

The Holiness Movement in the Canadian Maritime Region, 1880-1920

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Abstract

This thesis examines five religious organisations which existed in the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, collectively known as the Maritime Region, between 1880 and 1920. Each of these denominations emphasised holiness theology, albeit in varying degrees. They include, in order of their establishment in the region, the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

This study assesses these religious bodies in a number of ways. First, it examines their theological beliefs, comparing them with one another and tracing any changes which occurred in them between 1880 and 1920. Second, it considers the various associations which each of these denominations developed with the late nineteenth-century American holiness movement. The enquiry devotes particular attention to the response of each religious body to a spiritual encounter, known as ‘entire instantaneous sanctification’, popularised especially during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the holiness movement in parts of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. Third, a review of the unique strengths and weaknesses of each of the five institutions offers an explanation for the numerical and financial growth of several of these groups early in the twentieth century, as well as the degeneration of others. Fourth, the study discloses much of the opposition which was directed towards Maritime holiness movement sympathisers, offering a number of explanations why some of these individuals left their traditional religious affiliations to join holiness bodies which they perceived to be true advocates of scriptural holiness. Fifth, it appraises the strong leadership which a number of individuals offered to the holiness cause in the Maritime region, taking into account the education, religious training, financial status, gender and

ancestral origin of these men and women. Finally, a thorough statistical analysis of each constituency highlights the unique composition of each denomination's membership.

Taken together, these features inform the primary argument of the thesis, which is that significant transformations occurred in some of these religious bodies at the same time as large percentages of constituents became wealthier and more socially acceptable. These changes eventually facilitated the merger of the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the two oldest denominations, with national mainline religious bodies. This thesis contends that such unions may not have occurred had these groups not attained public recognition. Furthermore, in realising these achievements both of these denominations relinquished the more radical elements of their heritage, as well as much of the spiritual passion linked with it.

I, Garth Melvin MacKay, declare that this thesis has been completed by me and that the work which it embodies is my creation and has not been included in another thesis.

Garth M. MacKay, 1 December 2014

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BC</i>	<i>Beulah Christian</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Beulah News</i>
<i>CG</i>	<i>Christian Guardian</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Charlottetown Patriot</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Christian Herald</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Christian Witness</i>
<i>DS</i>	<i>Daily Sun</i>
<i>FDG</i>	<i>Fredericton Daily Gleaner</i>
<i>FEC</i>	<i>Fredericton Evening Capital</i>
<i>GUA</i>	<i>Guardian</i>
<i>GH</i>	<i>Guide to Holiness</i>
<i>HMH</i>	<i>Halifax Morning Herald</i>
<i>HH</i>	<i>Herald of Holiness</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>Herald of Truth</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Island Farmer</i>
<i>KC</i>	<i>Kentville Chronicle</i>
<i>KH</i>	<i>King's Highway</i>
<i>MV</i>	<i>Messenger and Visitor</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Morning Star</i>
<i>NBRFA</i>	<i>New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser</i>
<i>PW</i>	<i>Provincial Wesleyan</i>
<i>RI</i>	<i>Religious Intelligencer</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Sackville Tribune</i>
<i>SCC</i>	<i>Saint Croix Courier</i>
<i>SJEG</i>	<i>Saint John Evening Gazette</i>

<i>SJS</i>	<i>Saint John Sun</i>
<i>WA</i>	<i>Western Advocate</i>
<i>WC</i>	<i>War Cry</i>
<i>WES</i>	<i>Wesleyan</i>
<i>WD</i>	<i>Woodstock Dispatch</i>
<i>WR</i>	<i>Woodstock Record</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, commonly referred to as the Maritime region, are situated on the eastern side of Canada. This area is bordered on the south by the American state of Maine, while its western edge adjoins the French-Canadian province of Quebec. The largest of the three provinces is New Brunswick, an angular-shaped expanse, extending a distance of 329 kilometres from north to south and 240 kilometres from east to west. Altogether it encompasses a total area of 73,000 square kilometres and in 1901 its population totalled 342,169.¹ Nova Scotia, the second largest Maritime province, comprises an area of 55,000 square kilometres and had a population of 474,385 inhabitants at the beginning of the twentieth century.² Aside from the Isthmus of Chignecto, a tiny strip of land connecting Nova Scotia to New Brunswick, the province would be an island. Its coastline, which also includes Cape Breton Island, is considerable, exceeding 74,000 kilometres in length. The smallest of the three provinces is Prince Edward Island, a landmass covering less than 4,000 square kilometres. By the beginning of the twentieth century its population was 108,659.³ This crescent-shaped atoll is situated in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and is separated by the Northumberland Strait from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by 16 kilometres at the closest point. Despite the fact that the Maritime region was the first part of Canada to be colonised, between 1880 and 1920 the region's economy and social status lagged behind most other Canadian provinces, primarily due to its industrial

¹ 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

limitations.⁴

Even though the region's history has sometimes appeared insignificant in comparison with that of other larger and more prosperous provinces, in many ways its development influenced the shaping of the nation of Canada. The Maritimes were first settled by the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet First Nation groups, both of whom arrived there approximately ten thousand years ago. In 1605, French fishermen organised the first permanent settlement in the region. British interest in the



Figure 1:1 The Maritime Region, 1880

⁴ Phillip A. Buckner and Reid, John G., eds., *Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 190-91.

territory quickly led to disputes between the two nations for control of the lucrative fishery. During the seventeenth century the two nations were often at war with one another.⁵ In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht gave Great Britain sovereignty over most of the region, although the French temporarily retained control over Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island.⁶ When the French in the region refused to swear allegiance to Great Britain in the 1750s, many of them were expelled by the British.⁷ Subsequent efforts by the government to encourage English-speaking settlement by immigrants from Britain and her other colonies were successful. By 1763, eight thousand ‘New England Planters’ led the first English-speaking wave of Maritime immigration,⁸ and large numbers of British and Irish settlers followed during the next decade. Subsequent to America’s independence from Great Britain in 1783, thirty-five thousand ‘loyalists’ migrated north to the Maritime region, establishing several new towns in all three of the present-day provinces. In the following century, large numbers of English, Irish and Scottish settlers immigrated to Canada, many of whom settled in the Maritime Region. This resulted in a dramatic population increase between 1815, when there were approximately two hundred thousand inhabitants, and by 1871, when the population had soared to more than nine hundred thousand.⁹ Generally speaking, colonisation patterns in all three provinces mirrored one another.

The Maritime Region and Canada

The British North America Act of 1867 united the British colonial territories of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into a single nation, known as Canada. While this enactment established a federal government in Ottawa, Ontario, to administer national

⁵ Ibid., 56.

⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁷ Ibid., 142-50.

⁸ R. S. Longley, ‘The Coming of the New England Planters to the Annapolis Valley’, in Margaret Conrad, ed., *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1988), 14-16.

⁹ Margaret R. Conrad and James K. Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A History* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 134.

affairs, it also empowered each of the four provinces to manage their own regional legal, health and political concerns. Such a national-provincial structure caused a myriad of problems in the 1860s and 1870s, some of which continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and well into the following one. Maritimers frequently exhibited frustration as they attempted to establish their place within a federal state dominated by the larger provinces of Ontario and Quebec.¹⁰ Maritimers struggled to adjust to the changes involved with nation building yet they gradually came to terms with being Canadian. Many of them maintained regional associations with the British Empire, a development which some historians have pointed out helped to stabilise growing economic and cultural forces emanating from the United States.¹¹

During the final quarter of the nineteenth century the Maritime region suffered from sluggish economic growth in the resource-based industries of agriculture, fishing and lumbering, trades which rural Maritimers had traditionally combined into seasonal cycles of job-shifting and varied employment. In the 1880s, lumber processing employed the largest percentage of the work force even though the profits made in this industry fluctuated greatly. Between 1880 and 1890, for example, forestry output rose marginally from \$16.2 to \$17.2 million. Fishing, on the other hand, increased by \$5 million to total \$20.3 million; agriculture showed the greatest increase, expanding from \$40.2 to \$58.8 million.¹² Pockets of growth in the farming sector appeared during the first decade of the twentieth century, including the apple industry in the Annapolis Valley region of Nova Scotia, and potato farming in the districts of Carleton, County, New Brunswick. In 1901, however, Prince Edward Island was the only Maritime province to experience an increase in

¹⁰ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 145.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹² E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 134.

agricultural investments when compared with the previous year.¹³ Cotton textile manufacturing was introduced in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, although this industry was financed primarily by New England manufacturers and banks, and workers had to be imported until locals could be trained. All in all, pockets of the region enjoyed financial growth while large numbers of Maritimers remained economically disadvantaged.

One of the most important changes in the region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the revolution which occurred in transportation. By 1880, all three Maritime provinces were connected to central Canada by the Intercolonial Railway, a development which removed longstanding barriers to trade. As a result, Maritime manufacturers were able to compete directly for the first time with central Canadian interests. Accordingly, Maritime trading patterns shifted considerably from mainly merchandising with New England and Great Britain to being focused on commerce with the Canadian interior. The Intercolonial Railway accelerated economic growth in a number of strategically located Maritime communities. Towns, such as Moncton, New Brunswick, and Truro, Windsor and Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, which produced textiles, foundry goods, furniture and processed foods, found markets for these products near and far. As a result their populations increased between fifty and seventy-five per cent between 1880 and 1890.¹⁴ On the surface, it appeared that the region was making a successful transition to an industrialised economy.

Simultaneous with the construction of railways in the region was the end of the age of wooden sailing ships which were replaced by faster vessels constructed of iron and steel and powered by steam energy.¹⁵ The Maritime region had long been a centre for shipbuilding, an

¹³ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁵ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 145-6.

industry which was devastated by these changes. Furthermore, the new, larger ships were less likely to call on the smaller population centres such as Saint John and Halifax, preferring to travel to large metropolitan areas, including Montreal and New York. Generally speaking, during these years many Maritimers experienced difficult transitions from traditional staple exports of fishing, ship building and lumbering, to a more diversified economy characterised by industrialisation and continental integration.

It should be noted that during the 1870s the region experienced an overall increase in per capita wealth holding. Most of these gains, however, extended to an urban elite class, especially businessmen and financiers living in Halifax. The wealth held by the top ten per cent rose considerably over the two decades, but there was little improvement in the wealth levels in rural areas, which comprised the great majority of the population.¹⁶ While merchants, bankers, colliery owners, ship owners, shipbuilders and master mariners flourished, the majority of families were headed by farmers, fishermen, craftsmen and laborers, many of them enduring a life in poverty.

Beginning in the early twentieth century the coal industry began to develop in parts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.¹⁷ This became a key component in easing Maritime elites to enter the Industrial Revolution. Maritimers had been slow to embrace the new industrialism and had valid reasons for such a view. Whereas previously all three provinces shared trade with Great Britain and the United States, this new industrialism favoured the growing towns and cities and left individual farms and businesses isolated and struggling to survive. Despite the rise of coal production, manufacturing output was small in comparison with the pace of manufacturing in Ontario and Quebec. And yet, between 1890 and 1910, the value of manufactured goods almost

¹⁶ Julian Gwyn and Fazley Siddiq, 'Wealth Distribution in Nova Scotia during the Confederation Era, 1851 and 1871', *Canadian Historical Review*, Dec 1992, Vol. 73, Issue 4, 435-52.

¹⁷ Harry Bruce, *An Illustrated History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, NS: Transcontinental Printing, 1997), 216.

doubled, totalling just fewer than one hundred million dollars in 1910.¹⁸ The opening of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company in 1900 contributed significantly to this expansion. Furthermore, it improved the social conditions of many Maritimers living in urban areas. Increased prosperity, for example, facilitated the introduction of electric lights, street cars and fire hydrants to numerous towns and cities in all three provinces.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century a marked shift occurred in regional demographics as large numbers of rural dwellers moved to urban centres. For example, although in the 1860s only ten per cent of Maritimers lived in urban communities with a population of one thousand or greater, by 1890 that proportion had increased to twenty-five per cent.¹⁹ And while the number of citizens living in the countryside in New Brunswick fell by 1,500 the population of that province's cities increased by more than 22,000. Correspondingly, Nova Scotia lost almost twenty-five thousand rural dwellers during the final decade of the nineteenth century while its cities gained more than double that amount.²⁰ Prince Edward Island was the only province in the region to report no increase in the population of its one small city; nevertheless the island lost almost ten thousand rural dwellers in that ten-year period. During the first decade of the twentieth century, rural populations continued to decline. Prince Edward Island's population dropped by almost ten thousand between 1901 and 1911, and although population in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia increased by approximately seven per cent, the majority of rural areas reported declines.²¹ By 1891, the Maritime cities of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Saint John, New Brunswick, ranked as the sixth- and seventh-largest cities in the nation at that time, each accommodating one-

¹⁸ Quoted in David G. Alexander, 'Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880-1940', in David G. Alexander, *Atlantic Canada and Confederation, Essays in Canadian Political Economy* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 58-9.

¹⁹ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 139.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 175

²¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

fifth of their respective province's inhabitants.²² Population increases in these centres were accompanied by a number of social problems around alcohol, prostitution, immigration and tenement housing issues.

Despite the increases in urban population growth large numbers of Maritimers left the region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²³ Between 1881 and 1891 in New Brunswick alone, 44,000 people emigrated to the United States, primarily New England.²⁴ As early as the 1860s, the region began to suffer net migration loss, reaching a climax in the 1880s yet continuing at a significant rate until the 1930s. Between 1871 and 1881 the population grew by 13.5 per cent; thereafter growth dropped to 1.2 per cent between 1881 and 1891 and to 1.5 per cent between 1891 and 1901. After 1891, the population of Prince Edward Island began to decline in absolute terms. In all, approximately 250,000 people left the Maritime region between 1871 and 1901.²⁵ Overall, between 1880 and 1920 many Maritimers experienced significant increases in wealth, improvements in social conditions and a higher social standing. Most of these advancements, however, were concentrated in small percentages of the population while many Maritimers struggled daily to eke out an existence for their families.

Two great challenges faced the region between 1880 and 1920. The first began in the summer of 1914 when a European crisis developed into a war between Germany and Austria-Hungary on one side, and the so-called 'entente powers' of Great Britain.²⁶ As a member of the British Empire, Canada was automatically involved. Most Maritimers remained imperial enthusiasts and responded willingly, albeit apprehensively, to support their allies. Militia

²² Ibid., 148.

²³ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 153.

²⁴ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 97.

²⁵ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 153.

²⁶ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 203.

regiments were called out in the region and headquarters staff in Halifax, Nova Scotia, began a recruitment campaign to provide overseas drafts.²⁷ The war effort in the region involved teachers and ministers and the press and soon became an all-consuming effort. Already overwhelmed by war, the citizens of Halifax were further stunned on 6 December 1917 when a French munitions ship, loaded with TNT, collided with a Belgian relief ship in the city's harbour. The resulting explosion, the largest manufactured blast before Hiroshima, levelled large sections of the city. The Halifax explosion killed nearly two thousand people, injured another nine thousand and left twenty-two thousand individuals with inadequate food and shelter.²⁸ These two severe complications destroyed a confidence and optimism which had prevailed in the early years of the twentieth century. Unless the Maritime region was able to sustain economic growth and stem the tide of out-migration, the prospects for its future would remain bleak.

Christianity in the Maritime Region

Considerable religious diversity has existed in the Maritime region for centuries. Christianity was first established in there early in the seventeenth century by Roman Catholic clergy, soon after the French established settlements in present-day New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.²⁹ The Church of England followed suit in 1713, after the French relinquished control of the region to the British,³⁰ although it did not officially become the established church until seventy-four years later.³¹ The Anglican Church, for example, was strong in the cities and very powerful among the cultivated and politically influential classes, yet never held the support of more than a minority of the freeholders and artisan and labouring classes of the rural areas.³²

²⁷ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 175.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁹ Buckner and Reid, *Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 55.

³⁰ Michael F. Hennessey, *The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, 1720-1979* (Charlottetown, PE: Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation, 1979), 2-4.

³¹ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 98.

³² T. W. Acheson, 'The Problem of Methodist Identity', Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds. *The*

Beginning in 1763, large numbers of New England migrants arrived in Nova Scotia, the majority of whom were Congregationalists, along with smaller numbers of Baptists. Many of those from both persuasions had been influenced by a major religious revival which had occurred in the United States, known as the 'Great Awakening'.³³ This spiritual resurgence was advanced in the Maritime region primarily by Henry Alline, a New England migrant and a persuasive, enigmatic travelling preacher who, as will later be demonstrated, exerted an enduring influence in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Early in the nineteenth century, bands of Scottish Baptist immigrants settled in all three provinces,³⁴ forming the first Maritime Baptist Association in Nova Scotia in 1800.³⁵ A number of Baptists refused to join the association, however, because they could not endorse its Calvinistic doctrines.³⁶ As a result, Maritime Baptists were further categorised as either Regular Baptists, a denomination which emphasised God's sovereign control over salvation, or Free Baptists, a group which insisted that all individuals possessed the ability to accept or reject divine grace. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the Anglicans lost ground to the Baptists in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Baptists formed the largest protestant denomination in New Brunswick, comprising twenty per cent of the population by 1860.³⁷ This Protestant body was followed in size by the Methodist Church, which had succeeded in the first half of the century in building up a following of converts from professional classes taken largely from the ranks of evangelical Anglicans. Methodism entered the region as early as 1772 when approximately one thousand British immigrants settled around the Isthmus of Chignecto. Although most of these new

Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 113.

³³ See Gordon T. Stewart, ed., *The Publications of the Champlain Society: Documents Relating to the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1760-1791* (Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1982).

³⁴ Buckner and Reid, *Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 254.

³⁵ Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902), 122.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁷ T. W. Acheson, 'The Problem of Methodist Identity', 113.

settlers belonged to the Church of England, many of them had also been faithful to Methodist societies.³⁸ Presbyterians came into their own with the large Scottish immigration to the region during the early nineteenth century. They settled particularly on the north shore of Nova Scotia, and much of Prince Edward Island.

Presbyterianism was established in the Maritime region between 1783 and 1803, with the additional arrival of nearly 17,000 Highland Scots, the majority of whom settled on the north shore of mainland Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island. Many of the Highland Scots were Gaelic-speaking Roman Catholics but large numbers of them were English-speaking Presbyterians.³⁹ All told, during the nineteenth century the principal religious bodies in the Maritime region were Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics.

Table 1:1 Population of Largest Maritime Denominations, 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911⁴⁰

Denomination	1881	1891	1901	1911
Anglicans	114,233	114,151	114,088	123,118
Regular Baptists	171,089	169,036	170,020	171,322
Methodists	98,810	103,295	106,855	104,373
Presbyterians	189,211	182,663	176,627	176,276
Roman Catholics	273,693	286,250	301,072	331,874

As Table 1:1 demonstrates, several of the mainline denominations failed to achieve significant growth between 1881 and 1911. Except for the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, the remaining religious bodies began a downward spiral, a pattern which continued into the twentieth century. Most Maritime historians agree that during the nineteenth century the Church of England, which exercised substantial influence over governmental affairs

³⁸ John Webster Grant, 'Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada', in Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 37-8.

³⁹ Conrad and Hiller, *Atlantic Canada*, 98-9.

⁴⁰ Sources: 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca. Canadians declared their religious allegiance in these census returns.

despite the size of its constituency in relation to other denominations, declined in power and influence significantly by the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴¹ Regular Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian congregations also dwindled in size during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Part of this decline may be accounted for by the mass emigration of Maritimers to the New England states where thousands of men and women found employment in industrial towns and cities.⁴² Despite these developments, such marked declines suggest that younger Maritimers were less interested in religious affiliation than their forebears had been. Of all the large religious bodies in the region, only the Roman Catholic Church continued to increase in membership. Clearly, traditional Protestantism was, to one extent or other, in jeopardy.

Holiness Movement

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a religious movement which emphasised personal holiness gained popularity in the United States. Although the movement was difficult to define precisely, its followers commonly considered themselves as the guardians of scriptural holiness, a doctrine espoused by John Wesley, the eighteenth-century founder of Methodism. Followers of the holiness movement maintained a belief in regeneration with the assurance of salvation through the witness of the Holy Spirit. They also emphasised 'entire sanctification,' a spiritual experience believed to destroy an individual's sinful nature. The movement originated in the United States but quickly gained momentum amidst revivals in Great Britain and through camp meetings in Canada. Subsequently, a number of publishing companies emerged, producing a myriad of holiness writings by various American and British writers. Beginning in the 1880s and continuing into the early twentieth century, large numbers of American Methodists sympathetic to

⁴¹ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 17.

⁴² Patricia A. Thornton, 'The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look', *Acadiensis* 15:1, Autumn 1985, 3-34.

the movement left their churches and established new ones. One indication of the degree of intensity over the ensuing theological storm was the fact that between 1893 and 1900 twenty-three different holiness denominations were established in the United States.⁴³ It has been estimated by some historians that, had all of these new groups combined to form a single denomination, it might have claimed one million members by the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ This American movement became so influential during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that it also appealed to large numbers of Maritime Methodists and Baptists.

Despite the fact that the holiness movement became a powerful force in the Maritime region, historians have largely ignored it, concentrating instead on political, military and economic developments.⁴⁵ Those who did write religious history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focused chiefly on Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. They published a series of denominational histories in accounts which made limited use of primary sources of data.⁴⁶ These ‘surveys’ communicated religious developments in extremely general discussions, virtually ignoring the theological and social contexts in which they occurred. Fortunately, by the mid-twentieth century, the standard of religious historiography was elevated considerably by Maurice Armstrong, Samuel D. Clark and Goldwin French,⁴⁷ all of

⁴³ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1971), 52.

⁴⁴ Gene Van Note, *The People Called Nazarenes: Who We Are and What We Believe* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1983), 41.

⁴⁵ Terrence Murphy, ‘The Religious History of Atlantic Canada: The State of the Art’, in *Acadiensis*, 1985, 152.

⁴⁶ T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda*, Vol. II. (Halifax, NS: Methodist Book Room, 1877); John Langtry, *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland* (New York, NY: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892); William Gregg, *Short History of The Presbyterian Church In The Dominion Of Canada: From The Earliest To The Present Time* (Toronto, ON: C. Blackett Robinson, 1892); E. M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, Granville Street, 1902).

⁴⁷ Maurice Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, 1776-1809* (Hartford, CT: American Society of Church History, 1948); S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1948); Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics* (Toronto, ON: Ryerson Press, 1962).

whose writings exhibited thorough research and critical methodology.⁴⁸ In the 1970s, the milieu was further strengthened by the scholarly research of J. M. Bumstead on Henry Alline,⁴⁹ along with Judith Fingard's study of late eighteenth-century Anglicans in Nova Scotia.⁵⁰ Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk's critical analysis of Anglican, Baptist and Presbyterian American Loyalists in Nova Scotia, additionally contributed to the field.⁵¹ For the first time, historiography connected the religious experiences of Maritime immigrants with the shaping of the region's development.⁵²

Rawlyk alone, however, considered the impact of social upheaval and secularisation upon religious passion.⁵³ He highlighted the theological influences of Henry Alline in Methodist, Free Christian Baptist⁵⁴ and Reformed Baptist history.⁵⁵ Rawlyk concluded that the first two of these religious bodies, in a quest for an eventual attainment of social acceptance, cut the Allinite legacy from their tradition. Although this suggestion has received negligible attention from subsequent historians it has invigorated the development of this present research. Besides tracing the growth and development of the Maritime holiness movement, the following pages assess its relationship to five Maritime denominations between 1880 and 1920. They include the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, all of which supported the holiness cause in varying

⁴⁸ Murphy, 'Religious History of Atlantic Canada', 152.

⁴⁹ J. M. Bumstead, *Henry Alline* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁵⁰ Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816* (London, UK: SPCK, 1972).

⁵¹ Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, *A People Highly Favoured of God: the Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution*, 1972.

⁵² Murphy, 'Religious History of Atlantic Canada', 152-3.

⁵³ George A. Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North American, 1775-1812* (Kingston, ON: McGill- Queen's University Press, 1994); George A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals. Baptists and Henry Alline* (Kingston, ON: McGill- Queen's University Press, 1983); 'The Holiness Movement and Canadian Maritime Baptists' in George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1993.

⁵⁴ George Rawlyk, 'Black, Alline, and Nova Scotia's First Great Awakening', in Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 83.

⁵⁵ See George A. Rawlyk, 'The Holiness Movement and Canadian Maritime Baptists', in Rawlyk and Noll, *Amazing Grace*, 293-316.

degrees. The history of the Maritime holiness movement cannot be properly interpreted outside the context of these denominational narratives, nor can the history of each religious body ignore the large numbers of their members who were once strong holiness advocates.

Methodists

Methodism was first introduced to the Maritime region by Yorkshire settlers who immigrated in 1772.⁵⁶ It began precariously in the Isthmus of Chignecto, after Yorkshire Methodists interacted with a group of American migrants, known as 'New Lights', a company which was under the influence of Henry Alline.⁵⁷ According to John Payzant, one of Alline's converts, this group was so similar to the Methodist immigrants that they immediately coalesced into a single religious body.⁵⁸ Freeborn Garretson, a powerful American Methodist preacher, rejected the Allinite society, however, soon after beginning his Maritime ministry in 1785. Believing that many in this group were fanatical in their worship, as well as biblically illiterate, Garretson called the New Lights 'as deluded a people as I ever saw'.⁵⁹ As a result, Maritime Methodists separated from the Allinite society under Garretson's leadership, establishing a distinct denomination.⁶⁰ This religious body struggled for survival under the leadership of William Black, a young Yorkshire immigrant⁶¹ whom John Wesley appointed as superintendent of the Maritime

⁵⁶ Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 30.

⁵⁷ James D. Dixon, *History of Charles Dixon, One of the Early English Settlers, Sackville, N.B.* (Rockford, IL: Forest City Publishing, 1891), 1-13.

⁵⁸ B. C. Cuthbertson, ed., *Journal of John Payzant* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1981), 28.

⁵⁹ Garretson to Coke, February 1785, quoted in Nathan Bangs, *Life of the Rev Freeborn Garretson* (New York, NY: Conference Office, 1832), 92.

⁶⁰ George Rawlyk, 'Black, Alline, and Nova Scotia's First Great Awakening,' in Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 83.

⁶¹ John Lathern, 'Historical Sketch of Methodism in the Eastern Provinces,' *Centennial of Canadian Methodism* (Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1891), 5, 13, 28.

Region.⁶² Under his leadership, Methodists constructed the first British North American Methodist church building in 1788.⁶³ By 1800, three hundred and fifty Maritimers identified themselves as Methodists,⁶⁴ an undeniably small body considering that the region's population exceeded one hundred thousand.⁶⁵

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Methodism expanded slowly through familial growth and evangelism. In 1831, the Maritime region was divided into the Nova Scotia District and the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island District⁶⁶ and, when Nova Scotia's membership reached 2,270 in 1852,⁶⁷ it was divided into eastern and western sections.⁶⁸ New Brunswick membership also continued to increase steadily until by mid-century it included 24 circuits and a membership exceeding Nova Scotia's.⁶⁹ By 1874, members and adherents in the two provinces accounted for ten percent of the population, comprising 118 circuits and a membership of 17,510.⁷⁰ That year, Maritime Methodists united with Wesleyan and New Connexion groups from Ontario and Quebec to form the Methodist Church of Canada. Nine years later, it also received into the new denomination Bible Christians from Ontario and Prince Edward Island. By 1883, therefore, through this series of mergers, Methodists had established one of the strongest Protestant denominations in the Maritimes.⁷¹

⁶² E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1976), 1, and Lathern, 'Historical Sketch of Methodism', 27.

⁶³ Lathern, 'Historical Sketch', 29.

⁶⁴ T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church*, 341-44.

⁶⁵ Buckner and Reid, *Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 212.

⁶⁶ Wesleyan Missionary Society, *Minutes of the Mission Committee, July 1814-1851* (Extracts I-VI), Mount Allison University Archives, Reel 21, A252, 85.

⁶⁷ Nova Scotia District 1852 Minute Book, Mount Allison University Archives, 27.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Nova Scotia Synod Minutes 1852*, Mount Allison University Archives, Microfilm A255.

⁷⁰ Robert Wilson, *Methodism in the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Huestis Publishing, 1893), 17.

⁷¹ Smith, *History of the Methodist Church*, 345.

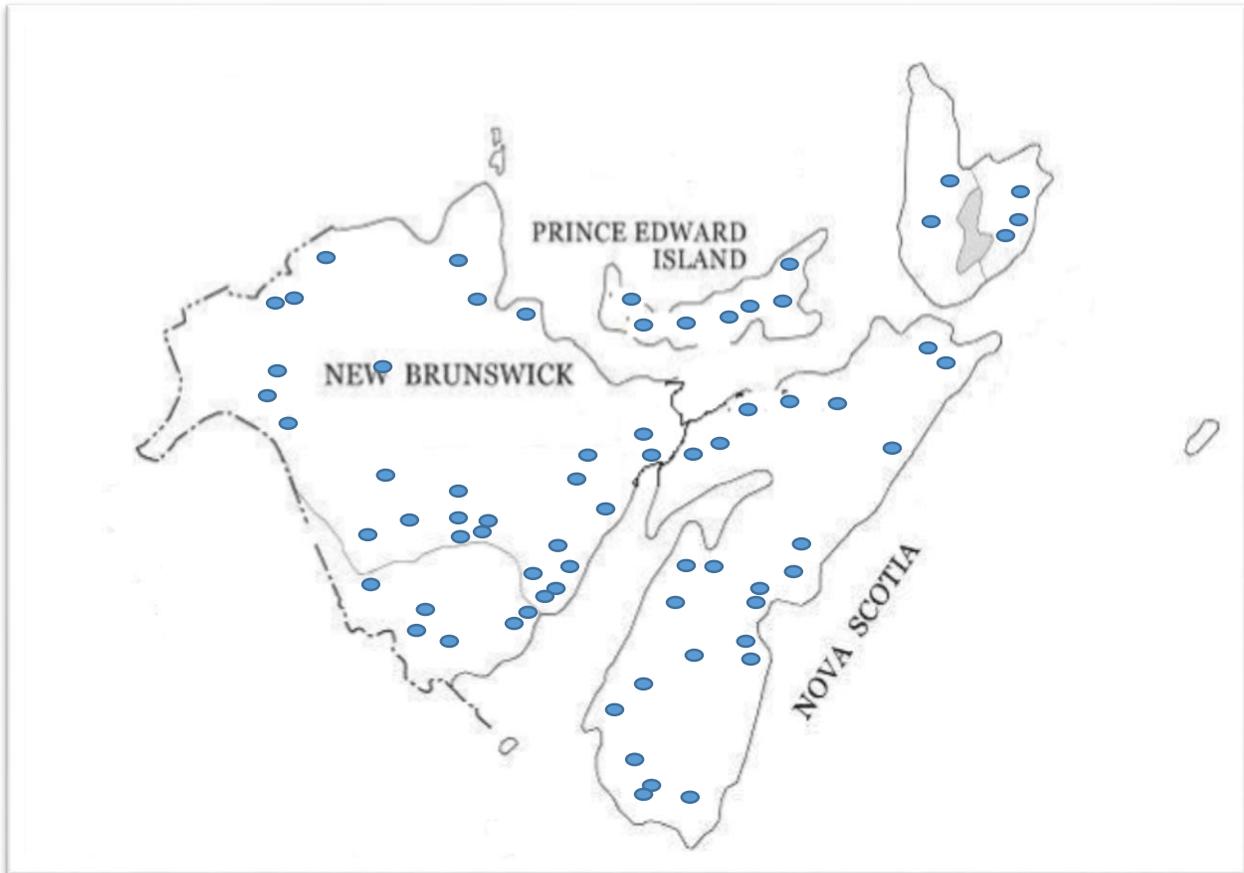


Figure 1:2 Existing Methodist Circuits, 1880-1920

Free Christian Baptists

In 1832, sixty years following the establishment of the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference was officially established in New Brunswick through the efforts of American missionaries strongly denouncing the Calvinistic theology of Regular Baptists.⁷² Both of these Baptist bodies practised believer's baptism, separation of church and state, religious liberty and the lordship of Christ. The theology of Regular Baptists, however, was Calvinistic, meaning that they believed Christ had died exclusively for those who were predestined to salvation, a belief which Free Baptists strongly rejected. Remarkably, the Free Christian Baptist

⁷² George E. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John, NB: Barnes-Hopkins, 1946), 239, 243.

Conference was also supported by various American groups, including some of Quaker, Christian Connexion, Freewill Baptist and Adventist backgrounds,⁷³ all of whom promoted distinctive theologies, while affirming a belief that God offered salvation to all people.⁷⁴ The most influential American missionary was Samuel Nutt, an elder in the Christian Connexion, a group which had organised in New England in 1780.⁷⁵ Besides Arminian theology, Nutt also stressed the right and responsibility of all believers to study the Bible ‘without consulting others’⁷⁶ and as a result, Free Christian Baptists tolerated a variety of theological views, a defining characteristic for their body during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ When the Conference was established in 1832, it consisted of six meeting houses, two elders and several dozen members.⁷⁸ Eighteen years later, this religious body formed one-third of the Maritime Baptist population and in Carleton County, New Brunswick, represented the largest single Protestant group.⁷⁹ The Conference continued to flourish in that province, especially in rural areas along the Saint John River Valley,⁸⁰ as well as in Yarmouth County and on Nova Scotia’s south shore. There were small pockets of Free Christian Baptists on Prince Edward Island, with the 1901 Canada Census listing twenty-one individuals of that persuasion there.⁸¹ Support for the denomination in that province remained limited and consequently no churches were established there. Maritime efforts at denominational expansion

⁷³ Ingram E. Bill, *Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Saint John, NB: Barnes and Company, 1880), 36.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 213-39.

⁷⁵ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), 215-16.

⁷⁶ A. D. Jones, ed., *Memoir of Elder Abner Jones* (Boston, MA: W. Crosby and Company, 1842), 49-51, quoted in Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 42.

⁷⁷ Roland McCormick and Michael Christie, *A New Perspective, The Origins of New Brunswick’s Free Baptists* (Yarmouth, NS: Sentinel Printing, 2011), 9-10.

⁷⁸ Roland K. McCormick, *Faith, Freedom & Democracy: The Baptists in Atlantic Canada*, (Tantallon, NS: Four East Publications, 1993), 83, 87.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁸⁰ Christie and McCormick, *A New Perspective*, 18-19.

⁸¹ 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

also extended into the neighboring American state of Maine, where approximately one dozen meetings houses were established. For the most part, however, this denomination endured as a New Brunswick and Nova Scotia religious body until 1905-06, when it merged with the Regular Baptists from all three Maritime provinces.

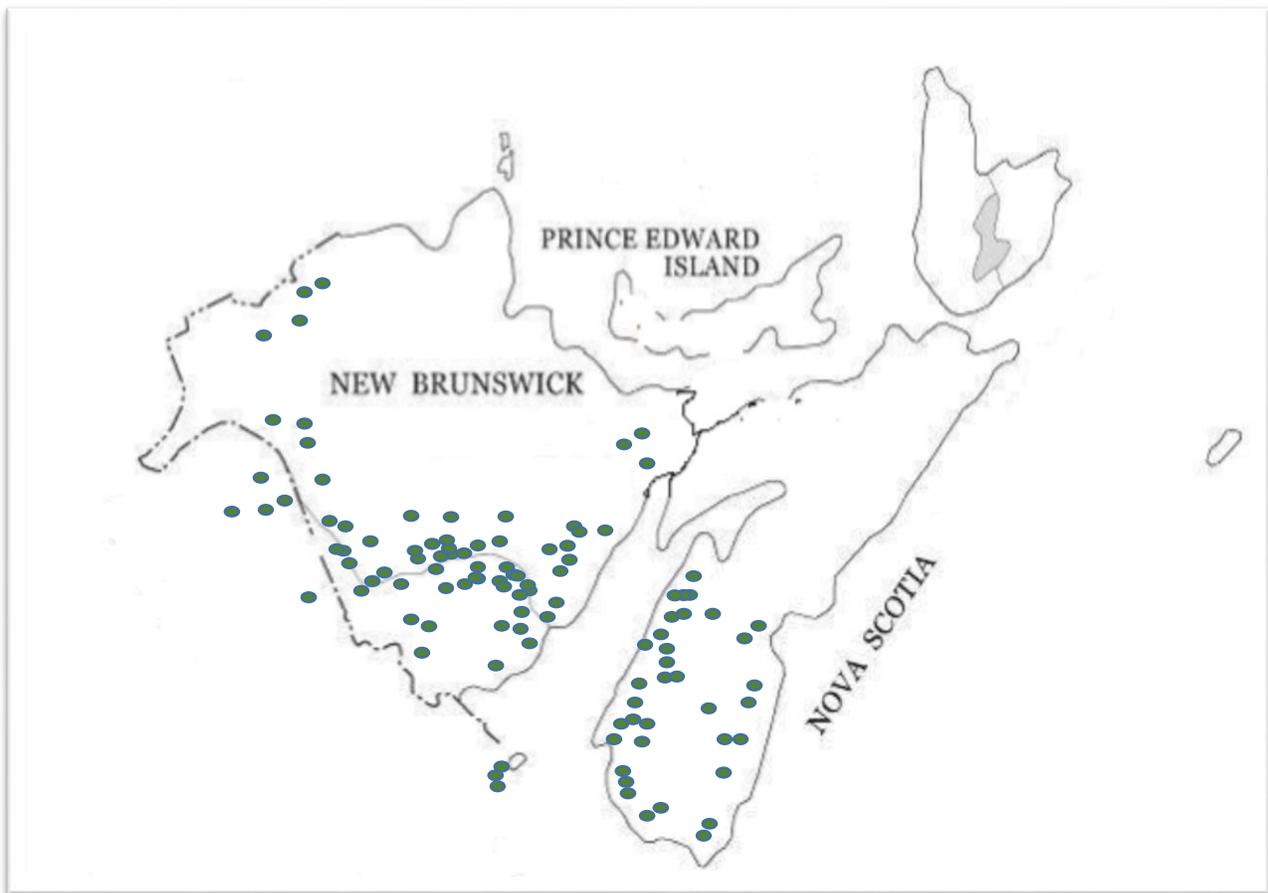


Figure 1:3 Free Christian Baptist Churches, 1880-1905-06

The enduring legacy which Henry Alline left to Free Christian Baptists should not be minimised. Similar to Methodism's appeal was Alline's call for immediate, instantaneous and life-changing conversion, as well as the repudiation of Calvinism and an emphasis upon God's free

grace extended to all of humanity.⁸² Alline stressed holiness in both the sermons and spiritual songs which he composed,⁸³ concluding that the ‘divine spirit’ would cleanse all true believers, transforming them to such an extent that ‘there will be no spot or blemish left in them’.⁸⁴ There is no doubt that Alline’s legacy of personal and heart-felt holiness influenced Free Christian Baptists for many generations to come.

Salvationists

In 1882, the Salvation Army was introduced to the Maritimes by Commissioner George Scott Railton, although it was not officially organised there until three years later.⁸⁵ This organisation originated in England with William Booth, a former Methodist New Connexion minister and active revivalist. In 1861, Booth had officially withdrawn from the Methodists, establishing the East London Christian Mission in 1865. Then, in 1878, Booth founded the Salvation Army as a mission to the British, an organisation which quickly spread to other parts of the globe, ‘opening fire’ in the United States in 1880.⁸⁶ In 1884, the Army officially organised in Canada, establishing seventy-three corps and thirty-five outposts in its first year.⁸⁷ Such remarkable success repeated itself in the sparsely populated Maritime region and, although the ‘Army’ began inconspicuously there in 1885, many Maritimers took immediate notice of it. In April of that year, several British Salvationists, led by Commissioner Thomas Bales Coombs, launched an evangelistic campaign in Saint John, the largest city in New Brunswick.⁸⁸ Army

⁸² John Webster Grant, ‘Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada’, 39.

⁸³ See George A. Rawlyk, ed., *New Light Letters and Songs* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1983); George A. Rawlyk, ed., *The Sermons of Henry Alline* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1986).

⁸⁴ Rawlyk, *The Sermons of Henry Alline*, 64-5.

⁸⁵ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1914* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing, 1952), 287.

⁸⁶ *Daily Sun*, Saint John, New Brunswick, 20 April 1885, 2.

