Unlike “Project Violet,” it does not include contemporary recommendations but instead focuses on historical analysis—although much of this is quite recent history. In this paper, I compare findings of “Called to Serve” with those of “Project Violet,” emphasizing the stories of Baptist women from Atlantic Canada.<sup>9</sup> Overall, I conclude that women serving in Baptist ministry in Great Britain and in Atlantic Canada in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries faced similar challenges as a result of their sex, although further research is needed to establish a thorough comparison and the degree to which these challenges were systemic. As demonstrated by the two studies, women in both contexts encountered challenges related to their experiences in ministry. This reflects the women’s relatively conservative Baptist contexts and the reluctance of some autonomous Baptist congregations to fully support women in ministry, and the ways women’s roles were changing in the cultures of Great Britain and Canada at the time. Chronologically, British Baptists were ahead of Baptists in Atlantic Canada in advancing women’s roles in ministry, but women ministers in both contexts continued to experience challenges as of the writing of this paper.

### Ministry Preparation

Baptist ministerial candidates in both Atlantic Canada and Great Britain acknowledged God’s call on their lives and then underwent training for ministry. Although the exact processes differed, in both contexts candidates were given opportunities to learn and to exercise

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8. I am indebted to research assistants Taylor Adams, Taylore Anstey, Samantha Diotte, Joetta Fernando, Melissa Hodder, and Hannah Roberts for their work on this project. For more information about the project, visit [calledtoserve.ca](http://calledtoserve.ca). Findings presented in this paper are only preliminary; complete findings will be available by 2026.

9. Parts of this paper were adapted from previous presentations: Maxwell, “Called to Learn” (to be published by Mercer University Press in *Baptists and Education*); and Maxwell, “In Their Own Words.”



their ministerial skills. However, women candidates sometimes faced challenges that men did not. According to “Project Violet Findings—An Overview,” young women in Great Britain who were exploring their callings sometimes heard “sexist, racist and ableist language going unchallenged,” which “made them wonder if there was a stereotype of ministry that they wouldn’t be able to meet.”<sup>10</sup> In addition, women who had decided to enter ministry “could come across barriers to accessing training. These could include lack of information about the process, difficulties in navigating the college admission process and difficulty raising the money to pay for training and sustaining their household whilst they trained.”<sup>11</sup> Other “Project Violet” materials speak of sexism that women faced in ministry and ministry training, whether it was overt or covert.<sup>12</sup>

Women interviewed for *Called to Serve* in Atlantic Canada also experienced challenges in their ministry preparation because of their sex. Not all the women encountered significant difficulties, nor did the challenges dominate all their ministries. Sandra Sutherland, for example, said, “I never have had anything really difficult to deal with personally in my ministry because I am a woman.”<sup>13</sup> However, other women experienced situations that they believe men would not have encountered. These began for some women at a young age. Marion Jamer recalled, “As I turned about 16 and 17, I began to notice that it was much easier for a young man to say he was going into ministry than it was for me.”<sup>14</sup> Jamer persevered, but some young women who were exploring a call to ministry likely abandoned this idea as too difficult or unrealistic. Even Sutherland reflected on her own experience: “I thought, well, really the deepest desire of my heart is to become a pastor’s wife. And now when I look back on that, I realize that that was the other role model [besides missionary] that I had

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10. Project Violet, “Project Violet Findings,” n.p.

11. Project Violet, “Project Violet Findings,” n.p.

12. Project Violet, “Commitment to Action Report,” n.p.

13. Interview with Sandra Sutherland, transcript, 6. Sutherland’s comments that follow, however, demonstrate that she did have to overcome stereotypes to become a minister, among other things.

14. Interview with Marion Jamer, transcript, 2.

seen for women who loved and served the church.”<sup>15</sup> Unlike their male colleagues, these women had to grapple with their callings in a denomination where some believed that the Bible prohibited women from serving as ministers. Some of them, like Sutherland, also lacked “intentional support in discerning their vocation,” as “Project Violet” put it.<sup>16</sup> As a result, the women I interviewed may have taken more time to decide that God was asking them to serve as ministers, but they likely felt more secure in their callings after examining the issue. This confidence propelled them through difficult times in their ministries, including in their education.

Most of the women who participated in my study sought training for ministry at Acadia Divinity College (ADC), the Atlantic Baptist seminary. While women students found their professors to be supportive of women in ministry, this was not always the case among their peers, especially in earlier years.<sup>17</sup> Several women noted that although “it wasn’t a big controversy,”<sup>18</sup> there were what Sarah Palmater called “undercurrents”<sup>19</sup> of male students at ADC who did not support women in ministry. Two of the earliest students featured in this study felt such opposition during their time at ADC in the 1970s. Elizabeth Legassie described “a small percentage [of male students who were] very vocal, and very strong,” confessing that she and her husband almost left ADC as a result.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Ida Armstrong-Whitehouse had fellow students tell her that she was “making a big mistake” by studying for what they considered an unbiblical role for women.<sup>21</sup> Legassie and Armstrong-Whitehouse persevered in their studies and eventually were ordained, but later female students also experienced sexism and opposition from their male colleagues.<sup>22</sup>

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15. Interview with Sandra Sutherland, transcript, 2.

16. Project Violet, “Project Violet Findings,” n.p.

17. See Maxwell, “Called to Learn.”

18. Interview with Carol Smith, transcript, 3.

19. Interview with Sarah Palmater, transcript, 3 and 10.

20. Interview with Elizabeth Legassie, transcript, 4.

21. Interview with Ida Armstrong-Whitehouse, transcript, 7.

22. Nancy Nason-Clark demonstrates that sexism also exists among men in the pews. See Nason-Clark, “Ordaining Women as Priests,” 259.

Michele Bland described a student who would not attend presentations given by women classmates, and Jennifer Varner recalled strong words of opposition that several women students received from men.<sup>23</sup> Some of the men's comments were blatantly sexist. A male student told Robin McCoombs, "I don't know if I could really listen to the message if a woman was wearing a black slinky dress in the pulpit."<sup>24</sup> And a male student told Heather Donovan that she was earning high marks in her classes because she was pretty.<sup>25</sup> These troubling incidents created an antagonistic atmosphere for at least some women students, no matter the verbal support they received from ADC faculty and staff.

As women continued the ordination process, they prepared to meet with the denomination's examining council. At this council, they defended their statements of faith and answered doctrinal questions posed by dozens of leaders from Baptist associations throughout Atlantic Canada. For both men and women, this experience was often intimidating. Jasmine Saunders was not the only one to call it "the Sanhedrin."<sup>26</sup> But women faced additional obstacles, as some members of the examining council would vote against them simply because of their sex. Renée MacVicar, who became executive minister of Atlantic Baptists in 2023, recalled that as late as 2009, "two people voted against me because I was a woman."<sup>27</sup> In later years, council members with such views were asked to abstain from voting rather than to vote against the candidate. Still, male candidates did not face this difficulty. Women were sometimes also asked about their positions on women in ministry or how they would address hypothetical challenges in ministry due to their sex. Margo MacDougall recounted, "A lady from Nova Scotia said, 'Now, you're in the pulpit and you're preaching, and you look down and there's a very attractive man in the congregation. What are you going to do?'" To this questioner, apparently a woman minister's sexuality was

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23. Interview with Michele Bland, transcript, 4; Interview with Jennifer Varner, transcript, 4.