⁸⁷ Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, 9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

officials attracted large audiences in spirited outdoor meetings.⁸⁹ The local newspaper, the *Saint John Daily Sun*, offered extensive daily coverage of their activities, acknowledging that 164

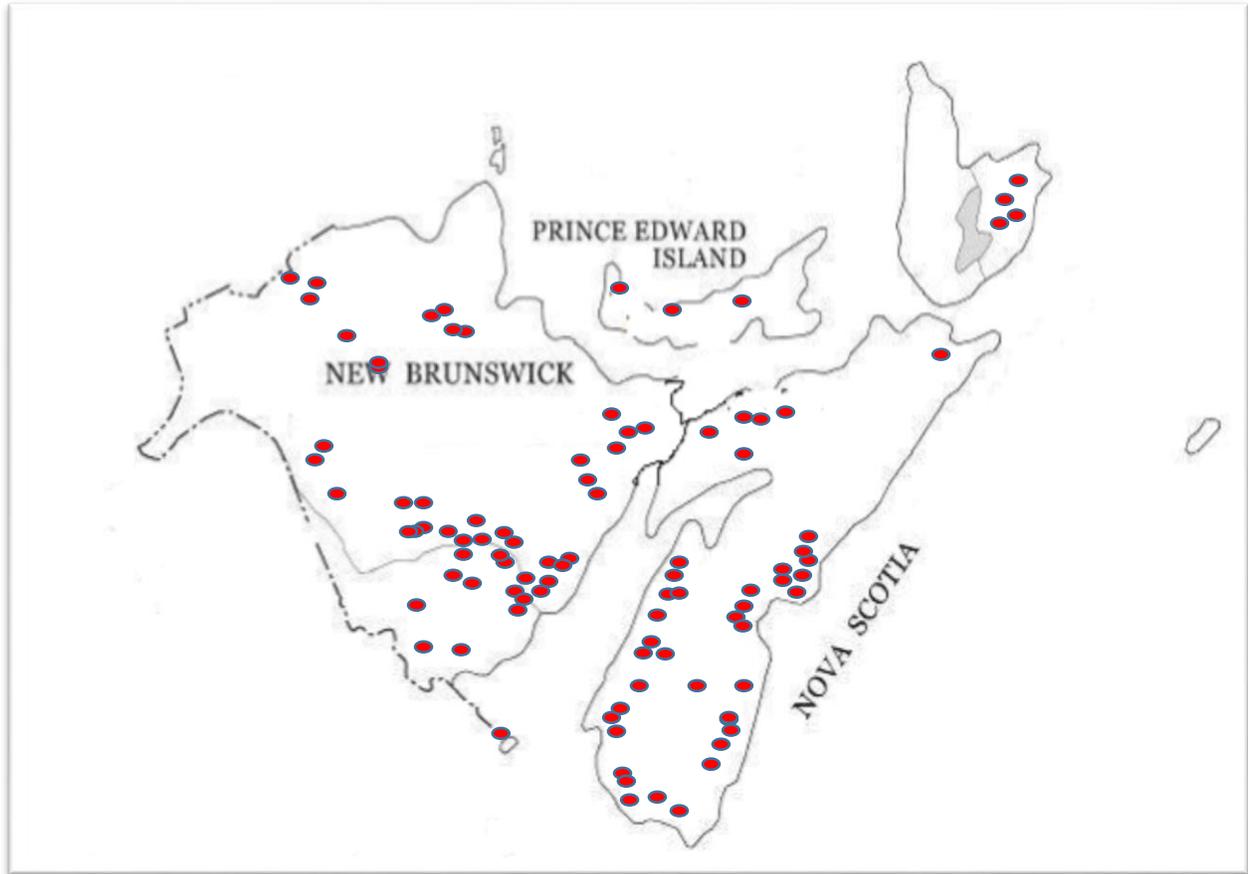


Figure 1:4 Salvation Army Corps, 1885-1920

individuals professed salvation in a single meeting⁹⁰ and estimating that average attendance at meetings exceeded two thousand.⁹¹ After organising a corps in Saint John,⁹² Army officers

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹⁰ Arnold Brown, *'What Hath God Wrought?'* *The History of the Salvation Army in Canada, 1882-1914* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing House, 1952), 46-7.

⁹¹ *DS*, 19 April 1885, 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 20 April 1885, 4.

travelled to Halifax, Nova Scotia's largest city,⁹³ where the response was so favourable that they immediately established a second Maritime corps, followed by the development of twelve others before the close of that year. Altogether, between 1885 and 1890 they opened sixty-five corps, noteworthy growth by any standard. After 1890, however, they were unsuccessful in maintaining momentum, establishing only nineteen additional corps between 1890 and 1920.⁹⁴

Many Maritimers accepted the theology which Salvation Army officers promoted, a number of whom wholly embraced the views of John Wesley.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, numerous individuals rapidly considered the organisation to be a peculiar one since it incorporated such unusual strategies to attract crowds. Army meetings were held outdoors and were filled with pageantry and ceremony, and were frequently preceded by ostentatious parades. The Salvation Army flag, a captivating icon representing 'blood' and fire', was prominently displayed. Officials marched through the main artery of dozens of towns, in parade style, to the sounds of boisterous brass bands and a vociferous drum beat. John Hardy, a native Prince Edward Islander who enlisted as an Army officer, immediately noticed that Salvationists were 'a happy people... [who] sang the Gospel songs to rollicking tunes....clapped their hands... rattled tambourines.... and danced for joy'.⁹⁶ Despite the fact that some Maritimers viewed Salvationists as a strange religious body, this sect's early ability to gather large multitudes was remarkable.

Reformed Baptists

In 1888, a group of former Free Christian Baptists founded the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada after the Conference expelled five ministers for refusing to recant their holiness

⁹³ Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 74.

⁹⁴ 'Salvation Army Corps Openings, 1885-1960', Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario, 20-63.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 73-76.

⁹⁶ Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Publishing, 1910), 73.

theological views.⁹⁷ The displaced group quickly organised a meeting for ‘lovers of holiness’ in Woodstock, New Brunswick, resulting in the establishment of a new denomination. The Alliance’s

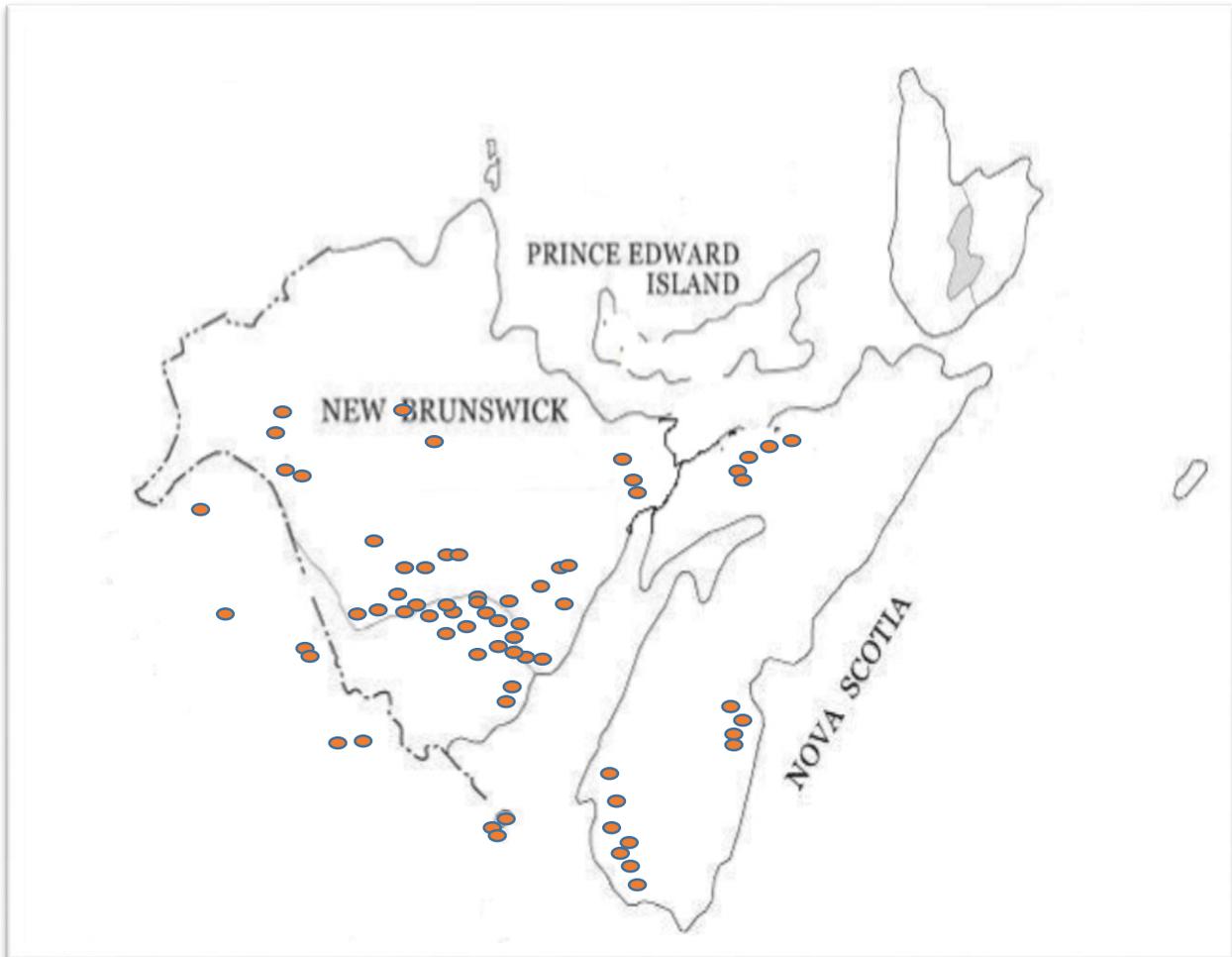


Figure 1:5 Reformed Baptist Churches, 1888-1920

statement of faith mirrored the Free Christian Baptist *Treatise of Faith*, except for a supplementary mission statement which emphasised the ‘teaching of entire instantaneous sanctification in all aspects of work and ministry’.⁹⁸ Although the denomination began with no building or property,

⁹⁷ *History of The Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada, November 1888 together with Minutes of Alliance of 1889 and 1890* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day Printers, 1890), 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

within seven months it had assembled together five hundred members and twenty-two churches.⁹⁹ Eighteen of these buildings were located in New Brunswick, the majority of which were situated adjacent to the Saint John River. In south-western Nova Scotia, the Alliance consisted of four churches, all of which were located just outside the town of Yarmouth. By 1908, the Alliance had established forty-one Maritime churches with a combined membership of two thousand, significant growth for any religious body. It was not able to maintain such momentum and, after 1908, growth slowed to a trickle. Between 1908 and 1920, Reformed Baptists established only eleven new congregations.¹⁰⁰

Pentecostal Nazarenes

The youngest of the five denominations in this study is the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. It was first established in Nova Scotia, in 1907, after several American holiness groups continued as a single entity. One of these religious bodies, the Central Evangelical Holiness Association (CEHA), had been established outside Boston, Massachusetts, in 1890 when a group of New England Methodist ministers vacated their churches to form a holiness organisation.¹⁰¹ Between 1890 and 1896, the CEHA sent eleven ministers to the Maritimes, where they conducted a number of holiness conventions, working closely with holiness-minded Methodists and Reformed Baptists.¹⁰² Such congeniality was understandable considering that many of these Americans were the children or grandchildren of Maritimers.¹⁰³ When the CEHA merged with several other independent holiness churches in 1896 to establish the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America,¹⁰⁴ the new denomination regularly sponsored missionary work in the

⁹⁹ W. B. Wiggins, 'Reformed Baptists,' *WR*, June 1889, cited in Edward Gay Britten, 'A History of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada', unpublished B Div thesis, Acadia University, 1964, 54.

¹⁰⁰ *History of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada*, 1-55.

¹⁰¹ Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House), 58.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

Maritimes. This holiness body espoused the idea that Christians experienced entire sanctification, synonymous in their minds with being filled with the Holy Spirit, an event which they believed

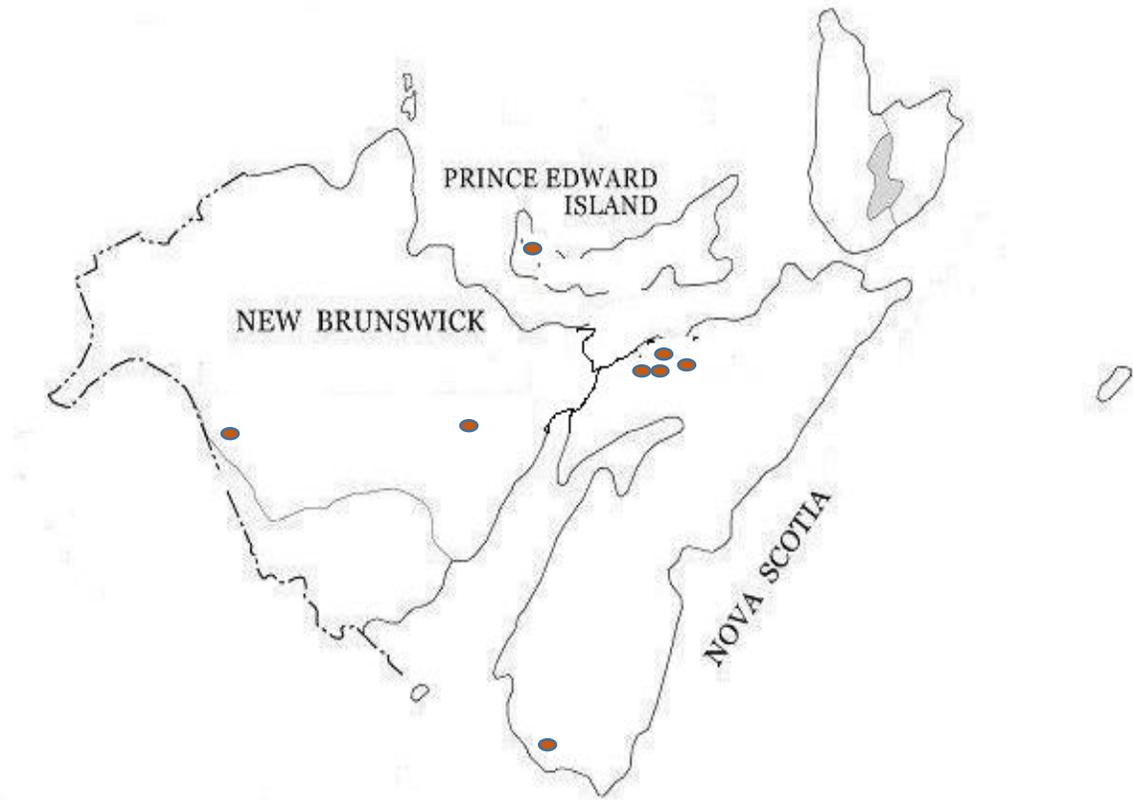


Figure 1:6 Pentecostal Nazarene Churches, 1907-1920

was inaugurated in the New Testament on the Day of Pentecost and is recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*.¹⁰⁵ This religious body did not endorse an organisation which began in Los Angeles, California, in 1906, and was commonly referred to as the Azusa Street Revival. The movement was characterised by ecstatic spiritual experiences, accompanied by miracles, dramatic worship and glossolalia, a phenomenon which the Central Evangelical Holiness Association rejected.¹⁰⁶ In

¹⁰⁵ *Acts of the Apostles*, 2: 1-13.

¹⁰⁶ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 320.

1901, the CEHA commenced a vigorous holiness campaign in Nova Scotia, where it organised two holiness churches, both of which united with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.¹⁰⁷ Although this body initiated at least a dozen attempts at establishing churches between 1902 and 1920, all of their efforts failed except in Yarmouth and Amherst, Nova Scotia, and in Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island. Taken together, this amounted to insignificant growth, considering the ambitious efforts which had been launched.

Two of the five denominations included in this study, the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, were well established by 1880 while the other three remained in early stages of development during the period under study. Despite the fact that all of them embraced holiness theology, a shift occurred within the two oldest groups whereby they eventually distanced themselves from the holiness movement. This study considers the significant effects of social upheaval and secularisation upon religious behaviour by highlighting the related denominational realignments which occurred between 1880 and 1920. It also identifies several factors which account for the support offered to the movement by several of these religious bodies, as well as other issues which explain the resistance of other denominations towards it.

Exploring the Research

Maritime historians have seldom considered the issues previously mentioned. The historical accounts of Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches have not addressed the holiness movement, a predictable outcome considering that none of them embraced Wesleyan theology. It is quite surprising, however, that Methodist and Baptist histories have ignored the prominence of holiness theology among such large sections of their early constituencies. Edward Saunders' comprehensive account of Maritime Baptists minimally mentions the movement,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 58-60.

describing it as a ‘heretical endeavour by which the Free Baptist and Baptist churches suffered severely’¹⁰⁸ and branding it as the ‘result of an unhappy schism... from which we [Baptists] recovered much more quickly than many feared’.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the most complete Methodist history, written by D. W. Johnson in 1925, completely ignored that denomination’s passionate holiness faction.¹¹⁰ A complete review of the Maritime holiness movement is warranted, therefore, if for no other reason than to rectify his neglect. Moreover, such a detailed investigation is important in that it presents a more accurate account of Methodist and Baptist history, highlighting and assessing the movement’s popularity in a part of Canada which was neither politically strong, economically robust nor densely populated. It also underscores the strengths and shortcomings of the movement so that comparisons may be made between it and its counterpart in other parts of the world. Furthermore, it extends an understanding of the evolutionary nature of evangelical Protestantism by considering the effects of affluence and sophistication upon spirituality.

Surveys have been published on the history of the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference. All of them, however, have ignored the proclivity for holiness theology by both groups. A number of Methodists, including E. Arthur Betts,¹¹¹ Holme Flemming,¹¹² George

¹⁰⁸ Edwin Crowell, ‘A Sketch of the History of the Free Baptists of Nova Scotia’, in Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, 407.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph MacLeod, ‘A Sketch of the History of the Free Baptists of New Brunswick’, in Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, 433.

¹¹⁰ D. W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda from the Beginning till the Consummation of Union with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in 1925* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Printing, 1925).

¹¹¹ E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1976).

¹¹² Holme Flemming, *Berwick Camp Meeting: The First Hundred Years, 1872-1972* (Antigonish, NS: Casket Printing and Publishing, 1972).

Huestis,¹¹³ Peter Penner,¹¹⁴ T. Watson Smith¹¹⁵ and Aubrey Tizzard,¹¹⁶ have demonstrated an interest in the changes which occurred in that denomination between 1880 and 1920. Flemming, Penner and Tizzard were the only individuals to acknowledge the existence of holiness factions within Maritime Methodism. All of these writers concluded that, although the subject of holiness was once of great importance to many Methodists, that belief had all but disappeared by 1900. Penner noted that, while some ministers had endorsed holiness theology, most, if not all, had abandoned its emphasis in order to achieve prominence in the denomination.¹¹⁷ Tizzard similarly concluded that although Methodists were sympathetic to the holiness movement for a time, many of them redirected their interests towards a union of several Protestant bodies.¹¹⁸ Despite the fact that their findings parallel one another, neither of them chose to explore this significant change in denominational focus.

Within a national context, a number of historians have researched the Methodist Church in Canada, yet not one has offered adequate recognition of its holiness faction.¹¹⁹ The only historian to begin this discussion was T. W. Acheson. In an article entitled, ‘The Problem of Methodist

¹¹³ George O. Huestis, *A Manual of Methodism: Being an Outline of Its History, Doctrines and Discipline* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1885).

¹¹⁴ Peter Penner, *The Chignecto ‘Connexion’: The History of Sackville Methodist/ United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville: Tribune Press, 1990).

¹¹⁵ T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda*, Vol. II (Halifax, NS: Methodist Book Room, 1877).

¹¹⁶ Aubrey M. Tizzard, *Results of Revival: History of Trinity United Church, Victoria, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, Canada* (Sackville, NS: Tribune Press, 1970); *History of Bethany Church, Thomson, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia*. 1972; *Methodism- A Flame: Dorchester, New Brunswick, Canada* (Winnipeg, MA: Gateway Publishing, 1978).

¹¹⁷ Penner, *Chignecto ‘Connexion’*, 101-7.

¹¹⁸ Tizzard, *Results of Revival*, 43.

¹¹⁹ Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992); John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1998); Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989); Annie Leake Tuttle, *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best*, Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 1999); Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1776-1925* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005).

Identity', Acheson noted that Methodism was transformed from a holiness denomination to a politically activist religious body, attributing such notable change to the prosperity and social prominence of its constituents.¹²⁰ Only two unpublished works have considered the relationship which existed between Canadian Methodists and the holiness movement. William Brooks' master's thesis, which centred on the changing character of Maritime Methodism between 1855 and 1883, noted that, as early as 1880, the Methodist Church had become the property of the respectable classes while Wesley's legacy of evangelical passion was quickly becoming irrelevant to many of its members.¹²¹ Alden Aikens' doctoral dissertation, which examined Methodists in Central Canada, offered a different perspective. He found that, during the nineteenth century large numbers of affluent Methodists held fast to Wesley's teaching of Christian perfection. Aikens identified the formation of holiness associations outside the denomination as the root cause of decline in holiness theological emphases within the Methodist Church.¹²² Taken together, although the findings of these individuals have been helpful to this study, nevertheless the important role of the holiness movement upon late nineteenth-century Maritime Methodists has not yet been sufficiently considered.

Academic research concerning the holiness involvement of Free Christian Baptists is equally lacking. As previously mentioned, Saunders' seemingly comprehensive volume on the denomination dismisses the holiness movement as the cause of a brief period of instability.¹²³ Doug Bell, a regional historian, has researched New Brunswick's Free Christian Baptists during the nineteenth century, examining their origins, distinctive beliefs and unique worship practices, yet

¹²⁰ T. W. Acheson, 'The Problem of Methodist Identity', in Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 116-17.

¹²¹ William Howard Brooks, 'The Changing Character of Maritime Wesleyan Methodism, 1855-1883', unpublished MA thesis, Mount Allison University, Sackville, NB, 1965, 116-25.

¹²² Alden Warren Aikens, 'Christian Perfection in Central Canadian Methodism, 1828-1884', unpublished PhD thesis, McGill University, Montreal, PQ, 1987, 220-24.

¹²³ Saunders, *History of the Baptists*, 433.

takes no account of holiness sympathisers.¹²⁴ Fred Burnett, who compiled a three-hundred-page biographical directory of Free Christian Baptist ministers between 1832 and 1906, similarly failed to acknowledge this religious body's proclivity for holiness. Burnett portrayed the movement, instead, as an American phenomenon which orthodox Maritime ministers rejected.¹²⁵ He did admit that most young Maritimers preparing for the Free Christian Baptist ministry received their training at a Freewill Baptist college in Maine, an institution which supported the holiness movement during the 1870s and 80s. Furthermore, Burnett concluded that, had large numbers of these men returned to the Maritimes to minister, the movement would undoubtedly have gained a stronger foothold in the denomination.¹²⁶ Roland McCormick, another local Baptist historian, authored a single volume of Free Christian Baptist history in 1993 and, with the assistance of Michael Christie, an amateur Maritime historian, published a second one in 2007. Even though both works portray the radical enthusiasm of Free Christian Baptists, they do not acknowledge the role of holiness advocates in the denomination. The only Maritime Baptist to highlight the denomination's close association with the movement was Ralph Richardson, a local minister and college professor. Richardson examined the controversy over holiness which divided the denomination towards the end of the nineteenth century¹²⁷ but did not explore, in any detail, the influential role of several ministers in the movement. Overall then, few of those researching Free Christian Baptist history have acknowledged the significance of the denomination's holiness ethos and, of those who did

¹²⁴ David G. Bell, 'The Allinrite Tradition and the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists 1830-1875', in Robert S. Wilson., ed., *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World* (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press Limited, 1988); 'Henry Alline and Maritime Religion', in *Canadian Historical Association Booklet*, No. 51, 3-27 (Ottawa, ON: The Canadian Historical Association, 1993); 'Yankee Preachers and the Struggle for the New Brunswick Christian Conference, 1828-38', in Daniel C. Goodwin, ed., *Revivals, Baptists and George Rawlyk* (Wolfville, NS: Gaspereau Press, 2000), 93-112.

¹²⁵ Burnett, *Biographical Directory*, 131.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹²⁷ Ralph Richardson, 'Methodist Revivalism and the Baptists', in David T. Priestly, ed., *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 21-34.

recognise that heritage, no one has explored its relevance to that religious body's historical development.

Of these five holiness-minded denominations, the Salvation Army has received the least attention of all. In 1910, Herbert Wood, a Canadian Salvationist, researched the lives of seven pioneer Army officers, three of whom were Maritimers.¹²⁸ According to Wood, the work was based upon interviews with numerous Salvationists. Admittedly his writings contained much fascinating information but notably it was, for the most part, a non-annotated volume. Between 1947 and 1973, the Salvation Army commissioned a six-volume survey of the organisation, three of which traced the denomination's Canadian development. Unfortunately, Maritime accounts were sketchy at best.¹²⁹ The most recent Salvation Army historical work, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, has also underestimated the contribution of Maritime Salvationists in the organisation's success in Canada and in parts of the United States.¹³⁰ The publication which best identifies the connection of some Salvationists with the holiness movement is a biography written by the daughter of Roscoe Heine, a brilliant man and gifted linguist, who began his ministry as a Free Christian Baptist and Salvation Army officer, before spending twenty-eight years as a Canadian Bible Society officer.¹³¹ Ruth Heine Scott's work contains valuable insights into the life of Army officials during the last decade of the nineteenth century. In all of these publications, however, a common explanation for the Army's success in the region was that many people were inspired by the dedication of Army officers. Be that as it may, none of these manuscripts contribute

¹²⁸ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 53-69; 70-88; 97-111.

¹²⁹ Robert Sandall, *History of the Salvation Army: Social Reform and Welfare Work*, Volume Three (New York, NY: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1979); Arch Wiggins, *History of the Salvation Army: 1886-1904*, Volume Four (New York, NY: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1979); Frederick Coutts, *History of the Salvation Army: 1914-1946*, Volume Six (New York, NY: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979).

¹³⁰ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1914* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing, 1952).

¹³¹ Ruth Scott, *The Unknown New Brunswicker* (Fredericton, N.B.: Capital Free Press Ltd., 1988).

significantly to an understanding of the Salvation Army's role in the expansion of the holiness movement in the Maritime region.

Several individuals have researched the history of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada, the most controversial of which was a biography of Louis King, a flamboyant Reformed Baptist evangelist who launched an anti-Roman Catholic crusade. A book was written in 1923 on King's ministry by L. F. Martique, an American author and former Roman Catholic. His work, which details King's labours in the region between 1890 and 1905, received wide acclaim among some Maritimers and many Americans as an exposé of irregularities within Roman Catholicism, a subject from which King seldom strayed. Martique presents the issue of holiness among Maritimers in a simplistic manner, repeatedly implying that all true believers eventually endorse the beliefs espoused by the holiness movement.¹³² Several other books have recently been published concerning the history of this denomination. These include a history of the Reformed Baptist campground entitled *A Beulah Journal*,¹³³ as well as Vesta Dunlop Mullen's biographical directory of two hundred and thirty-four Reformed Baptist ministers.¹³⁴ In 2003, Laurence Mullen, a retired Wesleyan college professor and former Reformed Baptist minister, wrote a series of articles concerning the birth of the Alliance which, for the first time, highlighted the denomination's Free Christian Baptist holiness pedigree.¹³⁵ Several books have been written about the Wesleyan Church, a denomination which absorbed the Reformed Baptist Alliance in 1964.¹³⁶

¹³² L. F. Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King* (Toledo, OH: Protestant Book House, 1930), 93.

¹³³ Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy, MA: Eastern Nazarene College Press, 1994).

¹³⁴ Vesta Mullen, "I Believe in... *The Communion of Saints*:" *Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church 1888-1966* (Old Shoals, IN: Old Paths Tract Society, 2006).

¹³⁵ Laurence K. Mullen, 'The Organization of the Reformed Baptists' (unpublished paper presented at the Atlantic District of the Wesleyan Church, 10 October 1978; 'Who Were the Free Christian Baptists?' 'Holiness, Heresy, and John Jay Butler'; 'Reformed Baptists - Seventy-eight Years (1888-1966)' (unpublished paper, Heritage Series given at Brooksville, Florida, 20-21 March 2003).

¹³⁶ Robert Black and Keith Drury, *The Story: The Wesleyan Church* (Indianapolis, IN: Wesleyan Publishing House, 2012), 200; Charles E. Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press,

As informative as all of these writings were in presenting the theology and practices of Reformed Baptists, none of them discussed in detail the theological issues which led to the formation of the denomination. Every author reiterated a similar conclusion: the Alliance was organised by those who understood the importance of Wesleyan theology while the majority of Free Christian Baptists misunderstood these individuals, as well as the theological ideas they espoused.

Pentecostal Nazarenes have benefitted from more historical research than have Reformed Baptists, not a surprising discovery given that they quickly expanded into an international organisation whereas the Alliance remained a solely Maritime denomination until the last half of the twentieth century. The majority of research concerning Pentecostal Nazarenes, however, has focused on American and British developments.¹³⁷ J. Fred Parker, a Canadian Nazarene historian, wrote the most extensive Canadian denominational account, yet allocated less than ten per cent of the work to its national genesis in the Maritime region.¹³⁸ Fred Macmillan, a Maritime Nazarene minister, completed a graduate thesis on the history of the Canada Atlantic District of the Church of the Nazarene,¹³⁹ the only academic study yet to be undertaken on this subject. Macmillan's work is a helpful contribution to regional religious historiography even though one individual has

1974), 1004; William Kostlevy, ed., *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 4-5.

¹³⁷ J. B. Chapman, *A History of the Church of the Nazarene* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1926); Floyd T. Cunningham, 'Holiness Abroad: Nazarene Missions in Asia', in *Pietist and Wesleyan Studies*, No. 16. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2003); Floyd T. Cunningham, ed., *Our Watchword and Song: The Centennial History of the Church of the Nazarene* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 2009); J. Fred Parker, *Mission to the World: A History of Missions in the Church of the Nazarene Through 1985* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1988); Westlake T. Purkiser, *Called Unto Holiness: Volume Two: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Second Twenty-five Years, 1933-1958* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1983); Mark R. Quanstrom, *A Century of Holiness Theology* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 2004); M. E. Redford, *The Rise of the Church of the Nazarene*, 3rd ed. (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1974); Leonard Colston Shepherd, *Into the Unknown: The Story of the Folk who Founded and Fostered the First Church of the Nazarene in Bristol, England* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1999); Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-19th Century America* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957).

¹³⁸ J. Fred Parker, *From East to Western Sea* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971).

¹³⁹ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith: History of the Canada Atlantic District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976).

questioned the veracity of certain segments of the work.¹⁴⁰ The most recent history of the denomination in Canada was published in 2002.¹⁴¹ Included in this volume is one article concerning the Maritime region which, according to the author, is based on factual details. Nevertheless, he admitted to taking great liberties in synthesising information concerning important events and key individuals.¹⁴² As a whole, therefore, although an acceptable amount of research has been conducted on Nazarene history in America and Great Britain, a great deal of work remains to be undertaken if the impact of this body in the Maritime region is to be fully appreciated.

Historians have given little attention to the holiness associations of these five Maritime denominations. Analogous research to date has been limited primarily to Great Britain and the United States. David W. Bebbington has examined evangelical Christianity, in its global context, taking into account, to a limited extent, the Canadian holiness movement.¹⁴³ The most relevant aspect of his work involved a comparison of the Canadian and British movements.¹⁴⁴ Bebbington offered several reasons for the decline of holiness teaching in Great Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, one of which was most germane to this study, that being the advance of respectability.¹⁴⁵ In addition, Bebbington isolated three factors which safeguarded the movement's survival; these included its close association with Wesley's theology and the prominence which it offered to

¹⁴⁰ Russell Hardy, interview by author, 18 March 1984.

¹⁴¹ Neil E Hightower, ed., *Loves Does That: The Story of the Nazarenes in Canada* (Brampton, ON: Friesen Publishing, 2002).

¹⁴² K. C. Macmillan, 'Finding a Spiritual Home', Hightower, ed., *Loves Does That*, 76.

¹⁴³ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1989), 151-80.

¹⁴⁴ David W. Bebbington, 'The Holiness Movement in British and Canadian Methodism in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Volume 50, Part 6, October 1996, 203-28.

¹⁴⁵ David Bebbington, 'Holiness in Nineteenth-Century British Methodism', W. M. Jacob and Nigel Yates, eds., *Crown and Mitre: Religion and Society in Northern Europe since the Reformation* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1993), 163-66.

revivalism, as well as its flexibility to adapt to social class, geography and gender.¹⁴⁶ These criteria became useful tools in evaluating the Maritime holiness climate despite the fact Bebbington's work did not specifically examine the Maritime region.

A number of historians have concentrated on the American holiness movement, including Donald W. Dayton, Melvin E. Dieter, Charles E. Jones, Mark A. Noll, Timothy L. Smith and Vinson Synan.¹⁴⁷ Dieter and Smith's initial focus on the impact of the movement in strengthening social reform in the United States linked Romanticism and Transcendentalism to the American mood of idealism and self-assurance.¹⁴⁸ Smith further concluded that the resurgence of holiness in the United States was the result of a spiritual crisis caused, in part, by post-Civil War industrialism, affluence and modernism.¹⁴⁹ Dieter reiterated similar ideas, noting that the idealism of a uniform American national destiny strengthened the movement. Religious leaders believed that the panacea for the threats from rapid cultural change was an optimism inherently found in the holiness movement's message of victory and power.¹⁵⁰ Noll offered two promising theories for the rise of the movement: first, that it was another stage of spiritual development which had begun with the piety of the Puritans; and secondly, that it was an approach of adjusting to the shifting character

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 166-74.

¹⁴⁷ Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering An Evangelical Heritage* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing, 1976); *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing, 2011); Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Second Edition (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Charles E. Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity of the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1992); *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 2002); *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2003); *What Happened to Christian Canada?* (Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 2007); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-19th-Century America* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957); Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962); Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1971); *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1997).

¹⁴⁸ Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, 141-47.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 12-20.

¹⁵⁰ Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Second Edition (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 4-5.

of religious life.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, he acknowledged that historians generally agree that the movement was fuelled by a common perception that Wesleyan theology had been neglected.¹⁵² Indeed, Dayton, Jones nor Synan offered no other rationale for the birth of the movement, except that had been instigated by Methodists in an effort to revive John Wesley's legacy.¹⁵³ Taken together, the combined research of these historians reveals both the breadth and complexity of the movement in the United States, yet offers few insights into its Canadian counterpart. In fact, Noll and Smith were the only historians to examine the Canadian context at all, with negligible references to the Maritimes.

Other secondary sources of information which have been valuable in tracing the involvement of the five religious bodies in the holiness movement were a number of community and church histories which were completed in the past fifty years. Largely through government-funded initiatives, various town councils commissioned groups of local residents to search for old diaries, scrapbooks and other obscure sources of historical data. A number of these publications were helpful in corroborating certain details in this project. For example, *Echoes of the Past*, a community history of Millstream, New Brunswick, offered valuable information concerning the local Free Christian Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, the church's first strawberry social, as well as details on the first Reformed Baptists in that community, all information that was present in official church records.¹⁵⁴ In the 1980s and 90s, a number of churches commissioned committees to interview the oldest members in their congregations, collecting information which also contributed to a more complete historical account. Three such references which greatly

¹⁵¹ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity of the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1992), 380-1.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 378.

¹⁵³ Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days: The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Twentieth Century* (Fairfax, VA: Xulon Press, 2001), 36-9.

¹⁵⁴ Coburn Cosman and Lettie Cosman, *Echoes of the Past from the Millstream and Surrounding Areas* (Fredericton, NB: New Brunswick Bicentennial Commission, 1984), 60-63.

assisted in this study were those accounts concerning Methodist churches in Charlottetown, Halifax and Moncton. They provided helpful details which illustrated the prominence of certain Methodists in each city, information which was not available otherwise.¹⁵⁵

Several primary sources of information surfaced for each denomination. Most beneficial to this study were the respective newspapers of each religious body. The Methodist paper, the *Wesleyan*, which was first published in 1849, covered a myriad of topics ranging from theology and health issues to local and global events. In 1852, the paper became the *Provincial Wesleyan* and continued under that title until 1875, when it resumed its original name.¹⁵⁶ The publication especially portrayed some of the social and political attitudes of Methodist ministers. A number of them regularly contributed articles on various topics, including temperance, tobacco and the evils of popery. At various times, the subject of Calvinism took centre stage in articles which were primarily copied from American and British theologians. Connexional business, accounts of local revivals and editorials were standard features. Over a span of time, considerable space was devoted to updates of major developments in the Crimean War and the American Civil War. The newspaper remained the official voice of Maritime Methodists until church union in 1925.

Free Christian Baptists sponsored a single newspaper, the *Religious Intelligencer*, which was first established in 1853 by Ezekiel McLeod, a Saint John businessman.¹⁵⁷ Undoubtedly, it became the strongest influence upon Free Christian Baptists throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. For the first two years, it consisted of a single page and was published on a monthly basis. In 1854, it became a weekly publication and was extended to eight pages in

¹⁵⁵ Margaret I. Campbell, *No Other Foundation: The History of Brunswick Street United Church with its Methodist Inheritance* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1984); Shirley A. Dobson, *The Word and the Music: The Story of Moncton's Central United Church and its Methodist Roots* (Moncton, NB: Tribune Press, 1994); Flora Smith Rogers, 'Glimpses of Glory and Grace' (Charlottetown, PE: Trinity United Church, 1964).

¹⁵⁶ Smith, *History of the Methodist Church*, 411.

¹⁵⁷ D. G. Bell, 'Allinite Tradition and the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptist', 56.

length.¹⁵⁸ Although the tabloid included some current local and church news, the majority of the paper concentrated on lifestyle issues, such as appropriate apparel for Christian women, as well as the evils of card playing, dancing, and the use of tobacco and consumption of alcohol. The eventual bimonthly paper covered a broad spectrum of topics, frequently exploring the subject of holiness, specifically the experience of entire sanctification.¹⁵⁹ During the 1880s the paper doubled in length to sixteen pages¹⁶⁰ and a gradual shift occurred after the issue of holiness theology became a controversial subject. The publication's focus then became the examination of the denomination's past, concentrating on the biographies and sermons of venerated elders.¹⁶¹ Although the *Religious Intelligencer* was popular among Free Christian Baptists, it was not as comprehensive as the Methodist paper and did not gain an audience outside of their membership as did some other mainline Protestant publications.¹⁶²

The Salvation Army published the *War Cry*, the organisation's only Canadian newspaper. It was first issued in November 1884 and totalled four pages in length. It quickly became an essential method of communication for Army officials and adherents alike, individuals who were scattered across a vast nation.¹⁶³ The paper generally highlighted Army developments in the Canadian Territories, regularly including American and British reports as well. The paper's special feature, 'corps reports', detailed the victories and challenges of Army officials.¹⁶⁴ A section, which was called 'Aids to Holy Living', stressed the perils of many social sins with alcohol and tobacco-related matters being at the forefront.¹⁶⁵ This paper also featured gripping stories of conversions

¹⁵⁸ Joseph McLeod, 'The *Religious Intelligencer*', *RI*, 25 October 1905, 8.

¹⁵⁹ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 80-83; 139-41.

¹⁶⁰ Joseph McLeod, 'The *Intelligencer*', *RI*, 2 July 1902, 8.

¹⁶¹ Joseph McLeod, 'The *Intelligencer*'s Jubilee,' *RI*, 18 December 1901, 7.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 7; Joseph McLeod, 'The *Intelligencer*', *RI*, 2 July 1902, 8.

¹⁶³ Brown, 'What Hath God Wrought?' 40.

¹⁶⁴ Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 30.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

as well as personal letters from the General.¹⁶⁶ It is impossible to evaluate its popularity among other Maritimers since no records exist concerning the size of readership. In comparison with the Methodist and Free Christian Baptist publications, the *War Cry* was restricted to Army advances and seldom examined theological issues.

Reformed Baptists first published their own newspaper, the *King's Highway*, in 1890, two years after the denomination was established.¹⁶⁷ Most Reformed Baptist leaders, who had been patrons of the *Religious Intelligencer*, well understood the importance of having their own publication. *The Highway*, as it was commonly known, quickly became popular among Reformed Baptists and holiness sympathisers from other denominations. By 1896, its circulation exceeded one thousand subscribers, a large number, considering that actual numbers of Reformed Baptist households totalled less than twenty-five per cent of that amount.¹⁶⁸ Of all five denominational papers the *Highway* examined holiness theology in greatest detail. It frequently rebuked professing Christians who believed in a 'sinning religion', specifically addressing the sins of 'anger, pride, avarice, lust, selfishness, revellings, whiskey, opium, tobacco, [and] costly apparel'.¹⁶⁹ Between 1890 and 1900, editorials criticised the Free Christian Baptists, accusing them repeatedly of forcing Reformed Baptists from the Conference. This publication proved to be effective agent for communicating the bitterness of Reformed Baptists for Free Christian Baptist leaders whom they indicted as 'weak and ungodly'.¹⁷⁰ In 1916, G. A. Sellar, a Maritime Methodist minister, described the *King's Highway* as 'the only uncompromising holiness advocate of Bible Holiness in eastern

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁶⁷ *Manual of the Reformed Baptist Church*, 1959, 17.

¹⁶⁸ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 19.

¹⁶⁹ S. A. Baker, 'The Modern Church', *KH*, November 1890, 2.

¹⁷⁰ William H. Sherwood, 'Opposition to Holiness', *KH*, November 1890, 3.

Canada'.¹⁷¹ There is no doubt that it was a strong communication link, uniting the churches and promulgating holiness theology.

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene sponsored two American newspapers. These were the *Beulah Christian*, established in 1888 by F. A. Hillery, founder of the Pentecostal Association of America,¹⁷² and the *Nazarene Messenger*, first published in 1898 by Phineas Bresee, co-founder of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. In 1912, the two publications were combined into a new paper, known as the *Herald of Holiness*.¹⁷³ All of these tabloids commonly advertised 'news of the churches' and examined holiness-related topics.¹⁷⁴ The size of Maritime readership cannot be estimated since no related statistics were preserved. In any case, each denominational paper was an important avenue for communication between its constituents. The Methodist, Free Christian Baptist and Reformed Baptist publications were printed in the region. On the other hand, Salvation Army and Pentecostal Nazarene tabloids arrived from great distances away, one factor which may have minimised their popularity among Maritimers.

A second body of primary source material consisted of denominational minutes. Methodists and Free Christian Baptists maintained excellent records although these accounts were mainly statistical in nature. Occasionally, Free Christian Baptist minutes included brief anecdotal comments, especially during periods of controversy. Few early Reformed Baptist minute books and membership registers have been preserved because several of their oldest buildings were destroyed by fire. Other church clerks may have practised careless record keeping, as evidenced by the fact that accessibility of related data was a significant challenge to this project. Pentecostal Nazarenes seemingly did not value the process either, made apparent by the inability of seventy-

¹⁷¹ G. A. Seller, 'Correspondence', *KH*, 15 April 1916, 6, 3.

¹⁷² Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 57, 70.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 70, 122.

five per cent of its congregations to locate church documents prior to 1920. Most challenging of all was the fact that no Maritime Salvation Army corps preserved early information. Although a few Maritime Army officials sent sketchy accounts of local corps' activity to the *War Cry*, some of which are stored at national archives, no official records of any Maritime corps exist.

Two other sources of primary material surfaced, one of which helped especially in compensating for the absence of Salvation Army accounts. These were the diaries of several Salvation Army officers, including John Hardy, Roscoe Heine and Robert Warren, all of which describe in vivid detail some of the challenges and controversies surrounding the holiness movement. Occasionally they include particular fragments of valuable statistical information in tracing the development of the Salvation Army in the Maritime region.¹⁷⁵ The other primary information source consists of a collection of interviews conducted by this present writer with a number of veterans representing several of these religious organisations. All of them recounted with clarity the impressions of previous generations. A synthesis of these written and oral Maritime historical accounts has offered important supplementary information to applicable denominational histories.

The following study attempts to explain why several religious organisations in the Maritimes embraced the holiness movement even as other holiness-minded bodies began to distance themselves from it. An understanding of the theological foundation of each denomination, therefore, is an appropriate and important place to begin. In varying degrees, all of these entities identified with John Wesley's teachings and his understanding of holiness. Yet the theological emphasis of several groups changed over time, altogether a complex subject which is examined in

¹⁷⁵ John Hardy, 'Diary of Ensign John Hardy, 1888-1914' (in the possession of the author, Kensington, PEI); Roscoe Heine, 'Monthly Record of Roscoe James Heine', unpublished journal, 9 September 1895-31 October 1899, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: Fredericton, New Brunswick, # MC3167; Robert Warren, 'Diary of Robert Bell Warren, 29 November 1900 – 28 September 1915', in the possession of the author, Kensington, PEI.

Chapter 2. Their common theological threads are considered, along with a number of subjects which precipitated divisions within some groups, as well as discord which developed with other denominations. Chapter 3 examines their incompatible ideas surrounding the experience of entire instantaneous sanctification. That is, while some groups accepted it as an authentic experience, others argued that it was neither conventional nor genuine. Altogether, it became a complicated problem which would affect the movement for subsequent decades. The institutional development of each denomination, including its political structure, growth patterns and relationships with other denominations, were factors which also affected its response to holiness dogma. Financial status, as well as ability to communicate with and educate respective constituencies certainly influenced the transformation of several denominations. All of these issues are considered in Chapter 4. Furthermore, several religious bodies encountered various forms of opposition to their holiness beliefs and practices. Although many of the antagonists in these situations were non-religious individuals, frequently opposition arose with individuals from other holiness denominations, an issue which is explored in Chapter 5. There is also no doubt that the movement was advanced in the region by a number of men and women who successfully promulgated its teachings. It is important to identify those who provided exemplary leadership and to consider the reasons for their success, a study of which comprises Chapter 6. The composition of each denomination differed in age, gender and occupation. All of these criteria are important to consider since they demonstrate both the similarities and differences between the constituencies, issues which are appraised in Chapter 7.

Altogether, a number of significant differences existed between these groups, an understanding of which accounts for the passionate support of the holiness movement by some, as well as a rejection of it by others. This study attempts to explain why some of these denominations

continued to endorse the holiness movement even as other traditionally holiness-minded religious groups distanced themselves from it and eventually abandoned any association with it altogether. In other words, what were the effects, if any, of theology, polity, hostility, leadership, education, wealth and sophistication upon these religious bodies? Furthermore, were any, or all, of these factors influential in the different responses which these holiness denominations offered to the holiness movement? These questions are important ones to answer and consider because they point to a number of influences which shaped both the passions and apathy of many professing Christians. Likewise, a better understating of this subject also sheds some light on the evolutionary nature of evangelical denominationalism.

CHAPTER TWO

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT THEOLOGY

The theological perspectives of the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene influenced their reactions to the holiness movement. And although each of these religious organisations emphasised holy living, their doctrinal interpretations concerning the subject diverged sharply in the 1880s just as the American holiness movement began to make significant inroads in the Maritime region. In order to understand the situation which developed, a comparison of their respective theological beliefs is necessary. Each of these religious bodies possessed well-defined theological treatises, addressing the usual aspects of Christian doctrine, and sponsored denominational newspapers which, in varying degrees, discussed their religious beliefs. Both of these entities were valuable aids in achieving the multiple purposes of this chapter: firstly, to identify their shared theological beliefs; secondly, to highlight their doctrinal differences; thirdly, to review the ways in which theological disagreements led to irreparable differences between them; and, finally, to examine the theological influences which most directly shaped the direction of each denomination. In tackling these issues, the uniqueness of each religious body is underscored, as well as the solidarity and discord which developed between some of them towards the close of the nineteenth century.

Shared Theologies

Each denomination affirmed a belief in the Triune God whom they viewed as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, an initial tenet of orthodox Christianity. They acknowledged Jesus Christ as God's 'only begotten Son' and the second person of the Godhead, eternally

one with the Father, born of the Virgin Mary, and one who lived on earth as full Deity and perfect human being. They accepted orthodox views concerning the Holy Spirit, identifying him as the third person of the Godhead and the one whose primary purposes were convicting human beings of their fallen condition, regenerating those who repent, and reassuring them of salvation.¹ All of these religious bodies fully endorsed Christianity's most basic theological beliefs.

Corresponding to David Bebbington's paradigm, which lists four common characteristics of evangelical groups, all of these religious bodies would be considered evangelical denominations.² They emphasised personal conversion as a necessary condition for salvation and insisted that this divine work was accomplished exclusively through Jesus Christ's death. All of them insisted that Christ's crucifixion alone provided full atonement for all repentant sinners. This resulted in a 'new birth', an experience of such importance that it 'cannot be overstated'.³ Furthermore, they endorsed the Bible as a sacred book that provided an essential guide to Christian living. They also believed that the Old and New Testaments, which constituted the 'Divine rule of Christian faith and practice', were given to humanity through divine inspiration.⁴ They maintained that 'God's book alone possessed supreme authority'⁵ in the interpretation of 'human creeds, opinions

¹ Quoted in *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine* (London, UK: International Headquarters, 1923), 23-4. See also *Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church (Canada) 1898* (Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1898), 3-4, 11-24; *Free Christian Baptist Hand Book* (Saint John, NB: J. & A. McMillan, 98 and 100 Prince William Street, 1889), 1-18; *History of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada, November 1888 together with Minutes of Alliance of 1889 and 1890*, 66-68; *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene* (Los Angeles, CA: Nazarene Publishing Company, 1908), 24-6; *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of Oxford, Nova Scotia* (Providence, RI: Pentecostal Printing, 1900), 4.

² D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1989), 1-17.

³ A. C. Thompson, 'Annual Sermon', *RI*, 4 November 1891, 2.

⁴ *History of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination*, 56.

⁵ Bishop Merrill, 'The Higher Criticism', *RI*, 11 August 1897, 1.

and human conduct’,⁶ insisting that all biblical doctrines were ‘sacred...their precepts binding, histories true, and declarations immutable’.⁷ Although during the twentieth century the issue of biblical inerrancy became a matter which deeply divided some evangelical denominations,⁸ prior to 1920 no controversy concerning this issue surfaced among these groups. They also accepted the idea that Christians, whom they believed must be actively engaged in the affairs of the world, were responsible for disseminating the gospel to all nations. Consequently, all of these religious bodies mobilised their members to preach the gospel to unconverted individuals, evidence of which is examined in chapter 4.⁹ Applying Bebbington’s paradigm, then, all of these religious bodies may be regarded as evangelical institutions.

The five subject groups were in agreement in another respect, concurring in the views of Jacobus Arminius, a sixteenth-century Dutch theologian. Arminius emphasised that since divine grace was not an irresistible force, any individual could accept or reject salvation.¹⁰ Those who endorsed this interpretation, commonly referred to as Arminians, acknowledged that although the first humans were created in Godlikeness, their disobedience changed them into depraved individuals who were no longer able to reject sin. They also believed that God’s prevenient grace enabled anyone to accept salvation,¹¹ a precept which Edwin Evans, a Maritime Methodist minister, described as ‘a precious gift’.¹² Free Christian Baptists supported that idea, arguing that ‘Jesus... will quickly and

⁶ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene* (Los Angeles, CA: Nazarene Publishing Company, 1908), 25.

⁷ Sharp A. Baker, ‘The Bible’, *KH*, 15 February 1909, 1.

⁸ See David S. Dockery, *Christian Scripture: An Evangelical Perspective on Inspiration, Authority and Interpretation* (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 1995).

⁹ See Chapter 6, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Leadership,’ 206-9.

¹⁰ Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1971), 216.

¹¹ *Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada*, 3.

¹² George O. Huestis, *A Manual of Methodism: Being an Outline of its History, Doctrines and Discipline*

gladly come in, save and bless...anyone from any nationality or race'.¹³ Free Christian Baptists passionately denounced those who disagreed with that theology, including Regular Baptists, who pointedly insisted that salvation was a divine provision reserved for specific individuals. Elder Edward Weyman, for example, noted that had Regular Baptists renounced 'this antinomian use of the doctrine of grace, there would have been no need for us to establish a separate denomination'.¹⁴ Salvationists emphasised the 'harmony of redemption and free-will',¹⁵ as did Reformed Baptists, concluding that God 'would never destroy...free agency'.¹⁶ Pentecostal Nazarenes maintained a similar view, celebrating the idea that 'all who truly repent of their sins...are freely justified through the merits of Christ's atoning sacrifice'.¹⁷ Each of these five groups was adamant that God's offer of salvation was extended to all of humanity.

Associated with a belief in unrestricted salvation was the idea that individuals could also lose this divine reward. In 1882, Joseph McLeod, a Free Christian Baptist leader, commended a prominent American Methodist minister after he stated that 'anyone can forfeit the priceless gift'.¹⁸ Salvationists promoted that idea, noting that 'those who are truly converted may fall away and be eternally lost'.¹⁹ Some Reformed Baptists admitted that a number within their own denomination who had once been truly saved 'lost out spiritually',²⁰ a state of affairs which A. H. Sherwood described as 'backsliding- a great

(Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1885), 143, 161-63.

¹³ A. C. Thompson, 'Annual Sermon', *RI*, 4 November 1891, 2-3.

¹⁴ Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, Granville Street, 1902), 411.

¹⁵ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine* (London, UK: International Headquarters, 1881), 75.

¹⁶ G. W. McDonald, 'Prevailing Prayer, No. 4', *KH*, 29 April 1899, 1.

¹⁷ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of Oxford, Nova Scotia* (Providence, RI: Pentecostal Printing, 1900), 5.

¹⁸ G. W. McDonald, 'The Backslider in Heart', *RI*, 1 December 1882, 1.

¹⁹ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 110.

²⁰ S. A. Baker, 'Editorial', *KH*, 15 May 1915, 8.

danger of those who were once justified'.²¹ All of these groups, therefore, believed that even those who once had been Christians could turn against God and forfeit eternal life.

Another doctrine which they held in common concerned the nature and consequences of sin. All five groups defended John Wesley's definition of sin as 'a voluntary transgression of God's perfect law'.²² J. L. Dawson, a Methodist minister, noted that 'every transgression in action which was done involuntarily or unconsciously is not a sin... just as Mr Wesley taught'.²³ Furthermore, they acknowledged the insidious nature of sin, a truth which they frequently explored in denominational newspapers. In 1885, the editor of the Free Christian Baptist paper, reminded his coreligionists that failing to 'steer as far away from sin as possible'²⁴ would result in 'a precarious encounter with God'.²⁵ Salvationists warned their audience that 'sin is a terrible evil',²⁶ an admonition affirmed by Pentecostal Nazarenes who presented 'the sin problem' as one 'so serious that it requires further divine treatment'.²⁷ In a similar way, A. H. Sherwood praised the British Methodist theologian Adam Clarke for noting that 'sin so pollutes believers it demands divine cleansing'.²⁸ Every denomination called attention to the misery which sin brought to bear upon all its participants.

Included with their theological interpretation of sin was the belief that it existed in two separate modes. First, there were individual acts of rebellion, 'a collective spiritual

²¹ A. H. Sherwood, 'What Becomes of those who Deny this Doctrine', *KH*, 26 June 1899, 1.

²² *The Letters of the Rev John Wesley*, V, 322, quoted in John L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1985), 39.

²³ J. L. Dawson, 'Scriptural Holiness', *WES*, 16 June 1892, 1.

²⁴ Joseph McLeod, 'Tampering with Sin', *RI*, 13 March 1885, 1.

²⁵ C. F. Penney, 'Snow as an Emblem of Holiness', *RI*, 10 February 1886, 1.

²⁶ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 54.

²⁷ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 26.

²⁸ A. H. Sherwood, 'Dr Clarke on Entre Sanctification', *KH*, February 1891, 1.

malady which has ‘cursed the entire world’.²⁹ Apart from ‘specific acts of divine disobedience’, however, existed ‘original sin’,³⁰ a distinction which in 1884 Joseph McLeod acknowledged that Free Christian Baptists had emphasised in previous decades, but ‘now neglect’.³¹ Salvationists accepted a dual characterisation of sin, describing it as both ‘acts of disobedience to the Law of God... [and] humanity’s inclination to evil’.³² Pentecostal Nazarenes and Reformed Baptists agreed that significant difference existed between ‘actual transgressions and the old sin nature’,³³ concluding that ‘man is a sinner not only because of what he has done, but who he is’.³⁴ Such a collectively held doctrine strengthened solidarity among many holiness sympathisers from each of these denominations.

A corollary of the ‘sin’ doctrine was to be found in the emphasis these groups originally placed upon the pursuit and practice of holiness. Methodists traditionally accentuated such teachings, as the editor of the *Wesleyan* noted in 1886: ‘a great spiritual change being wrought in human nature is necessary... as preparatory to a state of holiness’.³⁵ Smith’s successor, John Lathern, lauded holiness as ‘the central idea of Christianity’,³⁶ an experience which, according to Howard Sprague, was ‘open to all believers’.³⁷ In 1889, Charles Stewart, preaching at a Maritime holiness convention,

²⁹ James Lawson, ‘Is It Necessary to Sin?’ *KH*, 20 April 1901, 1.

³⁰ *Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Samuel Rose, Wesleyan Book-Room, 1870), 3-4.

³¹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Preaching Sin as a Nature’, *RI*, 15 August 1884, 2.

³² *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 52-3.

³³ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Our Old Man’, *KH*, 30 January 1902, 1.

³⁴ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 26-7.

³⁵ T. Watson Smith, ‘The New Life in Christ’, *WES*, 22 July 1886, 2.

³⁶ John Lathern, ‘Wesley’s Doctrine’, *WES*, 26 July 1888, 3.

³⁷ Howard Sprague, ‘The Holiness Question’, *WES*, 30 August 1888, 3

highlighted the existence of a ‘true state of holiness into which... all believers may be brought’.³⁸ Maritime Methodists were strong defenders of holiness.

Likewise, Free Christian Baptists also emphasised the necessity of holy living. In 1889, Joseph McLeod wrote that purity was ‘a primary requisite of Christianity’,³⁹ an act which he believed cleansed the ‘heart from defiling desires [and] filled [it] with divine sweetness’.⁴⁰ In 1903, McLeod upheld the conclusion of Robert E. Speer, an American Presbyterian minister, missionary and writer, who believed that ‘with practice, a life of holiness becomes so established... as to be entirely natural, involuntary, instinctive, unconscious, and uncontrollable’.⁴¹ Through repeated calls for the pursuit of holiness, McLeod affirmed Free Christian Baptist traditional ideals.

Similarly, Reformed Baptists, Pentecostal Nazarenes and many Salvationists stressed the essential nature of holiness. In 1909, Aaron Hartt, a Reformed Baptist minister, advised his constituents that if ‘we are to remain a holy people we must steer clear of sin’.⁴² Sharp Baker, one of Hartt’s protégés, rephrased the admonition, noting that no one can ‘hold on to holiness should we fail to live up to our entire consecration’.⁴³ F. A. Hillery, a veteran Pentecostal Nazarene, supported that belief, asserting that ‘Christians must ever walk in perfect obedience to all the light of God, or fall from holiness in an instant’.⁴⁴ Samuel L. Brengle, an American Salvation Army officer, reported in the *King’s Highway*, the local newspaper for Reformed Baptists, that although tension is always present between the immediacy of expectation and waiting on God for the assurance of sanctification,

³⁸ Charles Stewart, ‘Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 21 February 1889, 2.

³⁹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 9 January 1889, 5.

⁴⁰ ‘The Beauty of Holiness’, *RI*, 10 August 1883, 1.

⁴¹ Robert E. Speer, ‘The Habit of Holiness’, *RI*, 14 October 1903, 2.

⁴² Aaron A. Hartt, ‘Advice to the Newly Sanctified’, *KH*, 30 June 1909, 4.

⁴³ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, 30 October 1915, 4.

⁴⁴ F. A. Hillery, ‘Cleansed from all Sin’, *BC*, 11 November 1905, 7.

believers should, nevertheless, consecrate their lives to Christ's service, believe that the experience is for them and to wait on Christ to perform the work in their hearts.⁴⁵ Each of these groups assigned considerable personal responsibility to those journeying on the 'highway of holiness', a term that holiness advocates frequently used.

The denominations also agreed that scriptural holiness was accomplished in a second work of grace, popularly known as 'entire sanctification', an experience which followed salvation. Methodists, including Charles Stewart, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Systematic Theology at Mount Allison University in the late nineteenth century, elaborated on this two-stage process. Preaching at a Maritime holiness gathering in 1899, Stewart acknowledged that, in addition to 'a true state of holiness into which all believers in Christ are introduced... [there exists] yet a higher state into which all believers may be brought'.⁴⁶ The following year, the editor of the *Wesleyan* asserted that sinners must experience both 'instantaneous conversion [and] instantaneous holiness'.⁴⁷ In 1906, Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada, urged 'all believers... [to] seek a complete and definite work of entire sanctification'.⁴⁸ Clearly, many Methodists who endorsed the critical nature of entire sanctification viewed it as an experience which occurred subsequent to the act of salvation.

Reformed Baptists, Pentecostal Nazarenes and many Salvationists supported this theological view, insisting that sanctification was 'a second definite work of grace which cannot be attained at conversion'.⁴⁹ A. H. Sherwood acknowledged that the Reformed

⁴⁵ S. L. Brengle, 'How to Obtain Holiness', *KH*, 31 August 1907, 3.

⁴⁶ Charles Stewart, 'Christian Perfection', *WES*, 21 February 1889, 3.

⁴⁷ George Bond, 'Do Methodist Preachers Still Preach Methodist Doctrine?' *WES*, 17 October 1900, 4.

⁴⁸ Dr Carman, 'Holiness or Entire Sanctification', *WES*, 22 August 1906, 4.

⁴⁹ Sharp A. Baker, 'Editorial', *KH*, 30 October 1914, 4.

Baptist Alliance had been established ‘first and foremost to reinforce the Bible’s clear teaching... [that] instantaneous sanctification is always subsequent to salvation’.⁵⁰ Sharp Baker noted that while ‘justification delivers believers from the guilt of sin, sanctification alone is able to deliver from the inbeing of sin.’⁵¹ Phineas F. Breese, co-founder of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, taught that the gospel provided both for ‘free pardon’ and ‘full purification’, which taken together were ‘the keys to our twofold condition as guilty and polluted’.⁵² Sharp Baker praised Samuel L. Brengle for stating that ‘the making of a holy people...and the crowning work of the Holy Spirit is wrought through entire sanctification’.⁵³ Salvationists also noted that because ‘inbred sin continues to exist in converted people, it is apt to rise up and produce actual sin’ unless it is destroyed through sanctification.⁵⁴ Altogether, then, these five religious bodies cited a number of reasons as to why the sanctification of believers was so vital to spiritual development.

In addition to the previously discussed beliefs, each religious body maintained similar views concerning eschatology, glossolalia, divine healing and holy communion. Their respective positions on these subjects, which were considered to be secondary points of doctrine, are succinctly summarised below. Regarding eschatology, all but the Methodists, who possessed no doctrinal statement concerning ‘Last Things’, agreed that a future event would occur at which time the bodies and spirits of all deceased individuals will reunite, and join with all living persons to face God’s final judgment.⁵⁵ The approved Methodist doctrinal treatise affirmed only that Christ would one day ‘return to judge all

⁵⁰ A. H. Sherwood, ‘Why We Advocate a Second Blessing’, *KH*, 26 June 1899, 1.

⁵¹ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, 15 September 1914, 4.

⁵² Phineas F. Breese, ‘The Twofold Gospel’, *KH*, December 1891, 1.

⁵³ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Colonel Brengle on Holiness’, *KH*, 30 September 1915, 5.

⁵⁴ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 124.

⁵⁵ ‘The Sunday School’, *WES*, 4 August 1897, 3.

men at the last day'.⁵⁶ The other denominations declared the eternal existence of all human beings, noting that believers would go to heaven while unbelievers would experience eternity separated from God in hell.⁵⁷ These groups, therefore, maintained remarkable consensus in this peripheral doctrinal matter.

None of them held to a specific view concerning the second coming of Christ although some of their members were ardently premillennial, believing that Christ's second coming would inaugurate a one-thousand year earthly reign of righteousness. Robert Ackman, an elderly Maritime Methodist layman, argued that there could be 'no warrant for setting the time definitely, since neither pre nor post millennium theories could guarantee the timing of Christ's return'.⁵⁸ As early as 1880, Joseph McLeod spoke on behalf of Free Christian Baptists, declaring that the Bible did not teach such a theory,⁵⁹ even though he admitted that premillennialism had become an interpretation accepted by many Methodists and Freewill Baptists.⁶⁰ A few leaders in the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, including Phineas Bresee and Aaron M. Hills, rejected premillennial eschatology, believing instead that as the holiness movement spread throughout the world millennial hopes would eventually be realised.⁶¹ Because many other Pentecostal Nazarenes did not share that view, the denomination amended its doctrinal statement to state that 'we concede full liberty of belief among the members' concerning this subject.⁶² By the beginning of the

⁵⁶ *Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church* (Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1898), 12.

⁵⁷ Hallelujah Bob, 'The Commissioner's Eastern Tour', *WC*, 10 September 1887. See also J. N. Short, 'The Philosophy of Sin in the Heart and its Cure', *KH*, August 1893, 1; 'How Long Halt Ye?' *HH*, 24 September 1894; *1902 Pentecostal Manual of Oxford, Nova Scotia*, 6; Arthur F. Ingler, 'Second Coming of Christ', *KH*, 15 October 1907, 2.

⁵⁸ Robert Ackman, 'The Second Coming', *WES*, 21 March 1900, 4.

⁵⁹ Joseph McLeod, 'The Second Coming', *RI*, 16 January 1880, 2.

⁶⁰ Joseph McLeod, 'Revivals', *RI*, 1 April 1881, 2.

⁶¹ Mark A. Quanstrom, *A Century of Holiness Theology* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 2004), 65.

⁶² *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 1908, 22.

twentieth century, some American Methodist holiness advocates, including Daniel Steele, a minister, theologian and seminary professor,⁶³ stated publicly his belief that the universal church could be at the threshold of ‘millennial glory’ should the holiness movement fulfil its commission to spread scriptural holiness.⁶⁴ Other Methodist holiness leaders also accepted that view. For example, John A. Wood, American founder of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness, held an optimistic view concerning the ability of holiness to usher a type of ‘millennial kingdom’,⁶⁵ through which ‘the world would be converted, and the millennial glory cover the whole earth’.⁶⁶ Salvationists did not endorse a particular view of end-time theology either. *The Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine* acknowledged that because ‘considerable differences of opinion exist among God’s people upon matters connected with the promised return of Christ’ they could not be dogmatic about the matter.⁶⁷ Despite the fact that each denomination formulated its own teachings concerning ‘last things’, they tolerated a variety of views, a development which averted significant controversy concerning the subject. In general, they emphasised the certainty of Christ’s return.

No religious body encouraged glossolalia, a term given to the practice of speaking in an unknown tongue, supposedly under the enablement of the Holy Spirit. Methodists actually described the phenomenon as ‘plainly repugnant to the word of God’.⁶⁸ Free Christian Baptists never addressed the issue, possibly because glossolalia did not become a point of discussion until after the denomination merged with Regular Baptists in 1905-6.

⁶³ William Kostlevy, ed., *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement* (Toronto, ON: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 336.

⁶⁴ Daniel Steele, *Gospel of the Comforter* (Boston, MA: Christian Witness Company, 1897), 34-5.

⁶⁵ John A. Wood, *Purity and Maturity* (Boston, MA: Christian Witness Company, 1899), 31.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 236-37.

⁶⁷ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 152.

⁶⁸ *Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church*, 15.

Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes both acknowledged the existence of glossolalia as a ‘spiritual gift’⁶⁹ but cautioned their members concerning ‘serious doctrinal errors’ which had developed from it.⁷⁰ Sharp Baker stated that, although the Bible authenticated the practice, holiness followers must avoid offering ‘undue prominence to the “gift” because “gibberish” is not the Spirit’s endowment’.⁷¹ Many holiness sympathisers, including Pentecostal Nazarenes, used the word ‘Pentecostal’ to refer to entire sanctification during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷² Pentecostal Nazarenes were troubled, however, by the associations made by some holiness advocates between the terms ‘Pentecostal’, ‘tongues’ and ‘holiness’. As a result, in 1919, they dropped ‘Pentecostal’ from the denominational title in order to dissociate themselves from those who promoted glossolalia.⁷³ All in all, this issue created no division among Maritime holiness denominations prior to 1920, since all of them rejected public demonstrations of glossolalia.

All of them endorsed similar views concerning divine healing, although Methodists and Free Christian Baptists increasingly looked to modern medical advances. Methodists, including George Bond, highlighted the ‘improving skill of doctors... [and] the beneficent science of medicine, under the inspiration of Christianity’.⁷⁴ In 1882, while conducting a revival meeting in a New Brunswick Free Christian Baptist meeting house, J. E. Reud responded to those in the congregation who were suspicious of a number of individuals conducting miracle services in the central Canadian provinces. Reud observed that ‘real

⁶⁹ P. B. Campbell, ‘The Gift of Tongues’, *BC*, 6 April 1907, 1.

⁷⁰ B. F. Haynes, ‘Sometimes Overdone’, *HH*, 30 August 1917, 5.

⁷¹ Sharp Baker, ‘The Gift of Tongues’, *KH*, 15 September 1917, 1.

⁷² Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit, Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 186-93.

⁷³ Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 320.

⁷⁴ George Bond, ‘Divine Healing and Divine Healers’, *WES*, 8 August 1900, 4.

faith can remove mountains... [and] acknowledges no impossibilities whatever'.⁷⁵ Not all Free Christian Baptists, however, were as open-minded concerning the miraculous as Reud. In 1883, Joseph McLeod commented on healings which had allegedly occurred in Ontario, concluding that they were 'greatly exaggerated by reporters'.⁷⁶ He also characterised healing services recently conducted in New England, by Albert B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, as 'dangerous events that go far beyond the warrants of the word of God'.⁷⁷ Reformed Baptists frequently celebrated God's ability to heal 'all manner of diseases'.⁷⁸ Although Salvationists did not emphasise divine healing, occasionally they reported dramatic stories of miraculous divine intervention. For example, a group of Army officers gave an account to the editor of the *Fredericton Evening Capital* of a young boy who was 'run over by a carriage containing four or five persons and miraculously picked himself up and scampered off, uninjured'.⁷⁹ Pentecostal Nazarenes, including J. N. Short, wrote articles which appeared in several denominational papers, presenting divine healing as 'the sovereign gift of God...especially inspired for the time, occasion, and individual'.⁸⁰ While some Methodists, Free Christian Baptists and Salvationists moderated the miraculous, looking to modern medicine instead, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes emphasised the inexplicable restoration of certain individuals.

All of these groups, except for the Salvation Army, observed 'communion,' commonly known as the 'Lord's Supper', even though they disputed the qualifications for

⁷⁵ J. E. Reud, 'Sermon by Rev J. E. Reud', *RI*, 3 March 1882, 1.

⁷⁶ Joseph McLeod, 'The Editor's Letter, III.', *RI*, 6 April 1883, 2.

⁷⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Faith Healing', *RI*, 22 May 1889, 4.

⁷⁸ G. W. McDonald, 'Sickness, Not Always an Evidence of Sin', *KH*, 16 June 1902, 1.

⁷⁹ 'Salvation Army', *FEC*, 12 November 1892, 10.

⁸⁰ J. N. Short, 'Divine Healing', *KH*, 15 August 1895, 1.

communicants. Free Christian Baptists, for example, had traditionally permitted anyone professing salvation to receive communion.⁸¹ During the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, as they moved toward union with Regular Baptists, some ministers insisted that only those baptised by immersion should partake of the Lord's Supper.⁸² And, although Reformed Baptists also exclusively accepted that mode of baptism, they did not view it as a prerequisite for partaking in communion.⁸³ Each denomination emphasised the importance of spiritual self-examination,⁸⁴ affirming that the Lord's Supper was a re-enactment of a memorial event instituted by Christ, one which symbolised his impending death.⁸⁵ The Salvation Army, which was not focused on denominational building as were other religious bodies, saw little value in celebrating communion.⁸⁶

On the whole, then, these groups embraced remarkably similar theologies. All of them were evangelical bodies which advocated the need of personal salvation and sustained life transformation. They embraced the Bible as the authoritative Word of God and exhorted believers to press its claims to the world. They warned against the dangers of sin, believing that such iniquities consisted not only in acts of disobedience but also in the nature of humanity. As a result, they emphasised the pursuit of holiness, urging believers to seek the experience of entire sanctification. Apart from the fact that the Salvation Army dismissed the practice of holy communion, its views concerning eschatology, glossolalia and divine healing were also comparable, making it quite analogous to the other religious groups.

⁸¹ *Free Christian Baptist Hand Book* (Saint John, NB: J. & A. McMillan, 1889), 15

⁸² Roland K. McCormick, *Faith, Freedom and Democracy: The Baptists in Atlantic Canada* (Tantallon, NS: Four East Productions, 1993), 83.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸⁴ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 30-1.

⁸⁵ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of Oxford, Nova Scotia*, 6.

⁸⁶ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 175.

Theological Differences

The second section of this chapter discusses two distinct aspects of theology upon which these denominations diverged from one another. The first area of difference concerned the ordinance of baptism. All of them, except for the Salvation Army, viewed baptism as one's declaration of faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord,⁸⁷ yet their ideas regarding the proper mode of baptism and the appropriate age of candidates varied. Methodists and their progeny, Pentecostal Nazarenes, were more flexible than the others; they made no issue over mode of baptism, accepting sprinkling, pouring and immersing as suitable methods. They also considered baptism as appropriate for individuals of all ages, believing that the baptism of children was indicative of parental intent to raise their offspring in the Christian faith, as well as the hope that those being baptised would eventually affirm that faith.⁸⁸

Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists, on the other hand, believed that baptism solely symbolised one's own faith. As a result, they baptised only those able to profess personal conversion.⁸⁹ Furthermore, they insisted that baptism by immersion was the only acceptable method, claiming that 'pedobaptism and sprinkling' were not New Testament practices.⁹⁰ Joseph McLeod also objected to infant baptism on the grounds that it 'wrought vast injury to evangelical truth and practical piety'.⁹¹ Not all Free Christian Baptists were so dogmatic, however. Through a series of articles, Burton Minard compared the views concerning baptism of Lutherans, Methodists, Anglicans and Free Baptists,

⁸⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Field Notes', *RI*, 23 December 1891, 4; *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of Oxford, Nova Scotia*, 6.

⁸⁸ Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 367.

⁸⁹ *Free Christian Baptist Handbook*, 24.

⁹⁰ 'Joseph McLeod, 'The Free Baptist Position', *RI*, 5 March 1890, 4.

⁹¹ Joseph McLeod, 'Objections of Infant Baptism', *RI*, 16 June 1886, 1.

encouraging fellow Free Christian Baptists to assess the pros and cons of each interpretation.⁹² A number of Minard's coreligionists concurred with him and the issue of baptism led to no serious division between Free Christian Baptists and Methodists. The frequency with which these denominations joined forces in revival meetings between 1880 and 1890 suggests that they wholeheartedly tolerated one another's beliefs and practices.⁹³ Salvationists, who did not practise baptism at all, occasionally collaborated with Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes in conducting holiness conventions. Taken together, therefore, it seems that theological differences concerning baptism did not deter these groups from networking with one another.⁹⁴

Significantly, a second theological difference arose and eventually precipitated serious discord among the five religious bodies. Varied interpretations over the subject of entire sanctification led to considerable controversy, bringing about problems in several of the denominations as well as outright clashes between others. Such divergence of opinion did not become apparent until the 1880s, and was hastened by the involvement of Maritimers in the American holiness movement.⁹⁵ The key issue for debate was whether or not entire sanctification should be viewed as a work of grace distinct from salvation. Beginning in the mid-1880s, a number of Methodist ministers, including John Lathern, suggested that much of the controversy surrounding holiness theology was related to its subjective and ambiguous nature. For example, Lathern noted that while the English word *perfect* suggested an idea of excellence, he believed 'a clearer definition would be "full-

⁹² B. Minard, 'Christian Baptism', *RI*, 9 September 1881, 2.

⁹³ See Chapter 4, Maritime Holiness Movement 'Institutions,' 138-39.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,' 141-42.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 192-93.

grown or mature”⁹⁶ Lathern reminded his coreligionists that Adam Clarke, the well-known British Methodist theologian, observed that the word ‘perfection’ had many qualifications and was unable to ‘comport with that full and glorious salvation recommended in the gospel’.⁹⁷ In 1901, the editor of the *Wesleyan* attempted to resolve what had become a troublesome issue among Methodists, reminding them that holiness existed in various forms which ought not to be confused and that, even as Methodists pursued holiness, they would encounter restrictions in that quest until they reached heaven.⁹⁸

Some Free Christian Baptists became as disconcerted over the doctrine of entire sanctification as had a number of Methodists. While it was true that the Free Christian Baptist Conference endorsed a desire for holiness, nevertheless it was troubled by those who became preoccupied with the experience. In 1887, George Stickney wrote to the *Religious Intelligencer*, affirming the experience yet expressing dissatisfaction with those who ‘harp upon that particular doctrine, however good and necessary’.⁹⁹ Joseph McLeod responded to Stickney’s concern through a series of editorials in which he defined entire sanctification as ‘the heart made pure by holiness’.¹⁰⁰ McLeod insisted that the experience could not create perfection in a believer prior to death,¹⁰¹ an interpretation which was similar to that of progressive Methodists at the time.

While many in these denominations continually re-evaluated their holiness views, other individuals became more deeply entrenched in the theological interpretations of

⁹⁶ John Lathern, ‘Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 11 May 1893, 1.

⁹⁷ John Lathern, ‘Adam Clarke on Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 28 September 1893, 2.

⁹⁸ George Bond, ‘Holy Living’, *WES*, 16 September 1902, 4.

⁹⁹ George Stickney, ‘Some Suggestions’, *RI*, 27 July 1887, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Joseph McLeod, ‘Holiness’, *RI*, 27 July 1887, 2.

¹⁰¹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Wesley’s View’, *RI*, 15 January 1890, 4.

American holiness movement leaders. One consideration which Maritime advocates especially supported was the idea that entire sanctification actually obliterated one's sinful nature. Ada Kinton, associate editor of the Salvation Army's newspaper, the *War Cry*, noted that its officers sought for their audiences a 'full and present deliverance from inbred sin'.¹⁰² And A. B. Boyer, a Reformed Baptist layman, insisted that the scriptures demonstrated how the 'body of sin was destroyed in entire sanctification'.¹⁰³ To those who questioned that belief, James Lawson, another Reformed Baptist layman, argued 'just as we can have our past sins forgiven we can also have our... sinful hearts cleansed from all sin'.¹⁰⁴ Sharp Baker went so far as to suggest that, after one's carnal nature was destroyed, 'the liability to fall into temptation' disappeared.¹⁰⁵ When the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was established in 1907, its leaders, including Joseph Richardson, offered a similarly optimistic claim for sanctification, noting that 'God creates perfect heads and perfect hearts' in anyone attaining the experience.¹⁰⁶ Such unreserved praise for holiness demonstrated the depth of conviction these men held concerning the benefits that accrued to sanctified individuals.

A second consideration which created differences of opinion among these groups was whether holiness was 'imparted' or 'imputed' to those experiencing sanctification. Reformed Baptists, Pentecostal Nazarenes and some Salvationists insisted that God *imparted* holiness, meaning that divine sanctification so purified an individual that one's motives and desires were thereafter wholly pure. They argued that if entire sanctification

¹⁰² Ada F. Kinton, 'From the Soul-Saving Troupe', *WC*, 28 May 1892, 4.

¹⁰³ A. B. Boyer, 'Entire Sanctification', *KH*, June 1891, 2.

¹⁰⁴ James Lawson, 'Is It Necessary to Sin?' *KH*, 20 April 1901, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Sharp Baker, 'Victory in Holiness', *KH*, 30 August 1915, 3.

¹⁰⁶ J. Richardson, 'Perfect Hearts, but Not Perfect Heads', *BC*, January 1896, 3.

‘saves to the uttermost’,¹⁰⁷ it would be unscriptural to reason that Christ’s righteousness merely acted as a covering for one’s sin. The Reformed Baptist *Statement of Faith* noted that entire sanctification ‘excludes all original depravity or inbred sin from the heart and fills individuals with “perfect love”’.¹⁰⁸ Reformed Baptists claimed that since ‘the very design of the gospel’ was ‘to separate believers from sin’,¹⁰⁹ ‘a complete cleansing in the all-atoning blood of Jesus’ could deliver them ‘from all remains of sin’.¹¹⁰ Reformed Baptists, such as William Sherwood, lauded the Salvation Army platform which insisted upon complete deliverance from sin for all those whom God sanctifies.¹¹¹ Sherwood also applauded Catherine Booth for her contention that ‘sanctified souls receive an inward transformation into the very likeness of Christ’.¹¹² George McDonald, another Reformed Baptist minister, identified entire sanctification as ‘Christ living His incarnate life in us’, appropriating Phoebe Palmer’s terminology of placing ‘oneself fully on the altar’ and instantaneously being delivered from all sin.¹¹³ Pentecostal Nazarenes, such as Edmund Smith, also endorsed this view, claiming that the concept of *imputed* holiness, the idea that God merely places a covering of holiness over a believer, was ‘counterfeit.’ Smith reasoned that those accepting this holiness view denied both the possibility and necessity of having carnality destroyed.¹¹⁴ Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes agreed that, since Christ imparted his own nature into those he sanctified, these individuals would consequently abstain from all sin.