24. Interview with Robin McCoombs, transcript, 3.

25. Interview with Heather Donovan, transcript, 4.

26. Interview with Jasmine Saunders (pseudonym), transcript, 6.

27. Interview with Renée MacVicar, transcript, 5.

more concerning than a man's. Although she found this question inappropriate, MacDougall simply said she would "keep preaching."<sup>28</sup> Like most other women in my study, she avoided controversy, prioritizing harmony over advocacy by using what I have termed elsewhere "strategic silence."<sup>29</sup>

### **Local Church Ministry**

After they had spent years preparing for ministry, Baptist women in both studies moved into vocational ministry positions. "Project Violet" findings indicated that settlement in a local church was

not always a positive experience for women. They can experience intrusive and inappropriate questioning and a lack of support in agreeing fair terms and conditions for their work, particularly when it is for less than a full stipend. . . . Where a church does not accept the ministry of women it is requested that that position is made know prior to the settlement process.<sup>30</sup>

Some women in this study experienced inequality when seeking a place to serve, even discovering in the midst of the process that the churches where they had hoped to serve did not support women in ministry.

Some women in Atlantic Canada likewise found the process of finding a church challenging. For example, when Rachel Kwan first began to look for a pastorate in New Brunswick, she was told that "it would be more possible to find a pastoral position only in the next province."<sup>31</sup> Marlene Quinn also mentioned the informal networking that occurs among men in ministry. "The males tend to have a heads up on what's going to become vacant," she stated,

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28. Interview with Margo MacDougall, transcript, 11.

29. See Maxwell, "In Their Own Words."

30. Project Violet, "Project Violet Findings—An Overview," 3.

31. Interview with Rachel Kwan, transcript, 4. Baptists in Nova Scotia have traditionally been more supportive of women in ministry than have Baptists in New Brunswick.

“Women don’t get that.”<sup>32</sup> Some women recalled interview questions that were different for women and men in ministry. Kwan recounted that many women applying for ministry roles were asked by church search committees, “Tell us why women can be pastors.” She continued, “If a man were going in for an interview for that same position, we can safely say that it is unlikely for him to be asked: ‘Can you tell us why a man can be a pastor?’”<sup>33</sup> Questions not only to job candidates but also to congregations differed at times for women pastors. Margo MacDougall was stunned that a leader asked a congregation, “How would you feel about an ex-con or a woman coming as your pastor?”<sup>34</sup>—in a sense equating individuals from these two disparate categories. Other women recounted that some church members voted against calling a female minister, and they were not always given the same compensation or titles as their male counterparts. Nancy Draper recalled, “The sign on my door bore testimony that it was okay for me to be Director of Christian Education, but I couldn’t be Minister of Christian Education.”<sup>35</sup> Ministerial roles, her church apparently believed, were reserved for men.

In their study of clergy women, Barbara Zikmund et al. noted that women ministers “report that they feel discrimination because they are not paid well.”<sup>36</sup> This was true of some of the women in my study. Some churches seemed to assume that male ministers were the primary breadwinners for their families, but female ministers were only supplementing their husbands’ salaries. Christine MacDormand, for example, recalled that she did not go to the dentist for 25 years because of inadequate health coverage.<sup>37</sup> Joyce Hancock also was underpaid by her church, as she reported:

I think it was some of the women in the congregation, when it came around to budget time, they made a big deal about the fact that I was earning much, much less than the rest of the pastoral

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32. Interview with Marlene Quinn, transcript, 19.

33. Interview with Rachel Kwan, transcript, 11.

34. Interview with Margo MacDougall, transcript, 20.

35. Interview with Nancy Draper, transcript, 5.

36. Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang, *Clergy Women*, 72.

37. Interview with Christine MacDormand, transcript, 38.

team. And they came forward and said they would not accept if I, if it had not gotten better. But what I heard from the lead pastor later on was, “Wow, you’re getting a good increase this time! Aren’t you lucky?” Instead of words like, you know, “The church has asked that, that you be put up more to the level of the vision.” It was more like, “Well, aren’t you lucky?”<sup>38</sup>

Hancock’s situation revealed the sexism of her lead pastor along with that of the congregation, while also demonstrating the growing awareness of equality among a few female congregants. Also significant was that Hancock herself did not bring up the issue of her remuneration; she remained silent. Whether this strategy compromised her ministry or was necessary to preserve it is debatable. What is clear is that Hancock, like the majority of the women involved in my study, did not pursue feminist activism in the course of her ministry, preferring instead to keep her head down and serve.<sup>39</sup>

Like Hancock, many of the women in the study experienced challenges in ministry. Although they also encountered joys, serving in roles that were not traditional for women sometimes presented difficulties. Some obstacles that the women faced were overt. Renée MacVicar recalled, “A young man actually met me as I was coming back to my seat from preaching and said, ‘What are you doing? What do you do with 2 Timothy? You need to repent.’”<sup>40</sup> This individual directly confronted MacVicar, viscerally demonstrating the view of some Atlantic Baptists that women should not serve in ministry. Other women recounted that even before they became ministers, their churches were hesitant about having women teach adult Sunday school classes.<sup>41</sup> Such churches would likely not have allowed women to preach. Those women whom churches did call as ministers sometimes faced difficulties from their congregations. Some of these came in the form of inappropriate relationships by congregants who had idealized or sexualized their ministers. Margo MacDougall

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38. Interview with Joyce Hancock, transcript, 10.

39. See Maxwell, “In Their Own Words.”

40. Interview with Renée MacVicar, transcript, 9.

41. Interview with Margo MacDougall, transcript, 2; Interview with Linda Perrin, transcript, 2.

reported receiving “varying degrees of unwanted attention,” including from an elderly man who stalked her and another whose wife called the pastor her husband’s girlfriend.<sup>42</sup> Other women in the study described not being taken seriously as ministers. Robin McCoombs, who served as co-pastor with her husband, described that

I was most times called the pastor’s wife, not the pastor . . . which I found very frustrating at times because we took turns preaching . . . took turns leading Bible studies. I did funerals, weddings, everything that my husband did. . . . One guy [said], “You’re just your husband’s secretary.”<sup>43</sup>

Although McCoombs and her husband served equally in ministry, some congregants had a hard time changing their stereotypical view of men’s and women’s roles in the church. As Marilyn McCormick put it, “They would look to the man to be the one in charge even when it might not have been.”<sup>44</sup> Not only was such an experience disturbing for women ministers; it also robbed the church of the opportunity to allow a minister to fully use their God-given gifts. Moreover, these incidents represent only a sampling of the challenges that Called to Serve respondents faced as women in ministry.

### Conclusion

Multiple Baptist women in Atlantic Canada, then, experienced difficulties as they prepared for and served in Christian ministry. Like Baptist women in Great Britain, they faced challenges related to their callings, training for ministry, settlement in local churches, and ongoing church ministry. Further comparative study is needed to determine the degree to which these problems are systemic, but even from the anecdotal evidence cited here, it is clear that due to their sex, women in both ministry contexts encountered obstacles that most men did not. As part of the dissenting church tradition, Baptist women in the Canada and Great Britain did not follow traditional

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42. Interview with Margo MacDougall, transcript, 13, 14.