¹⁰⁷ George Hughes, ‘Like Him’, *WES*, 5 April 1888, reprinted from *GH*.

¹⁰⁸ Edward Gay Britten, ‘A History of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada’, unpublished B. Div. thesis, School of Theology, Acadia University, 1964, 35.

¹⁰⁹ W.H. Sherwood, ‘Dead to Sin’, *KH*, 30 September 1898, 1.

¹¹⁰ W. H. Sherwood, ‘How Some Lose Holiness’, *KH*, 15 April 1898, 1.

¹¹¹ W. H. Sherwood, ‘In as Much’, *KH*, January 1891, 2.

¹¹² W. H. Sherwood, ‘Holiness, What it is Not, What it is, and How to Get it’, *KH*, March 1891, 1.

¹¹³ G. W. McDonald, ‘The Work of the Spirit’, *KH*, 15 December 1900, 1.

¹¹⁴ W. E. Smith, ‘True Holiness’, *KH*, 15 January 1915, 3.

Some Methodists agreed with those who advocated imparted holiness. In 1886, T. Watson Smith, editor of the *Wesleyan*, acknowledged the persistence of two theories regarding heart purity. One involved seeking it by trying ‘to abstain from evil’, an approach which Smith believed was ‘a mistake’, while the second option required being ‘filled with perfect love’, the choice of all genuine believers, according to Smith.¹¹⁵ John Lathern, who celebrated ‘faith in our Methodist doctrine... for its sin-slaying, soul-restoring power’, believed that when the ‘old man is destroyed... nothing remains but beautiful, heavenly rest’.¹¹⁶ In 1907, D. W. Johnson, editor of the *Wesleyan*, publicly endorsed the conclusion of an American Methodist minister that ‘holiness must be not only imputed, but imparted and inwrought’.¹¹⁷ There is no doubt that a faction within the Methodist Church supported the views of the American holiness movement.

Other Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, however, rejected a theological interpretation which decreed the death of one’s sinful nature. These individuals believed that, in sanctification, God covered individuals with ‘cloaks of perfection’ so that he saw only the holiness of Jesus Christ as he looked upon his children. In 1890, Ezra Stafford, a Methodist minister, wrote a series of articles, pointing out that many of those who claimed to be sanctified were as prone to ‘weakness and imperfections as the rest of us’.¹¹⁸ Joseph McLeod, as editor of the Free Christian Baptist newspaper, wrote an article on the subject acknowledging that, although Christians could be cleansed from all unrighteousness,¹¹⁹ a number of Salvation Army officers otherwise taught that sanctification ‘delivers men from

¹¹⁵ T. Watson Smith, ‘Christian Purity’, *WES*, 5 August 1886, 3.

¹¹⁶ John Lathern, ‘The Doctrine’, *WES*, 8 October 1891, 3.

¹¹⁷ J. W. Hill, ‘Christian Perfection as Voiced by the Methodist Church’, *WES*, 4 December 1907, 2, reprinted from *WA*.

¹¹⁸ E. A. Stafford, ‘Holiness’, *WES*, 29 May 1890, 4.

¹¹⁹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Discussions of Holiness’, *RI*, 1 June 1883, 2.

the power of sin but not from the root' of it, a conclusion which McLeod endorsed.¹²⁰ He compared sin in a believer's life to the dirtying of snow: 'once it is defiled it cannot ever get pure again, although God's inexhaustible grace can cover it over.'¹²¹ Such a view overtly challenged the theology of holiness movement advocates. Consequently, arguments from both sides became impassioned in the 1880s: one group highlighting what they believed to be serious theological flaws within the holiness movement, with another body of opinion creating a regional network of its passionate defenders. Divisions which initially began to separate them early in the 1880s deepened the schism until internal discord in the Methodist Church and in the Free Christian Baptist Conference threatened the entire future of both denominations.¹²²

Polarisation of Theological Differences

This controversy over holiness prompted an impassioned debate among Methodists. Some ministers in the denomination, including Howard Sprague, endorsed the pursuit of holiness, specifically the experience of entire sanctification. Sprague argued that because 'centuries, years, months, days and hours are exactly the same to God [any believer could] attain the highest reaches of holiness in a moment'.¹²³ In 1889, the editor of the *Wesleyan* reiterated this claim, stating that the moment a 'believer places himself deliberately, wholeheartedly, unreservedly, and unconditionally at the disposal of the Lord Jesus Christ he is made holy'.¹²⁴ T. Watson Smith, another editor of the *Wesleyan*, publicly concluded that unless Methodists reaffirmed that view, 'our denomination will cease to prosper'.¹²⁵ A few

¹²⁰ Joseph McLeod, 'Their Doctrine', *RI*, 14 August 1885, 2.

¹²¹ Joseph McLeod, 'Snow as an Emblem of Holiness', *RI*, 10 February 1886, 1.

¹²² See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 185-90.

¹²³ Howard Sprague, 'Letter', *WES*, 23 August 1888, 3.

¹²⁴ George Bond, 'Do Methodist Preachers Still Preach Methodist Doctrine?' *WES*, 17 October 1900, 4.

¹²⁵ 'A Testimony to Holiness', *WES*, 8 December 1892, 2, reprinted from *CW*.

ministers acknowledged that support for the holiness cause was in serious decline.¹²⁶ In 1898, James T. Smith, a Methodist layman, accused those he knew in the denomination who opposed the movement of being ‘disloyal followers of Wesley’.¹²⁷ In 1898, another layman expressed outrage that ‘our Methodist catechism had ‘gone by the board’,¹²⁸ a concern appreciated by S. H. Rice, a Maritime minister, who lamented that the ‘majority among us cannot give the reason, why and wherefore, for the reinforcement of the doctrine most surely believed’.¹²⁹ The editor of the *Wesleyan* summarised the quandary by stating that ‘the old ring is gone ... distinctive Methodist preaching has disappeared’.¹³⁰

Other Methodists rejected such an emphasis on holiness theology, noting that some of the tenets of the holiness movement were simplistic and erroneous. John Lathern, for example, argued that sanctification and entire sanctification were not synonymous, the former being a progressive work, while the latter resulted in an end product, that of ‘a perfect Christian’,¹³¹ a state which he doubted could occur during one’s life.¹³² In 1896, an anonymous Maritime Methodist, living in New England at the time, sent several letters to the *Wesleyan* in which he denied two works of grace altogether, asserting instead that anyone who is pardoned ‘also has been sanctified’.¹³³ J. R. Borden, a Methodist minister in Nova Scotia, supported that view, reasoning that ‘there is no thinkable room in the economy of salvation for a fourth operation distinct from justification, adoption and regeneration any more than there is thinkable room for a fourth relationship among the

¹²⁶ George W. Fisher, ‘Christian Holiness Convention’, *WES*, 11 April 1895, 5.

¹²⁷ James T. Smith, ‘Correspondence’, *WES*, 16 March 1898, 5.

¹²⁸ Anonymous, ‘The Old is Better’, *WES*, 26 January 1898, 4.

¹²⁹ S. H. Rice, ‘Correspondence’, *WES*, 21 March 1900, 5.

¹³⁰ George Bond, ‘Do Methodist Preachers Still Preach Methodist Doctrine?’ *WES*, 17 October 1900, 4.

¹³¹ John Lathern, ‘Editorial’, *WES*, 12 April 1888, 2.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³³ Anonymous, ‘A Letter from Boston’, *WES*, 4 March 1896, 4.

persons of the Godhead'.¹³⁴ By 1920, most of those Methodists who acknowledged entire sanctification at all, agreed with the editor of the *Wesleyan* who described holiness as a 'blessed process of grace' which continues throughout the life cycle.¹³⁵

The declining emphasis on holiness among Methodists was evident in several changes which occurred at their denomination's camp meetings. As early as 1870, Methodists had established an annual series of outdoor worship gatherings on a large tract of land in Berwick, Nova Scotia. These meetings had frequently been marked with great enthusiasm and significant emotional outbursts similar to those in Methodist camp meetings in central Canada and the United States.¹³⁶ During the 1880s and 90s, Berwick Camp quickly became a bastion for holiness supporters.¹³⁷ And although by the beginning of the twentieth century, J. M. Fisher, a Methodist minister and ardent holiness supporter insisted that this site continued to be the setting for numerous 'experience meetings',¹³⁸ rarely were the 'altars lined... [with] scores of those seeking to be sanctified',¹³⁹ an event which had been common in the last two decades of the previous century.¹⁴⁰ In fact, after 1900, popular holiness movement leaders were excluded from functioning as guest evangelists at camp gatherings. Moreover, many of the special speakers at these meetings were not even Methodists. They included J. Murdock McInnis¹⁴¹ and William Meikle, both renowned

¹³⁴ J. R. Borden, 'Doctrinal Questions', *WES*, 17 May 1888, 4.

¹³⁵ John Paul, 'Sanctification', *WES*, 12 May 1920, 2.

¹³⁶ Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-19th-Century America* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957), 130.

¹³⁷ Editor, 'The Berwick Camp Meeting', *WES*, 18 July 1884, 1; William Ainley, 'Berwick Camp Meeting', *WES*, 11 July 1884, 2; William Ainley, 'The Camp Meeting', *WES*, 9 July 1885, 3; J. M. Fisher, 'The Camp Meeting', *WES*, 10 August 1893, 2; S. F. Huestis, 'Camp Meeting', *WES*, 3 August 1893, 2; Lillie Lathern, 'At the Berwick Camp Meeting', *WES*, 22 August 1895, 4.

¹³⁸ J. M. Fisher, 'The Camp Meeting', *WES*, 3 July 1901, 1.

¹³⁹ Flemming Holm, *Berwick Camp Meeting: The First Hundred Years, 1872-1972* (Antigonish, NS: Casket Printing, 1972), 21-5.

¹⁴⁰ J. Fisher, 'Berwick Camp Meeting', *WES*, 10 July 1901, 5.

¹⁴¹ H. G. Bandey, 'Berwick Camp Meeting', *WES*, 24 August 1910, 4.

Presbyterians.¹⁴² In 1902, G. O. Huestis, an elderly Methodist preacher, asserted his holiness views during a camp session, a presentation which the camp secretary described as ‘a novel theological view to many in our flock’.¹⁴³ By 1907, camp directors had replaced evangelists with ‘special speakers’, individuals who were ‘experts in the important department of Christian effort’.¹⁴⁴ The following year, the visiting speaker was William V. Spencer, an American historian and author, whose sermons were ‘free from sensationalism’.¹⁴⁵ In 1911, the theme of the camp meeting was ‘public service’ to which ‘an unusually larger number of young people made glad response’. John Allen, an elderly Methodist minister, celebrated what he believed to be ‘a new spirit of optimism and good cheer... [replacing] an atmosphere which had proved rather oppressive to the youthful mind’. Allen noted that campers returned to their homes ‘refreshed with nature and with Nature’s God’,¹⁴⁶ an observation which sharply contrasted with late nineteenth-century camp meeting reports of long worship gatherings and altar services which extended into the early hours of the morning.¹⁴⁷ In 1919, special workers at the camp were Dr J. W. Aikens, a Methodist historian, and Miss Mildred Armstrong, a representative of the Woman’s Missionary Society in China.¹⁴⁸ There did not appear to be even a hint of the holiness vestiges from the previous century.

During the 1880s, while some Free Christian Baptists ardently supported the holiness movement’s teachings, others became uncomfortable with them. In 1884, George McDonald, a well-respected elder in the denomination, publicly defended entire

¹⁴² ‘Camp Meeting, 1903’, *WES*, 19 August 1903, 4.

¹⁴³ R. O. Armstrong, ‘Camp Meeting, 1902’, *WES*, 27 August 1902, 4.

¹⁴⁴ J. S. Coffin, ‘The Berwick Camp Meeting, 1907’, *WES*, 19 June 1907, 4.

¹⁴⁵ C. M. M., ‘Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 25 August 1909, 5.

¹⁴⁶ John S. Allen, ‘The Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 30 August 1911, 2.

¹⁴⁷ S. F. Huestis, ‘Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 3 August 1893, 2.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Berwick Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 18 August 1919, 5, 8.

sanctification as the quintessential solution to ‘strengthening one’s ability to pray [and] to praise’.¹⁴⁹ Several other ministers strongly denounced this view, insisting that the experience should not be considered as ‘separate, distinct or instantaneous... [and] certainly not an experience in this life’.¹⁵⁰ George A. Hartley, an aged elder, called the whole idea ‘a new and particularly troublesome idea’.¹⁵¹ Still others, including Joseph McLeod, a Free Christian Baptist minister and editor of the denominational newspaper, initially promoted a more relaxed position, acknowledging the existence of ‘two quite distinct views held by persons of equal intelligence and piety’, and concluding that ‘Scriptures seem to furnish ground for both theories’.¹⁵² He admitted that God required believers to be ‘sanctified wholly’¹⁵³ yet never acknowledged that such an experience could occur during one’s lifetime. As late as 1889, McLeod recognised the existence of the experience, even suggesting that ‘many poor and impure Christians suffer from defects [that] must be cured by sanctification’.¹⁵⁴ During the 1880s, when a number of ardent American holiness advocates visited the region, propagating their theological views, McLeod began to question some of their interpretations concerning holiness¹⁵⁵ and his comments increasingly exhibited a negative character. All things considered, McLeod turned out to be the most prominent Free Christian Baptist to highlight recurrently what he

¹⁴⁹ G. W. McDonald, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 March 1994, 2.

¹⁵⁰ G. A. Hartley, ‘Deliverance And Recommendations Made By The Executive Of General Conference,’ 12 October 1886, 1-2.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵² Joseph McLeod, ‘Discussions of Holiness’, *RI*, 1 June 1883, 2.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 9 January 1889, 5.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 5, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,’ 194-95.

perceived to be serious denominational conflicts for which he held the movement and its supporters largely responsible.¹⁵⁶

Beginning in the 1880s, a perceptible modification to the holiness revivalism of Free Christian Baptists occurred.¹⁵⁷ There was a marked decline in the regularity and frequency with which denominational leaders conducted revival meetings. A few ministers continued to hold 'special' meetings twice annually, yet the majority of ministers, who for many years had maintained itinerant ministries, had settled into particular communities where they ministered to small numbers of congregations and received regular salaries. Few of them, therefore, were interested in travelling to other reaches of the Maritimes to minister to unpredictable numbers of people and receive arbitrary remuneration. In general, by 1890, it had become increasingly difficult for Free Christian Baptists to secure an evangelist for a revival campaign.¹⁵⁸ A number of churches supplanted revivalism with various other initiatives, such as 'rally days'. One such event, held in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1893, was planned for the purpose of educating 'the young, concerning the origin, progress and doctrines of our denomination... [and] to arouse denominational enthusiasm'¹⁵⁹ but there was no mention of holiness.

By the late 1880s, only a select few Methodists and Free Christian Baptists continued to defend distinct holiness teachings. In 1889, the *Wesleyan* printed an article

¹⁵⁶ Joseph McLeod, 'Revival Needed', *RI*, 16 December 1881, 2; Joseph McLeod, 'The Revival', *RI*, 25 November 1891, 4; Joseph McLeod, 'Seek Revival Power', *RI*, 27 January 1892, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 24 April 1889, 4; T. O. DeWitt, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 8 May 1889, 4; J. J. Barnes, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 15 April 1896, 5; J. Garfield Perry, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 30 April 1902, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Joseph McLeod, 'Denominational', *RI*, 30 January 1880, 2; Thomas Fulton, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 5 January 1883, 2; J. N. Barnes, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 16 February 1883, 2; Burton Minard, 'Convention and Personal', *RI*, 9 January 1885, 2; Joseph McLeod, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 30 January 1885, 2; T. O. DeWitt, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 1 May 1885, 2.

¹⁵⁹ Edwin Crowell, 'Grand Free Baptist Rally', *RI*, 17 May 1893, 5.

written by D. Davies Moore, a Maritime-born Methodist minister, who stressed that ‘entire cessation from known sin... as taught by American holiness brethren... [is] the privilege and calling of every Christian’.¹⁶⁰ A group of former Free Christian Baptists, including George McDonald, wrote that God has ‘no use for believers who are not entirely sanctified’.¹⁶¹ That view was defended by William Kinghorn, who noted that ‘many have quenched the Spirit by resisting the doctrine and duty of sanctification’.¹⁶² Sharp Baker went so far as to suggest that individuals were ‘not fully saved until delivered from both the sin nature and personal transgression’.¹⁶³ All of these individuals, except for Moore, were Free Christian Baptists who left the denomination in 1888 to establish the Reformed Baptist Alliance.

In this new religious body, holiness advocates made even stronger claims for the experience of entire sanctification than Methodists or Free Christian Baptists had done previously. In 1897, A. H. Sherwood noted that, although the preparatory stage of sanctification was progressive, ‘the thing itself always takes place instantaneously’.¹⁶⁴ George McDonald shared that sentiment, advising any true believer can ‘take a short cut to perfection’.¹⁶⁵ A. L. Bubar, a Reformed Baptist layman, insisted that no Christian could ‘remain dead to sin very long without entire sanctification’.¹⁶⁶ Sharp Baker described sanctification as ‘the most precious experience to be obtained by men on earth’, and one which he believed Free Christian Baptists had abandoned.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ D. Davies Moore, ‘Purity of Heart’, *WES*, 18 July 1889, 2.

¹⁶¹ G. W. McDonald, ‘Heart Backsliding’, *KH*, 26 June 1896, 2.

¹⁶² William Kinghorn, ‘Quenching the Spirit’, *KH*, 26 June 1899, 1.

¹⁶³ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Our Old Man’, *KH*, 30 January 1902, 1.

¹⁶⁴ A. H. Sherwood, ‘Sanctification’, *KH*, 15 March 1897, 1.

¹⁶⁵ G. W. McDonald, ‘Perfection, No. III’, *KH*, 15 July 1899, 1.

¹⁶⁶ A. L. Bubar, ‘A Fatal Mistake’, *KH*, October 1891.

¹⁶⁷ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Holiness, the Pearl of Great Price’, *KH*, 16 October 1916, 4.

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene also offered a passionate endorsement for entire sanctification. Its manual stated that sanctification was ‘received in an instant, by faith...as soon as the regenerate soul... makes an entire consecration to God.’¹⁶⁸ As early as 1888, F. A. Hillery, an American Methodist who after joining the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, conducted a number of holiness meetings in the Maritime region, insisted that the Bible taught that ‘all men may be wholly sanctified in this life’.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, Hillery believed that it would be ‘just as sensible to speak of progressive justification’ as it would be to believe in ‘progressive sanctification’,¹⁷⁰ a position which would eventually become the official position of Pentecostal Nazarenes. Sharp Baker agreed with that summation, insisting that although ‘both preliminary and after growth [of holiness] are gradual they may be attained instantaneously by faith’.¹⁷¹

Not all Salvation Army officers shared the rigorous view of Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes. Despite the fact that the Army *Handbook* stated that ‘God’s people may be delivered from all sin...throughout life’,¹⁷² some officials were not convinced. One officer, for example, discouraged John Hardy, a young officer-in-training, from seeking entire sanctification, advising him instead to concentrate on fulfilling his daily responsibilities to the organisation.¹⁷³ Such lack of uniformity in bolstering this aspect of the Army’s mandate helps to explain why Salvationists did not experience the same degree

¹⁶⁸ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of Oxford, Nova Scotia*, 5-6.

¹⁶⁹ F. A. Hillery, ‘Holiness’, *BC*, December 1888, 1.

¹⁷⁰ F. A. Hillery, ‘Progressive Sanctification’, *BC*, June 1895, 4.

¹⁷¹ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Rev. Wood on Holiness’, *KH*, 30 August 1915, 5.

¹⁷² *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine*, 130.

¹⁷³ Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Amsterdam, NL: Eldeha Publishing, 1965), 81-2.

of camaraderie with Reformed Baptists and Nazarenes that these two denominations had enjoyed with one another.

With the close of the nineteenth century, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes developed more unyielding holiness assertions. In 1898, for example, A. H. Sherwood wrote that ‘all carnality... must be entirely eradicated’.¹⁷⁴ He also insinuated that too many Free Christian Baptists had not defended their holiness heritage, accusing them of ‘mistaking the real nature of holiness...for delightful emotion and rapturous sentimentality’.¹⁷⁵ George McDonald emphasised a similarly strong platform, insisting that ‘love cannot be perfected in human hearts until sin is eradicated’.¹⁷⁶ In 1903, George Hunt, one of the founders of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, noted in the *Beulah Journal* that entire sanctification destroys ‘all remains of sin’,¹⁷⁷ a phrase which Pentecostal Nazarenes assimilated into their 1908 doctrinal statement.¹⁷⁸ ‘The old Adamic nature...must be ended, not mended’, Sharp Baker exclaimed in 1909. ‘It must be crucified...and the new nature given in regeneration cultivated and developed.’¹⁷⁹ Baker reported on one church member whom he had witnessed suffer ‘the death route of the crucifixion of the “old man,”’.¹⁸⁰ Such an ordeal necessitated a complete rejection of worldly practices through a period of self-mortification, an approach which Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes accepted but one which confused many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists. Baker explained to holiness sympathisers that, after one’s carnal

¹⁷⁴ A. H. Sherwood, ‘Carnality Must Be Crucified’, *KH*, 15 November 1898, 1.

¹⁷⁵ A. H. Sherwood, ‘How Some, Lose Holiness’, *KH*, 15 April 1898, 1.

¹⁷⁶ G. W. McDonald, ‘Perfection’, *KH*, 15 August 1900, 2.

¹⁷⁷ George F. Hunt, ‘Purifying the Heart’, *BC*, January 1903, 10.

¹⁷⁸ *Manual of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 26.

¹⁷⁹ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Not Mending but Ending’, *KH*, 31 July 1909, 3.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Obituary of Mrs. Caroline Reed’, *KH*, 31 May 1915, 8.

nature was destroyed, Satan could operate only ‘from the outside’.¹⁸¹ In 1917, the Salvation Army’s General Bramwell Booth supported that claim when he addressed Reformed Baptists at their annual camp meeting, claiming that entire sanctification abolished all sin.¹⁸² By the beginning of the twentieth century, then, it was clear that Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes embraced radical views concerning entire sanctification, ideas which a large number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists did not accept.

Theological Influences

The final section of this chapter examines those individuals who most significantly influenced the theological views of Maritime holiness movement sympathisers. John Wesley (1703-1791) should be acknowledged first, taking into account that each of these five denominations considered him to be the one who re-energised a scriptural understanding of holiness. Individuals such as Lillie Lathern, the daughter of John Lathern, ascribed to Wesley the shaping of her own passion for purity.¹⁸³ Howard Sprague, a popular Maritime Methodist minister, lauded Wesley for emphasising the privilege of all believers to practise holiness.¹⁸⁴ George Noble, a leading Pentecostal Nazarene, stated that his beliefs embodied ‘nothing more or less than what Wesley taught’.¹⁸⁵ In 1914, the district superintendent of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene addressed Maritimers, stressing that the success of the denomination would ‘depend upon the preaching of holiness as taught by Mr. Wesley’.¹⁸⁶ Free Christian Baptists, such as Edward Weymen, elevated Wesley to a high place when he presented C. T. Phillips, a revered elder in the

¹⁸¹ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, 30 August 1915, 3

¹⁸² Bramwell Booth, ‘Holiness’, *KH*, 30 June 1917, 7.

¹⁸³ Lillie Lathern, ‘At the Berwick Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 22 August 1895, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Howard Sprague, ‘The Holiness Question’, *WES*, 30 August 1888.

¹⁸⁵ G. E. Noble, ‘Christian Perfection’, *BC*, December 1888, Vol. 1, No. 3. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Proceedings of the Seventh District Assembly of the New England District of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 28 April -3 May 1914, 18.

denomination, as a man who knew ‘more of Wesley’s writings than most Methodists’.¹⁸⁷ Sharp Baker spoke on behalf of Reformed Baptists when he stated that ‘through Wesley, God has convicted the whole world of holiness’.¹⁸⁸ That Salvationists too acclaimed Wesley was hardly surprising given that their founder, William Booth, referred to him as ‘God’s prophet’.¹⁸⁹ All of these groups claimed allegiance to both Wesley and the theological principles he advanced.

Wesley detailed his most definitive statement on holiness in a lengthy treatise entitled *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev Mr John Wesley, from the Year 1725, to the Year 1777*.¹⁹⁰ According to Wesley, authentic holiness necessitated that any Christian individual should be cleansed ‘from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit’, ‘being endued with those virtues which were in Christ Jesus... [and] renewed in the image of our mind’ so as to become ‘perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect.’¹⁹¹ Wesley believed that, although Christians are not perfect in knowledge and are not exempt from weakness or temptation, they may be ‘perfected even as babes in Christ are so far perfect as not to commit sin’.¹⁹² Wesley taught that, in the salvation experience, new hearts are given to believers so that they subsequently love God and no longer willingly sin against him. He perceived sanctification as a spiritual cleansing which began in regeneration and continued until individuals experienced total heart purity. At the same time, Wesley viewed sanctification as a growth process which continued throughout

¹⁸⁷ C. T. Phillips, ‘Rev Edward Weyman’, *RI*, 26 August 1903, 4.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Why Oppose Holiness’, *KH*, 30 August 1919, 8, reprinted from *CW*.

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Fredrick Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army*, Vol. 1 (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revel Co., 1892), 74.

¹⁹⁰ John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev Mr John Wesley, from the Year 1725, to the Year 1777* (London, UK: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1865).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 352.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 359.

life.¹⁹³ For Wesley, therefore, two perfections existed. The first of these was initiated in salvation, an experience which occurred the moment individuals confessed their sinfulness and received Christ's free gift of eternal life. The second perfection occurred at the time of entire sanctification, an experience which was distinct from, and subsequent to, the first spiritual encounter. And although the second event also occurred instantaneously it initiated a process which would continue to generate spiritual growth throughout the remainder of one's lifespan.¹⁹⁴ Taken together, Wesley's theological views on holiness were complex and at times ambiguous.

Wesley's doctrine of perfection placed considerable emphasis upon both the instantaneous and ongoing aspects of holiness.¹⁹⁵ In order to illustrate Wesley's understanding of scriptural holiness, he drew an interesting analogy between physical life and spiritual development. Wesley noted that although a foetus develops in the womb prior to birth and continues to grow for many years afterwards, the actual birth is accomplished quickly. In a similar way, an individual may also be in the process of dying for some time before the actual moment of death occurs.¹⁹⁶ Classical Wesleyan theology, therefore, accepted both instantaneous and gradual aspects of holiness.

Wesley's belief in the dual nature of Christian perfection contributed both to the divisions which eventually developed within some of these denominations and to the disagreements which came to separate some of these religious bodies. To be sure, each of the five denominations examined in this study claimed strict adherence to Wesley's views.

¹⁹³ John L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1985), 34-5.

¹⁹⁴ *Wesley's Standard Sermons*, Vol., II, (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1955 reprint), 448, 457; Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism*, 59.

¹⁹⁵ Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 30.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 386.

All of them claimed to accept his understanding of Christian perfection. That is, each group endorsed the idea that the further an individual grows in grace, the more aware that one becomes of the Holy Spirit's ability and desire to purify not only one's actions but also one's motives. Dissonance developed among them, however, as various members of these religious bodies quarrelled over some of their Wesleyan interpretations, views which differed sharply from one another. Some individuals vehemently disagreed on whether sanctification occurred as a gradual process or culminated with an immediate event, alternatives which Wesley had discussed at length but may not have adequately delineated. Such ambiguity fuelled a controversy which especially surrounded the holiness movement during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists emphasised the progressive aspect of sanctification, while Reformed Baptists, Pentecostal Nazarenes and a number of Salvationists insisted that sanctification was a distinctly discernible and instantaneous experience which offered to its recipients numerous benefits.¹⁹⁷ By the mid-1880s, such differences of opinion solidified and in turn, each of these holiness bodies responded differently to the American holiness movement while continuing to claim complete allegiance to the theological teachings of John Wesley.

A second individual whose theology strongly influenced Maritime holiness advocates was Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874), an American Methodist author, theologian and editor. Melvin E. Dieter, an American Wesleyan historian, concluded that Palmer's theology exerted a lasting effect on the holiness movement, specifically through her 'altar terminology' and 'shorter way' into Wesley's understanding of sanctification. Indeed, Dieter believed that Palmer's teachings marked a new direction from the standard milieu

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 3, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Experience,' 106-110.

of Wesleyan perfectionism.¹⁹⁸ Palmer believed that many Methodists had abandoned classic Wesleyan theology and as a result, she attempted to reignite their spiritual passions by encouraging them to pursue entire sanctification in ‘definite times and places’.¹⁹⁹ Convinced that many theologians of the day had complicated holiness teachings,²⁰⁰ Palmer also presented what she described as the ‘simple, unsophisticated gospel of full salvation, untrammelled by worldly sophisms’ in order to return the Methodist Church to its former spirituality.²⁰¹

Palmer emphasised the responsibility and capability of all believers to pursue and experience entire instantaneous sanctification, stating simply that, by trusting, one ‘is brought into this blessed state of the soul’.²⁰² Palmer emphasised the immediacy of this experience, noting that ‘the blood of Jesus cleanseth; not that it can or will cleanse at some future period, but it cleanseth now’.²⁰³ And, although the core content of Palmer’s ideas originated from classical Methodism, she reworked it in subtle ways.²⁰⁴ For example, although Palmer affirmed the idea that continued consecration to God, after conversion, was essential to holiness, she presented a shorter way to attaining entire sanctification, namely that one could achieve the experience at will. For Palmer, it was unnecessary that believers should endure prolonged periods of anticipation of being wholly sanctified since

¹⁹⁸ Melvin E. Dieter, ‘The Development of Nineteenth-Century Holiness Theology’, *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20 (Spring), 19-33.

¹⁹⁹ Melvin E. Dieter, ‘Timothy Merritt: An Address on Christian Perfection’, *Great Holiness Classics, Volume 4, The Nineteenth-Century Holiness Movement*, Melvin E. Dieter, ed. (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press Of Kansas City, 1998), 81-97.

²⁰⁰ Paul Merritt Bassett, ‘The Theological Identity of the North American Holiness Movement: Its Understanding of the Nature and Role of the Bible’, *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, Donald Dayton and Robert K. Johnson, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1991), 75.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁰² Thomas C. Oden, ed., *Phoebe Palmer: Selected Writings* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1988), 192.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 195.

²⁰⁴ Charles Edward White, *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1986), 125.

they were already divinely enabled to claim it, in the same way that an individual can immediately receive a gift from another person.²⁰⁵ She repeatedly emphasised that the only necessary prerequisite for experiencing entire instantaneous sanctification was an individual's total surrender to the will of God, as well as complete obedience to him. Palmer compared this act of consecration to offering one's self on an altar for cleansing, realising that the altar 'sanctifieth the gift'.²⁰⁶ Palmer's emphasis on the immediate surpassed classical Wesleyan theology which accepted both the defining moment of sanctification as well as an individual's continued pursuit of holiness. Palmer believed that perfection in love was the starting point for anyone experiencing entire sanctification, claiming that scripture fully supported such a view.²⁰⁷ She observed no conflict whatsoever between biblical references which spoke of the process of becoming more like Christ and her emphasis upon entire and instantaneous sanctification.²⁰⁸ Foundational to Palmer's holiness theological understanding was both a Christian's competence and obligation to attain Christian perfection.

Soon after Palmer toured the Maritime region in 1858, she lamented the fact that many individuals there had needlessly endured lengthy delays before experiencing entire sanctification. She recounted the story of Charles Allison, a wealthy Maritime philanthropist who bequeathed a large parcel of land to Methodists in New Brunswick for the construction of a denominational college. Palmer expressed consternation over the fact

²⁰⁵ Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 21-24, 75-76, 79-80, 108, 120-24.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

²⁰⁷ Phoebe Palmer, *The Way of Holiness, with Notes by the Way; Being a Narrative of Religious Experience Resulting from a Determination to be a Bible Christian* (New York, NY: Joseph Longking, Printer, 1852), 24.

²⁰⁸ See Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Second Edition (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 22-28.

that Allison had sought this experience for twenty years. She rejoiced, however, that after Allison ‘saw his error in taking the “longer way,” ...in less than two minutes, cast himself wholly on the infinite merits of his Saviour, and was saved at once from all sin’.²⁰⁹

Palmer’s influence upon Maritimers originated prior to her first visit to the region. A number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were among the regular subscribers to the *Guide to Holiness*,²¹⁰ a newspaper which Palmer and her husband purchased in 1864 and which she edited until her death a decade later. This publication became one of the most widely circulated religious monthlies in the United States.²¹¹ Palmer publicly acknowledged the newspaper’s popularity among Maritime Canadian ‘lovers of holiness’, noting prior to her visit there that many of them are ‘familiar with my writings’.²¹² Although only a few records remain of those who professed instantaneous sanctification while attending one of Palmer’s meetings in New Brunswick, in 1858, there is no doubt that her visit there influenced many Maritimers.²¹³ For example, John Lockhart, a Methodist exhorter in Nova Scotia, professed to have experienced instantaneous sanctification in one of Palmer’s meetings in New Brunswick, during the 1858 tour,²¹⁴ as well as Charles Allison, as previously mentioned, who described experiencing entire instantaneous sanctification at one of her gatherings.²¹⁵ Palmer paid a second visit to the region in 1874 where ‘Deacon Simeon’ and one Mrs Clark testified to attaining ‘perfect

²⁰⁹ Phoebe Palmer, *Full Salvation* (Salem Oh: Schmul Publishers, 1979), 109.

²¹⁰ Ralph Richardson, ‘Methodist Revivalism and the Baptists’, *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity*, ed. David T. Priestly (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994).

²¹¹ Kostlevy, *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 226.

²¹² Palmer letter from Saint John, NB, 6 August 1858, in *GH*, September 1858. Quoted in Richardson, ‘Methodist Revivalism and the Baptists’, 24.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 34.

²¹⁴ Annie Leake Tuttle, Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, ed., *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 12.

²¹⁵ Phoebe Palmer, *The Promise of the Father* (Boston, MA: George C. Rand and Avery, 1859), 300.

love' under Mrs Palmer's tutelage.²¹⁶ Although Palmer paid only two visits to the Maritimes, her influence there lingered for many decades.

Beginning in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, a number of Maritimers were exposed to Palmer's theological views at holiness gatherings in several New England towns and cities. In the 1870s and 80s, thousands of Maritimers were forced to move to the United States in search of employment²¹⁷ and this is where a number of them reported experiencing entire sanctification. Upon their return to the Maritimes, they described their recent spiritual encounters, thereby publicising the idea that entire sanctification was immediately available to anyone willing to offer a full consecration to God. The immediacy of sanctification was well received by many Maritimers, including Franklyn Carr who promptly offered a 'definite testimony to the cleansing power of the precious blood'.²¹⁸ That Palmer's views became entrenched in the theological convictions of those who would eventually establish the Reformed Baptist Alliance and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was noticeable in the frequency with which her writings were reprinted in the denominational newspapers, as well as in countless testimonies of Maritimers which were published in these tabloids and which detailed entire sanctification using Palmer's terminology.²¹⁹ D. McLeod, a Reformed Baptist layman, for example, reflected Palmer's teaching when he stated that he 'could do no other than believe that the altar sanctifieth the gift... and I entered into the rest of faith'.²²⁰ Even the doctrinal statement of Reformed Baptists, which they drafted in 1888, reflected Palmer's terminology: 'A believer who fully

²¹⁶ 'Deaths of Deacon Simeon and Mrs. Clark', *KH*, 14 February 1914, 3.

²¹⁷ Patricia A. Thornton, 'The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look', *Acadiensis* 15:1 (Autumn 1985), 3.

²¹⁸ Sharp Baker, 'Ministers and Churches', *KH*, 15 January 1915, 2.

²¹⁹ See Chapter 3, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Experience,' 121.

²²⁰ D. McLeod, 'My Experience', *KH*, 30 March 1915, 6.

consecrates himself on the altar instantly receives a heart of perfect love'.²²¹ Several individuals who became important leaders in the Maritime holiness movement assimilated Palmer's language into the sermons they delivered and the literature they penned, all indications of the extent to which Palmer's influence pervaded the region long after her Maritime tours.

One other individual who profoundly shaped Maritime holiness theology was John Jay Butler (1814-1891), Professor of Systematic Theology at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. This institution was owned by American Freewill Baptists and contributed to a resurgence of holiness theology in the mid-nineteenth century.²²² Butler's first theological book, which he completed in 1861, included forty-three lectures on the usual topics included in any comprehensive systematic doctrinal work.²²³ Upon close examination of his writings, one can observe a number of important insights he formulated which contributed to the understanding of holiness by Americans and Maritimers alike. Firstly, Butler acknowledged the provocative nature of the subject which, in his opinion, demanded 'careful explanation since so much needless controversy' had surrounded the topic and because 'many good people have stumbled on account of misunderstanding the doctrine'.²²⁴ Secondly, Butler attempted to qualify the effect of entire sanctification, concluding that it should not be 'equated with divine or angelic qualities since it is different

²²¹ *History of The Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada, November 1888 together with Minutes of Alliance of 1889 and 1890*, 67.

²²² Nehemiah Cleaveland, *History of Bowdoin College: With Biographical Sketches of Its Graduates from 1806 to 1879* (Boston, MA: J. R. Osgood & Co, 1882), 499.

²²³ John Jay Butler, *Natural and Revealed Theology: A System of Lectures* (Dover, NH: Freewill Baptist Printing Establishment, William Burr, Printer, 1861).

²²⁴ John Jay Butler and Ransom Dunn, *Lectures on Systematic Theology Embracing the Existence and Attributes of God; the Authority and Doctrine of the Scriptures; the Institutions and Ordinances of the Gospel* (Boston, MA: Morning Star Publishing, 1892), 292.

in kind, but not in degree'.²²⁵ He argued that, although God required individuals 'to be perfect in their sphere',²²⁶ no one should expect perfection while they remained in 'a state of probation'.²²⁷ Thirdly, Butler concluded that God had provided for genuine believers a complete deliverance from sin through the experience of entire sanctification available to all; those who failed to receive the experience could blame only themselves. Fourthly, Butler intimated that the experience was obligatory for all Christians because 'the soul must be entirely free from sin before it can enter heaven' and because it is 'the believer's privilege to be wholly sanctified'.²²⁸ Each aspect of Butler's holiness views bore a strong resemblance to many of the most popular leaders in the American holiness movement.

In Butler's attempt to clarify holiness doctrine he crafted a number of ambiguous and virtually contradictory inferences. First of all, Butler was unclear about the efficacy of the experience, arguing that anyone who was not 'wholly sanctified' was solely responsible for such a spiritually inferior state. At the same time, however, Butler also admitted that all sanctified believers would continually struggle with sin.²²⁹ Secondly, Butler acknowledged both the immediate and progressive components of entire sanctification. On one hand, he noted the 'triumph over besetments and temptations, the subduing of sin by the powers to God, the development and maturing of the Christian graces', all of which he viewed as gradual developments which would continue indefinitely.²³⁰ At the same time, Butler insisted that the divine graces which sanctify a believer at the moment of death are able to perform the same function 'a day, a month, a year, or longer period before death'.²³¹ Butler

²²⁵ Ibid. 292.

²²⁶ Ibid., 292.

²²⁷ Ibid., 293-94.

²²⁸ Ibid., 298.

²²⁹ Ibid., 298.

²³⁰ Ibid., 303.

²³¹ Ibid., 304.

did not tackle an issue which would eventually become a full-blown controversy, namely whether or not entire sanctification eradicated one's sinful nature or merely aided the believer's repression of it.²³² Butler did, however, state that entire sanctification 'offers a keen spiritual discernment' which those who are not in possession of it cannot enjoy.²³³ Essentially, Butler's treatment of entire sanctification broadly addressed several issues. While reiterating Wesley's position he also made a number of inferences which would later parallel, to one degree or other, novelties taught by Phoebe Palmer and her protégés.