43. Interview with Robin McCoombs, transcript, 5.

44. Interview with Marilyn McCormick, transcript, 11.

hierarchical church authorities but instead respected the independence of local congregations, which could choose whether to allow women to serve in ministry or not. In Atlantic Canada, at least, a significant number of congregations and their members were hesitant to fully support women ministers, as evidenced by *Called to Serve*. And in Baptist life in Great Britain, “Project Violet” asserts that women ministers faced “theological, missional and structural obstacles.”<sup>45</sup> Those concerned about gender justice in both regions clearly have more work to do in the future.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Rorem, Paul. *Singing Church History: Introducing the Christian Story through Hymn Texts*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2024.

In his *Singing Church History*, Paul Rorem aims to illuminate the contours of church history using hymn texts from every major period. The title cleverly carries two meanings: Rorem argues that the church is a “singing church,” and so this book enables one to sing the story of church history, as well as to study the history of the singing church. With a topic so vast as the history of the Christian church, no single book can ever aspire to be more than an introduction, but Rorem’s volume helpfully offers an interdisciplinary bridge where few have been built in the past, linking hymnody with church history in a robust and thoughtful way. The book enriches one’s appreciation for well-known hymns and shows that the old adage of *lex orandi, lex credendi* (the rule of prayer is the rule of faith) extends even to the sung prayers of the church. The history of hymnody is a story of the words that have reflected, shaped, and reinforced the doctrines of each major era of the Christian faith.

Rorem’s book proceeds in a generally chronological fashion, beginning with a thematic introduction (a “prelude”) before devoting multiple chapters to the early church, to the medieval church, to the Reformation and post-Reformation churches, and to the modern period. In each chapter, he highlights the work of notable hymnographers and illustrates how each one’s theological reflections appear in their hymns. He also selects full hymn texts (usually along with their musical settings) for deeper analysis, pointing out how the contours of historical theology are visible in the sung worship of the church. Hymns carry in their lines the legacies of the Trinitarian defense against Arianism, the Reformation-era disputes over the presence of Christ in the elements of communion, the focus on sanctification which emerged with the Methodist movement, and the rise of social gospel themes in the early twentieth century.

Rorem is well-positioned to write a book like this, and his expertise is evident in its many strengths. As a professor of medieval church history at Princeton Theological Seminary and an active Lutheran minister, he engages the story of hymns with the acumen of an academic and the appreciation of a practitioner. As might be expected for a historian of the medieval church, his sections on the first fifteen hundred years of Christian hymnody are substantial and detailed. This is a major strength of the work, since one of the characteristic failings of many church histories penned by Protestants is a reduced focus on those periods, and especially on the oft-forgotten eastern Christian world. Regarding early church history, Rorem includes reflections not just on the Latin hymns of the West, but also on the rich hymnographic legacies of Eastern and Oriental Orthodoxy, with insightful details on the hymnody of early Syrian and Ethiopian Christianity. When it comes to the medieval period, he includes three full chapters on its hymns, as many as he devotes to the extraordinary hymnographic output of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Another strength of *Singing Church History* is its prominent focus on women, highlighting their notable roles as both the patrons and writers of hymns through the ages. Even when the hymnographers Rorem is addressing are men, he highlights the contributions of the women associated with those accomplishments. Yet another source of depth that sets Rorem's book apart is its attention on the traditions of German hymnody, such that many Baptist readers, with a tradition shaped more extensively in the Anglophone world, will encounter a whole host of new stories and fresh insights.

It is unavoidable, of course, that a book setting out to treat such voluminous subjects as hymnody and church history will have gaps, and Rorem is aware of the fact and apologetic for it. He writes as a Lutheran for Lutherans (not surprisingly, since Fortress Press is a Lutheran publisher). His reflections on Reformation and post-Reformation hymnody are therefore heavily weighted toward the story of Lutheran hymnody, with only a passing mention of developments in Reformed psalmody. Even when the story of non-Lutheran hymns resumes, Baptist readers may note that their early contributions to English hymnody (predating even Isaac Watts) go unmentioned, and

several major hymnographers in Baptist (and more widely Nonconformist) denominations are absent. When it comes to the modern world, Rorem admirably devotes significant attention to African American hymnody and the songs of the ecumenical movement, but passes over the Pentecostal, fundamentalist, and evangelical wings of twentieth-century church history with scarcely a mention. Again, it is hard to fault Rorem too much for these oversights, as any book on the topic would have to be many times longer to be truly comprehensive, but some of the gaps will be evident to Baptist readers.

On the whole, this book comes highly recommended. There are very few books that attempt what Rorem has attempted, and the many strengths of *Singing Church History* more than make up for its occasional gaps. This book will prove especially useful to teachers of church history, as it enables an active and participatory way to illustrate the history of Christian doctrine. The genesis of the book came from Rorem's own practice of having his students sing hymns in their church history class, and his book now enables other instructors to do the same (even including helpful material in the book's "postlude" and appendix for that very purpose). Readers of *Singing Church History* will find it to be a rich reflection on the heritage of Christian worship, training our ears to hear the voices of that great cloud of witnesses who have gone on before us.

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Todd, Obbie Tyler. *A Baptist at the Crossroads: The Atonement in the Writings of Richard Furman (1755–1825)*. Monographs in Baptist History 20. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2021.

Although Richard Furman was an important American Baptist figure, scholars have not paid him the attention he is due. This monograph, written by Obbie Tyler Todd, explores Furman's thought and highlights his doctrine of the atonement in particular.

Todd's thesis is that "Richard Furman held to both a penal substitutionary theory of the atonement as well as to a moral governmental view" (p. 3). Although these two views are often presented as being mutually exclusive, Todd aims to show how Furman nevertheless held to a form of both views. The monograph, then, is one of historical theology, putting Furman in his historical context while also engaging seriously with his thought. The book traces the influences on Furman's theology nicely, and places his thought in dialogue with others in order to present a synthesized view of Furman's atonement theology.

Following the introduction, chapter two presents Furman as a "moderate Calvinist." He is described as "an ecumenical Baptist" (p. 9), as one who resisted theological systems in favour of a form of biblicism, and one who was influenced by *The Charleston Confession*. The chapter also details Furman's major influences, such as the New Divinity, Andrew Fuller, and the cultural views of his time.

Chapter three looks directly at Furman's atonement theology. Here, Todd shows that while Furman held to a moral governmental view of the atonement, he also held to imputation. The chapter also highlights the central place of covenantal theology in Furman's thought. This chapter displays how the penal substitutionary view and the moral governmental view are presented together in Furman's theology in a way that displays both the private and public aspects of the atonement.

Chapter four further displays how both the moral governmental and penal substitution motifs were held together in Furman's theology. As an example, Todd shows that Furman held to "both retributive and rectoral justice, while punctuating the latter" (p. 68). He also had present in his thought a concept of substitution, thus leading Todd to call his view "governmental substitution" (p. 74). In the final section of this chapter, Todd presents Furman's thought alongside that of other nineteenth-century theologians, James Petigru Boyce and William Bullein Johnson, which helps to show the distinctive aspects of Furman's atonement theology.

Finally, chapter five offers a synthesis and analysis of Furman's view. Despite tensions in his theology, Todd concludes that these were not due to a lack of precision on Furman's part, but rather were "intentionally brought together for the sake of a robust gospel" (p.

102). Therefore, Todd concludes the book, “Furman’s project of bringing together multiple views of the atonement is proof that Baptist theologians are not necessarily required to first choose between systematic ‘theories’ of the atonement, but should rather seek after the truths and themes of Scripture and compose their doctrine of atonement accordingly” (p. 104).

One area of omission in Todd’s study is any mention of the Christus Victor motif of the atonement. It could be that Furman never addressed it, but seeing as the Christus Victor view was so dominant throughout church history, it would be fitting to at the least mention whether or not this view was in his writings. And since it was such a dominant theme from the early church to the Reformation, if it was omitted completely in Furman’s writings, then what led to this departure from the tradition of the Church? While it would have been great to have this question addressed, Todd’s study of Furman’s atonement theology is nevertheless a fine addition to the Monographs in Baptist History series. It is to be of interest to a range of readers, especially those engaged in contemporary discussions on the atonement.

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Bustin, Dennis C. *Champions of Choice and Change: Religious Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England and the Rise of Democratic Ideals in Western Society*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2023.

The development of democracy in the West has been an important subject of research for many years, with many different ideological streams presented as the original fountainhead of the present day democratic ideal. Dennis Bustin’s work argues that the dissenting movements of seventeenth-century England were pivotal in the development of these democratic ideals. In his introduction, Bustin contends that secularism has claimed the concepts of human rights,



human dignity, equality, and freedom as the products of the Enlightenment period. Bustin's purpose in the book is to challenge this claim and reorient the discussion of the development of these concepts in the believers' church tradition from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Additionally, Bustin also seeks to restore the reputation of the congregational form of church government, which he believes has been misunderstood among present-day believers' churches.

Chapter one opens with a biblical and historical study of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Bustin first argues that the opening chapters of Genesis present an egalitarian image of the relations of humanity, that, although marred by sin, should still be viewed as a biblical standard for human worth and relations. He further draws in other aspects of the Pentateuch and New Testament to further emphasise the biblical value of the "lowest" in society and the equality of all before God. Following his biblical study, Bustin briefly discusses Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli's views, before focusing on the ideas of Andreas Karlstadt, Michael Sattler, and Balthasar Hubmaier. Bustin finds the germs of various democratic ideas within these historical figures' teachings, emphasising the apparent influence they had on figures like William of Orange.

Chapter two studies the idea of religious toleration as it developed in England in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He shows how dissenting groups developed and prospered under the changed political situation of the Protectorate and the Glorious Revolution. Bustin focuses on the Baptists, Levellers, Quakers and their development of doctrines of religious toleration and freedom of religion.

In chapter three, Bustin expands his discussion of religious toleration to look at the views of religious dissenters toward other religions besides Christianity, primarily Judaism and Islam. He begins with the medieval background of Christian relationships with the two other religions, before focusing on the English experience of relations with these two religions in the medieval period. Bustin then focuses in on the changing relation toward other religions in the Stuart period, before focusing even closer on the topic through a study of Hanserd Knollys' relationship with Jews and Muslims.

Chapter four discusses the role of English dissenting groups in

increasing access to education in England. He argues that as education was being democratised, dissenting groups were forced to develop their own educational institutions to circumvent the religious restrictions placed upon education in England. Chapter four focuses significantly upon Hanserd Knollys—whom Bustin has studied extensively—and his work to develop educational avenues for Dissenters.

Chapter five discusses the development of equality, individualism, and the franchise within dissenting groups, and argues that these ideas had an impact upon seventeenth century political ideas. Bustin studies the General, Independent, and Particular Baptists, before turning to the Quakers. In each case he considers the ideas that seem to cross from these church groups into political theory and practice in England.

Chapter six focuses on the role of women in early dissenting groups, showing that there was a greater willingness to allow women to participate in certain aspects of church life than was seen in other denominational expressions of the day. Bustin studies Independent and Particular Baptists and the Quakers, emphasising the work of Elizabeth Hooton and Margaret Fell Fox as examples of this egalitarian emphasis within certain dissenting groups.

The closing epilogue discusses the development of democratic thought primarily in the English context, arguing for the influence of dissenting doctrines in the development of political ideals. Bustin traces these ideas through the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Glorious Revolution, and subsequent changes in religious toleration and argues for the influence of dissenting ideas on the development of the democratic ideas that began to accelerate in the eighteenth century.

Bustin's work provides a unique contribution to those seeking to understand the development of the political traditions of the West. By amplifying the voices of dissenters who would perhaps be lost in the great volume of theological and political development in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Bustin helps the reader to gain new appreciation for the roles of these thinkers. Bustin's work does show a similarity between aspects of the thought and actions of dissenters and the later political development of the West. His conclusions provide ample food for thought for researchers in

the field of the development of Western thought.

At times, Bustin's method relies upon a selective reading of the historical accounts to produce support for his arguments. While he is obviously an expert in the writings of certain dissenting scholars, he does not deploy the same depth in the broader discussion of Reformation history or Political Theology. In his treatments of Reformation doctrine and the historical development of democratic ideals, he makes a case for the key role of dissenters in the formation of various democratic ideas. Time and again, however, he presents an incomplete testimony of the historical events taking place through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His arguments about the Priesthood of All Believers singularly ignore the fact that every stream of the Reformation, including the Anabaptists, particularly hedged biblical interpretation and did not democratise orthodox doctrine. The lack of nuance in discussion of Reformation doctrine and other theological and political doctrines limits the applicability of Bustin's arguments regarding the development of core democratic ideals. Though still worthwhile, they must be informed by other more fulsome treatments of theological principles and political ideologies if the reader hopes to gain an accurate view of the development of these doctrines and ideas.

The book is structured less as a single argument and more as an anthology of related ideas. As such, it suffers from a lack of flow from one chapter to the next. Rather than building a central argument it places some ideas in front of the reader and then moves on, ultimately providing little in the way of a concluding argument or a sense of completion for the reader. Additionally, there is an inconsistent approach to structure from one chapter to the next, the worst example of which is the complete reuse of a paragraph from chapter one's conclusion as the introductory paragraph of chapter two. Further, Bustin has an odd habit of inserting references to modern events that have little or nothing to do with building the arguments of their host chapters. References to the Arab Spring, the #MeToo movement, and the election of Donald Trump are confusing to the reader, as they are placed into the text but promptly forgotten, providing at best some idea that political and social controversies continue to exist, just as there were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These structural issues may confuse the reader and limit

the effect of Bustin's arguments through lack of clarity.

While it has flaws, Bustin's volume is still a useful resource for anyone interested in the areas of dissenting doctrine or the development of modern Western political theory. As a complement to a broader study of the field, it will be a useful resource for academic readers.