Free Christian Baptist leaders fully endorsed Butler's views. Between 1865 and 1890, the editors of the *Religious Intelligencer* frequently praised both the book and the man, and in 1865 decreed that all ministerial candidates should become familiar with the work, because it 'is the best exposition of the leading sentiments held by our denomination'.²³⁴ During the 1880s, the Conference underwent serious internal division because of divergences in holiness considerations. Those on either side of the issue used portions of Butler's theology to support their positions, thus proving its ambiguous nature. In 1886, William Kinghorn, an elder but also a strong proponent of holiness, published a booklet which refuted a number of criticisms which some elders had directed towards the holiness movement. Kinghorn copied Butler's entire section on sanctification in the booklet in order to prove that Butler's theological views corresponded with those of the holiness company.²³⁵ In turn, those rejecting Kinghorn's arguments also cited portions of Butler's work.²³⁶ Both Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists, therefore, claimed

²³² Ibid., 295, 298.

²³³ Ibid., 302.

²³⁴ Ezekiel McLeod, 'Butler's Theology', *RI*, 28 June 1861, 3.

²³⁵ Butler and Dunn, *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, 292-305.

²³⁶ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 185-86.

that Butler's interpretations matched their own. The difficulty with the line of reasoning for both of these groups rested in their interpretations of Butler's statements, causing the holiness controversy to worsen. That reality fuelled a series of debates which raged within the Free Christian Baptist Conference between 1882 and 1888 and intensified an animosity which developed between some of them and the Reformed Baptists.

Taking into account the influences of Wesley, Palmer and Butler upon the holiness views of Maritimers, several inferences may be formulated. Notably, the ambiguous nature of Wesley and Butler's theological positions did little to alleviate the differences of opinion which developed among these denominations during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The fact that these two theologians perceived sanctification as a natural progression in the life of a believer, while also proposing that it could become a distinct and instantaneous reality for individuals who fully consecrated themselves before God, offered simultaneous support to two groups who viewed holiness very differently. Such a duality of thought offered no definitive answer to those on either side of the debate. Phoebe Palmer's theology, on the other hand, promoted a tenacious holiness perspective which only served to deepen the chasm separating those ensnared in the controversy. Palmer insisted that entire sanctification manifested itself as a definite crisis experience and that it could be instantaneously achieved the moment a complete spiritual consecration was offered. While those embracing divergent perspectives of holiness claimed endorsements by both Wesley and Butler, this conundrum was exacerbated by Palmer's unyielding position. Holiness sympathisers looked to Palmer for support; moreover, those rejecting the holiness movement denounced Palmer's tenets, believing that she was one of many individuals who advanced a belief system which was truly heretical.

Although these three individuals exerted the most permanent and far-reaching impact upon the Maritime holiness scene, many others also contributed to the theological understanding of holiness sympathisers in the region. Among those who exerted the most influence was a group of American Methodist holiness advocates. The denominational newspapers of all five Maritime religious bodies published a myriad of sermons and articles authored by a number of these ministers and theologians whose ideas powerfully shaped the writings of Maritime holiness leaders between 1880 and 1920. This host of American ministers, theologians and authors included Beverly Carradine, editor of the *Christian Witness*, the *Gospel Herald* and *Way of Faith*;²³⁷ B. F. Haynes, editor of the *Williamson Journal* and the *Tennessee Methodist*;²³⁸ Samuel A. Keen, a frequent contributor to a variety of holiness periodicals;²³⁹ Asbury Lowrey, founding editor of the *Methodist Home Journal* and editor of *Divine Life*;²⁴⁰ William McDonald, one of the founders of the National Holiness Association and editor of the *Advocate of Bible Holiness* and the *Christian Witness*;²⁴¹ Stephen M. Merritt, a prominent New York philanthropist;²⁴² H. C. Morrison, editor of the *Pentecostal Herald* and president of Asbury College and Asbury Theological Seminary;²⁴³ Joseph H. Smith, president of the National Holiness Association;²⁴⁴ Daniel Steele, professor at Genesee College and Syracuse University;²⁴⁵ and John A. Wood, co-founder of the National Camp Meeting Association for the

²³⁷ Beverly Carradine, 'What Sanctification Is', *WES*, 24 May 1894, 2.

²³⁸ B. F. Haynes, 'Holiness', *KH*, 30 November 1916, 3, reprinted from *HH*.

²³⁹ S. A. Keen, 'Soul Liberty', *KH*, 15 October 1896, 1.

²⁴⁰ Asbury Lowry, *Possibilities of Grace* (New York, NY: Phillips and Hunt, 1884).

²⁴¹ William McDonald, 'Holiness, A Necessity', *KH*, 31 August 1898, 1.

²⁴² S. M. Merrill, *Doctrinal Aspects of Christian Experience* (Cincinnati, OH: Jennings and Graham, 1882).

²⁴³ Sharp Baker, 'The Highway of Holiness', *KH*, 15 May 1915, 8.

²⁴⁴ Sharp A. Baker, 'Beulah Camp', *KH*, 30 July 1915, 4.

²⁴⁵ Steele, *Gospel of the Comforter*, 184.

Promotion of Holiness.²⁴⁶ These men maintained that the experience of entire sanctification was both the constant desire²⁴⁷ and a natural outcome of true Christianity.²⁴⁸ Some of them pressed the issue further, however, concluding that without sanctification one would ‘never be admitted to the marriage supper of the lamb’.²⁴⁹ The writings of these men plastered the pages of the Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene newspapers for many years, shaping the holiness views of constituents in both of those denominations.

Although the majority of holiness literature was written by Methodists, the work of various other American ministers was also published in Maritime denominational newspapers. These men included Theodore Cuyler, a Presbyterian, who insisted that the ‘single path to holiness’ was the experience of sanctification.²⁵⁰ Edward F. Walker was another holiness-minded Presbyterian who warned believers that their salvation was in jeopardy should they deny the quest for heart purity.²⁵¹ Yet another holiness advocate was Aaron M. Hills,²⁵² a Congregational minister who eventually associated with the Church of the Nazarene. He believed that no ‘truly regenerated man could be intelligently opposed to sanctification’.²⁵³ The writings of these men encouraged Maritime holiness advocates and deepened their understanding of holiness movement theology.

From a wider geographical perspective, the editors of the Maritime holiness papers acknowledged the writings of several British theologians, publishing articles which were reprints of those previously featured in the *British Workman*, *Epworth Herald* and

²⁴⁶ J. A. Wood, *Perfect Love* (Chicago, IL: Christian Witness, 1880).

²⁴⁷ J. A. Wood, ‘How Some Believers Treat the Subject of Entire Sanctification’, *KH*, December 1891, 1.

²⁴⁸ E. M. Murrill, ‘Why I Now Advocate the Doctrine of Sanctification as Taught by my Church’, *KH*, June 1892, 1.

²⁴⁹ Lowry, *Possibilities of Grace*, 11.

²⁵⁰ Theodore L. Cuyler, ‘Living by the Day’, *KH*, 15 December 1909, 1.

²⁵¹ Sharp Baker, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, August 1892, 1.

²⁵² A. M. Hills, *Holiness and Power* (Cincinnati, OH: Revivalist Office, 1897), 30.

²⁵³ Aaron Merritt Hills, ‘Wholly Sanctified’, *KH*, 16 August 1915, 3.

Christian World. The most popular of these authors was F. B. Meyer (1847-1929), a Baptist minister, evangelist and author.²⁵⁴ He was closely associated with the Keswick Movement in England, a group which was established in the 1870s.²⁵⁵ Meyer and his associates did not believe that the sinful nature could be eradicated; rather, they taught that a second work of grace counteracted one's sinful nature.²⁵⁶ That interpretation, virtually the same as the idea of imputed holiness, was one which most Maritime holiness sympathisers rejected. Even so, a number of them appreciated the emphasis upon a renunciation all 'evil things which have usurped an unholy supremacy' as Meyer advocated.²⁵⁷ During the 1890s, Methodist and Free Christian Baptist papers published many of Meyer's writings, a clear indication of appreciation for his theological views.²⁵⁸ In 1897, a Maritime contingent of Methodists attended one of Meyer's meetings in Boston, one of whom acknowledged that although not all of his coreligionists accepted Meyer's teaching on the eradication of sin, 'the man preached holiness and free will in a way that would have delighted the heart of John Wesley'.²⁵⁹

If Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes appreciated Meyer's holiness emphasis, nevertheless they could not accept his understanding of imputed holiness. E. F. Walker, a Presbyterian minister who later joined the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene,

²⁵⁴ F. B. Meyer, 'Seven Rules for Daily Living', *RI*, 16 September 1891, 2, reprinted from *Watchword*; F. B. Meyer, 'The Fullness of the Spirit', *WES*, 30 May 1895, 3; F. B. Meyer, 'The Act of Consecration', *WES*, 13 January 1897, 3; F. B. Meyer, 'Boston Tremont Temple Address', *WES*, 24 February 1897, 2; F. B. Meyer, 'Begin the Day with God', *RI*, 7 April 1897, 2.

²⁵⁵ See Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick: The Keswick Convention, Past Present & Future* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Publishing, 2000).

²⁵⁶ Ian M. Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change, The Contribution of F. B. Meyer (1847-1929)* (Carlisle, Cumbria, UK: Paternoster Press, 2003), 33-56.

²⁵⁷ F. B. Meyer, 'Begin the Day with God', *RI*, 7 April 1897, 2.

²⁵⁸ James M. Grey, 'The Keswick Idea', *WES*, 2 September 1896, 4; James M. Gray, 'Keswick Teaching', *WES*, 6 January 1897, 4; J. J. Colter, 'Dr Meyers [sic] in Boston', *WES*, 9 June 1897, 3.

²⁵⁹ J. J. Colter, 'Dr Meyers [sic] in Boston', *WES*, 9 June 1897, 3.

dismissed Meyer's interpretation of holiness, concluding that, if such an assessment was accurate, believers could not be 'renewed in the whole spiritual man after the image of God'.²⁶⁰ After attending an American holiness convention in 1915, where Meyer had preached, Sharp Baker had harsh words for him, concluding that Meyer 'seems to excel in star-preaching that really delights the old man [Satan] himself'.²⁶¹ Whereas many Methodists accepted Meyer's views, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes considered them to fall short of the biblical standard of holiness.

On occasion, editors of the Methodist and Free Christian Baptist papers praised other British holiness theologians. John Lathern, for example, took special notice of Adam Clarke (1762-1832), many of whose writings he published in the *Wesleyan*. Lathern considered Clark to be 'a clear advocate of entire sanctification' who represented well 'being filled with the fullness of God'.²⁶² Joseph McLeod was enamoured by two authors who discussed the subject in a less rigid manner than American holiness advocates were prone to do. Thus, he frequently quoted the work of Andrew Murray (1828-1917), a Dutch Reformed minister in South Africa of Scottish origins. He especially appreciated Murray's reasoning that a believer could possess a measure of holiness but only one matching his personal consecration to God.²⁶³ McLeod also reprinted portions of Charles Spurgeon, a pre-eminent British Baptist minister, who suggested that true holiness was derived from the individual's desire to serve God 'out of love'.²⁶⁴ McLeod, who frequently discussed holiness in the *Religious Intelligencer*, much preferred the writings of these British

²⁶⁰ E. F. Walker, 'Eradication', *KH*, 30 April 1898, 1.

²⁶¹ Sharp Baker, 'The Necessity of Holiness Preaching at Holiness Meetings', *KH*, 30 January 1915, 1.

²⁶² John Lathern, 'Adam Clarke on Christian Perfection', *WES*, 28 September 1893, 2; John Lathern, 'Adam Clarke', *WES*, 15 February 1894, 2.

²⁶³ Andrew Murray, 'The Holy Ghost', *RI*, 19 May 1897, 2; 'Humility and Holiness', *RI*, 1 March 1899, 2.

²⁶⁴ Charles H. Spurgeon, 'The Grandest Motive to Holiness', *RI*, 24 June 1891, 2.

theologians to American holiness views, ideas which he did not support. All things considered, Maritimers were exposed to a myriad of holiness literature which had been written by American and British theologians.

Conclusion

In summary, following a close examination of the doctrinal statements and theological discussions of these five denominations in their respective newspapers, several conclusions may be drawn. All groups shared belief in common orthodox Christian tenets and all belonged to the evangelical wing of the church. They accepted Arminian theological interpretations, acknowledging humanity's ability to accept or reject salvation. They held to similar ideas concerning sin, acknowledging that it is manifested in individual acts of rebellion towards God, as well as in humanity's deplorable, natural and innate spiritual condition. They emphasised the pursuit and practice of holiness through self-denial and divine reliance and demonstrated similar beliefs concerning eschatology, glossolalia, divine healing and holy communion.

Despite the fact that they held to varying views on baptism, these differences contributed to no serious division among the religious entities. Beginning in the 1880s, however, divergent holiness views, especially over entire sanctification, precipitated serious and prolonged disagreements in numerous churches. Neither Methodists nor Free Christian Baptists were able to achieve uniform theological views concerning this subject, while Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes accepted virtually identical views to one another. Salvationists, on the other hand, officially endorsed the holiness movement platform, yet many of them concentrated far more on social reform and did not get sidetracked by theological controversy.

The complexity of the subject of holiness is best understood when one considers the various conflicting aspects of related theology which led to significant misunderstanding and disagreement. There were individuals in these groups who disagreed about whether or not entire sanctification was a second definite work of grace and some doubted whether the experience could even be realised in one's lifetime. While some individuals insisted that entire sanctification was essential to Christian faith, others questioned what might be gained from it and cautioned against overstating its benefits. Some individuals believed that God imparted personal purity which destroyed the sinful nature; others believed that, although sin would continue to plague individuals throughout the life cycle, God judged these believers to be holy because of Jesus Christ's purity.

Although a host of individuals should be recognised for their powerful roles in shaping the holiness views of Maritimers, the pre-eminent influence of John Wesley, Phoebe Palmer and John Jay Butler cannot be overstated. All five of these denominations credited Wesley as being the one who had reawakened scriptural holiness, but not all of them accepted Palmer's modified Wesleyan theology. And although some of these groups claimed allegiance to Butler's views, their conflicting interpretations led to serious internal and external divisions. Despite the fact that the theological understanding of these three individuals exerted enormous influence upon the five religious groups, numerous other American and British individuals also affected their doctrinal beliefs with respect to holiness.

A marked separation of these Maritime religious bodies began early in the 1880s when a number of Maritimers moved to the north-eastern United States, where they were introduced to the theological interpretations of the American holiness movement. Upon

their return to the region, a number of them enthusiastically supported a group of American holiness advocates who were conducting holiness conventions in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Moreover, between 1880 and 1885, several Maritimers accepted important leadership roles in strengthening the efforts of American holiness advocates and, as a result, the latest theological developments within the American holiness movement became disseminated in all three Maritime provinces. Many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists endorsed the views promulgated by the movement while numerous others from both denominations rejected what they believed to be new and strange teachings. Such a divergence of opinion initiated what became later in that decade a parting between the movement's supporters and detractors.

Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were traditionally strong advocates of holiness. During the 1870s and 1880s, the denominational newspapers of both groups frequently published articles which had been written by American holiness leaders. And initially both of these denominations supported the efforts of American missionaries who conducted holiness conventions in the Maritime region. It seems, however, that as Methodists and Free Christian Baptists became more familiar with the beliefs and aims of the movement, some individuals within both denominations became increasingly ill at ease. As a result, leaders in both groups promoted a generic view of holiness, one which emphasised its pursuit as the desire of all believers yet one which would likely never be achieved until after death.

Such an interpretation of holiness theology was one which some Methodists completely rejected. A number of them would later unite with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene when it was established in the Maritime region early in the twentieth century.

Many Free Christian Baptists also denounced what they believed to be an insipid interpretation of holiness theology espoused by several leaders in that denomination. In 1888, a group of Free Christian Baptists established the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada, in an attempt to preserve scriptural holiness, a doctrine which they were certain that the Free Christian Baptist Conference had abandoned. The theology formally endorsed by the Salvation Army supported holiness movement theology and it would seem, therefore, that its allegiances would be directed to the Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes. In reality, however, regardless of its official endorsement of the holiness movement platform, many leaders in this organisation focused their energies on social issues and less on theological distinctions. At any rate, as the nineteenth century came to a close, a distinct theological chasm had emerged. This doctrinal gulf separated the bulk of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists on one side, from Reformed Baptists and those Methodists who had pledged their allegiance to the holiness movement.

CHAPTER THREE

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT EXPERIENCE

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the experience of entire sanctification became an unquestionable defining feature for both sympathisers and critics of the holiness movement. Its supporters had credited John Wesley with reviving the doctrine of ‘Christian Perfection’, an idea which these individuals believed was firmly rooted in scripture, yet one which generally had been ignored by Christians since New Testament times.¹ The Methodist Church, Free Christian Baptist Conference, Salvation Army and Reformed Baptist Alliance, as well as several independent holiness bodies which eventually amalgamated to establish the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, accepted in varying degrees, Wesley’s views concerning Christian perfection. The two oldest groups, the Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, from their inception, had emphasised the pursuit of holiness. Methodists agreed with Wesley that such a quest led to entire sanctification, a state which many Christians believed was attainable in one’s lifetime.² Throughout the nineteenth century, Methodists had offered various interpretations of holiness theology, some of which were compatible with the holiness movement, others of which were in conflict with it.³ Free Christian Baptists were in fact distinguished from other Maritime Baptists by virtue of the emphasis they placed upon free will, dynamic personal conversion and notably, the pursuit of holiness.⁴ As the denomination began to achieve social

¹ Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974), xvii.

² John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev Mr John Wesley, from the Year 1725, to the Year 1777*, XI (London, UK: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1865), 114-15. See Chapter 2, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,’ 64-66.

³ See Chapter 5, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,’ 193-94.

⁴ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), xv-xix.

respectability, towards the end of the nineteenth century, its leaders increasingly put effort into making the churches appear more sophisticated and bureaucratic,⁵ while a smaller percentage of members maintained its traditional ethos.⁶ The three remaining denominations, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, firmly endorsed the views on holiness espoused by the holiness movement along with Wesleyan Christian perfection. Consequently, opposing ideas concerning holiness eventually led to serious friction between some of the denominations, as well as to a number of internal divisions. For the most part, these problems were focused on the experience of entire sanctification.⁷

This chapter explores this spiritual encounter, one which late nineteenth-century holiness movement leaders strongly encouraged their devotees to seek and one which was complicated and multi-faceted. It is based upon the narratives of one hundred and fourteen individuals whose entire sanctification experiences were recorded between 1880 and 1920 and all of which also occurred during that forty-year period.⁸ Seventeen additional accounts of members representing various holiness bodies who received entire sanctification during that same period have also been taken into account. Although the reports were published in denominational newspapers after 1920, nevertheless they include important details concerning entire sanctification.⁹ The experiences of three Maritime Methodists, all of

⁵ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,' 152-53.

⁶ See D. G. Bell, 'The Allinite Tradition and the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists 1830-1875,' *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World*, Robert S. Wilson, ed. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1988).

⁷ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 193-94.

⁸ See Appendix, 354-56.

⁹ Aaron Hartt, *KH*, 30 November 1923, 2; Percy J. Trafton, *KH*, 31 October 1924, 4; W. B. Wiggins, *KH*, 31 October 1924, 1; Alfred H. Trafton, *KH*, 15 April 1925, 1; Sharp A. Baker, *KH*, 15 July 1925, 1; Wilmott Dow, *KH*, 15 June 1926, 4; E. Walter Lester, *KH*, 15 July 1926, 2; Bamford Colpitts, *KH*, 15 August 1927, 2; S. Haleigh Clark, *KH*, 31 January 1930, 2; Mrs S. Haleigh Clark, *KH*, 31 January 1930, 3; Leonard Sabine, *KH*, 15 March 1934, 2; William Sherwood, *KH*, 15 January 1935, 3; Leighton Tracey,

whom professed to receiving the experience in the 1850s, have also been studied. These individuals include Charles Allison, a wealthy philanthropist, Annie Leake Tuttle, an educator and administrator, and Howard Sprague, a well-known Maritime minister.¹⁰ In actual fact, because no official records were kept of those claiming to have received entire sanctification it was imperative to assemble these accounts wherever they could be found. Generally speaking, the narratives which vary greatly in length and detail, have been useful in examining the experience of entire sanctification in a number of ways. First, an analysis of the collective feelings which were reported by many individuals prior to their sanctification is offered. Secondly, the unpredictable length of time which transpired between the search for and obtainment of the experience among these individuals is discussed. Thirdly, the fact that some of those seeking the experience required assistance by other individuals while others seemed to require no outside intervention is an interesting phenomenon which is also examined. Related to these occurrences were episodes in which still other individuals who claimed to have attained the experience without any previous exposure to holiness movement teachings, a situation which is also considered. Fourthly, various prerequisites to the attainment of the experience are reviewed, along with a litany of spiritual disciplines which members of holiness bodies were required to maintain. Fifthly, a long list of social sins which defenders of holiness railed against and which they believed to be a serious threat to maintaining one's experience is studied. Finally, the numerous benefits of the experience purportedly offered to holiness sympathisers are

HH, 9 November 1942, 2; Handley C. Mullen, *KH*, 28 February 1949, 6; Henry Smith Dow, *KH*, 30 April 1956, 2.

¹⁰ See Phoebe Palmer, *The Promise of the Father* (Boston, MA: George C. Rand and Avery, 1859), 300; Marilyn Marilyn Fardig. *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 33; and Peter Penner, *The Chignecto 'Connexion': The History of Sackville Methodist/ United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1990), 73.

summarised and assessed. All in all, the complex experience of entire sanctification as promoted by holiness movement advocates included numerous features, all of which require consideration if one is able to understand its intricacy.

The second half of the chapter consists of an examination of the language used to describe the experiences of one hundred and fourteen claimants. Any notable changes in terminology which occurred over time are highlighted and appraised. Furthermore, the denominations which reported the largest number of entire sanctifications are highlighted, as well as those religious bodies in which testimonies became rare occurrences or disappeared altogether. Understanding the diversity which existed among these denominations concerning the 'experience' offers a more complete picture of the changes which occurred in each of them between 1880 and 1920.

Precursor to the 'Experience'

Many individuals who eventually achieved entire sanctification described a remarkably similar state of mind previous to the experience. The feeling most frequently reported was an intense desire to be holy. Such a sentiment was reported so commonly among Reformed Baptists during the 1890s that Sharp Baker, the editor of the denominational newspaper, concluded that any genuine Christian should necessarily experience a similar struggle.¹¹ The forms in which these powerful longings manifested themselves were as manifold as those reporting them. Frequently, however, individuals recalled experiencing an insatiable passion for holiness, accompanied by emotional turmoil, mood fluctuations and sustained periods of Bible reading, prayer and fasting.¹² L.

¹¹ S. A. Baker, 'Wholly Sanctified', *KH*, 15 August 1907, 2.

¹² Leslie D. Wilcox, *Be Ye Holy: A Study of Entire Sanctification Plus History and Literature of the Holiness Movement* (Cincinnati, OH: Revivalist Press, 1965), 109-13.

M. Burpee, a Reformed Baptist farmer in Woodstock, New Brunswick, for example, believed that he was a Christian and yet was keenly aware that his ‘heart was not right with God’.¹³ After reporting the experience of 1900, Burpee noted that the ‘Holy Ghost illumined my conscience and revealed to me how necessary was the definite cleansing’.¹⁴ After his sanctification, Burpee recalled that such a persistent longing for deeper spirituality dissipated.¹⁵ W. B. Wiggins, a Free Christian elder, noted that for eighteen years following his dramatic conversion in 1864, he was aware of this ‘divine holiness mandate. I had at times a struggle with an internal tendency to doubt, fear of man, discouragement, impatience, and fits of the blues’, noted Wiggins, but when ‘I heard the gospel of “full salvation” I became extremely anxious to obtain it at all costs’.¹⁶ Many individuals included in this study recalled experiencing similar yearnings for holiness prior to receiving entire sanctification.

A second feature of the experience for some individuals was that it materialised only after a lengthy quest. This idea was supported by many Methodists who believed that entire sanctification was possible in this life but only after individuals locked themselves into a passionate and prolonged pursuit.¹⁷ The longest documented search was that of Charles Frederick Allison, a wealthy businessman and philanthropist who sponsored the establishment of the Mount Allison Academy in Sackville, New Brunswick. In 1833, Allison experienced ‘conscious fellowship with Jesus Christ’ under William Smithson’s

¹³ ‘Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick’, *KH*, August 1891, 2.

¹⁴ S. A. Baker, ‘Wholly Sanctified’, *KH*, 15 August 1907, 2.

¹⁵ Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick’, *KH*, August 1891, 2.

¹⁶ Percy J. Trafton, ‘Sketch of the Life and Experience of W. B. Wiggins, B. A.’, *KH*, 31 October 1924, 3.

¹⁷ Neil Semple, *The Lord’s Dominion, The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 136.

ministry at the Sackville Methodist church.¹⁸ Although Allison soon testified to entire sanctification,¹⁹ years later he admitted that he had experienced no inner assurance and stopped seeking the experience.²⁰ It was not until 1858, during a visit to the Maritime region by Phoebe Palmer, a popular leader in the American holiness movement that Allison professed to gain the experience a second time.²¹ Occasionally, as in the case of George Trafton, a Free Christian Baptist elder, the pursuit lasted a number of years. Trafton, for example, was converted in 1878 but did not experience entire sanctification until more than four years later.²² John Hardy, who had been raised by Presbyterian parents on Prince Edward Island, had been converted in 1897, during a series of holiness meetings in Worcester, Massachusetts.²³ For three years he endured intense yearnings for the experience and finally achieved it in 1900.²⁴ In 1909, at the funeral for Edna Porter, a New Brunswick Reformed Baptist, her pastor described how Porter was ‘led by the Holy Spirit into the experience [but only] after many years of consistent living’.²⁵ A number of those who experienced sanctification, therefore, reported an extended period of perseverance before obtaining it.

Beginning in the mid-1880s, however, the testimonies of individuals sometimes no longer included the precursory quest which earlier ones had depicted. During the 1880s, as Maritimers interacted more frequently with American holiness leaders, Phoebe Palmer’s

¹⁸ T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church within the territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America: including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda* (Halifax, NS: Methodist Book Room, 1877), 267.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

²⁰ Palmer, *Promise of the Father*, 300.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 301.

²² G. W. McDonald. ‘Testimony of G. B. Trafton’, *KH*, 15 February 1913, 2.

²³ ‘Diary of Ensign John Hardy,’ Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario, 53.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁵ Myles F. Trafton, ‘Porter Homecoming’, *KH*, 31 May 1909, 3.

emphasis on the 'shorter way' was endorsed by several influential Free Christian Baptist leaders. G. W. McDonald, for example, recalled that in 1882, under Aaron Hartt's ministry, 'the instant I believed in and said it, that instant the work was done'.²⁶ Another individual who celebrated instantaneous sanctification was W. W. Jones, a Reformed Baptist layman from Nova Scotia. He stated that 'as soon as I came to his conditions and met everything with yes Lord... His part was instantaneous'.²⁷ 'This work is instantly and perfectly done', claimed an anonymous individual in 1907, 'and my heart is cleansed and sanctified wholly.'²⁸ This school of thought represented a significant change from the previous one which emphasised that the quest for holiness was a long one. This aspect of sanctification, more than any other, was a considerable shift from previous theological interpretations concerning holiness. It would also unquestionably become the single feature that most troubled the detractors of the holiness movement.²⁹

Another salient feature of the experience was that frequently those seeking it required assistance. In 1883, a group of Free Christian Baptist elders conducted 'gracious revival meetings' at Eel River, New Brunswick. One of them, George Trafton, confessed he had not previously possessed the experience, although he noted that 'I wanted what my brethren possessed'. It was with their help that Trafton was able to attain sanctification that night during meetings in which he was one of the principals.³⁰ As a matter of fact, a number of Free Christian Baptists reported entire sanctification as a result of collegial influences. For example, in 1883, after hearing Aaron Hartt's holiness message at Victoria Corner,

²⁶ G. W. McDonald, 'Holiness unto the Lord', *KH*, 30 September 1895, 2.

²⁷ W. W. Jones, 'Correspondence', *KH*, 15 February 1909, 3.

²⁸ 'Wholly Sanctified', *KH*, 15 August 1907, 3.

²⁹ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 194-95.

³⁰ G. B. Trafton, 'My Testimony', *KH*, 15 February 1913, 4.

New Brunswick, Horatio Cosman ‘fell in love with the spirit of the people who professed it’, although he did not attain the experience that night. Several weeks later, with the assistance of Joseph Noble, ‘another powerful preacher of holiness, I sought and found the experience of cleansing’.³¹ John Hardy, who as previously mentioned, had sought the experience for several years, claimed sanctification with the assistance of ‘Brother Lucas’ in 1898.³² Myrta Peel and her father professed to be sanctified in 1903, while attending revival meetings in Oxford, Nova Scotia, which were conducted by Louis King, a popular evangelist in Reformed Baptist circles.³³ Assistance offered by those already in possession of the experience was commonly considered advantageous to others in search of holiness.

Not all of those who professed entire sanctification required assistance. A small number of those claiming sanctification stated that they neither had any previous exposure to the teaching nor did they receive intervention from other individuals. In isolated cases, some individuals even reported the experience many years before they were exposed to that teaching. Harleigh Clark, a Reformed Baptist businessman, noted that his mother believed that she had been sanctified several decades prior to meeting a holiness evangelist.³⁴ Bamford Colpitts, a Free Christian Baptist leader, testified that no one was present to help him understand his experience, yet after hearing a sermon on it in 1888, he understood that he had received it thirty years previously.³⁵ Louis King, a New Brunswick native, had been converted while attending revivals jointly conducted by Methodists and

³¹ H. H. Cosman, ‘Wholly Sanctified’, *KH*, 30 January 1914, 4.

³² Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910*. Amsterdam, NL: Eldeha Publishing, 1965), 81.

³³ L. F. Martique, *The Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King* (Toledo, OH: Protestant Book House, 1908), 132; Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 7.

³⁴ S. Harleigh Clark, ‘Personal Testimony’, *KH*, 28 February 1914, 3.

³⁵ B. Colpitts, ‘My Experience’, *BN*, Volume 3, Number 5, 3.

Free Christian Baptists in 1888.³⁶ Following King's conversion, he 'felt the need of a deeper work, struggling and praying under the strain for deliverance alone while the light broke through and in'. And although he did not hear of the experience until three years later, he realised that his 'experience worked exactly the same as if I had been able to apply the theological label'.³⁷ In 1900, Leslie Macmillan, a meat pedlar on Prince Edward Island, reported experiencing entire sanctification.³⁸ It was seventeen years later, however, when Nathan Washburn, an American Pentecostal Nazarene minister, visited Prince Edward Island, that he confirmed Macmillan's experience was entire sanctification. During Washburn's visit, he also noted that several others had also experienced the 'Spirit's baptism without any clear teaching' concerning it.³⁹ Although these incidents were few, in comparison with the large numbers of those professing entire sanctification in holiness meetings, nevertheless some individuals were convinced that they had indeed experienced sanctification by divine intervention alone.

It should be noted that holiness preachers listed a number of demands which were considered essential to those wishing to remain sanctified. The most commonly agreed stipulation was that 'lovers of holiness' must unconditionally and absolutely consecrate themselves to God. According to Henry Dow, a successful businessman in Woodstock, New Brunswick, 'God left this great and precious blessing of entire sanctification in his will for me only if I consecrated myself to him'.⁴⁰ W. W. Jones, a Reformed Baptist layman, noted in a personal testimony that God 'demanded of me that I be willing to have

³⁶ Martique, *Trials and Travels*, 87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

³⁸ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 22.

³⁹ N. H. Washburn, 'Church News', *HH*, 5 August 1917, 3.

⁴⁰ H. Smith Dow, 'Correspondence', *KH*, 15 November 1909.

the old Man Crucified'.⁴¹ Harleigh Clark, a Reformed Baptist minister, challenged anyone wishing the experience, not only to 'surrender... [but also] keep an up-to-date consecration'.⁴² In 1913, Horatio H. Cosman, another Reformed Baptist minister, urged those asking for the experience to 'relinquish to God the right of way to your heart'.⁴³ Four years later, at a Reformed Baptist camp meeting, George Macdonald's sermon, which was entitled, 'Then the Fire Fell,' ended with the following statement: 'when your consecration is complete, the fire falls in every case, you receive perfect love'.⁴⁴ Such total acts of self-denial posed personal difficulties for some holiness sympathisers, as evidenced by Robert Warren, a Salvation Army official, who noted in 1900 that after 'Captain Johnson pleaded with me for complete consecration, a never ending warfare against sin...I did not relish that idea because the outlook from my perspective was a bitter one'.⁴⁵ Regardless of one's response to the prescribed standard, self-denunciation was considered immutable for anyone desiring to remain sanctified.

A second rule which holiness leaders insisted upon was the need to disregard one's emotions. In 1909, Aaron Hartt offered advice to those who recently had been sanctified, pointing out that 'since feelings or trials can discourage us, we must abandon them'.⁴⁶ In 1895, the editor of the *King's Highway* warned seekers not to become discouraged, conceding that 'a thousand things will arise to create despondency and despair... You will see people pass into the blessing before you... [but] plant yourselves on God's own

⁴¹ W. W. Jones, 'Correspondence', *KH*, 15 February 1909.

⁴² Harleigh Clark, 'My Testimony', *KH*, 28 February 1914, 3.

⁴³ H. H. 'On Assurance', *KH*, 15 February 1913, 2.

⁴⁴ G. W. Mcdonald, 'Then the Fire Fell', *KH*, 15 August 1917, 3.

⁴⁵ Diary of Robert Sturgeon Warren, 1 July 1905, in possession of the author, Kensington, Prince Edward Island.

⁴⁶ Aaron Hartt, 'Advice to the Newly Sanctified', *KH*, 30 June 1909, 3.

word'.⁴⁷ After Gordon Newton, a local Methodist layman, eventually succeeded in accepting 'the blessing by faith in advance of emotion,' he urged others who had 'lost the witness [to] go and do thou likewise'.⁴⁸ Holiness leaders agreed that all those wishing to be sanctified or to maintain their experience must remove any emotional state which would either discourage them or create personal doubt that the experience had been attained after all.

A final caveat in the preservation of one's experience involved attention to the Christian disciplines of prayer, Bible reading and regular fellowship with believers in holiness. The holiness movement was based upon an Arminian theological perspective,⁴⁹ which meant that individuals experiencing sanctification could lose that spiritual state should they neglect these spiritual disciplines. For example, Bamford Colpitts, a popular Reformed Baptist preacher, recalled that although he was sanctified in 1858 under Phoebe Palmer's ministry, because of his 'own carelessness in attentiveness to spiritual things' he forfeited both salvation and sanctification.⁵⁰ Colpitts eventually regained both experiences although he sorrowed over the fact that he had 'wasted thirty years without a holy heart'.⁵¹ Gordon Newton, a Maritime Methodist minister, possessed 'the blessing of holiness, preached it, and endeavored to live it', yet lamented the fact that he 'lost the clear witness of the Spirit of its present possession' due to personal neglect of the experience.⁵² A number of Reformed Baptists, including Percy Trafton, admitted losing the experience. Trafton remembered experiencing a perfect heart one year following his conversion in 1883, but

⁴⁷ William H. Sherwood, 'The Altar Sanctifies the Gift', *KH*, 30 September 1895, 2.

⁴⁸ G. Newton, 'How to Regain the Witness of Entire Sanctification', *KH*, 15 August 1909, 2.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 46-47.

⁵⁰ B. Colpitts, 'My Experience', *BC*, Volume 3, Number 5, 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵² Gordon Newton, 'How to Regain the Witness of Entire Sanctification', *KH*, 15 August 1909, 4.

because of negligent prayer and Bible reading, he ‘broke with God, and lost the joy of salvation from my heart and life’.⁵³ George Hartley stated that although he ‘lived in the enjoyment of perfect love for a length of time, never having been sufficiently instructed how to keep it up, I lost the blessing’.⁵⁴ In 1899, Walter Lester experienced ‘the blessing’ yet his passions faded and he ‘continued for three years, unconsciously backslidden’. Eventually, Lester became so despondent that he began to see his condition and recaptured the experience, describing it as ‘a night I will never forget’.⁵⁵ Although all of these individuals reported eventually regaining sanctification, their warnings to others were clear: anyone failing to sustain the regime necessary to protect the experience would inevitably lose it.

Another important aspect of maintaining one’s experience was the avoidance of a long list of social sins. In 1881, James W. Alexander, a local Methodist minister, wrote to the *Wesleyan*, admonishing the ‘holiness throng to avoid even the appearance of evil... [including] amusements, pleasures and extravagances too closely linked with worldliness and sin’.⁵⁶ During the 1880s, the *Wesleyan* presented numerous scathing attacks on the sins of dancing, tobacco and card playing.⁵⁷ Reformed Baptists, in particular, connected the practice of sin with the loss of sanctification. In 1896, for example, they insisted that all sanctified believers must refrain from the use of tobacco;⁵⁸ corresponding editorials in the denominational paper regularly railed against alcohol consumption, smoking, ballroom dancing and women’s gaudy fashions.⁵⁹ Not all Methodists and Free Christian Baptists,

⁵³ P. J. Trafton, ‘The Highway of Holiness’, *KH*, 15 January 1914, 4.

⁵⁴ G. Y. Hartley, ‘Correspondence’, *KH*, October 1891, 2.

⁵⁵ E. W. Lester, ‘Correspondence’, *KH*, 29 November 1913, 3.

⁵⁶ J. W. Alexander, ‘Worldly Conformity’, *WES*, 11 March 1881, 5.

⁵⁷ *WES*, 19 November 1880, 4, 4 February 1881, 3, 18 February 1881, 3.

⁵⁸ Aaron Hartt, ‘An Offensive Habit’, *KH*, 15 May 1896.

⁵⁹ William H. Sherwood, ‘Holiness’, *KH*, November 1890, 2.

however, agreed upon what constituted a Christian view of tobacco use. For example, one unnamed Methodist rather facetiously wondered if his co-religionists noted the ‘difference between the smell of a sanctified man and a tobacco user’,⁶⁰ while the Methodist newspaper regularly advertised Millburn’s Heart and Nerve Pills for ‘Methodists who enjoy the pipe’.⁶¹ In 1906, D. Rand Pierce, a Pentecostal Nazarene minister, conducted holiness meetings in Carleton County, New Brunswick, where he observed several believers who were ‘delivered from rum, tobacco, gambling and horseracing’ after receiving entire sanctification.⁶² Thus, there was a specific list of taboos for those who were serious about remaining sanctified, albeit a list somewhat subject to interpretation.

Reformed Baptists maintained very strict guidelines concerning acceptable behaviour for holiness claimants. For example, anyone attending Beulah Camp, the denominational campground, was not permitted to ‘buy and sell on the Lord’s Day’, nor could they take a Sunday excursion on the Saint John River.⁶³ Those contemplating a trip to ‘Beulah cannot appear with trunks of finery [since]...toggerly [sic] attracts more attention than testimony’.⁶⁴ Church leaders advocated strict prohibitions to ensure that required standards were followed, admonishing any women in the group to ‘clothe themselves in modest apparel, avoiding...dresses that are transparent, have short sleeves and low neck’.⁶⁵ The following year, Reformed Baptists also introduced prohibitions that extended beyond all previously set standards. ‘The sale of intoxicating liquor, tobacco and cigarettes, all soft drinks such as beer, cider, mineral water, soda water and lemonade,

⁶⁰ ‘An Unsanctified Smell’, *WES*, 28 April 1882, 3.

⁶¹ *WES*, 2 July 1902, 8.

⁶² D. Rand Pierce, ‘Echoes from the Battlefield’, *BC*, 12 May 1906, 5.

⁶³ S. A. Baker, ‘Old-Fashioned Religion’, *KH*, 31 March 1897, 3.

⁶⁴ S. A. Baker, ‘Correspondence’, *KH*, 15 February 1904, 3.

⁶⁵ *Official Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1911, 13.

whether over the counter or from a bottle' were included, along with a reminder that Christians were 'to abstain from all appearance of evil'.⁶⁶ In 1917, they even went so far as to outlaw picnics being held on camp property.⁶⁷ In 1918, two of the denomination's ministers presented a report on sabbath observance, concluding that 'the greatest hindrance to religious observance of the [Lord's] day [was] the improper use of the automobile'.⁶⁸ In 1919, the camp committee ruled that dance music and Sunday bathing should be prohibited on camp property.⁶⁹ Reformed Baptists were convinced that one's maintenance of personal holiness was interwoven with strict compliance with an austere social code. All things considered, the list of sins which holiness sympathisers were to avoid was undeniably long.