*Matthew Rowley, PhD*  
*Training Leaders International Canada*

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Romine, E. G. *The Booming Baritone Bell of England: The Pedagogy and Practice of Charles Haddon Spurgeon's Open-Air Preaching*. Monographs in Baptist History Series 28. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2023.

In this monograph, E. G. Romine offers the reader an extensive and insightful analysis of an understudied and relatively underappreciated aspect of Charles Haddon Spurgeon's ministry, namely, open-air preaching. Romine notes that while other scholars—such as Stuart M. Blythe and Michael Nicholls—have provided some helpful analysis of this important subject, he contends that “One area of study that needs attention is Spurgeon's pedagogy and practice of open-air preaching” (p. 2). This book endeavours to more extensively address this gap.

Romine's thesis is “that Spurgeon's pedagogy and practice of open-air preaching influenced and shaped his long pulpit preaching ministry by developing his evangelistic zeal, as seen in his regular calls for sinners and saints to repent of sin” (pp. 2–3). After a thorough and up-to-date review of the scholarly literature and a useful overview of the Victorian social and cultural contexts that framed and oriented Spurgeon's ministry, Romine examines Spurgeon's hermeneutical method, pedagogical methodology, his practice of open-air preaching, and the lessons given to his students regarding how one should engage in open-air preaching. Romine's findings, arguments, and conclusions are certainly enlightening, persuasive, and compelling. For the most part, the material presented sustains the thesis of

the book.

That said, a couple of weaknesses in this book deserve attention. There is a notable absence of any serious critical analysis of Spurgeon's personal experiences. Questions, such as whether Spurgeon ever struggled with pedagogy or failed in his practice of open-air preaching, are not addressed in this study. Consequently, one is left wondering if Spurgeon ever experienced any challenges in the domain of open-air preaching. The author creates the impression that Spurgeon was so gifted that hardship, struggle, or failure were never part of his personal life or career in the ministry. While Romine does point out the contradiction between Spurgeon's over-spiritualizing of scripture and his hermeneutical teaching to students that emphasized not over-spiritualizing scripture (in other words, "do as I say not as I do"), there is little discussion of Spurgeon's weaknesses or struggles beyond this one example. Again, one is left with the impression that Spurgeon had little or no personal failings and few, if any, negative ministry experiences.

Despite the weaknesses noted above, Romine's study succeeds in deepening our understanding of Spurgeon's approach to and exercise of open-air preaching and the vital role it played in his later pulpit ministries. For those interested in this famous Baptist preacher, this book is well worth reading.

*Paul R. Wilson, PhD*  
*Canadian Baptist Historical Society*

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Jeffrey, David Lyle. *We Were a Peculiar People Once: Confessions of an Old-Time Baptist*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2023.

David Lyle Jeffrey is Distinguished Professor of Literature and the Humanities at Baylor University. He has numerous publications to his name and has had a robust academic career. He also grew up Scottish Baptist in Ontario. *We Were a Peculiar People Once* is a memoir of sorts that reflects on this upbringing and what the author believes has since been lost and what he thinks ought to be reclaimed.

The book opens with a preface, followed by thirteen chapters, and concludes with an appendix. Each chapter revolves around a given theme and is interlaced with stories from the author's life. For example, chapter five is on "The Missionary Conference." Jeffrey recalls this conference being a highlight every year and he reflects on being a kid visiting the different missionary booths and looking at their different items that they brought from the mission field. He reminisces, for instance, on his friend asking one missionary—being prompted by the darts and blowgun on display—about how blowguns were made. Such stories are fun to read, and the author's engaging style helps the reader become immersed in these retellings.

While some of the stories are humorous, others are quite serious and sombre. In chapter eleven, "Grave Matters," Jeffrey writes about the traumatic death of his four-year-old brother when Jeffrey was only six. He documents how he tried to process such death as he witnessed his parents' grief, and how, as he aged, he grew in his theological thinking about death and grief.

Other chapters are more didactic in tone. In chapter seven, "Youth Groups and the New Music," Jeffrey laments the church's loss of hymns as they were replaced in the 60s with what he terms the "new music" (p. 71). After a paragraph detailing the problems he sees with such songs that have replaced hymns, Jeffrey writes, "That the youth and music ministers came often to be called 'worship leaders' may have obscured a disturbing reality concerning what distinguishes worship from a rave or folk/rock concert" (p. 72). He goes on to reflect that he does "not mean to be unduly curmudgeonly in these remarks, though I reckon I will seem so to many" (p. 73). I, for one, am among those who found the remarks in this chapter to be "unduly curmudgeonly." Some, to be sure, will read them while nodding their head and uttering "Amen," but I found such remarks to be overly stereotypical and pessimistic of modern-day church services. Such remarks, as found in chapter seven and few other places, pointed to a reminiscence that led to a desire for the author to see things as they used to be. While Jeffrey sees a solution to contemporary problems with such retrieval, others will not be so sure.

And this brings us to the thrust of the book. As Jeffrey set forth in the preface, the book attempts to show that Baptists "gave up on

being peculiar and tried to become cool, to be modern, to be ‘relevant’” (p. xv). Jeffrey returns to the title at the conclusion and reflects on the double meaning behind the use of the word “peculiar.” The one meaning comes from “a legal term borrowed from French *peculier*, it then denoted possession, as in the property of someone being his ‘peculiar’ possession rather than that of someone else” (p. 150). Then follows the second meaning of “peculiar” we are more familiar with today: “If we really accept that we are not called to be self-defined but God-defined, then we will certainly seem odd to our secular contemporaries and, indeed, even to many who regard themselves as Christians” (p. 151). Therefore, the concluding question of Jeffrey: “at whatever social cost, are we willing to become *a peculiar people* once again?” (p. 152, italics in original).

This book is a captivating read. It offers a first-hand account of what life looked like for one person growing up Baptist in Ontario. While it is not attempting to be an academic “history nor a taxonomy of belief and practices for Scottish Baptists” (p. xiii), it is nonetheless insightful. However, one should also be aware of its didactic nature. For some, the argument will be a welcome one; for others, it may feel a bit overly critical of certain contemporary church practices.

*Jonathan N. Cleland, PhD  
Heritage College & Seminary*



## BOOK NOTES

Johnson, Curtis D. *The Power of Mammon: The Market, Secularization, and New York Baptists, 1790–1922*. America's Baptists Series. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2021.

With its focus on New York Baptists and their engagements with and responses to an emerging market and consumer economy, Curtis Johnson's *The Power of Mammon* breaks new ground. Through an application of secularization theory, Johnson argues that by the mid-nineteenth century "the pursuit of material gain" had a "hollowing" effect on New York's Baptist churches at the local level. Based on his extensive archival research that reveals an emerging materialistic social ethic that stressed the importance of acquiring personal material wealth, Johnson chronicles and analyzes Baptist acceptance and practice of this new ethic and its effects on Baptist life. Johnson's study makes a much-needed and profound contribution to our understanding of the Northern Baptist experience in the United States.

*Paul R. Wilson, PhD*  
*Canadian Baptist Historical Society*

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Robertson, James Tyler. *Overlooked: The Forgotten Origin Stories of Canadian Christianity*. Saskatoon, SK: New Leaf, 2022.

Canada has an inferiority complex. Perched atop the world's greatest superpower, Canada is routinely forgotten, dismissed, and ignored. As James Robertson so graciously puts it, "Canada . . . is a nation of losers" (p. 41). Yet, for Robertson, this is not a bug but a feature of our vast nation and is key to understanding the history of the Canadian church. In this playful and episodic look at the history of Christianity in Canada, Robertson's volume, *Overlooked*, takes readers



through a series of “overlooked” stories in Canadian Christianity to argue that Canadian Christianity is a “loser” enterprise. Yet, being “losers” is not a negative assessment for Robertson because a people who claim to follow a crucified God ought to exhibit a particular kind of humility that Canadian Christianity, at its best, offers. The history of the church in Canada is not a triumphalist narrative, and indeed, Robertson does not shy away from some important issues—such as the church’s involvement in residential schools—that are downright shameful. But Robertson’s thesis is that it is in a church that is not “hip” (i.e., one that is instead built by and for losers) where we might find an overlooked gift.

Ryan K. Turnbull, PhD  
St. John’s College

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Haykin, Michael A. G., and Jonathan N. Cleland. *“A Priceless Heritage”: A History of Heritage College and Seminary in Three Essays*. Cambridge, ON: Heritage Seminary Press, 2023.

In 1993, Central Baptist Seminary and London Baptist Bible College (LBBC) merged to form Heritage College and Seminary in Cambridge, Ontario. This book celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of this amalgamation. As noted by the subtitle, it explores the history of this institution in three separate essays: one devoted to Central, another to LBBC, and a third to the merger and first three decades of Heritage’s history. In each case, the authors helpfully outline the various theological streams that underpinned the identities of these institutions, such as the premillennial dispensationalism that was at the core of LBBC’s educational ethos. Through the course of these three essays, the authors weave together an accessible narrative that includes vignettes of several students and personnel. There are a couple of omissions (e.g., chapter three focuses almost exclusively on the seminary at the expense of the college), and the volume generally assumes that the reader is familiar with the Fellowship of Evangelical

## BOOK NOTES

Baptist Churches in Canada and the larger Canadian religious context; but nevertheless, this volume addresses a significant gap in the literature, namely on evangelical and fundamentalist education among Baptists in Ontario in the second half of the twentieth century.

*Taylor Murray, PhD*  
*Tyndale University*



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### **Canadian Baptist Symposium— Being Baptist: Past, Present, and Future**

What forces, ideas, and individuals have shaped Baptists across Canada in past centuries? What components make up Baptist identity in the twenty-first century? And what challenges and opportunities lie ahead for Canadian Baptists in the days to come?

The Canadian Baptist Symposium seeks to answer these and related questions through a one-day conference on Saturday, 26 April 2025. Sponsored by the Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies and the Canadian Baptist Historical Society, the symposium will feature on-site sessions at both McMaster Divinity College (MDC) and Acadia Divinity College (ADC), with additional participants joining remotely.

Plenary speakers include Dr. David Bebbington (at ADC) and Dr. Michael A. G. Haykin (at MDC). We look forward to exploring together what it means to be Baptist in Canada.

For more information, visit:  
[baptisthistory.ca](http://baptisthistory.ca) or [acadiadiv.ca/ACBAS](http://acadiadiv.ca/ACBAS).

## **CBHS Announcements**

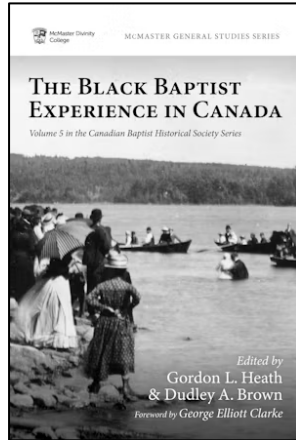
The Canadian Baptist Historical Society is pleased to announce the publication of *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada*, which is the fifth volume in the CBHS's ongoing book series. Edited by Gordon L. Heath and Dudley A. Brown, it is a history of the Black Baptists throughout Canada. From the cover:

This groundbreaking book is a history of the Black Baptist experience in Canada. It includes diverse and informative chapters on events, themes, and organizations, such as the Underground Railway, gender, architecture, literature, civil rights, empire, and associations.

It also focuses on several key early churches from the West Coast to the East Coast and important personages such as Washington Christian, Jennie Johnson, David George, William White, William Troy, and William M. Mitchell.

In addition to the editors, it includes contributions from George Elliott Clarke, Jennifer Cousineau, Hannah Lane, Késa Munroe-Anderson, Taylor Murray, Nina Reid-Maroney, Jennifer Riley, Glenn Tomlinson, and Paul R. Wilson. It is available for purchase at [wipfandstock.com](http://wipfandstock.com) or other online retailers.

**Annual General Meeting:** On 20 April 2024, the Canadian Baptist Historical Society met for its annual general meeting (AGM) at Heritage College and Seminary in Cambridge, Ontario. Those in attendance enjoyed paper presentations on a variety of topics. President Paul R. Wilson opened the AGM with prayer and words of welcome and gave his report. In his report, he talked about the newly revived *Bulletin of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society*, the Canadian Baptist Symposium, and the society's book series. In particular,



he highlighted the next volume in the series, *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada* (2025). Treasurer Doug Adams gave a report on the financial status of the society, and Secretary Gordon L. Heath gave the membership report.

As business came to a close, those who were in attendance were treated to four historical presentations. The first was Michael A. G. Haykin's "‘Revolutions of Empires’: Robert Robinson, Andrew Fuller, and the Politicization of the English Particular Baptists." Next was Peter Ludlow, who presented on "Baptist-Catholic Relations in Nova Scotia: The Experiences of David Graham ‘D. G.’ Whidden and his History of Antigonish." Francis Kyle presented the third paper, which was on "A. G. Wilcox (1845–1921) of Halifax County, North Carolina: Lessons for Today Drawn from Southern Baptist Rural Church Planting and Revitalization During the Post US Civil War Era." The final paper was from Seán McGuire, whose paper was titled, "‘Who Do We Follow when the Nations Rage?’: Exploring the Tension in Ontario Baptist Attitudes to Peace and War at the Dawn of World War Two." The next AGM is scheduled for 26 April 2025 at McMaster Divinity College and will coincide with the scheduled Canadian Baptist Symposium.



*Pictured: Michael A. G. Haykin presenting his paper at the CBHS's Annual General Meeting, 2024. Photograph by Taylor Murray.*

**Memberships:** Membership dues for the Society are as follows: Life Membership, \$500.00; Membership, \$30.00 annually; Student Membership, \$5.00 annually.

**Book Series:** The Canadian Baptist Historical Society published its latest volume, *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada* (edited by

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Gordon L. Heath and Dudley A. Brown), in 2025. To date, the CBHS Series has five volumes in print: *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, edited by Paul R. Wilson and Gordon L. Heath (2012); *Baptists and War*, edited by Gordon L. Heath (2015); *Canadian Baptist Women*, edited by Sharon Bowler (2016); *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism*, edited by Taylor Murray and Paul R. Wilson (2022); and *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada*, edited by Gordon L. Heath and Dudley A. Brown (2025). Several other volumes are in various stages of development.