The 'Experience'

Without a doubt, the most important aspect of entire sanctification for the recipient was seen to be its beneficial nature with regard to personal sin. The most commonly reported advantage of the experience was the divine assurance that one's sinful nature had been destroyed. In 1909, W. W. Jones wrote to the editor of the *King's Highway*, rejoicing that 'God keeps me from all sin';⁷⁰ L. M. Burpee described a similar sentiment, noting that 'the divine life which runs through my veins keeps me pure'.⁷¹ Zilpah Doucette, once a devout Roman Catholic, who was saved and later sanctified in holiness meetings, reported that, following her entire sanctification in 1892, she was certain she had been 'cleansed from all sin'.⁷² Salvationists, such as John Hardy, expressed a similar confidence about the

⁶⁶ *Official Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1912, 9

⁶⁷ *Official Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1917, 12.

⁶⁸ *Official Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1918, 7.

⁶⁹ *Official Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1919, 7.

⁷⁰ W. W. Jones, 'Correspondence', *KH*, 15 February 1909, 3.

⁷¹ Sharp Baker, 'Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick', *KH*, August 1891, 2.

⁷² S. A. Baker, 'Testimony to Full Salvation', *KH*, January 1892, 3.

experience, concluding that he ‘could not be made whiter’.⁷³ After George McDonald gained heart purity in 1894, he wrote that ‘since the Comforter has come I never doubted my soul’s sanctification’.⁷⁴ In 1891, during a Reformed Baptist meeting, Harleigh Clark stated with certainty that ‘His blood flows over my soul’,⁷⁵ a sentiment which Sharp Baker affirmed, also concluding ‘that fire burns in my soul’.⁷⁶ ‘Sister Hephzibah [Hepsy] Saunders’, who also testified at that meeting, rejoiced at her “‘know so” religion’.⁷⁷ Many of those reporting entire sanctification stated the exact date and time of its occurrence. L. M. Burpee, for example, claimed that ‘the second day of September 1884 was a memorable day when the blessed Saviour brought to me full salvation’.⁷⁸ George Trafton, a Reformed Baptist minister, determined that he crossed ‘over into Canaan on the ninth day of May, between two and six o’clock p.m., 1883’.⁷⁹ Many of these individuals delighted in an inimitable confidence in the consequences of their experiences and were not reticent in reporting the details.

A second commonly reported outcome was an amalgam of euphoric feelings, including peace, joy and love. George McDonald recalled that, immediately following his sanctification, all ‘personal struggling ceased and my soul rested on the bosom of Jesus as a poor weary child’.⁸⁰ McDonald strove to express fully the depth of calm which the experience had generated. ‘Such rest, only to be experienced, never fully told’, explained McDonald, ‘rest from all the inward warfare caused by remaining evil in my heart, and

⁷³ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 81.

⁷⁴ G. W. McDonald, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 March 1894, 3.

⁷⁵ George McDonald, ‘Camp Reminisces’, *KH*, 15 February, 1913, 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁸ Sharp Baker, ‘Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick’, *KH*, August 1891, 2.

⁷⁹ G. B. Trafton, ‘Entire Sanctification’, *KH*, 15 February 1913, 3.

⁸⁰ G. W. McDonald, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 March 1894, 2.

withal a sense of having reached the place where the soul could dwell with God.⁸¹ Other sanctified individuals, including Ida Kierstead, a Reformed Baptist minister, who was sanctified sixteen years after her conversion in 1890,⁸² attempted to express gratitude to God for the ‘deep settled peace in my soul, a deeper, richer experience than of yore’.⁸³ Walter Lester, another elder in the denomination, recalled ‘a sweet peace’ which flooded his soul following his experience in 1899.⁸⁴ Such praise for the peace which the experience offered no doubt served to pique the interest of those who were not in possession of it.

Besides peaceful sentiments, individuals frequently described dramatic and exuberant sensations that often accompanied recipients of entire sanctification. After Roscoe Heine’s experience he described ‘heavenly joy that I cannot put in words’.⁸⁵ John Hardy noted similar feelings which he ‘never thought possible’.⁸⁶ L. M. Burpee compared his existence following his experience in 1886 to ‘living in heaven’,⁸⁷ declaring five years later that the euphoria was constant ‘joy unspeakable and full of glory’.⁸⁸ Even Thomas Moses, a crusty old fisherman from Grand Manan Island who had experienced entire sanctification in 1895, wrote to the editor of the *King’s Highway*, stating that ‘the ice in my soul... has melted away’.⁸⁹ Many of those claiming the experience bore witness to deep-seated inner joy.

⁸¹ Ibid., 2.

⁸² See Vesta Dunlop Mullen, *The Communion of Saints: Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church, 1888-1966* (Shoals, IN: Old Paths Tract Society, 2006), 204.

⁸³ Ida M. Kierstead, ‘My Personal Testimony’, *KH*, 30 August 1910, 3.

⁸⁴ E. W. Lester, ‘My Experience’, *KH*, 29 November 1913, 3.

⁸⁵ James Roscoe Heine, ‘Monthly Record of Roscoe Heine,’ (unpublished journal, 9 September 1895- 31 March 1936), 1-191. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: Fredericton, New Brunswick # MC3167, 6.

⁸⁶ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 81.

⁸⁷ Sharp Baker, ‘Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick’, *KH*, August 1891, 1.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁸⁹ T. W. Moses, ‘Victory, Victory’, *KH*, 15 January 1895, 3.

Accompanying such positive feelings was a reported increased capacity of affection for others. John Hardy noted that his ability to love intensified substantially following his experience. Despite the fact that a Salvation Army officer actually chided him for pursuing entire sanctification with the assistance of a non-Salvationist,⁹⁰ Hardy responded to that official with genuine warmth. ‘Without heart purity I would have resented this remark and reprimanded the captain sharply,’ Hardy later acknowledged, ‘but now my heart was full of love, ocean depths of love.’⁹¹ William Kinghorn’s testimony also reflected a profound devotion for others. ‘I find now I can love all Christians, without trying,’ noted Kinghorn. ‘I know now how to love with a pure heart fervently as I have never loved before.’⁹² Leonard Sabine, a young Reformed Baptist ministerial student, noted positive feelings for a colleague who was so different from him ‘in make-up...but now we were led along the same pathway’.⁹³ Such positive feelings which the experience introduced optimised its appeal for those seeking holiness.

Many of those professing the experience also acknowledged intense spiritual passion which manifested itself as a renewed vigour for Christian service. Burpee believed that following his sanctification he was ‘fitted...for the “large place” of service’.⁹⁴ In 1910, Mrs W. S. Beal, an American Reformed Baptist residing in a border town adjacent to New Brunswick, compared the sense of mission she recently acquired to ‘a fire burning in her soul’.⁹⁵ Likewise, W. W. Jones noted that God had given him ‘an inner strength to ever follow my Saviour that I did not have’.⁹⁶ In 1891, William Sherwood, editor of the *King’s*

⁹⁰ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 81.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 81-2.

⁹² William Kinghorn, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 January 1895, 3.

⁹³ L. T. Sabine, ‘Correspondence’, *KH*, 28 February 1949, 5.

⁹⁴ Sharp Baker, ‘Experience of L. M. Burpee of Jacksonville, New Brunswick’, *KH*, August 1891, 3.

⁹⁵ Mrs. W. S. Beal, ‘Holiness’, *KH*, 31 October 1910, 3.

⁹⁶ W. W. Jones, ‘Correspondence’, *KH*, 15 February 1909, 3.

Highway, claimed that he had ‘burned all the bridges’ behind him, an action which he credited to sanctification.⁹⁷ Still others believed that such passion led to an advanced level of spirituality. John Gravinor, an elderly Free Christian Baptist, recalled that although his religious life had been erratic for twenty-five years, following his sanctification in 1880 he became ‘established in Christian life, walking by faith and enjoying the Spirit’s presence’.⁹⁸ George McDonald described it as a ‘constancy of faith and bright hope’.⁹⁹ In 1913, an anonymous individual wrote to the *King’s Highway*, observing that sanctification had produced ‘holy boldness to work for Him instead of my former timidity’.¹⁰⁰ Roscoe Heine credited entire sanctification as ‘the foundation’ for his life’s work, a period of thirty years in pastoral ministry, and an equal number of years as a representative for the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹⁰¹ All of these individuals rejoiced at the fact that their passions for Christian service had so dramatically increased.

Analysis of Testimonies

Table 3:1 Accounts of Entire Sanctification, 1880-1920¹⁰²

Denomination	Number of Accounts	Percentage of Total
Methodist Church	47	41
Free Christian Baptist Conference	38	33
Salvation Army	5	4
Reformed Baptist	16	14
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	1	1
Regular Baptist	4	4
Presbyterian	2	2
Roman Catholic	1	1
Total	114	100

⁹⁷ W. H. Sherwood, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, August 1891, 2.

⁹⁸ John Gravinor, ‘News of the Churches’, *BC*, 7 July 1910, 2.

⁹⁹ G. W. McDonald, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 March 1894, 2.

¹⁰⁰ ‘A Sister’s Testimony’, *KH*, 29 November 1913, 5.

¹⁰¹ Ruth Scott, *The Unknown New Brunswicker* (Fredericton, NB: Capital Free Press Ltd., 1988), 103.

¹⁰² See Appendix, 354-56.

A close examination of the personal accounts of one hundred and fourteen individuals reporting entire sanctification between 1880 and 1920 highlights a number of important findings. First, the number of sanctification reports representative of each denomination varied considerably. The two religious bodies with the largest total number of published reports of entire sanctification between 1880 and 1920 were the Methodist Church (47) and the Free Christian Baptist Conference (38). Taking into account that these denominations had been established in the region many decades ahead of the others and contained much larger memberships, such a finding is understandable. On the other hand, given the size of these groups the figures for individuals reporting sanctification were very small in proportion to their numbers. The possibility that many other Free Christian Baptists and Methodists claimed to have attained the ‘experience’ should be acknowledged, despite the fact that no known records were kept concerning such developments. All in all, it is impossible to know the extent to which members from both religious groups pursued this aspect of holiness movement theology. Regardless of these uncertainties, there is no doubt that a sizeable number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists professed entire sanctification during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

A second observation is the popularity of the ‘experience’ among members of the Reformed Baptist Alliance. Fourteen per cent of all sanctification accounts were those offered by Reformed Baptists. Additionally, however, it must be noted that between 1888 and 1890, all but five of thirty-eight Free Christian Baptists claiming to have received the experience relinquished their memberships with the Free Christian Baptist Conference in

order to join Reformed Baptist congregations.¹⁰³ Taken together, therefore, the fact that almost eighty-seven per cent of these Free Christian Baptists abandoned their religious affiliation to become Reformed Baptists indicates the intensity of disapproval they experienced towards the Free Christian Baptist Conference and what they believed to be that religious body's disregard for holiness.

A third finding is the small number of sanctification reports among adherents in the Salvationist Army. The five Salvationist accounts included in this chapter, all of which were derived from diary accounts or historical published works concerning the Maritime Salvation Army,¹⁰⁴ supports the hypothesis that although the organisation emphasised the subject of holiness, its officers did not consistently support the call of the holiness movement that all believers should experience full salvation.¹⁰⁵ This outcome not only reinforces the idea that Army officials offered a low profile to the experience but also suggests that, while addressing the region's social problems, many of them ignored the holiness movement's cardinal doctrine altogether.

A fourth discovery is that only one Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene member publicly reported to having received the experience. This may be explained in part by the fact that such huge distances separated Maritime Pentecostal Nazarenes from the denominational headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, the location of its publishing

¹⁰³ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 189.

¹⁰⁴ Diary of Ensign John Hardy, 1884-1914.' In the possession of the author, Kensington, Prince Edward Island; James Roscoe Heine, 'Monthly Record of Roscoe Heine', unpublished Journal, 9 September 1895-31 March 1936, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: Fredericton, New Brunswick, # MC3167; 'Diary of Ensign John Hardy, 1884-1914', in the possession of the author, Kensington, Prince Edward Island; Diary of Robert Bell Warren, 29 November 1900- 28 September 1915', in the possession of the author, Kensington, Prince Edward Island; Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Amsterdam, NL: Eldeha Publishing, 1965).

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 71, and Chapter 6, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Leadership,' 105-6.

establishment. Although the paper regularly included the experiential accounts of entire sanctification of Americans, it is reasonable that Maritimers, especially in the early years, experienced little interest in submitting personal narratives to a location that was thousands of kilometres from their region.

One final point which should be highlighted is that seven of the individuals who were declared to be entirely sanctified were affiliated with religious bodies that maintained no association with the holiness movement. These men and women included four Regular Baptists, two Presbyterians and one Roman Catholic. Shortly after professing to be entirely sanctified, five of them joined Reformed Baptist churches. Two of these individuals, B. N. Ballentine and J. H. Coy, were ordained Regular Baptist ministers whose credentials were removed by their respective Baptist associations; Coy was quickly welcomed into the Reformed Baptist Alliance following his dismissal from the Regular Baptist Convention and ordained as a minister in that denomination.¹⁰⁶ Shortly after Ballentine was evicted from the Baptist denomination he migrated to the United States, where he joined an independent holiness body and was ordained as a Pentecostal Nazarene minister in 1907.¹⁰⁷ Two Presbyterians, Leslie Macmillan and Lillian Pridham Rix, joined the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene following their sanctification.¹⁰⁸ Sadly, denominational church records include no statistics concerning the number of individuals professing entire sanctification although it has been noted that in the first decade of the twentieth century, approximately one hundred Methodists in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, joined the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.¹⁰⁹ Many of them presumably sought and attained the

¹⁰⁶ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 84.

¹⁰⁷ 'Obituary of Mary K. Ballentine', *BC*, 19 January 1907, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 23.

¹⁰⁹ Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 143-83.

experience since the pursuit of the experience was a prerequisite to joining the denomination. Overall, then, it is apparent that although the majority of those professing entire sanctification were members of Methodist, Free Christian Baptist or Reformed Baptist churches, a number of individuals from other denominations also embraced holiness theology and professed to receiving the experience.

Table 3:2 Number of Sanctification Accounts of Maritimers Reported in Denominational Newspapers (percentages)¹¹⁰

Newspaper	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1920	Total
<i>Beulah Christian</i>	--	--	9	--	1
<i>King's Highway</i>	--	25	73	100	46
<i>Religious Intelligencer</i>	14	5	9	--	7
<i>War Cry</i>					--
<i>Wesleyan</i>	86	70	9	--	46

Another major aspect to consider is the fluctuations which occurred in the incidence of entire sanctification reported in each of the denominational newspapers. While the number of these accounts significantly increased among some of these religious bodies, similar reports from the remaining groups fizzled out or disappeared altogether. For example, between 1880 and 1899, Methodists accounted for between seventy and eighty-six per cent of all recorded sanctifications, yet during the first decade of the twentieth century Methodist testimonies accounted for less than ten per cent of the total. Between 1910 and 1920 not a single record was published in the Methodist newspaper of a member attaining the experience, a clear indication that the emphasis which some Methodists had placed upon the experience had diminished.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix, 357.

Free Christian Baptists followed a similar pattern to the Methodists. For example, although they accounted for fourteen per cent of all testimonies between 1880 and 1889, during the next decade that number dropped by more than half of what it had been previously. Between 1900 and 1906 a number of former Free Christian Baptists testified to entire sanctification and amazingly the denominational newspaper published these accounts. The Free Christian Baptist Conference ceased to exist in 1905-06, merging with Regular Baptists to form a new denomination, the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime provinces. This religious body's newspaper, the *Messenger and Visitor*, reported extensively on the progress of Maritime United Baptists between the years 1905 and 1920 but never once mentioned an individual experiencing entire sanctification. What had once been a theological emphasis of many Free Christian Baptists between 1880 and 1900 appeared to have completely disappeared in the early years of the twentieth century.

The Reformed Baptist Alliance, which had been established in 1888, accounted for twenty-five per cent all of entire sanctification accounts between 1890 and 1899, a large proportion considering that the denomination was significantly smaller in size than either the Methodist Church or the Free Christian Baptist Conference. As expected, this development occurred during a period when many individuals shifted their denominational affiliation from Free Christian Baptist to Reformed Baptist. Most noteworthy of all was the fact that during the first decade of the twentieth century seventy-three per cent of all published sanctification reports came from Reformed Baptists and in the subsequent ten-year period Reformed Baptist members accounted for one hundred per cent of all testimonials, a strong indication of the extent to which the Reformed Baptist Alliance had become the region's leading proponent of holiness movement theology.

Although Salvationists claimed allegiance to the holiness movement, there were no sanctification accounts at all published in the *War Cry* between 1885 and 1920. This newspaper published a myriad of holiness-related articles and many of its pages were filled with lengthy accounts of the organisation's national development through the opening of new corps and the recent placement of officers. Army officials frequently noted that sinners came to God 'crying for mercy, backsliders seeking to be restored, and believers earnestly seeking full deliverance from inbred sin'.¹¹¹ Other officers recorded that 'seekers have received "pardon" [a reference to salvation], and "purity" [a term used by many in the holiness movement to convey entire sanctification]'.¹¹² Presumably this is what these officers meant to indicate but that cannot be established as fact from available evidence since the Salvation Army published no records of individuals experiencing entire sanctification.

In 1908, one year after the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was established in the Maritime region, the sanctification experience of one Maritimer was published in the *Beulah Christian*, one of the denomination's newspapers. There were a number of accounts of Methodists, however, who following their sanctification experiences joined the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Taken together, one can see that although Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had once led the way in experiencing entire sanctification, Reformed Baptists quickly took the lead soon after forming a separate denomination and continued to outdistance all of the other organisations until 1920.

¹¹¹ 'From the Soul Saving Troupe', *WC*, 28 May 1892, 4.

¹¹² 'Halifax Division', *WC*, 11 February 1888, 14; Yarmouth Division, *WC*, 14 January 1888, 12.

Taken together, Methodists and Free Christian Baptists accounted for more than one-half of all reports of entire sanctification between 1880 and 1920. In reality, however, the majority of Free Christian Baptists whose testimonies were published in the denominational newspaper eventually joined the Reformed Baptist Alliance. Taking this into account, therefore, in reality almost forty-three per cent of individuals whose experiences were publicised in newspaper accounts became members of Reformed Baptist churches. These details clearly demonstrate the degree to which the incidence of reported sanctifications sharply declined among Methodists and Free Christian Baptists while the number of Reformed Baptists claiming to have received the experience continually increased.

One final significant feature of these references to personal sanctification which should be considered is the terminology which individuals from Table 3:1 used to describe their experiences. Twenty per cent (26) of all those reporting entire sanctification associated their spiritual encounter with the ‘Day of Pentecost’, a New Testament event described in the *Acts of the Apostles* when the Holy Spirit descended upon one hundred and twenty individuals.¹¹³ This language, which was not used by John Wesley, took strong root in the years just before and after the American Civil War.¹¹⁴ Within the American holiness movement, Pentecost was not understood as a single event in the context of salvation-history; rather, it was viewed as a personal event that was to be a part of every believer’s salvation experience.¹¹⁵ That Methodists readily adopted this interpretation was

¹¹³ *Acts of the Apostles*, 2:1-31.

¹¹⁴ Donald Dayton, ‘The Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Its Emergence and Significance’, *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 13 (Spring 1978), 118.

¹¹⁵ Mark R. Quanstrom, *A Century of Holiness Theology* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 2004), 33.

evidenced in the ‘Pentecostal’ language they incorporated in their testimonies. They included phrases such as ‘the blessing of the holy Ghost’, the ‘baptism of the Holy Ghost’ or ‘baptism of the Holy Spirit’. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the explanation of entire sanctification, with Pentecost as its model, was universal among both American and Maritime holiness advocates.¹¹⁶

It should also be noted that no marked contrasts existed in the language used by members of the various holiness denominations. For example, fourteen individuals, eleven per cent of all testimonies, representing Methodists, Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists alike used poignant expressions, such as the ‘power of the blood’ and ‘holy tongues of fire’. Thirteen individuals (ten per cent), all of whom were members of one of these groups, described ‘full salvation’. All of these expressions had become popular in the American holiness movement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, another indication of the influence exerted by holiness leadership in the United States.

Two important contrasts surfaced between the narratives of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists. The most obvious disparity was the brevity of Methodist accounts when compared to the testimonies of the other group. In fact, most of the testimonies offered by Methodists amounted to little more than a succinct statement of their personal belief in entire sanctification, their support for this theological emphasis and frequently a reminder to other Methodists of the critical nature of holiness. Another difference between Methodist accounts and those from Free Christian Baptists was their impersonal nature. These contrasted sharply with the intimate details frequently offered by Free Christian Baptists.

¹¹⁶ Dayton, ‘Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Its Emergence and Significance’, 121.

Several samples from holiness-minded Methodist ministers will help to illustrate the differences. For example, William Ainley expressed thanks for the ‘blessing of perfect love’,¹¹⁷ while John S. Allen celebrated what he described as the ‘distinct witness of the blessing of holiness’.¹¹⁸ Neither of these men offered any details concerning the time of their experience, the circumstances which preceded it, nor of the spiritual encounter itself. Neither did W. W. Lodge, except to say that John Wesley had revived what he believed to be ‘experiential holiness’.¹¹⁹ John Lathern also expressed gratitude for his Wesleyan heritage which ‘continues to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land’.¹²⁰ All in all, Methodist pronouncements of entire sanctification were sketchy and dull.

Free Christian Baptists, on the other hand, frequently offered personal and dramatic details concerning their experiences. William Kinghorn, a Free Christian Baptist minister, who professed entire sanctification in 1882, noted that ‘a cloud of darkness was lifted from my mind and the fullness of light and blessing poured into my heart. My whole soul was filled with such a heavenly sensation. I stood and praised God’.¹²¹ In 1886, Stephen McMullin, a second-generation Free Christian Baptist, experienced such emotion and power that he never questioned his holiness encounter for the remainder of his life. While attending a Salvation Army meeting McMullin and a group of other men marched up and down the aisle of the community hall in Victoria Corner, New Brunswick, while the congregation sang fervently. Just as McMullin approached the platform to offer a testimony

¹¹⁷ William Ainley, ‘Holiness Unto the Lord’, *WES*, 24 May 1888, 2.

¹¹⁸ John S. Allen, ‘True Holiness’, *WES*, 24 March 1887, 2.

¹¹⁹ W. W. Lodge, ‘Full Salvation’, *WES*, 12 February 1902, 7.

¹²⁰ John Lathern, ‘Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 16 October 1895, 4.

¹²¹ William Kinghorn, ‘Full Salvation’, *KH*, May 1893, 3.

he instantaneously experienced what he referred to as ‘the second slap’. McMullin later wrote that

the fire fell upon my soul, and I was on my feet and praising God and exhorting sinners. I threw off my coat and dared anyone to go out of that room without making their peace with God. When I began to march up and down the aisle there were only a few people in the building, but as soon as the news spread ‘Stephen McMullin had gone crazy,’ and in a short time the house was full.¹²²

Percy Trafton was another Free Christian Baptist who claimed to receive the experience.

In 1884, he observed that

the power of the Holy Spirit fell on me and thrilled me through and through like shocks of an electric battery, and I knew that God had answered my prayers and given me the longed for experience. I shouted aloud for some time, ‘Glory to Jesus! Jesus! Glory to Jesus!’ There seemed to be a hallelujah manufactory in my soul. I went forth to be severely tested, but the wondrous grace that I received stood the test.¹²³

Although many narratives were recorded of Free Christian Baptists who declared to have experienced entire sanctification, very few comparable accounts exist of Salvation Army officers or adherents. The following version offered by John Hardy, an officer in that organisation, is included because it is the only one which has been located that is similar to those of individuals who were members of the Free Christian Baptist Conference at the time of their sanctification. Hardy noted that

after praying for an extended period, all of a sudden the glory came. It seemed like a fire in my bones. The glory came and cleansed me through and through, burning through me, yet cleansing me. I felt as white as snow. The power of

¹²² Stephen McMullin, ‘My Testimony’, *KH*, 15 January 1909, 2.

¹²³ Percy J. Trafton, ‘Sketch of the Life and Experience of W. B. Wiggins, B. A.’, *KH*, 31 October 1924.

God seemed to cleanse my blood and burn through my bones. I knew now what the hymn writer meant, 'Wash me in the blood of the Lamb, and I shall be whiter than snow.' I had often sung it before, but now I felt it, I knew I was sanctified, for I felt I could not be made whiter. All the old accumulation of silt in my nature was washed away. The leprosy of sin was gone, not only forgiven. The dragon was slain and his habitation was cleansed. Now something good of mankind would grow, and it did. Thank God for the highway called 'The Way of Holiness.' I had such joy I had never known nor thought possible.¹²⁴

The dramatics and exhilaration apparent in many Free Christian Baptist testimonies and this one Salvationist account distinctly contrasted with Methodist narratives which frequently reflected a much more succinct and far less exciting methodology.

Finally, a number of individuals incorporated terminology which Phoebe Palmer had made popular in the nineteenth century. One of these was G. Newton, an individual who remained a Methodist during his lifetime but who also strongly supported the Reformed Baptist Alliance. Newton described standing 'solidly upon the truth' regardless of his 'cold naked faith without emotion'.¹²⁵ Two other individuals who also imitated Mrs Palmer were members of the Free Christian Baptist Conference at the time that they claimed to experience entire sanctification, yet later joined the Reformed Baptist Alliance. George McDonald acknowledged that the very moment he realised that 'the altar sanctifieth the gift' he experienced sanctification,¹²⁶ and D. McLeod rejoiced that he had 'entered into the rest of faith'.¹²⁷ Both of these testimonies suggest that Palmer's influence certainly pervaded the region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Generally speaking,

¹²⁴ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 81.

¹²⁵ G. Newton, 'The Truth of Holiness', *KH*, 15 August 1909, 4.

¹²⁶ George McDonald, 'The Blessing of Perfect Love', *KH*, 15 January 1903, 3

¹²⁷ D. McLeod, 'The Rest of Faith', *KH*, 30 March 1915, 6.

the testimonies of Free Christian Baptists used far more vivid language than those of Methodists. Many of them spoke of the essential nature of the blood of Jesus, Holy Ghost fire and power and being fitted for Christian service. It should be noted, however, that the majority of Free Christian Baptists who offered these accounts left the denomination shortly after professing entire sanctification.

Conclusion

All things considered, it is clear that these five denominations reacted in different ways to the experience of entire sanctification as espoused by the holiness movement. Reformed Baptists, a group which especially supported the movement, favoured the idea of a definite personal encounter which occurred instantaneously the moment a believer accepted, in faith, this divine heart cleansing. Some of those who first claimed 'perfect love' reported that they attained that state only after a prolonged quest. That school of thought faded early in the 1880s, as the theological emphasis of the American holiness movement, one that reflected Phoebe Palmer's 'shorter way', was established in the Maritime region. It should also be noted that a number of those professing the experience stated that they actually had no theological introduction to it until years later. Defenders of the movement insisted that entire sanctification was always preceded by a believer's complete and unconditional consecration to God. Most holiness advocates also associated the experience with stringent life-style guidelines which meant the avoidance of sin in all its forms. To fail in this area meant forfeiting the experience. Those claiming to maintain the state through strict spiritual disciplines of prayer, Bible reading and holy living commonly reported euphoric feelings and a greater capacity to love others. The majority of holiness movement sympathisers shared common views concerning the experience.

Furthermore, the leadership of each religious body also responded toward the experience of entire sanctification in a distinct manner. Firstly, the Methodist Church Conference and the Free Christian Baptist Elders' Conference offered no official endorsement of the experience despite the fact that many members in each denomination not only were holiness sympathisers but also claimed to have personally experienced entire sanctification. A number of ministers from both of these denominations openly criticised those who professed to being entirely sanctified. One indication that their hostility helped to suppress the holiness factions within both religious bodies was that by the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the holiness sympathisers had left these two older and well-established bodies to join either the Reformed Baptist Alliance or the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. In fact, in 1905-06, Free Christian Baptists merged with Maritime Regular Baptists, a branch of Baptists which held no associations whatsoever with the holiness movement, to form a new denomination, the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces. Furthermore, by 1920, such an infinitesimal number of Methodists associated with the holiness movement, that the denomination seriously focused its energy on a national union with Anglicans, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, to establish a denomination which ultimately ignored holiness movement theology altogether.

Secondly, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada, which had been established by former Free Christian Baptists, wholly endorsed the theology and practices of the American holiness movement. Not surprisingly, this new denomination emphasised the experience of entire sanctification as its cardinal doctrine. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, the last of the religious bodies to organise, also completely supported holiness movement theology and predictably adopted an identical view of Christian perfection to

Reformed Baptists. Both of these denominations vigorously sought to maintain and strengthen connections to the holiness movement in the United States by supporting its activities and seeking to champion the cause locally.

Thirdly, the Salvation Army offered a moderated response to the holiness movement's emphasis on the experience of entire sanctification. Despite the fact that the Army endorsed the movement from the beginning, many of its officers neither understood the theology nor were they uniform in their interpretation of it. And although occasionally articles written by Army officials on entire sanctification appeared in all of the denominational newspapers, seldom did officers or adherents profess to having experienced entire sanctification. On the whole, the degree to which these denominations identified with the holiness movement varied significantly. From the tempered response of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists to the whole-hearted espousal by Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, the experience of entire sanctification gave rise to both agreement and dissension among Maritime believers towards the end of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT INSTITUTIONS

The Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene all differed significantly from one another in their institutional structures. Along with the varying polities which they utilised, they evidenced distinct patterns of growth as well as unique relations with other denominations. The financial status of the various institutions stood in contrast with one another and their ability to maintain unity among their memberships varied greatly. While some denominations sought and attained social acceptance from the broader community there were factions in these five religious bodies who believed that such realisations were indicative of spiritual sickness and that any desire for social respectability was incompatible with holy living. All of these variations reflected the distinctive flavour of each religious body, not to mention their responses towards the holiness movement, elements which are considered in this chapter.

Structures of Polity

As one examines the polity of each denomination, several similarities come to light. For example, both Methodists and Pentecostal Nazarenes followed an episcopal form of government which was hierarchical in nature.¹ The Methodist substructure was the class meeting which consisted of a small group of individuals who met regularly for mutual encouragement.² Collections of churches were combined into circuits which were cared for

¹ See H. M. Turner, *The Genius and Theory of Methodist Polity, or the Machinery of Methodism* (Philadelphia, PA: American Methodist Episcopal Church, 1885).

² Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Toronto, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 227-32.

by one or more ministers. Circuits were merged to form districts, of which there were two in the Maritime region between 1880 and 1920.³ Ultimate authority over local churches rested with bishops. Considering the fact that Maritime bishops were also responsible for eastern sections of central Canada, these men offered much less attention to the concerns of Maritime Methodists than to larger and more important districts.⁴ Furthermore, despite the fact that every minister supposedly held equal status, the president of the conference, along with a select group of leaders, often wielded disproportionate influence over denominational matters. Clergy were expected to share responsibility with both ordained and untrained deacons who cared for the congregations' spiritual needs and with trustees, a sub-group that focused on the practical matters of finance and maintenance. As a whole, the Methodist Church functioned as a top-down organisation, with some individuals exerting more influence than other ordinary church members.

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene followed a similar model but also integrated aspects of congregational polity which created a representative church government.⁵ Such structural considerations facilitated the sharing of power between clergy and laity at all levels. For example, congregations could generally choose and dismiss their clergy, although they were expected to acquiesce to the guidance of a district superintendent when different viewpoints arose. Control over denominational affairs was shared between individually elected church representatives, district officers and general

³ D. W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda from the Beginning till the Consummation of Union with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in 1925* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Printing, 1925), 14,140.

⁴ See William Howard Brooks, 'The Changing Character of Wesleyan Methodism, 1855-1883', unpublished M.A. Thesis, Mount Allison University, 1965, 1-72.

⁵ *Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene Manual* (Los Angeles, CA: Nazarene Publishing House, 1908), 14-20.

superintendents. These groups met according to specified schedules to formulate theological positions and new policy. Whereas local congregations and districts held annual meetings, church delegates and district and general superintendents met only every four years. Maritime Pentecostal Nazarenes, the majority of whom were former Methodists, related well to a polity which resembled what they had previously known and yet offered greater congregational autonomy. A significant challenge for them, however, were the huge distances which geographically separated them from the New England district office and the international headquarters located in Kansas City, Missouri. Maritime ministers seldom attended these denominational meetings because of the region's remoteness and because local churches were usually unable to cover their travelling expenses.⁶ Generally speaking, Pentecostal Nazarene polity offered greater power to its membership than Methodist church government yet seldom were Maritimers actually able to exercise that privilege in the early years of the denomination's history.

Free Christian Baptists and their progeny, the Reformed Baptists, followed a congregational model of polity, one which stressed local church autonomy. Each church individually defined its doctrinal statement, owned and maintained property, called its pastor and democratically elected church officials. Local congregations were expected to conduct regularly scheduled business meetings and collections of churches, which were known as districts, met together annually.⁷ All of these measures were intended to ensure some level of democratic control over church affairs. In reality, however, several specific individuals exerted disproportionate command over denominational matters. At any rate,

⁶ *Proceedings of the Seventh District Assembly of the New England District of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene* (Providence, RI: Published by Order of the Assembly, 1914), 18.

⁷ Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902), 429.

Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists insisted that each congregation should exercise its right to be autonomous.

The polity of Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists also reflected some features of connexionalism, a variety of Presbyterian polity.⁸ That is, although each congregation had the right to make independent decisions concerning property, an executive team monitored the activities of every church and would intervene under special circumstances.⁹ The executive president of each of these denominations provided leadership at the highest level, acting as church spokesman and facilitating the transfer of ministers. Although the executive president was annually selected by a body of ordained elders, occasionally this individual retained that position for several years. In 1894, the members of the Reformed Baptist executive body passed a motion which required all elders to attend the annual conference,¹⁰ an idea which they had adopted from the practice of Free Christian Baptists.¹¹ Although both groups claimed to follow the congregational model, characteristics of a quasi-Presbyterian connexional model were present.

Interestingly, the Salvation Army differed significantly from all the other groups. This organisation was based upon an autocratic system in which the General possessed total authority. This fact was highlighted by the editor of the *Saint John Sun*, in 1894, when he noted that ‘Booth exercises more complete personal control than any other religious leader of his time’.¹² The General appointed various commissioners who were responsible

⁸ *Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance, 1902* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day, 1902), 12.

⁹ See Chapter 5, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,’ 186-89.

¹⁰ George McDonald, ‘Beulah Camp’, *KH*, 15 May 1896, np.

¹¹ Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, 429.

¹² ‘The *Saint John Sun* Says Editorially’, *HH*, 1 October 1894, 3.

for selecting all territorial leaders.¹³ These individuals, known as commanders, were assisted by secretaries who directed each district. In 1890, the Maritime region was divided into ten districts containing several corps, the centre of each being an urban area. Every corps resembled a church and was led by one or more officers. Although these officers exerted control over day-to-day operations, superior officers had the authority to relocate or remove them at a moment's notice, an action which occurred frequently in the Maritime Region between 1885 and 1920.¹⁴ The editor of the *Saint John Sun* accurately characterised the Salvation Army as 'an aggressive church with a military organization'.¹⁵

Of the five denominational structures, that of the Salvation Army was the most authoritarian. Despite the fact that Army officials made many independent decisions, including the planning of meetings and the establishing of corps, they understood that every decision was subject to the approval of those of superior rank. This approach contrasted sharply with that of the other four denominations which abided by contrasting blends of congregational and connexional models of polity.

Patterns of Growth

An important distinction between these religious bodies was their varied patterns and rates of numerical growth. Methodist membership, for example, significantly increased between 1874 and 1884 (see Table 4:1), largely due to the merger of Methodists, Wesleyans, New Connexion and Bible Christians in 1884.¹⁶ The Methodist Church also

¹³ Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Amsterdam, NL: Eldeha Publishing, 1965), 65.

¹⁴ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1914* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing, 1952), 14-28.

¹⁵ 'The *Saint John Sun* Says Editorially', *HH*, 1 October 1894, 4

¹⁶ Phyllis D. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 33.

expanded because converts from a number of revival meetings were received into membership.¹⁷ After 1884, however, Methodists experienced a myriad of problems which

Table 4:1 Methodist Maritime Conference Membership, 1874-1924¹⁸

Year	Membership	Increase	Percentage
1874	12,772		
1884	18,601	5,829	46%
1894	19,020	419	2%
1904	29,564	10,544	55%
1914	30,712	1,148	4%
1924	34,043	3,331	11%

seriously impeded subsequent growth, challenges which are explored later in this chapter. The denomination once again benefited from a swelling membership between 1894 and 1904 as Maritimers were captivated by the elegance and prestigious lifestyle of large numbers of Methodists. By 1905, the Methodist Church entered another dormant period after various innovative social gospel initiatives failed to attract significant numbers of new members.¹⁹ Altogether, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the Nova Scotia Conference increased in membership by only slightly more than two per cent.²⁰ Although membership increased by ten per cent between 1914 and 1924, the majority of that progress was the result of Methodist youth being redefined official members of the church.²¹ During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth, a small number of Methodists began to consider the idea of union with Presbyterians and

¹⁷ Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America*, 14-140.

¹⁸ D. W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda from the Beginning till the Consummation of Union with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in 1925* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Printing, 1925), 15, 16, 140, 141.

¹⁹ Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 390.

²⁰ 'News of the Churches', *Wesleyan*, 2 October 1912, 8.

²¹ John Lathern, 'Pulpit Power', *WES*, 9 May 1895, 4; George J. Bond, 'Changing the Denomination', *WES*, 10 April 1907, 2.

Congregationalists, and consequently offered top priority to the formation of a national Protestant body.²² Between 1880 and 1920, the Maritime Methodist Church had matured into a large and well established religious denomination. From its humble beginnings in the late eighteenth century it had developed into a large network of approximately five hundred and fifty churches in the Maritime region early in the twentieth century.²³

Table 4:2 Free Christian Baptists in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1880-1905²⁴

Year	Elders	Congregations Reporting	Members
1880	40	80	10,360
1881	41	69	10,492
1882	41	84	10,569
1883	44	87	10,777
1884	45	90	* ²⁵
1885	44	85	*
1886	46	151	9,199
1887	48	131	*
1888	41	98	*
1889	40	88	*
1890	45	86	*
1891	45	146	*
1892	49	103	*
1893	44	150	*
1894	44	113	8,774
1895	40	115	9,259
1896	43	118	9,427
1897	43	120	9,473
1898	47	120	9,504
1899	44	122	12,219
1900	44	156	8,539
1901	46	156	9,001
1902	45	156	9,601
1903	42	112	9,113
1904	46	145	9,056
1905	48	145	8, 973

²² Airhart, *Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 21-9.

²³ See T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda*, Vol. II. Halifax, NS: Methodist Book Room, 1877).

²⁴ 'Minutes of Free Christian Baptist Annual Sessions', 1879-1905, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

²⁵ * Denotes no available record.

Although the Free Christian Baptist Conference experienced an insignificant beginning in 1832, within two decades the denomination increased from six meeting houses to sixty churches and from six elders to sixteen itinerant ministers.²⁶ Despite the fact that numerical gains persisted in the 1860s and 70s, early in the 1880s this religious body entered a period of stagnation (see Table 4:2). In fact, between 1880 and 1905, its ministerial roll increased by a meagre eight preachers and a large percentage of ordained elders were both elderly and infirm. Furthermore, commencing in the 1880s, a majority of those who were preparing for ministry in the denomination trained at Bates College, an American Freewill Baptist institution where, upon graduation, most remained in the United States.²⁷ All in all, finding an adequate supply of ministers became a difficult dilemma for the denomination during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Another factor to consider is the irregularity with which many churches submitted statistics to General Conference, as gaps in Table 4.2 indicate. In some years, for example, as many as 156 churches submitted reports while statistics for other years represented as few as sixty-nine congregations. And although it should be stressed that the statistical information is incomplete, available data indicate that church membership had declined by more than one thousand between 1880 and 1905. This downward shift helps to explain why so many Free Christian Baptists looked towards a merger of all Maritime Baptists as a panacea for the denomination's deteriorating membership.²⁸

²⁶ *Minutes of the Fortieth General Conference of the Free Christian Baptists in New Brunswick* (Saint John: Barnes & Company, 1872), 17.

²⁷ See G.A. Burgess, and A.M. Ward, eds., *Free Baptist Cyclopedia* (Chicago, IL: Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1886).