## **Other Announcements**

**Julian Gwyn Essay Prize in Baptist and Anabaptist History and Thought:** The Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies invites submissions for the Julian Gwyn Prize, which is awarded for the best article-length essay (between 5,000 and 10,000 words) by a doctoral- or masters-level student, in French or English. The winner of the prize will receive \$500.00 CAD. For more information, visit: [acadiadiv.ca/acbas/essay-prize](http://acadiadiv.ca/acbas/essay-prize).

**Atlantic Baptist Built Heritage Project:** In partnership with the Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada, the Atlantic Baptist Built Heritage Project is a catalogue of historic Baptist church buildings from across New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador. It includes photographs, historical descriptions, and key information for hundreds of churches—some that are no longer standing, some that have been moved, and many that are still active today. Visit [atlanticbaptistheritage.ca](http://atlanticbaptistheritage.ca) to learn more.

**Called to Serve:** Hear the voices of dozens of ordained Baptist women through this new project from Melody Maxwell at Acadia Divinity College. Called to Serve preserves, shares, and analyzes the stories of women ordained to ministry by Baptist churches in Atlantic Canada between 1954 and 2024. To learn more, visit [calledtoserve.ca](http://calledtoserve.ca) or search for “Called to Serve” on Spotify or Apple Podcasts.

**Believers Church Conference:** The twentieth Believers Church Conference is scheduled to take place in Amsterdam from 1 to 4 June 2025. The theme is “Radical Renewal? Witnessing to a ‘New Heaven and a New Earth,’” and it is geared toward academics, pastors, and students alike. For additional details, consult the conference website: [believerschurchconference.com](http://believerschurchconference.com).

**New Director of the International Conference on Baptist Studies:** Congratulations to Melody Maxwell on being named the Committee Director for the International Conference on Baptist Studies

(ICOBBS). Maxwell succeeds David Bebbington, who has served in this capacity since the first ICOBS meeting in 1997.

**Canadian Baptist History at the International Conference on Baptist Studies in Cambridge:** The tenth meeting of the International Conference on Baptist Studies (ICOBBS) was held at Westminster College, Cambridge, UK, from 7 to 10 August 2024. The program included two sessions focused on Canada, totalling six papers.

They were: Dudley A. Brown, “William A. White, the Canadian Civil Rights Movement and Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century”; Gordon L. Heath, “Empire Day and Patriotic Education for Canadian Baptist Children, 1899–1957”; Melody Maxwell, “Called to Learn: Educational Experiences among Atlantic Baptist Women in Ministry”; Britanny Goetting, “The Debates over New England and Canadian Maritime Baptist Colleges, 1800–1850”; Chris Crocker, “Toronto Baptist Seminary and the Beginnings of Fundamentalist Baptist Education in Ontario”; and Carol Anne Janzen, “Mass Education in the Twentieth Century: All-Canada Baptist Publications from the 1940s to the 1980s.”

The next ICOBS meeting is scheduled for 4 to 7 August 2027 at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario, which will coincide with the one-hundredth anniversary of the significant denominational schism that divided Baptists in Ontario and Quebec during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy.

**William H. Brackney Memorial Booklet Series:** The Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies (ACBAS) announced recently that it has renamed its existing book series after the late William H.



*Pictured left to right: Baiyu Andrew Song, Gordon L. Heath, Carol Anne Janzen, Chris Crocker, Dudley A. Brown, and Melody Maxwell. Photograph courtesy of Melody Maxwell.*



Brackney, former director of ACBAS and well-known Baptist historian. ACBAS has published two booklets under this new name: *On a Foundation of Faith: William Andrew White, Jr., and Black Uplift in Nova Scotia* (2024), written by Dudley A. Brown; and *Baptist-Catholic Relations in Nova Scotia: The Ecumenism of David Graham "D. G." Whidden and his 1935 History of the Town of Antigonish* (2025) written by Peter Ludlow. Other booklets are in various stages of development.

**Women's Contributions to Baptist History:** Melody Maxwell, Associate Professor of Christian History at Acadia Divinity College and Associate Editor of the *Bulletin*, was recently the guest editor of a special edition of the academic journal, *Religions*, which examined the theme "Reclaiming Voices: Women's Contributions to Baptist History." Included among the essays were several Canadian contributions, including Gordon L. Heath, "Rev. Dr. Muriel M. Spurgeon Carder (1922–2023): A Canadian Baptist Renaissance Woman" and Taylor Murray, "'She Is the Seminary': The Life and Ministry of Dr. Olive L. Clark (1894–1989), Canadian Fundamentalist Educator." These articles (and others) are available in open access online at [mdpi.com/journal/religions](https://mdpi.com/journal/religions).

**American Baptist Historical Society and Foundations:** The CBHS's sister organization, the American Baptist Historical Society (ABHS), has recently changed the name of its academic journal from *American Baptist Quarterly* to *Foundations*. Those familiar with Baptist publications since the mid-twentieth century will note that the "new" name is actually a return to the journal's earlier title. The editorial committee of the *Bulletin* extends its sincerest well wishes to the ABHS and looks forward to seeing future editions of this important Baptist periodical in print.

**Toronto Baptist Seminary and The Gospel Witness:** The century-old publication, *The Gospel Witness*, recently relaunched as an academic journal published by the Toronto Baptist Seminary. Its stated goal is "to offer 'scholarship for the Church' that is trustworthy and edifying." Founded in 1922 by the fundamentalist pastor, T. T. Shields, *The Gospel Witness* was previously a newspaper published by

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto. As with its earlier iteration, it operates from the Reformed Baptist perspective. For more information, visit: <https://tbs.edu/the-gospel-witness/>.

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We were saddened to learn of the recent and sudden passing of Dr. Francis Kyle III. Although from the United States, Francis had connections to Canada and graduated from Prairie College ('96) and Toronto Baptist Seminary ('99, '05). Francis had recently become involved in the activities of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society. He presented a paper at the 2024 annual general meeting and had planned to present at the upcoming Canadian Baptist Symposium. Our deepest condolences to his family.



*Pictured: Kyle Francis presenting his paper at the CBHS's Annual General Meeting, 2024. Picture by Taylor Murray.*

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\*\* If you have an announcement that would be of interest to the broader CBHS community, please submit it to the Managing Editor ([tmurray@tyndale.ca](mailto:tmurray@tyndale.ca)).



## RECENT WORKS

\*\* If you have a book or dissertation/thesis to submit to this list, email its title and bibliographical information to the editor.

Studies marked (\*) indicate those works that prominently feature Canadian Baptist subjects.