²⁸ Dan Goodwin, 'The Meaning of "Baptist Union" in Maritime Canada', in Ian M. Randall, Toivo Pilli and Anthony R. Cross, eds., *Baptist Identities: Studies in Baptist History and Thought* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 166.

The Salvation Army, although still a fledging organisation, was transformed subtly between 1885 and 1920. Despite the fact that it had started with a small group of Army officials preaching on street corners and conducting prison meetings,²⁹ by the beginning of the twentieth century the organisation comprised a comprehensive network of socially-minded workers feeding thousands of people. The Salvation Army attempted to establish a Maritime presence in the city of Saint John, New Brunswick, in the spring of 1885. After Army officers achieved phenomenal success there, they quickly moved throughout the region, organising in rapid succession thirteen additional corps. During the next two years,

Table 4:3 Salvation Army Corps in the Maritime Provinces, 1885-1920³⁰

Year	Number of Corps Established
1885	14
1886	21
1887	17
1888	6
1889	5
1890	2
1892	2
1893	1
1895	2
1899	1
1901	1
1902	5
1903	2
1915	1
1917	1
1919	1
1920	--
Total	82

²⁹ Adjutant McIntyre, 'Salvation in Jail', *WC*, July 1888, 10.

³⁰ *Canadian Corps Openings, 1885-1960* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Triumph Press, 1960), 20-63.

the Army established thirty-eight additional corps. By 1889 growth declined, however, with only eight new corps being organised between 1890 and 1900. And during the first two decades of the twentieth century, further advances waned more markedly; only one new corps was established in New Brunswick between 1900 and 1920.³¹ Although the Army enjoyed better fortunes in Nova Scotia, organising a total of fourteen corps during that period, it made no further advances in that province until 1962. Army officials experienced little success on Prince Edward Island, establishing just three corps there between 1886 and 1920. Altogether, during its first five years, the Army established fifty-nine corps yet, during the following three decades, it organised on average only one corps per year. Besides the fact that it was unable to maintain that initial growth rate of thirty-two per cent, it could not avert the eventual closure of forty-two corps by 1920.³²

The Reformed Baptist Alliance, which was established in 1888 with a single congregation, initially expanded at an extraordinary rate. In only two months, it organised nine churches with a total membership of five hundred and forty.³³ The next year, it established thirteen new congregations and an additional eighteen churches were formed between 1890 and 1920. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Alliance included a total of forty churches and a membership of sixteen hundred.³⁴ The majority of those who joined this denomination were former Free Christian Baptists who were notably troubled by some of their church leaders' opposition to the American holiness movement.³⁵ During the first two decades of the twentieth century, denominational growth decelerated

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ W. B. Wiggins, 'Reformed Baptists', *WD*, July 1889, 4.

³⁴ Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada Minutes, 1902, 28.

³⁵ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 277-78.

Table 4:4 Reformed Baptist Churches in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1888-1912³⁶

Year	Number of Churches Established	Total Number of Churches	Total Membership
1888	8	8	540
1889	19	27	* ³⁷
1890	2	29	*
1891	2	31	*
1892	2	33	*
1893	5	38	1,296
1894	4	42	*
1895	3	45	*
1896	--	45	1,515
1897	1	46	*
1898	--	46	1,574
1899	--	46	1,642
1900	1	47	1,555
1901	--	47	*
1902	--	47	1,600
1903	1	48	*
1904	1	49	1,664
1905	2	51	*
1906	1	52	*
1907	4	56	1,817
1908	2	58	1,915
1909	3	61	*
1910	2	63	*
1911	1	64	*
1912	1	65	*
1913	1	66	1,899
1914	--	66	1,907
1915	--	66	1,835
1916	1	67	1,804
1917	--	67	1,938
1918	--	67	2,047
1919	--	67	1,980
1920	--	67	2,157
Total	67	67	2,157

³⁶ *History of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day, 1890), 1-55, and Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy, MA: Eastern Nazarene College Press, 1994) 1-99.

³⁷ * Denotes no available record.

considerably in comparison with the denomination’s first twelve years. Despite the fact that the Alliance established twenty-one new congregations between 1900 and 1920, this was followed by a period of insignificant growth for many years. Its failure to maintain initial momentum may be explained, in part, by the introduction into the region of another holiness denomination, the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, a religious body whose theology mirrored that of Reformed Baptists. That development, however, cannot account completely for the Alliance’s inability to advance further. Various difficulties which it encountered are explored later in another chapter.³⁸

Table 4:5 Pentecostal Nazarene Churches in the Maritime Provinces, 1902- 1920³⁹

Year	Number of Churches Established
1902	2
1909	1
1910	1
1914	1
1917	1
Total	6

Prior to merging with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in 1907, the Pentecostal Holiness Association, a small holiness body which had originated in New England, experienced little success in the Maritimes. Although several of its leaders believed that the region was ‘a promising and needy one’⁴⁰ and made repeated attempts to establish churches in the region between 1895 and 1907, they were successful in organising congregations only in Oxford and Springhill, Nova Scotia.⁴¹ In 1908, a group of

³⁸ See Chapter 5, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,’ 196.

³⁹ *Minutes of the Association of Pentecostal Church of America, 1902-1907, Proceedings of the New England District Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 1907-1919*, Church of the Nazarene Archives, Lenexa, Kansas.

⁴⁰ 1903 Minutes Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, 45.

⁴¹ 1905 Minutes of the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, 39.

Pentecostal Nazarene leaders initiated an attempt to advance further the new denomination. All in all, they were successful in establishing just one new congregation in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.⁴² By 1914, attendance had declined so sharply that church was eventually disbanded and further efforts to evangelise the region were suspended.⁴³ Churches forged at Collingwood, Nova Scotia and Wicklow, New Brunswick, were likewise short-lived. Whereas records during the first decade of the twentieth century had reflected optimism for growth of the denomination in the region, by 1915 these two Maritime churches were barely mentioned in district minutes. Apart from the tiny Pentecostal Nazarene congregations in Oxford and Springhill, Nova Scotia, only one other was established in the region prior to 1920. This occurrence did not result from exclusively American evangelistic endeavours; rather, it resulted from the efforts of two Prince Edward Islanders who had been exposed to the holiness movement in New England during the 1890s. In 1916, after the Salvation Army closed its only corps in the western end of the island, these individuals contacted American holiness leaders they had met in Massachusetts, asking them to establish a church in the small community of Elmsdale.⁴⁴ In 1917, Pentecostal Nazarenes once again had just three churches in the Maritimes, a considerably limited accomplishment taking into account the many attempts which had been made to develop their presence in the region.

In summary, the initial favourable growth of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist churches during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century slowed to a virtual standstill by the end of the century. Salvationists and Reformed Baptists, on the other hand,

⁴² *Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the New England District Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 1910*, 18.

⁴³ *Proceedings of the New England Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene*, 1914, 21.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 6, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Leadership,' 211.

experienced outstanding advances during the 1880s and 90s yet were unable to sustain that momentum into the following century. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, the last of these religious groups to organise in the region, failed to initiate any significant development in its early years. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, no holiness body experienced significant numerical growth.

Denominational Collaboration

Another contrast between these institutions was manifested in the extent of their involvement with one another. For example, Methodists and Free Christian Baptists traditionally had collaborated regularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ In fact, their involvement with one another was so significant that Regular Baptists commonly referred to Free Christian Baptists as ‘Methodist Baptists’⁴⁶ or ‘immersed Methodists’.⁴⁷ Given the eclectic background of the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the affinity which they demonstrated towards Methodists was not surprising. As early as 1843, Methodist preachers were conducting revivals for Free Christian Baptists, resulting in mass conversions.⁴⁸ That relational tendency continued into the 1880s and 90s when churches representing both denominations jointly sponsored a series of holiness conventions in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.⁴⁹ Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, many members of the two denominations were indeed well acquainted with one another.

⁴⁵W. Ralph Richardson, ‘Methodist Revivalism and the Baptists of Eastern British America in 1858’, in David T. Priestly, ed., *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 26

⁴⁶ John Webster Grant, ‘Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada’, Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 39.

⁴⁷ T. W. Acheson, ‘Methodism and the Problem of Methodist Identity in Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick’, in Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 111.

⁴⁸ E. S. Parker, ‘Rev Freeman Babcock’, *RI*, 30 April 1902, 1.

⁴⁹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Christian Conference’, *RI*, 9 September 1891, 5; J. W. Freeman, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 5 April 1893, 5; J. W. Clarke, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 20 March 1895, 5; Joseph McLeod,

Some Methodists did not approve of such frequent involvement with Free Christian Baptists, especially those who became holiness advocates.⁵⁰ They set their sights instead on a national merger of Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.⁵¹ As early as 1883, T. Watson Smith, a well-known Methodist minister, stated that a union with Presbyterians would be advantageous to both groups.⁵² S. A. Chesley, another Maritime Methodist minister, wrote to the editor of the *Wesleyan*, describing ‘recent and close associations’ between the two groups and concluding that ‘the most encouraging sign of the times... [was] the manifest tendency towards church union’.⁵³ In 1902, John Maclean, a highly respected Methodist minister in Nova Scotia, highlighted the fact that ‘no essential differences exist between our churches’,⁵⁴ a view endorsed four years later by W. H. Hartz, President of the Nova Scotia Conference. Hartz urged Maritime Methodists ‘to move on until there is in Canada, a national Protestant Church’.⁵⁵ Generally speaking, by the beginning of the twentieth century, interaction between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had discontinued.

Some Free Christian Baptists also disapproved of collaboration between the two religious bodies, stressing instead the potential which existed in broader Baptist connections. For example, in 1880, Burton Minard suggested that union with American Freewill Baptists would be in the denomination’s best interests.⁵⁶ Some of his coreligionists

The Revival’, *RI*, 6 November 1895, 4; John B. Daggett, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 21 February 1900, 5; T. O. DeWitt, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 8 January 1902, 5; A. J. Prosser, ‘News of the Churches’, *RI*, 16 March 1904, 9.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 5, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,’ 191.

⁵¹ Silas Fulton, ‘Revival at Wallace’, *WES*, 1 April 1886; S. A. Chesley, ‘Church Union’, *WES*, 16 September 1896, 4.

⁵² T. Watson Smith, ‘Report of Episcopalian Synod’, *WES*, 19 October 1883, 2.

⁵³ S. A. Chesley, ‘Church Union’, *WES*, 16 September 1896, 4.

⁵⁴ John Maclean, ‘Sound Doctrine’, *WES*, 16 July 1902, 4.

⁵⁵ W. H. Hartz, ‘Pastoral Address of Nova Scotia Conference’, *WES*, 20 June 1906, 4.

⁵⁶ B. Minard, ‘An Open Letter to the Free Baptists of Nova Scotia, No. 4’, *RI*, 7 May 1880, 2.

rejected that idea, citing a number of problems, the most pressing of which was the fear that Americans would undermine their own regional character.⁵⁷ Although that controversy subsided, in a short time the idea of uniting with American Baptists was replaced with considerations of uniting all Maritime Baptists. This notion, according to Edward Weyman, a veteran Free Christian Baptist elder, had been considered as early as 1870,⁵⁸ but it was not until 1884 that Ingram Bill, a Regular Baptist minister, effectively spelled out the benefits of such a merger.⁵⁹ Joseph McLeod supported the idea, pointing out that both groups were ‘essentially one people’.⁶⁰ Some Free Christian Baptists agreed with McLeod⁶¹ while others insisted that union would offer no ‘advantage to either body’⁶² and that the ‘liberties’ of Free Christian Baptists would ‘have to be yielded’.⁶³ In 1903, McLeod reminded his coreligionists that similar plans had been studied for at least fifteen years and he assured them that union would not ‘necessitate the abandonment of belief’.⁶⁴ McLeod effectively made his case and became the representative of Free Christian Baptists in their eventual union with Regular Baptists in 1905-06.⁶⁵ Rarely did this new Baptist configuration join forces with Methodists.

As close contact between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists waned, Reformed Baptists, the majority of whom were former Free Christian Baptists, sought fellowship with

⁵⁷ B. Minard, ‘An Open Letter to the Free Baptists of Nova Scotia, No 1’, *RI*, 26 January 1880, 2; B. Minard, ‘An Open Letter to the Free Baptists of Nova Scotia, No. 3’, *RI*, 23 April 1880, 2; T. H. Siddall, ‘Free Baptist Union, No. 1’, *RI*, 16 April 1880, 2; T. H. Siddall, ‘Free Baptist Union, No. 3’, *RI*, 21 May 1880, 2; Joseph McLeod, ‘The Union Proposition’, *RI*, 30 April 1880, 2.

⁵⁸ C. T. Phillips, ‘Rev Edward Weyman’, *RI*, 26 August 1903, 4.

⁵⁹ I. E. Bill, ‘Reasons Why’, *RI*, 5 September 1884, 2.

⁶⁰ ‘Baptist Union’, *RI*, 12 December 1884, 2.

⁶¹ John Perry, ‘Personal Experiences’, *RI*, 18 December 1885, 2.

⁶² John Perry, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 4 June 1902, 4.

⁶³ D. Long, ‘Concentration of Forces, No. 2’, *RI*, 21 May 1902, 4.

⁶⁴ Joseph McLeod, ‘Baptist Union’, *RI*, 16 September 1903, 8.

⁶⁵ Joseph McLeod, ‘The United Baptists’, *RI*, 18 October 1905, 8.

Methodist holiness sympathisers. During the 1880s and 1890s, large numbers of Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists sponsored regional Methodist camp meetings, events which frequently hosted the most popular American holiness movement leaders at that time.⁶⁶ By the beginning of the twentieth century, Methodist camp meetings downplayed holiness and as a result Reformed Baptists shifted their support from Methodist groups to the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Such a liaison was reasonable considering that several leaders in that denomination had ancestral origins in the Maritimes.⁶⁷ Between 1882 and 1920, Reformed Baptists endorsed a number of holiness conventions which had been organised by Americans.⁶⁸ Altogether, by the early twentieth century, most Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had replaced their previous associations with each other in order to expedite union with other religious bodies while Pentecostal Nazarenes and Reformed Baptists established closer mutual ties.⁶⁹

The Salvation Army was unique in many respects from the other religious bodies and had limited involvement with them. Maritimers, such as Stephen McMullin, were quick to point out the organisation's distinctiveness. McMullin professed entire sanctification in an Army meeting in 1888 but observed 'something queer about them'. Although Army officials urged him 'to join their ranks', he 'wanted a real church'.⁷⁰ Salvationists demonstrated little desire to collaborate with other denominations, frequently chiding 'respectable church-going people' for their formal and sophisticated liturgy.⁷¹ Although the Army seldom directed its energies to work with Reformed Baptists and

⁶⁶ H. N. Brown, 'Berwick Camp Meeting', *BC*, September 1901, 3.

⁶⁷ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 76.

⁶⁸ H. F. Reynolds, 'From the Field', *BC*, August 1902, 6; D. Rand Pierce, 'Echoes from the Battlefield', *BC*, 12 May 1906, 5.

⁶⁹ Personal interview with Olive Wilcox, 1 June 1984.

⁷⁰ Stephen McMullin, 'My Testimony', *KH*, 15 January 1909, 2-3.

⁷¹ 'An Army Officer's Perspective', *HMH*, 3 November 1885, 5.

Pentecostal Nazarenes, all three groups occasionally co-operated in ministry.⁷² In 1908, Reformed Baptists expressed pleasure at the appearance of the New Brunswick Provincial Commander of the Salvation Army at Beulah Camp, the Reformed Baptists' camp ground in New Brunswick, and numerous other Army officials visited the site between 1894 and 1920.⁷³ Considering the degree to which the Army's practices differed from those of the other groups, the tendency for Salvationists to favour a separate existence was understandable.

Economics

The financial status of these five organisations differed considerably. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many Methodists enjoyed an improved economic state in comparison with their ancestors. One indication of this enhanced financial situation was the corresponding substantial growth in the district budget; whereas in 1840 the budget was seven thousand dollars, it had significantly increased to twenty-two thousand dollars by 1880.⁷⁴ In 1899, district leaders demonstrated confidence in the Maritime constituency to support what they labelled as the 'Great Twentieth Century Fund', basically a campaign to raise finances for social programmes and to regain the interest of Methodist youth. Churches contributed generously to the project, raising eight thousand dollars in less than a year.⁷⁵ A small number of rural congregations in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island also contributed to the initiative, funding an additional one thousand dollars.⁷⁶ These statistics suggest that many Methodists had become a wealthier stratum of society.

⁷² Personal interview with Russell Hardy, 18 March 1984.

⁷³ Vesta Dunlop Mullen, *Beulah Camp: Reflections and a Bit of History* (Houghton, NY: Vesta Dunlop Mullen, 2012), 39; Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 82.

⁷⁴ George O. Huestis, 'Reminiscences of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces, Forty Years Ago', *WES*, 30 March 1883, 4-5.

⁷⁵ 'News of Battle', *WES*, 22 November 1899, 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Free Christian Baptists had not attained a similar measure of affluence to the Methodists. There were, however, some indications that at least a few of them were financially secure. Early in the 1890s Joseph McLeod referred to a group of his wealthy coreligionists, describing them as ‘inconsistent members... [and] the worst foes of our church’.⁷⁷ Generally speaking, financial limitations continued to present serious challenges for the denomination. In 1881, McLeod suggested that church funding should no longer exclude non-members, an approach which Free Christian Baptists had traditionally upheld. ‘We can afterall [sic] acquire money without any serious questions as to how we obtained it,’ stated McLeod, ‘although these funds must always be used for the glory of God, such as the bell in the steeple or the organ in the choir.’⁷⁸ A number of congregations adopted this view and began to host strawberry socials, events which were basically church suppers, open to all individuals in the community provided they paid for their admittance. Strawberry suppers, which had been popular among Regular Baptists for many decades, were not previously supported by Free Christian Baptists since they were regarded as worldly.⁷⁹ This new approach to fundraising was accepted by many of their members but was rejected by the holiness faction which eventually established the Reformed Baptist Alliance.

Denominational leaders addressed the financial challenges of many Free Christian Baptist churches during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Benjamin A. Sherwood, a well respected and mature elder, lamented what he believed to be the ‘pathetic financial status of our elders... [who] seldom could ever hope to leave an inheritance’ to their

⁷⁷ Joseph McLeod, ‘Lack of Power- Why?’ *RI*, 10 August 1892, 4.

⁷⁸ Joseph McLeod, ‘Church Socials’, *RI*, 1 August 1881, 1.

⁷⁹ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), xv.

children.⁸⁰ Joseph McLeod acknowledged the poor financial status of many elders, concluding that ‘nothing is more cruel to a pastor or more disastrous to his work’.⁸¹ And, in 1902, Ezra S. Parker noted that ‘every true minister who enters the ministry has [the right] ...to be exempt from financial embarrassment’.⁸² Despite so many expressions of concern, the financial status of the majority of Free Christian Baptist ministers did not significantly improve until after union was consummated with Regular Baptists in 1905-06.

The Salvation Army faced a myriad of financial challenges. Because it received little monetary support from outside the Maritime region, its officers were continually seeking public donations.⁸³ They collected funds through freewill offerings, concert admissions, fancy work table sales and ‘Self-Denial Drives’.⁸⁴ Although they occasionally borrowed the facilities of Methodists and Baptists,⁸⁵ they were often forced to rent public facilities for their meetings. These venues included ice rinks,⁸⁶ bowling alleys,⁸⁷ opera houses⁸⁸ and theatres.⁸⁹ In 1886, Army officers in Kentville, Nova Scotia, made plans to rent the third story of a large public building but the required fee of three hundred dollars was one which they were definitely not able to afford. Consequently, they conducted open-

⁸⁰ B. A. Sherwood, ‘To Free Baptist Ministers’, *RI*, 16 September 1881, 2.

⁸¹ Joseph McLeod, ‘The Pastor’s Salary’, *RI*, 1 December 1882, 2.

⁸² E. S. Parker, ‘Our Ministers’, *RI*, 24 September 1902, 9.

⁸³ M. Wilcox, ‘A Real Beulah Land, Westport’, *WC*, 8 January 1889, 15.

⁸⁴ ‘The Salvation Army Christian Soldiers in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1889-1890’, Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

⁸⁵ Thomas B. Coombs, *The Canadian Advance Being a Progress of Work of the Salvation Army of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Headquarters, 1887), 94.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁸⁷ Arnold Brown, *What Hath God Wrought? The History of the Salvation Army in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing, 1952), 94.

⁸⁸ ‘Three Public Meetings Held by Army Convention’, *HMH*, 30 September 1912, 7.

⁸⁹ ‘Crowded Meetings at Majestic Theatre’, *HMH*, 27 October 1919, 7; Georgina Davis, ‘To the Homeland at Bridgetown’, *HMH*, 2; ‘Kentville Corps History, 1886-1890’, Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario; M. Allen Gibson, ‘Churches by the Sea’, *HMH*, 1 December 1984, 22; ‘Eastern Division: St John District’, *WC*, 27 October 1888, 14.

air meetings in the town whenever the weather was sufficiently favourable, an approach which lasted for thirty-four years, until they were able to purchase a building there.⁹⁰ Although Army officials were warmly received in several communities which already operated local community centres⁹¹ many of them continued to struggle to locate adequate facilities. In 1885, Salvationists in Fredericton, New Brunswick, were forced to move from a rented hall after the Woman's Christian Temperance Union purchased the building. They were also forced to hold subsequent meetings outdoors, again a common practice during the early years of significant financial restrictions.⁹²

Despite Salvationists' budgetary challenges, they were frequently amazed with the generosity of Maritimers. In 1902, Army officials noted that offerings at a recently established corps at Whitney Pier, Nova Scotia, totalled sixty-five dollars during the first two weeks.⁹³ Army officials were so impressed with the generosity of residents in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1887 that one officer wrote: 'these dear Yarmouth people have made up their mind that neither the officers nor the visiting Staff shall starve'.⁹⁴ Five years later, other officials acknowledged that residents in the town had even helped them furnish their own residence.⁹⁵ Occasionally, provincial and civic government officials accommodated Army officers' needs, such as in 1892, when Yarmouth officials permitted Army officers to conduct meetings in the town's large skating rink⁹⁶ or when the Member of Parliament for that region supported Army officers with lodging and food.⁹⁷ In

⁹⁰ Abram Jess, 'Historical Sketch of Windsor Corps, 1886-1954', Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

⁹¹ Captain Crocker, 'Canning', *WC*, 13 October 1888, 7; Diary of Robert Bell Warren, 9 December 1914.

⁹² Connie Shanks, 'Salvation Army Born Out of Necessity,' *FDG*, 18 September 1985, 15b.

⁹³ 'Whitney Pier', *WC*, 21 June 1902, 7.

⁹⁴ 'Yarmouth on the Move', *WC*, May 1887, 12.

⁹⁵ E. H. Allen, 'Kind Store Keepers and Barbers', *WC*, M5 March 1892, 7.

⁹⁶ 'Yarmouth Corps History', *WC*, 17 December 1892, 6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

Fredericton, New Brunswick, Salvationists constructed a hall in 1893 which officers described as ‘the best one erected in the Dominion. The Temple [located in Toronto, Ontario] excepted [sic] (excuse the boast)’.⁹⁸ In 1914, Army officials were able to construct a building in Amherst, Nova Scotia, which was valued at more than four thousand dollars.⁹⁹ The following year, the Army sponsored the purchase of a ‘more suitable building’ in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.¹⁰⁰ Despite these exceptional circumstances, many Salvationists struggled financially as they continually searched for new ways to generate income.

Beginning in the 1890s the Salvation Army began to develop a relatively sophisticated network of social agencies in all three Maritime provinces. Such initiatives included homes for unwed mothers which were founded in Charlottetown, Halifax and Saint John in 1890, as well as a number of hostels that were organised in the region’s larger towns and cities.¹⁰¹ In 1903, Commissioner David Lamb established a large ‘immigration bureau’ in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where more than one hundred thousand settlers arrived in Canada by 1914.¹⁰² On 6 December 1917, an apocalyptic-like explosion occurred in Halifax harbour after two munitions ships collided.¹⁰³ This disaster resulted in the deaths of two thousand people, as well as causing injuries to eight thousand others and leaving ten thousand individuals homeless. Although numerous other secular and religious agencies

⁹⁸ Connie Shanks, ‘Salvation Army Born Out of Necessity’, *FDG*, 18 September 1985, 15b.

⁹⁹ Adjutant Walder, ‘The Salvations [sic] Army Corps History, Amherst’, Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

¹⁰⁰ Lieutenant Ian Scott, *The Salvation Army Charlottetown Community Church* (Charlottetown, PE; Salvation Army Community Church, 2009), 7.

¹⁰¹ Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 136.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁰³ E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 214-15.

were involved in bringing relief to the countless numbers of victims, nevertheless the Salvation Army frequently led the way in organising temporary medical shelters, coal distribution and food distribution.¹⁰⁴ Generally speaking, therefore, during the first two decades of the twentieth century many officials in the organisation emphasised the Army's theological interpretations concerning sin and salvation, and to underscore the importance of holy living. At the same time, however, large numbers of officers and adherents became increasingly involved in community service, sometimes focusing more energy on assisting and reforming society than on promulgating its theological views.

The Reformed Baptist Alliance was an impoverished denomination in the early years. Its members often struggled to find adequate funding for necessary rental properties. Between 1890 and 1900, however, a number of Reformed Baptists donated lumber and labour and the denomination was then able to construct twelve small worship buildings which, on average, cost less than one thousand dollars each.¹⁰⁵ They owned one notably elegant church which was located in Woodstock, New Brunswick, an acquisition which came about in 1888 after Regular Baptists in that town were unable to complete a building they had begun to construct. A large number of Regular Baptists had become holiness sympathisers and their pastor resigned in protest.¹⁰⁶ Although this church remained unfinished for a year, when it was finally completed, residents in the area were awed by the three-thousand square foot auditorium which seated seven hundred people. According

¹⁰⁴ Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 224.

¹⁰⁵ *Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada for the year Ending June 30, 1902* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day), 20-33.

¹⁰⁶ Dedication of the Reformed Baptist Church, Woodstock, N. B.', *KH*, 17 June 1903, 3.

to the editor of the *King's Highway*, the church was 'one of the largest in this part of the country',¹⁰⁷ without a doubt an anomaly among Reformed Baptists at that time.

Although the majority of members in the Alliance were impoverished, the denomination was able to establish and maintain Beulah Camp, one of the most beautiful Christian campgrounds in North America at the end of the nineteenth century. Such an achievement was made possible through the generosity of Joseph Bullock, a wealthy Methodist and ardent holiness sympathiser, who donated large amounts of money to the Alliance for camp renovations and expansions.¹⁰⁸ There is little doubt that the denomination would otherwise have been unable to purchase the campground property and certainly incapable of financing its development. Not all Reformed Baptists were pleased with what they believed to be the extravagant spending of funds which some believed could have been much better directed to the repairs of their existing churches. A few individuals were incensed at the lavish fountains, fancy bridges, ornate gates and large buildings which adorned the campground. One individual wondered if the 'trash boxes' at the site, which were 'lettered in nickel' was an indication that the denomination was becoming as 'worldly' as other religious bodies in the region that professed to be 'lovers of holiness'.¹⁰⁹ William Sherwood, the editor of the *King's Highway*, addressed this concern, noting that not one feature at the camp could be removed without 'diminishing the comfort, convenience and beauty of the grounds'.¹¹⁰ Another complainant who lamented over what he described as 'unnecessary extravagance at Beulah' considered Sherwood's reasoning and publicly apologised at the denomination's annual camp meeting, attributing his 'selfish views to my

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁸ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 213-15.

¹⁰⁹ W. H. Sherwood, 'Beulah', *KH*, 30 April 1913, 3.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 3.

own carnality'.¹¹¹ Joseph Bullock eventually publicly acknowledged the objections of several Reformed Baptists to several recent camp projects which some individuals interpreted to be an indication that the denomination was trying to become as reputable as the 'groups which we denounce'. Bullock responded to these accusations, stating that he had 'confidence in the Reformed Baptists and their loyalty to the doctrine of holiness... and I have no reason to change my faith in them'.¹¹² Bullock continued to donate large monetary gifts to an ever expanding campground. And while a few Reformed Baptists took exception to what they viewed as overindulgence in an otherwise unfashionable holiness body, it seemed that denominational leaders experienced pleasure in what they believed to be the most beautiful holiness campground in all of North America.¹¹³ After all, Beulah camp, along with the Woodstock, New Brunswick, church, was the denomination's only possession which reflected a degree of sophistication. And although style was something which Reformed Baptists publicly condemned, one cannot help but wonder if they secretly envied, even slightly, Methodist and Free Christian Baptist prosperity.

Pentecostal Nazarenes were as indigent as Salvationists and Reformed Baptists. In 1903, those who established the Pentecostal Holiness church in Oxford, Nova Scotia, the denomination which eventually became the first Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in Canada, first held church services in a storage barn which had once been a Free Christian Baptist meeting house.¹¹⁴ The church in Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island, was organised in an abandoned Salvation Army hall, a small and inadequate building.¹¹⁵ In 1920, the district

¹¹¹ W. H. Sherwood, 'Beulah Camp', *KH*, 15 July 1913, 2.

¹¹² J. F. Bullock, 'Beulah Land', *KH*, 15 July 1913, 3.

¹¹³ A. P. Gouthey, 'Beulah Camp Ground', *KH*, 15 July 1913, 3.

¹¹⁴ 'Sixtieth Anniversary Services, Oxford Church of the Nazarene, Oxford, Nova Scotia', 6 November 1962.

¹¹⁵ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith: History of the Canada Atlantic District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 24.

superintendent for the denomination admitted that the region's financial state was dismal, stating that 'our heart has ached as we have looked at our own littleness and our limited resources for so great a work.'¹¹⁶ In general, most Pentecostal Nazarenes, Reformed Baptists and Salvationists experienced chronic financial shortages, a situation which they tirelessly struggled to overcome.

Respectability Issues

Another contrasting feature of these institutions was the difference of opinion they held concerning public social acceptance. This issue contributed notably to the inability of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists to preserve unity within their ranks yet did not present similar challenges for the younger denominations. A correlation appeared between a denomination's favourable economic standing and the development of internal division. In order to understand this dichotomy, the work of David Bebbington, a British historian, has been helpful in elucidating the effects of affluence upon holiness bodies in other parts of the world. According to Bebbington, the wealth of British Methodists in the nineteenth century was a significant factor in their attainment of social respectability, a development which he suggested manifested itself in denominational transformations in architecture, worship patterns and theology.¹¹⁷ It is important, therefore, to assess the ways in which Maritime Methodist and Free Christian Baptist affluence similarly affected various aspects of their congregational lives.

¹¹⁶ *Official Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Assembly of the New England District of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene* held at South Portland, Maine, April 28-May 1, 1920, 25-7.

¹¹⁷ See David W. Bebbington, 'Methodism and Culture', William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 712-29. For a discussion of the theological changes which occurred in the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, see Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 64-69.

The healthy financial status of Methodists was demonstrated in the number of church buildings which the denomination constructed between 1880 and 1920, as well as with the elegance of these structures. For example, four church buildings were constructed between 1882 and 1916, averaging a cost of ten thousand dollars each, exorbitant prices for Methodists of a previous generation.¹¹⁸ In 1882, the editor of the *Wesleyan*, described a new structure in Saint John, New Brunswick, as ‘one of the finest church edifices in Canada’,¹¹⁹ a claim supported by the *Saint John Telegraph* which described the building as ‘one of the noblest specimens of Gothic architecture in Canada’.¹²⁰ In 1885, the editor of the *Wesleyan*, reported that a new Methodist church in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, was ‘simply beautiful, finished throughout in spruce, ash and walnut’.¹²¹ Another new building, which was constructed in a remote corner of Prince Edward Island was described as ‘a little gem...one of the finest country churches on the Island’.¹²² In 1887, Methodists also completed significant improvements to their campground in Berwick, Nova Scotia, upgrades which the editor of the *Wesleyan* acknowledged were costly and sophisticated.¹²³ In 1893, the Methodist church in Chatham, New Brunswick, boasted an eighty-two foot church spire, an enormous choir recess, ‘multi-coloured stained glass, diamond latticed windows and comfortable pews... made of white wood with trimmings of antique oak, red carpeting, a large Sunday School room and a pleasant Ladies Parlour’.¹²⁴ In addition, between 1895 and 1907, seven other large Gothic-style churches were constructed in the

¹¹⁸ W. Ryan, ‘New Church at Margareville’, *WES*, 22 December 1882, 3; Editor, ‘New Church at Baie Verte’, *WES*, 2 March 1883, 3; J. Sharp, ‘Corner-Stone Laying at Parrsboro’, *WES*, 9 September 1896, 4; ‘Methodist Church, Moncton, N. B.’, *WES*, 25 October 1916, 2.

¹¹⁹ T. Watson Smith, ‘Methodist News’, *WES*, 1 September 1882, 5.

¹²⁰ Quoted in T. Watson Smith, ‘Methodist News’, *WES*, 1 September 1882, 5.

¹²¹ ‘Lunenburg Church Opening’, *WES*, 26 March 1885.

¹²² E. C. Turner, ‘Opening of the New Church at Bedeque’, *WES*, 26 January 1888.

¹²³ L. L. A., ‘The Week’, *WES*, 4 August 1887.

¹²⁴ ‘Methodist News’, *WES*, 10 August 1893.

Maritime region; all of them included graceful spires,¹²⁵ one was described as ‘an architectural monument’,¹²⁶ and another was said to be the ‘finest Protestant building in Eastern Canada’.¹²⁷ Both the ambitions and abilities of Methodists to sponsor such elaborate construction projects reflected a marked social upswing from previous generations.

Admittedly, the economic state of Free Christian Baptists lagged considerably behind Methodists, yet the architecture of some of its new churches reflected a measure of refinement which had not previously been seen. A small number of congregations financed ambitious building programmes, a development which was noted in the *Religious Intelligencer* as early as 1882. ‘Spacious new houses of worship and handsome edifices’¹²⁸ were constructed at Dover and Moncton, New Brunswick, the combined worth of which was estimated to be five thousand dollars.¹²⁹ That year, the Woodstock congregation dedicated a building which, according to the local newspaper, was ‘as handsome a public building as there is in the town, or, in fact, in any town’.¹³⁰ And, although the frequency of new constructions and the degree of elegance which they presented paled in comparison with Methodist enterprises, nevertheless this indicated a desire on the part of some within the denomination for social acceptance. In 1883, Joseph McLeod noted with delight that their new and finest church ‘commands a spire some 90 feet in height’,¹³¹ an unusual feature for Free Christian Baptist meeting houses, considering that the only churches in the denomination to have a spire were the Saint John and Fredericton churches, neither of

¹²⁵ James Lumsden, ‘Church Dedication’, *WES*, 13 June 1895, 5.

¹²⁶ ‘A New Church at Charles Street, Halifax’, *WES*, 20 August 1902, 1.

¹²⁷ ‘Methodist Church, Amherst, Nova Scotia’, *WES*, 25 September 1907, 2.

¹²⁸ C. T. L. ‘A Sabbath at Petitcodiac’, *RI*, 30 July 1880, 2.

¹²⁹ Aaron Kinney ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 2 June 1882, 2.

¹³⁰ Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 3 November 1882, 2.

¹³¹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 14 September 1883, 2.

which exceeded a height of twenty feet.¹³² Four years later, G. Hartley described a newly constructed meeting house, paying special attention to the ‘interior wainscoting and varnished seats constructed from ash lumber with heavy walnut trimming’.¹³³ These details were ones which elders would have previously denounced in true Allinite fashion, as ‘not needful [and]... a mere external of religion’.¹³⁴ The architecture of a few ‘meeting houses’, then, reflected a degree of elegance never before witnessed in their denomination.

Some Methodist congregations instituted changes in worship styles, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In fact, as early as 1873, the editor of the *Provincial Wesleyan* noted that class meetings had become ‘extraneous’ and that most participants offered ‘predictable, formal answers just like the responses of an Episcopal service’.¹³⁵ Twenty years later, one minister suggested that because the tradition was ‘very much neglected... [it] might be prudent to altogether dissolve’ it.¹³⁶ There were others who strongly disagreed with such ideas arguing that, since the class meeting was the best ‘embodiment of the primitive fellowship of the Acts of the Apostles, its regular support is essential to Christian growth’.¹³⁷ While one layman declared that anyone wilfully neglecting it should ‘forfeit’ church membership,¹³⁸ a few ministers complained that the tradition demanded a ‘more interesting and attractive’ approach’.¹³⁹ Although, by the beginning of the twentieth century, debate briefly intensified concerning its relevance, the

¹³² Joshua Barnes, *Lights and Shadows of Eighty Years: An Autobiography* (Saint John, NB: Barnes & Co., 1911), 205.

¹³³ G. A. Hartley, ‘A Dedication’, *RI*, 30 March 1887, 4.

¹³⁴ D. G. Bell, ed., *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1984), 11.

¹³⁵ Alexander W. Nicholson, ‘The Class-Meeting’, *PW*, 26 February 1873, 3.

¹³⁶ Wilson W. Lodge, ‘Class Meeting’, *WES*, 3 August 1893, 4.

¹³⁷ Nova Scotia Conference’, *WES*, 3 August 1893, 1; John Windsor, ‘The Class Meeting’, *WES*, 7 September 1893, 4.

¹³⁸ C. Lockhart, ‘Letter to the Editor’, *WES*, 15 December 1882, 3.

¹³⁹ T. Watson Smith, ‘Hints to Class Leaders’, *WES*, 31 August 1883, 4.

fact that the *Wesleyan* reported on just two class meetings during 1908 signalled that the end of the time-honoured tradition was all but certain.¹⁴⁰

There were other changes to worship which incidentally troubled some Methodists. In 1895, one individual expressed disapproval when a local church choir sang *Ave Maria*, a concern which the editor of the *Wesleyan* endorsed, even admitting that ‘too many of our choirs “run” our services in these days’.¹⁴¹ In 1906, another individual complained about the inordinate attention which clergy offered to church choirs, purportedly robbing them of time to lead more meaningful worship.¹⁴² During the first decade of the twentieth century, George Bond, editor of the denominational paper, believed that some clergy had replaced the ‘old time penitent bench by a show of hands’,¹⁴³ a change which he lamented.¹⁴⁴ In 1912, a group of ministers admitted that clergy seldom emphasised ‘surrender and service at the mercy seat as urgently and constantly as in former years’.¹⁴⁵ J. Adamson’s assessment that ‘it is not so much the new methods we need as the old time power’¹⁴⁶ was shared by those Methodists who were alarmed by a rapid disappearance of religious zeal.

Free Christian Baptists expressed concern over changing worship traditions also. For example, John Perry, an aged elder in the denomination, wistfully recalled that previously when ‘our brethren gathered together, their meetings continued for nearly two

¹⁴⁰ R. McArthur, ‘The Class-Meeting’, *WES*, 11 November 1896, 4; George J. Bond, ‘The Class-Meeting’, *WES*, 26 February 1896, 3; C. E. Crowell, ‘The Church Class Meeting’, *WES*, 6 May 1902, 3; Rev J. W. Aikins, ‘The Opportunity of the Class Meeting’, *WES*, 6 May 1903, 2; Rev Henry Lewis, ‘Do We Need Class Meetings To-Day?’ *WES*, 6 May 1903, 2; P, ‘Class Meetings in N. S. Conference’, *WES*, 30 December 1908, 4.

¹⁴¹ John Lathern, ‘Was it a Methodist Church’, *WES*, 4 December 1895, 4.

¹⁴² A Visitor, ‘As Others See Us’, *WES*, 19 September 1906, 2.

¹⁴³ George Bond, ‘The New Methodism’, *WES*, 18 March 1903, 4.

¹⁴⁴ George J. Bond, ‘Choir and Congregation’, *WES*, 20 April 1910, 1.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Report of Sub-Committee on Church Membership in Nova Scotia Conference’, *WES*, 2 October 1912, 8.