Brown, Dudley A. *On a Foundation of Faith: William Andrew White, Jr., and Black Uplift in Nova Scotia*. William H. Brackney Memorial Series 4. Wolfville, NS: Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies, 2024.\*

———. “William Andrew White Jr.: Portrait of an African Canadian Pastor, Chaplain, and Activist.” PhD diss., McMaster Divinity College, 2023.\*

Heath, Gordon L. and Dudley A. Brown, eds. *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada*. Canadian Baptist Historical Society Series 5. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2025.\*

Harris, Paul L., et al., eds. *Keeping the Faith: Essays in Memory of Roger H. Prentice*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2023.\*

Haykin, Michael A. G. “Jesus, Wondrous Savior”: *The Roots and Legacy of Some Ontario Baptists, 1810s–1920s*. Ancaster, ON: ALEV, 2023.\*

Haykin, Michael A. G., et al, eds. *A Glorious Fellowship of Churches: The History of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada, 1953–2023*. 2nd ed. Guelph, ON: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Canada, 2023.\*

- Haykin, Michael A. G., and Jonathan Cleland. *"A Priceless Heritage": A History of Heritage College and Seminary in Three Essays*. Cambridge, ON: Heritage Seminary Press, 2023.\*
- , eds. *The Collected Writings of Stanley K. Fowler, Volume 1: Soteriology, Moral Theology, and Contemporary Issues*. Cambridge, ON: Heritage Seminary Press, 2025.\*
- , eds. *The Collected Writings of Stanley K. Fowler, Volume 2: Ecclesiology, Sacramentalism, and Eschatology*. Cambridge, ON: Heritage Seminary Press, 2025.\*
- Hutton, Kallie Malena. "Participating in Kingdom *Shalom*: Rediscovering the Practice of Integral Discipleship Among Bolivian Baptists." MA Thesis, Acadia Divinity College, 2023.
- Jeffrey, David Lyle. *We Were a Peculiar People Once: Confessions of an Old-Time Baptist*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2023.\*
- Ludlow, Peter. *Baptist-Catholic Relations in Nova Scotia: The Ecumenism of David Graham "D. G." Whidden and his 1935 History of the Town of Antigonish*. William H. Brackney Memorial Booklet Series 5. Wolfville, NS: Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies, 2025.\*
- Maxwell, Melody and T. Laine Scales, eds. *Baptists and Gender: Papers for the Ninth International Conference in Baptist Studies*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2023.\*
- McGuire, Seán. "Transformative Reading: An Evangelical Modern Approach to Understanding Biblical Interpretive Practice." DPT Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 2023.
- McKim, Mark G. *The Secularization of Baptism: How Baptists Took God out of Baptism, and How to Fix the Problem*. McMaster Theological Studies Series 9. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2025.\*

Murray, Taylor. “A Call to [Fundamentalist] Baptist Women’: Caroline Holman and the Women’s Missionary Society of the Regular Baptists of Canada, 1926–1933.” PhD diss., McMaster Divinity College, 2023.\*

Prentice, Roger, ed. *Baptists in Early North America, Volume XI: Wolfville, Nova Scotia*. Baptists in Early North America 11. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2024.\*

Seki, Yuta. “Long May Thy Servant Feed Thy Sheep’: Pastoral Ministry in the Life and Thought of Benjamin Beddome.” DEdMin Thesis, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2025.

Wilson, Paul R. *Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and the Secularization of the Businessman at Toronto’s Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848–1921*. Monographs in Baptist History 30. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2025.\*

Worden, Paul D. “Atlantic Canadian Baptists: An Ecclesiology for Christian Mission in the Twenty-First Century.” DMin Thesis, Carey Theological College, 2023.\*

For information on older studies and publications on Baptists in Canada, see:

Griffin-Allwood, Philip G. A., et al. *Baptists in Canada, 1760–1990: A Bibliography of Selected Printed Resources in English*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot, 1989; and Murray, Taylor. “Against ‘Historical Amnesia’: A Bibliography of Baptists in Canada, 1990–2017.” *Journal of Baptist Studies* 9 (2018) 77–113.



## RECOMMENDED RESOURCES

The following resources provide a good starting point for anyone wishing to study Baptists in Canada. The volumes in each series are listed in chronological order.

### Canadian Baptist Historical Society Series

1. Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson, eds. *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012.
2. Gordon L. Heath and Michael A. G. Haykin, eds. *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s–1990s*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015.
3. Sharon M. Bowler, ed. *Canadian Baptist Women*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016.
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## Index of Names

- Addicott, Len, 9  
Amey, Basil, 13  
Appleby, John, 18  
Armstrong-Whitehouse, Ida,  
    42  
  
Balmer, Robert, 18  
Bebbington, David, 14  
Belcher, Joseph, 17  
Bellenger, Dominc Aidan, 10  
Bentall, Shirley, 28,  
Bland, Michele, 42  
Brackney, William H., 10  
Bradley, James E., 8  
Brewster, Paul, 13  
Burke, Edmund, 14–15  
Burpee, Laleah, 28  
Burpee, Richard, 28  
Byrne, James M., 12  
  
Cameron, Helen, 39  
Champion, L. G., 9  
Clarke, Brian, 32  
  
Daniel, Orville E., 28  
Day, Jane, 39  
Donovan, Heather, 43  
Draper, Nancy, 45  
Dyer, George, 9  
  
Edwards, Jonathan, 14  
Elwyn, Thornton, 11  
  
Feary, Coxe, 17  
Fountain, John, 13  
Fuller, Andrew, 7–19  
  
Friesen, Leanne, 39  
  
Grace, David B., 32–33  
  
Hall, Robert, 10, 11, 12  
Hancock, Joyce, 46  
Heath, Gordon L., 26  
Hedger, Violet, 38  
Hole, Robert, 10,  
Hughes, Graham W., 9  
  
Jamer, Marion, 41  
Jewson, C. B., 10  
  
Kingham, David, 10  
Kingham, Joseph, 10, 12  
Knowles, James Davis, 13  
Korinek, Valerie J., 39  
Kwan, Rachel, 44, 45  
  
Legassie, Elizabeth, 42  
Laws, Gilbert, 13  
Lincoln, Anthony, 8  
Luther, Martin, 5  
  
Macdonald, Stuart, 32  
MacDormand, Christine, 45  
MacVicar, Renée, 43, 46  
MacDougall, Margo, 43, 45,  
    46  
Maxwell, Melody, 39, 40,  
    42, 44, 46  
McCoombs, Robin, 43, 47  
McCormick, Margo, 47  
Morden, Peter J., 13  
Muir, Elizabeth G., 39

## INDEX OF NAMES

Murray, Taylor, 39

Nason-Clark, Nancy, 42

Noll, Mark A., 11

Olive, Dean, 10

Owens, John, 14

Owens, Trevor, 34

Palmater, Sarah, 42

Padilla, Thomas, 34

Paine, Thomas, 15

Perrin, Linda, 46

Phillips, David, 13

Quinn, Marlene, 44

Reed, Joseph, 9

Renfree, Harry, 26

Robinson, O. C., 8, 15

Robinson, Robert, 7–19

Rutz, Michael, 7

Ryland, John, 8

Sanders, Ella, 39

Schama, Simon, 11

Seed, John, 15

Smith, Carol, 42

Smith, Karen, 9

Spurgeon, Charles H., 13

Steadman, William, 13

Steinacher, C. Mark, 5, 25

Sutherland, Sandra, 41

Szekely, Ivan, 35

Tyrrell, Ian R., 34

Varner, Jennifer, 42

Washington, George, 9

Whitefield, George, 9

Whiteley, Marilyn F., 39

Wilks, Mark, 10

Wilson, Paul R., 5, 24

Zikmund, Barbara Brown,  
45

Townsend, Pat, 39

Turner, Daniel, 9



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