¹⁴⁶ ‘News of the Churches’, *WES*, 13 March 1918, 5.

hours... [and] many of the saints shouted aloud for joy'.¹⁴⁷ Another older church member noted that 'until recently our meetings did not run on scheduled time, but depended upon the number present and their promptness in speaking'.¹⁴⁸ Free Christian Baptists had traditionally considered anyone regularly failing to offer public testimony in church meetings to be backslidden.¹⁴⁹ The loosening of that approach concerned W. B. Wiggins to such an extent that he appealed to his coreligionists for a 'return to our glory days'.¹⁵⁰ Wiggins went back to New Brunswick after visiting several American holiness conventions between 1882 and 1885, describing the spiritual state of his denomination as 'far behind' that of the American enthusiasts.¹⁵¹ American holiness meetings continued to be popularised by boisterous singing, shouting and marching, all of which had once been common among Free Christian Baptists.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the radical enthusiasm of these Allinites was gradually replaced by various worship approaches, including those adopted by T. H. Siddall, an elder in Nova Scotia, who included in his services 'poetry and gospel songs'.¹⁵² In 1885, Siddall requested that Free Christian Baptists should gather for an 'Institute' to discuss the denomination's 'methods of work and teaching... [and] have papers read upon themes and subjects of practical importance'.¹⁵³ He intimated that 'long hymns and prayers' were 'not always aids to worship',¹⁵⁴ ideas which contrasted sharply with the extended prayers of some senior elders. Certain congregations supported Siddall's views, such as a

¹⁴⁷ John Perry, 'Some Reminiscences', *RI*, 30 October 1895, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'Some Ministers I Have Known, and Their Times', *RI*, 2 July 1902, 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ W. B. Wiggins, *KH*, 15 July 1899, 1.

¹⁵¹ William Kinghorn, 'Douglas Camp-Meeting', *RI*, 10 August 1883, 2.

¹⁵² S., 'Denominational', *RI*, 27 August 1880, 2.

¹⁵³ T. H. Siddall, 'Ministers' Institute', *RI*, 6 March 1885, 2.

¹⁵⁴ T. H. Siddall, 'Thoughts for Thought', *RI*, 9 May 1884, 2.

Free Christian Baptist congregation on Nova Scotia's South Shore, which hosted its first 'musical and literary entertainment evening' in 1889.¹⁵⁵ Generally speaking, the overall liturgy of the denomination was so transformed in many churches that, by the end of the nineteenth century, it closely resembled Methodist, Presbyterian and Regular Baptist orders of worship, including three hymns, a responsive reading, two or three prayers and a single sermon. Traditional Free Christian Baptist gatherings, which were spontaneous and informal, and occasionally led by female participants, had all but disappeared. A few ministers even incorporated prayers read from manuscripts during worship, a practice which previous generations would have abhorred.¹⁵⁶ These changes indicated the desire of some denominational leaders to become more acceptable to mainstream society and the fact that their constituencies also accepted these alterations suggested that many of them equally yearned for broader social approval.

The pursuit and achievement of social respectability by the Methodist Church challenged the unanimity of its membership. Some Methodists began to question the traditional ban on dancing, card playing and theatre attendance, as well as tobacco and alcohol consumption. T. Watson Smith asked his congregants whether they could take Christ into the ball room, in light of the fact that increasing numbers of young Methodists were indeed attending public dances.¹⁵⁷ A few ministers reminded their congregations that 'card playing and dancing are in our constitution strictly forbidden,¹⁵⁸ while others lamented that few of them now enforced 'the special rules'.¹⁵⁹ By the beginning of the

¹⁵⁵ E. S. Parker, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 17 April 1889, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Burnett, *Biographical Directory*, xv.

¹⁵⁷ 'Do Methodists Dance?' *WES*, 7 June 1894, 6; 'On Dancing', *WES*, 27 January 1897, 20; 'Dances and Dancing', *WES*, February 1910, 2

¹⁵⁸ 'Methodist Cards', *WES*, 25 August 1887, 4.

¹⁵⁹ John Lathern, *WES*, 24 September 1891, 4.

twentieth century, these behavioural directives were seldom mentioned in the *Wesleyan*; only occasionally would a seasoned minister compare the theatre to ‘an impure fountain’¹⁶⁰ or criticise those who attended ‘classic plays’ and involved themselves in ‘games of chance’.¹⁶¹ Methodists began to support the local dancehall and theatre along with the social mainstream and, although some insisted that ‘liberty for such sin’ should not be tolerated in the denomination, they appeared to be losing ground.¹⁶²

It should be noted that issues surrounding lifestyle and social acceptance were far less notable for the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Despite the fact that their shared legalistic tendencies actually strengthened these religious bodies, each of their constituencies did experience some internal dissension. In 1890, Ensign John Hardy was harshly reprimanded by an Army officer for seeking entire sanctification with the help of Methodists.¹⁶³ Captain Robert Warren recorded in his diary that several individuals resented his leadership. ‘Some think I am clinging to my position,’ wrote Warren, ‘but I cannot resign for I see no one to take the job.’¹⁶⁴ A few Reformed Baptists complained about the extravagant costs of upgrading the grounds at Beulah Camp.¹⁶⁵ Even the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, still in its infancy stage, experienced some discord. For example, an internal squabble arose in 1907 among the members of the church in Springhill, Nova Scotia. Church leaders dismissed Aaron Hartt, accusing him of ‘church bossism’, an accusation which incensed Hartt. He responded with a strongly worded letter concerning the ‘Springhill troublemakers’, which

¹⁶⁰ George J. Bond, ‘The Evils of the Theatre’, *WES*, 19 December 1900, 5.

¹⁶¹ M., ‘Correspondence’, *WES*, 28 March 1900, 5.

¹⁶² A. Daniel, ‘The Methodist Church in Relation to Cards and Dancing’, *WES*, 2 February 1910, 2.

¹⁶³ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 80-1.

¹⁶⁴ Robert Bell Warren, (unpublished diary, 29 November 1900- 28 September 1915, in possession of author), 18 April 1914.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Are these Extravagances?’, *KH*, 30 April 1913, 3.

was published in the *Beulah Christian*.¹⁶⁶ Compared to the internal challenges which Methodists and Free Christian Baptists experienced around the turn of the century, however, the three younger religious bodies managed well.

Several changes in the Methodist Church indicated that it had become a socially acceptable religious body. One was the enthusiasm with which congregations came to embrace tea meetings, well organised events which combined refined music, elegant surroundings and notable speeches. Such meetings had been commonplace among Anglicans, Presbyterians and Regular Baptists for years but had been considered by Methodists to be inappropriate among their fellowship. In 1882, a Methodist congregation in Nova Scotia was the first in the denomination to host a tea meeting; just three years later, they had become popular events among Methodists in all three provinces.¹⁶⁷ Especially eager were the urban Methodists who organised sophisticated concerts, impressive lectures and elegant socials, and then reported on them with remarkable regularity in the denominational paper.¹⁶⁸ By 1920, Methodists had established literary clubs in all three provinces, organisations whose programmes reflected current cultural trends¹⁶⁹ and generally speaking, mirrored the styles of mainline Protestant churches.

Another sign of respectability evidenced itself in the way in which Methodists decorated their churches. In 1912, one individual, reporting on a recent revival, offered concise comments about the meetings themselves but also took time to emphasise the sanctuary's embellishments: 'the room was prettily decorated in green and white... with

¹⁶⁶ Aaron Hartt, 'Spring Hill[sic], N.S.', *BC*, 31 August 1907, 4.

¹⁶⁷ W. Ryan, Letter to the Editor', *WES*, 25 August 1882, 3.

¹⁶⁸ 'Fredericton Notes', *WES*, 9 May 1895, 4.

¹⁶⁹ 'News of the Churches', *WES*, 2 June 1920, 5.

an abundance of cherry blossoms and white geraniums'.¹⁷⁰ In 1913, a member of Providence Methodist Church in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, reported that recent Easter services were of 'an exceptionally high order... with tasteful streamers and garlands'.¹⁷¹ In 1920, Moncton Central Methodist Church commenced 'an active crusade to reach high spiritual aims', using 'a powerful electric lantern... [which] delivered to the screen appropriate hymns and great pictures... [and resulted in] a very attractive programme'.¹⁷² It was clear that the priorities of Maritime Methodists were rapidly changing in comparison to those of their forebears.

Perhaps the best indication of Methodist respectability was the degree to which its constituents participated in and influenced community affairs. In 1896, J. Sharp, a layman at the Methodist church in Parrsboro, Nova Scotia, observed that every name on the cornerstone of their new building represented prominent 'clergy, teachers, editor of local paper and staff, lawyers, physicians, bakers, mayor and council'.¹⁷³ In 1899, one T. J. M. noted that First Methodist Church in Charlottetown held 'a commanding position [with]...numerous and influential' adherents',¹⁷⁴ an observation which Robert Warren, a Salvation Army official, similarly corroborated when he visited that congregation eleven years later. Warren acknowledged the presence of 'more business men and men of high social standing than I ever saw in a class meeting'.¹⁷⁵ He would later record concerning the evening: 'I was frightened - such an array of big men was enough to knock the pins from

¹⁷⁰ 'News of the Churches', *WES*, 12 June 1912, 5.

¹⁷¹ 'News of the Churches', *WES*, 2 April 1913, 5.

¹⁷² 'News of the Churches', *WES*, 10 March 1920, 5.

¹⁷³ J. Sharp, 'Corner-Stone Laying at Parrsboro', *WES*, 9 September 1896, 4.

¹⁷⁴ T. J. M., 'News from the Churches', *WES*, 30 August 1899, 2.

¹⁷⁵ Diary of Robert Bell Warren, 1 August 1909.

under me'.¹⁷⁶ It was clear that many Methodists no longer had to make an effort to belong to mainstream society.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a number of Free Christian Baptist churches were also emulating the practices of larger Protestant denominations. In 1897, for example, the ladies of the congregation in Sussex, New Brunswick, held a fundraising event at the Odd Fellows Hall which they fashioned after the approach of Anglicans in the town. They decorated the hall with 'nice tables, books, lamps, magazines...easy chairs, settees, rugs and pictures', yet in order to remind everyone that it was a Free Christian Baptist event, they displayed large pictures of 'Fathers Ezekiel McLeod and Samuel Hartt', two pioneers in the denomination'.¹⁷⁷ Ironically, these forefathers would most assuredly have denounced such a 'worldly affair' considering that, until the early 1880s, the *Religious Intelligencer* regularly shunned a number of 'vexatious sins' which included active fundraising.¹⁷⁸ A myriad of articles had condemned the practice, as well as other subjects including 'gaudy trappings of fashion',¹⁷⁹ the desecration of 'the Lord's Day',¹⁸⁰ and attendance of the ballroom or theatre.¹⁸¹ In 1886, George McDonald had lamented that 'our members seem to forget that there can be no legitimate increase for the church beyond its increase in inward holiness',¹⁸² accusing church leaders of tolerating 'sin in the camp'. He stressed that the 'only true remedy against worldliness was second-blessing holiness' which would 'keep our members away from such ungodly dwellings'.¹⁸³ It seemed, however, that

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 15 September 1897, 5.

¹⁷⁸ *RI*, 27 January 1854, 19 May 1854, 10 October 1854, 31 March 1854, 8 June 1855, 18 December 1858, 29 June 1860.

¹⁷⁹ Joseph McLeod, 'Be Not Conformed to this World', *RI*, 23 May 1884, 1.

¹⁸⁰ Alexander Taylor, 'Reasons for Dressing Plainly on the Lord's Day', *RI*, 26 November 1880, 1.

¹⁸¹ George McDonald, 'Be Not Conformed to this World', *RI*, 23 May 1884, 1.

¹⁸² George McDonald, 'Highway of Holiness', *RI*, 10 November 1886, 2.

¹⁸³ George McDonald, 'A Pure Heart', *RI*, 20 November 1885, 1.

many of his coreligionists had become increasingly attracted to the current styles of other Christian denominations and eventually chose to reject McDonald's emphasis upon such stringent church rules.

Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes shunned the pursuit of social acceptance. In fact, they condemned any evangelical group's desire for status, believing it to be indicative of a spiritual malady.¹⁸⁴ The worship styles of these three denominations reflected their appeal for simplicity. Although their meetings differed from one another, all of them attracted large audiences. Salvationists were especially adept at fostering curiosity among onlookers through various dramatic means.¹⁸⁵ They regularly organised parades and marching bands in strategic locations which were successful in drawing crowds of Maritimers.¹⁸⁶ In 1887, one Salvation Army officer sang to his audience, 'I Once was Full of Sin,' while dancing a 'hallelujah jig' and beseeching his audience not to be 'too respectable'.¹⁸⁷ Officers regularly used music to create excitement by setting Christian lyrics to well-known tunes. In 1892, one officer lustily sang in front of a large enthusiastic gathering in Fredericton, New Brunswick: 'Fredericton, how cold and formal her religious life/ Till about the ninth of August, Eighteen eighty-five/ When a few Salvation soldiers, men of no renown/ Like a bomb-shell dropped from heaven/ Burst upon the town, every face wore consternation/ When they opened fire, hell was moved/ The devil mustered all his imps for war.'¹⁸⁸ Salvationists, indeed, celebrated their ability to 'fill a hall

¹⁸⁴ Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, 'Sailing for the Shore: The Canadian Holiness Tradition', in G. A. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 269.

¹⁸⁵ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 87.

¹⁸⁶ Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 15.

¹⁸⁷ 'A Hallelujah Wedding', *HH*, 1 August 1887, 6.

¹⁸⁸ 'Brother Gilman', *WC*, January 1892, 3.

to capacity with every class and grade of people'.¹⁸⁹ Many in the organisation were very skilled at drawing a crowd but were not interested in the least in attaining social acceptance.

Likewise, Reformed Baptists were not enamoured by social decorum either. They publicly condemned Methodists and Free Christian Baptists for their 'showy churches, operatic choirs, and eloquent scientific sermonettes'.¹⁹⁰ Reformed Baptist church meetings were energetic, not elegant, and included music with swift-moving tempos, much lay participation, hand clapping, handkerchief waving, as well as shouting and marching. A number of elderly men from Carleton County, New Brunswick, recalled that, during the 1920s they were actually frightened by such exuberant worship. Edward Mutch, whose parents were old-time Reformed Baptists, remembered several occasions during his childhood years when the antics of preachers still reached a fever pitch.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, Mutch believed that Reformed Baptists had been even more emotional in previous decades, indicating that many in the denomination were certainly not charmed by sophistication.

Pentecostal Nazarene worship also reflected an air of simplicity and enthusiasm which frequently drew large crowds. They made excellent use of upbeat gospel singing and animated preaching, interspersed with shouting and marching, which they referred to as 'demonstration'.¹⁹² Their meetings usually created a stir in the community and were supported by some Methodists and Reformed Baptists as well as some Salvationists, none of whom were interested in decorum. All of these groups participated in similar practices, often sharing personal and dramatic holiness experiences,¹⁹³ stories which heightened the

¹⁸⁹ Coombs, *Canadian Advance*, 24.

¹⁹⁰ S. A. Baker, 'Modern Churches', *KH*, November 1890, 2.

¹⁹¹ Edward C. Mutch, interview by author, Woodstock, New Brunswick, 26 January 2006.

¹⁹² Alvin Ashley, interview by author, Brooklyn, Prince Edward Island, 12 July 1978.

¹⁹³ See Chapter 3, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Experience,' 120-21.

interest of some, encouraged those who already identified with holiness and possibly appalled those who did not understand them.¹⁹⁴

Besides sharing a common theology,¹⁹⁵ all three of these religious bodies shared similar views concerning the prevailing social sins which plagued nonbelievers as well as many professing Christians. The *War Cry* regularly portrayed the awful torments of hell awaiting those who drank alcohol or smoked tobacco.¹⁹⁶ Reformed Baptists denounced the use of tobacco, attendance at dances and movies and the wearing of ‘gaudy apparel’.¹⁹⁷ A number of Pentecostal Nazarene ministers emphasised the impropriety of modern fashions.¹⁹⁸ One Mrs Murray, a long-time Methodist, attended a revival meeting at the Pentecostal Nazarene church in Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island. She had recently returned from Boston where she had purchased fashionable earrings and other refinements. During the evening sermon, Roy Sellick, a preacher who was noted for his fiery denunciations of the sins of modern Methodists, exclaimed, ‘The only difference between heathens in Africa and those in our country is that in Africa, women wear rings in their nose while heathens in this corner of the world wear rings on their ears’. Mrs Murray promptly left her seat at the front of the church and exited the building.¹⁹⁹ Other ministers regularly warned against those who professed Christianity yet chose ‘to assimilate with the world’²⁰⁰ and endorse what Pentecostal Nazarenes referred to as ‘a sinning religion’.²⁰¹ They were convinced that

¹⁹⁴ Kathleen Palmer Hatfield, interview by author, Hartland, New Brunswick, 23 September 2006.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 2, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,’ 44-57.

¹⁹⁶ Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, 230.

¹⁹⁷ S. A. Baker, ‘Modern Churches’, *KH*, November 1890, 2.

¹⁹⁸ Randolph S. Foster, ‘What A Change’, *BC*, 11 June 1895, 5.

¹⁹⁹ Ruth Cornish Adams, interview by author, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island, 2 January 1976.

²⁰⁰ ‘A Battle Song’, *BC*, 26 January 1906, 7.

²⁰¹ ‘Cleansed From All Sin’, *BC*, 11 November 1905, 7.

authentic holiness demanded severe censures against the countless social sins associated with being respectable and which plagued society.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that all of these religious institutions were holiness-minded, they differed from one another in several ways. Firstly, they embraced differing configurations of church government. The Methodist Church and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene functioned under an episcopal form of government while the Free Christian Baptist Conference and the Reformed Baptist Alliance stressed local church autonomy. The Salvation Army was most distinct of all, functioning as an autocratic organisation. Considering, therefore, that religious bodies which followed differing models offered strong support to the holiness movement, it is apparent that denominational polity was not a significant factor in determining a congregation's response to it.

Secondly, the growth patterns of these institutions varied significantly. The Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference experienced periods of marked growth during much of the nineteenth century, yet by the beginning of the following one neither group was able to sustain such momentum. Significant fragmentation had developed within both bodies, the schism resulting largely from impassioned and disparate views toward holiness. As leaders in both denominations struggled to restore unity, two new religious bodies, the Salvation Army and the Reformed Baptist Alliance, were established. Both groups experienced remarkable growth initially yet neither was able to maintain this on a continued basis. The Salvation Army was new and fascinating to Maritimers and although some of them appreciated the efforts of its officers, many individuals were not interested in separating from their own religious affiliation. The

Reformed Baptist Alliance, a uniquely Maritime religious body, did not have denominational support from other parts of the country or from the United States, a factor which contributed to its inability to achieve further marked growth. Some historians have also noted that it remained an inward-looking, defensive sect for many decades, describing this as another problem which hindered advancement.²⁰² The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, the newest denomination, was the slowest to develop in the region. This difficulty may be explained, in part, by the great distances which separated it from its American counterparts, as well as the fact that it had been organised in a region where two other relatively new holiness bodies were just recently established. Ultimately, all five religious groups' ability to sustain growth did not correspond to their identification with holiness; that is, no one could maintain growth rates into the early years of the twentieth century, regardless of their position on holiness.

Thirdly, denominational collaboration varied considerably among these groups and changed over a period of time. Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had interacted regularly during much of the nineteenth century yet shifted their energies to prospective unions with other denominations in the early years of the following one. Methodists demonstrated interest in a merger of their churches with Congregationalists and Presbyterians, two respected national bodies. Meanwhile, Free Christian Baptists considered the advantages of uniting with Regular Baptists, a group which had achieved social acceptance since the mid-nineteenth century. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes experienced an affinity toward one another from early on since both groups

²⁰² George A. Rawlyk, 'The Holiness Movement and Canadian Maritime Baptists', George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1993), 315.

identified closely with the American holiness movement. They continued to interact regularly with one another; both tiny denominations believed that their survival would require mutual support and encouragement. The distinctive nature of the Salvation Army endured in that it functioned quite independently from the rest, although occasional participation with the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene occurred in co-operative efforts. The recurring associations between Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, the two most passionate holiness advocates, suggests that continued collaboration with one another possibly served to strengthen these religious bodies' holiness identities. Conversely, it is apparent that any denomination wishing to distance itself from the movement would not wish to be engaged with any of its sympathisers.

Fourthly, the financial status of each religious body differed considerably. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Methodists remained the most prosperous of these organisations. Many of their churches were stylish, especially when compared to those of the other denominations. Although Free Christian Baptists lagged behind Methodists in affluence, several of their newer church buildings portrayed a degree of sophistication which was previously unknown to the denomination. That the three remaining groups struggled economically, well into the twentieth century, was reflected in their simple buildings and small church budgets.

Finally, these institutions viewed social acceptance in vastly different ways. While many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists coveted respectability, the other groups viewed it as a sign of spiritual sickness. The affluence of Methodists and the developing economic strength of some Free Christian Baptists became apparent in the stylish church

buildings that they constructed. Their rise to respectability was also evident in transformations of public worship. As the twentieth century dawned, the services of both denominations came to mirror those of mainline Protestant groups. Radically enthusiastic worship was exchanged for more staid concerts and social meetings. The traditional bans on dancing, card playing, theatre attendance and tobacco and alcohol consumption were downplayed by increasing numbers of constituents. These transformations precipitated disunity within both the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference. On the other hand, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene maintained strict adherence to the social rules. Although each of these groups experienced some internal dissension, it paled in comparison with the internal struggles of the two older denominations. As many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists pursued social acceptance, Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes chose to shun respectability altogether. They were convinced that, if true holiness was to be maintained, believers must remain totally separated from worldly practices and as a result, social acceptance was viewed as something to be feared rather than desired.

CHAPTER FIVE

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT OPPOSITION

Between 1880 and 1920, a number of Maritimers expressed strong hostility towards both churches and individuals who supported the holiness movement. Although some of these opponents had religious affiliations, many of them did not. Despite the fact that a small number of Methodist ministers buttressed the holiness cause, other leaders in that denomination publicly challenged the theological soundness of the movement, as well as its relevance to the Maritime region. A number of Free Christian Baptist elders openly rebuked those within their ranks who endorsed the holiness platform. In fact, in 1888, the Free Christian Baptist Conference expelled six ministers, five in New Brunswick and one in Nova Scotia, for their unwillingness to dissociate from the holiness movement. The affected individuals responded in turn, by establishing a new denomination, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada, a group which likewise met significant opposition until the beginning of the twentieth century. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, still in its infancy stage, also encountered some opposition although, given its small size and exposure in the region, rejection here was relatively slight.

In a short time, a significant number of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist holiness sympathisers fostered close associations with Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene congregations, developments which further aggravated their co-religionists. Salvation Army officers and adherents correspondingly encountered opposition, although the underlying reasons for hostility towards them were less theological in nature than those encountered by Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes. Many of the Army's adversaries viewed the organisation as a serious threat to alcohol-related commerce, while others rejected its uncommonly boisterous approach to ministry and were troubled by its growing popularity among segments of the Christian

populace. These factors, which coalesced into major obstacles for many Maritime Salvationists, depleted their energies and impeded further denominational advance.

In one way or other, all these holiness-minded religious bodies experienced opposition even though it developed from various causes and was manifested in diverse ways. The three fledgling denominations, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, particularly gained notoriety among many Maritimers. While many individuals celebrated their remarkable progress, others were bitterly opposed to what they believed to be theological fallacies, religious excesses and hidden dangers inherent in all of these religious bodies. Furthermore, these groups' aggressive evangelistic efforts angered some folks to such an extent that they actively sought to thwart the onward march of each denomination. This chapter examines several issues related to the opposition which Maritime holiness sympathisers experienced. Firstly, it introduces the types of individuals who were most hostile to the movement and its theological tenets. Secondly, it studies the ways in which these antagonists expressed their anger and resentment. Thirdly, it considers the causes of such intense animosity towards the holiness movement. Lastly, it discusses the reasons for the eventual waning of opposition towards the movement as the twentieth century approached. Such detailed exploration is warranted since it aptly illuminates the significant transformations which occurred in some of these denominations between 1880 and 1920.

Opponents to the Holiness Movement

Various groups of people came to oppose the work of the holiness organisations which were established in the Maritime region after 1885. In a prime example, the Salvation Army was condemned initially by law enforcement officers. The unusual operational nature of this religious organisation precipitated many incidents in which the constabulary, in widely-spread Maritime

locations, interfered with its activities. The first recorded episode of such opposition occurred in 1885 when the chief of police in Fredericton, New Brunswick, was prompted by several publicans to accuse Army officials of disturbing the peace. The police chief ordered a Salvation Army captain along with several other officers to vacate the city streets immediately,¹ a precedent which was followed for several years in numerous other communities. In 1890, for example, town authorities ordered Lutie DesBrisay, a young Army captain, to halt her public demonstration in Amherst, Nova Scotia. As a result, the local police force actually passed a civic law which forbade Salvationists to ‘beat their drums after eight o’clock each evening or hold outdoor gatherings on Sunday[s]’.² Similar incidents continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, posing a constant threat to Army officers and to their unique style.

Table 5:1 Per Capita Consumption of Alcohol: Gallons of Absolute Alcohol, 1880-1893³

Province	1880	1885	1890	1893
New Brunswick	.353	.378	.311	.290
Nova Scotia	.273	.272	.255	.244
Prince Edward Island	.278	.189	.150	.122
Average	.302	.280	.239	.219

A second influential group which opposed the work of the Salvation Army was comprised of the proprietors of public drinking establishments. Between 1885 and 1900, a number of these businessmen openly condemned the activities of holiness advocates, accusing them of harming the industry. In 1885, one saloon keeper indicated that ‘commerce has been busted by a religious crowd’, referring to a group of Salvationists who had assembled in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.⁴

¹ *FEC*, 5 May 1885, 3.

² Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail, An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Headquarters, 1911), 56.

³ Derived from data in Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, Ottawa, 1896, quoted in Reginald G. Smart and Alan C. Osborne, *Northern Spirits, A Social History of Alcohol in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Addiction Research Foundation, 1996), 45.

⁴ *HMH*, 9 November 1885, 5.

A number of Army officials actively visited the homes of nearby citizens where they denounced the evils of alcohol. Understandably, such developments were not well received by the ‘proprietors of saloon and dance-houses’, who according to one newspaper account, wore ‘long faces at the sound of the Army drum’.⁵ One bar owner in Halifax publicly complained about ‘strange parades and loud drums’, which he believed to be the cause of the city ‘going to the dogs’.⁶ This conjecture was shared by other public house owners who watched their profits decline. As a result, Army officials were certainly not popular among those whose livelihood depended upon the sale of alcohol.

It must be noted that Salvationists were not the only ones to endanger business associated with the liquor trade. Some Methodists, including George Bond, editor of the *Wesleyan*, also condemned this ‘poison’. In 1896, he lamented the fact that ‘the unconverted portion of the Church joins hands with this godless system of commerce’, noting that ‘illicit liquor places, gambling halls, and hells of infamy continue to bring terrible destruction to Halifax’.⁷ Bond reminded his co-religionists that the ‘remedy remains in the hands of the citizens’ through the distribution of petitions which would prohibit drinking establishments altogether.⁸ In 1903, J. B. Daggett, a Free Christian Baptist minister in New Brunswick, noted that although the churches in his pastorate were ‘very low spiritually’, there remained ‘a small degree of life...demonstrated by the attack of our churches upon the liquor traffic’.⁹

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, such consistent railings against the intake of alcohol affected, at least to some extent, public opinion on

⁵ *NBRFA*, 18 July 1885, 6.

⁶ *HH*, 9 November 1885, 7.

⁷ George J. Bond, ‘Revival Opposition, *WES*, 26 February 1896, 4.

⁸ George J. Bond, ‘Cry Aloud: Spare Not,’ *WES*, 22 January 1896, 5.

⁹ J. B. Daggett, ‘News of the Churches,’ *RI*, 25 November 1903, 12.

social drinking. Between 1880 and 1893, per capita alcohol consumption rates in all three Maritime Provinces declined sharply, from an average of .302 gallons of alcohol per year in 1880 to .219 gallons in 1893 (see Table 5:1). Some local historians have concluded that of all the Protestant religion-centred organisations ameliorating the lives of those suffering from alcohol-related social problems, the Salvation Army was the most proactive.¹⁰ Doubtless there were other factors responsible for the decline in liquor traffic, first and foremost a collection of national organisations which were associated with the temperance movement. These included the Sons of Temperance, the Good Templars, the United Temperance Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) which was formed in Canada in 1874. Its purpose was to create a 'sober and pure world' by promoting abstinence from alcohol, sexual purity and evangelical Christianity.¹¹ These bodies maintained a common dogma, the prohibition of alcohol. This ideology was able to succeed, in part, because many Maritimers perceived that an environment without alcohol would be an ideal one for soldiers returning from the battlefields of the First World War.¹² In many Maritime towns and cities this undertaking was significantly strengthened by the WCTU as it conducted numerous conventions in the 1880s.¹³ Taken together, these organisations were effective in drastically reducing alcohol consumption in all three Maritime provinces.¹⁴ In fact, they so successfully exposed the social ills of alcohol that, in 1909 the Canadian government enacted legislation which prohibited the sale of alcohol for common use.¹⁵ It was hardly unexpected, therefore, that those

¹⁰ J. Clinton Morrison, *Booze: A Social Account of Prohibition on Prince Edward Island, 1878-1948* (Summerside, PE: Crescent Isle Publishers, 2013), 105-6.

¹¹ Quoted in Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/ Woman's Empire: Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press) 1991, 2.

¹² J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History*, Third Edition (Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008), 218-19.

¹³ E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 102, 112

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

who earned a livelihood from the sale of alcohol were increasingly angered by the growing influence of both prohibition-minded individuals and holiness advocates, all of whom detested the consumption of alcohol.

Serious obstacles were also created for several holiness bodies by another group of individuals, not necessarily connected to the liquor trade but often prompted by it. These were youthful bands, located in several cities and towns, young men who were incensed by holiness leaders who sought to dissuade them from pleasurable, albeit potentially destructive, forms of social behaviour. In 1887, for example, a 'fifteen-year-old ruffian named Cleverly' created a dramatic scene at the Salvation Army Corps in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, by attempting to incite a riot in the street outside the building.¹⁶ Shortly thereafter, the *Halifax Herald* noted that another building owned by the Army was severely damaged by 'a gang of juvenile roughs'.¹⁷ Other holiness bodies endured similar acts of destruction. In 1902, while a Reformed Baptist itinerant evangelist was conducting holiness meetings in a community hall in Oxford, Nova Scotia,¹⁸ a group of local youths scattered cayenne pepper and gunpowder under the stairway of the building. Tragedy was narrowly averted when the offenders put a match to the mixture, resulting in perilous flames and toxic fumes.¹⁹ Certain young Maritimers, then, expressed their anger towards these holiness advocates, perceiving them as a threat to individual freedom of choice in lifestyle.

A different unit which expressed disdain for holiness advocates was a group of Roman Catholic leaders who accused these evangelists of preaching heresy. Their consternation was not surprising given the wide chasm in beliefs and practices which separated these two branches of Christianity during the nineteenth century. In 1887, the *Halifax Morning Herald* reprinted an

¹⁶ *HMH*, 4 February 1887, 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 May 1887, 3.

¹⁸ L. F. Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King* (Toledo, OH: Protestant Book House, 1930), 130.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

editorial from a Quebec-based Roman Catholic newspaper which reported that the ‘drumming of the Salvation Army... [was] a greater source of annoyance to citizens than the running of horse-cars on Sunday’.²⁰ In 1903, Father Meahan, a Roman Catholic priest in Moncton, New Brunswick, expressed his own exasperation with a group of Protestant preachers who were fixated on holiness. He accused them of luring some from his own flock away from their traditional faith.²¹ Such a claim held considerable merit, bearing in mind that Louis J. King, an itinerant holiness evangelist, claimed that twenty-three Roman Catholics converted to Methodist or Reformed Baptist affiliations under his leadership between 1892 and 1903.²² Roman Catholics seemingly had good reason to be fearful of proselytising holiness workers.

Perhaps the most important group to oppose the holiness movement, one which eventually would pose the greatest threat to their work, consisted of mainline Protestants. Salvation Army officials, such as Thomas Coombes, noted early on in their ministry that ‘the religious in this community receive us with coldness and indifference, some of who[m] are our worst enemies’.²³ Devout members of various Protestant churches complained frequently of the noise which Salvationists, in particular, created while marching through the streets, playing musical instruments and singing lustily. In 1885, the editor of the *Fredericton Evening Capital* expressed sympathy for ‘those of our great city who complain of the banging of the drum... whilst en route to worship’. One unidentified minister lamented the fact that he was forced to stop in the middle of his sermon ‘and wait till the parade had gone by’, while other individuals noted that they shuddered as ‘the dismal band passes by, chanting solemn and discordant song’.²⁴ In 1885, a

²⁰ *HMH*, 9 June 1887, 5.

²¹ William H. Sherwood, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, January 1892, 4.

²² Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 115-199.

²³ Thomas B. Coombs, *Canadian Advance of the Salvation Army in the Dominion of Canada during the Year 1886* (Toronto, ON: Commissioner Headquarters Salvation Temple, 1887), 25.

²⁴ *FEC*, 6 October 1885, 3.

Presbyterian minister described his distress concerning an Army gathering which he had recently attended. He chided a large ‘group of men who jumped up and down on the platform to the music of the violin’, reminding him ‘more of a scene in a minstrel troupe or a low dance hall, than a religious meeting’.²⁵ Even T. Watson Smith, editor of the *Wesleyan* whose articles rarely offered critical comment, acknowledged that, although several Maritimers had benefitted consistently from the Army’s presence in the region, many of their meetings resembled ‘a burlesque show’.²⁶ In 1886, a prominent local Methodist businessman in Charlottetown wrote to the *Guardian* suggesting that ‘Salvationists be prohibited from practising on the drums and instruments on Sunday afternoons’.²⁷ The next year, another individual wrote to the *Halifax Herald*, suggesting that ‘many of the faithful of our Christian community... express gladness that the Salvation Army lost its barracks by the late fire’.²⁸ An editorial in that newspaper reported that, after a group of city officials consisting of ‘sturdy Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists’ gathered to evaluate the ‘usefulness of the Army and the propriety of its methods’,²⁹ they concluded that the ‘organization plainly is peculiar’.³⁰ In 1888, the editor of the *Guardian* accused Army officers of ‘becoming as notorious as their meetings’.³¹ This myriad of complaints directed toward the Salvation Army by mainline Protestant groups amounted to greater opposition than even the collective criticisms of the Roman Catholic and nonreligious groups.

Despite the fact that many Methodists expressed displeasure with the regional Salvation Army corps, even larger numbers of them condemned the work of the American holiness movement, an organisation which they feared had made too many inroads into their region. In

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 November 1885, 7.

²⁶ T. Watson Smith, ‘Editorial’, *WES*, 9 April 1885, 2.

²⁷ *GUA*, 29 September 1886, 4.

²⁸ *HMH*, 9 February 1887, 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 August 1885, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Stephen G. Lawson, ‘Editorial’, *GUA*, 19 March 1888, 3.

1895, G. Frederick Day, a Methodist minister, simply stated that the ‘holiness movement’s acceptance of entire sanctification is unattainable and we should refrain from it’.³² A group of Methodists especially disapproved of Louis King’s close associations with the holiness movement in the United States. King was keenly aware of these Methodists, describing them as ‘especially difficult’, while conducting revival meetings in Oxford, Nova Scotia, in 1903.³³ According to Myrta Peel, one of King’s converts, the local Methodist minister, C. E. Crowell, described King as ‘obnoxious’.³⁴ Peel noted that others in the Oxford Methodist church were so ‘unsympathetic to our testimonies [of entire sanctification] that we no longer felt at home there’.³⁵ Soon afterwards, several members of the congregation, including Peel and her father, received letters of dismissal.³⁶ One of those who had no sympathy for the holiness proponents in the church resented the ‘loyalty of these men to a movement which they separate from our own people’.³⁷ Many Methodists, therefore, demonstrated little forbearance toward those supporting these Americans, a group which they clearly believed to be injurious to their own denomination.

A number of Free Christian Baptists also exhibited annoyance with regard to holiness sympathisers. In 1884, some of them pointedly questioned Roscoe Heine, one of their own licentiates, after he claimed entire sanctification during Salvation Army meetings in Sussex, New Brunswick.³⁸ Heine recalled that ‘as one of the Heretics I was called up before District Conference for Examination. I had a 2 ½ hours siege... [and] I was told that I would lose my License as a

³² G. Frederic Day, ‘Is Methodist Theology Visionary?’ *WES*, 18 September 1895, 4.

³³ Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 91.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 130-31.

³⁵ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith: History of the Canada Atlantic District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 5.

³⁶ Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 132; Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 5.

³⁷ ‘Official Member’, *WES*, 21 June 1888, 3.

³⁸ Ruth Scott, *The Unknown New Brunswicker* (Fredericton, N.B.: Capital Free Press, 1988), 10.

District licentiate if I did not give up my testimony'.³⁹ Later that year, executive officials from the Woodstock, New Brunswick, District revoked the preaching licences of Aaron Hartt and W. B. Wiggins for their refusal to recant holiness movement theology.⁴⁰ Despite such sanctions, a number of denominational leaders continued to believe that the movement posed a significant threat to their own churches. In 1888, at the Free Christian Baptist annual meeting, Caleb T. Phillips, a well-respected elder, correspondingly lamented the fact that a few of 'our own continue to promulgate false teachings despite our repeated protests and entreaties to cease'.⁴¹ George Hartley, secretary of Conference, shared Phillips' observation, noting that the effect on several churches of 'these holiness preachers has been mischievous... [and] the strength and influence of our churches has been greatly impaired'.⁴² In 1888, one individual was so exasperated with some of those who had established the Reformed Baptist Alliance, all of whom were former Free Christian Baptists, that he suggested changing the 'R in Reformed Baptist to D',⁴³ implying that a more appropriate title for them would indeed be 'deformed' Baptists. Clearly, some members of the Free Christian Baptist Conference were deeply troubled by those identifying with the American holiness movement.

Although the majority of Protestant opposition towards the movement originated with Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, a few Regular Baptists and Presbyterians also challenged its theological tenets. In 1888, a group of Regular Baptists questioned J. Henry Coy, one of their most elderly ministers, after he claimed to have experienced entire sanctification.⁴⁴ And, in 1900,

³⁹ Roscoe James Heine, 'Monthly Record of Roscoe Heine' (unpublished journal, September 9, 1895- October 31, 1930), 7.

⁴⁰ 'Free Christian Baptist Conference', *RI*, 17 October 1884.

⁴¹ *Minutes of the Fifty-Sixth General Conference of the Free Christian Baptists of New Brunswick* (Saint John, NB: George W. Day, 1888), 62.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁴³ Calvin Goodspeed, 'The Western Baptist Association of New Brunswick', *MV*, 3 July 1889, 4.

⁴⁴ J. H. Coy, 'Incidents in the Experience of J. H. Coy', *KH*, 14 March 1914, 3.

after Leslie Macmillan, a member of the Presbyterian Church in Bloomfield, Prince Edward Island, shared the details of his holiness encounter with church leaders, neither his minister nor the elders in the congregation accepted his account. In fact, several of them openly mocked him after he communicated his testimony.⁴⁵ John Hardy, also a resident of the western end of Prince Edward Island, noted that a number of Methodists and Presbyterians in his community ‘were not used to my enthusiasm and froze me out after I professed to be wholly sanctified’ in 1900.⁴⁶ In 1884, the editor of the *Wesleyan* reported that G. N. Ballentine, a well-known Regular Baptist minister, accused the Baptist Foreign Mission Board of refusing to commission a Miss Hamilton to missionary work because she was a holiness sympathiser. Ballentine argued that ‘should her theology “neutralize her usefulness” in the Master’s service in India let all judge; but do so with an open Bible’.⁴⁷ Overall, the incidence of opposition to holiness among Regular Baptists and Presbyterians paled in comparison with that displayed by Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, yet there were certainly some individual detractors in both of these denominations who also flatly rejected the holiness movement.

Of all the hostilities directed towards the movement, those which were expressed by personal family members to holiness sympathisers were especially upsetting. Roscoe Heine, who stated that his encounter with holiness ‘caused some stir and was bitterly opposed by my parents’,⁴⁸ later acknowledged that his father bequeathed his entire estate to Roscoe’s sister. This was an unusual action at that time since male offspring typically received a large inheritance. Heine accordingly believed that his father’s final disregard for him stemmed from his close association

⁴⁵ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 22.

⁴⁶ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 75.

⁴⁷ T. Watson Smith, ‘A Mistake’, *WES*, 25 September 1884, 4.

⁴⁸ Roscoe James Heine, “Monthly Record of Roscoe Heine,” (unpublished journal, September 9, 1895- October 31, 1930), 7.

with the holiness cause.⁴⁹ John Hardy also recalled that his parents and cousins treated him with indifference after his profession of sanctification, urging him instead to ‘do the best you can and leave the rest with God’.⁵⁰ Lutie DesBrisay, a young woman from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, admitted that her devout Anglican family was embarrassed and angry when she joined the Salvation Army in 1886.⁵¹ And, in 1898, after Susan French attended Salvation Army meetings in Saint John and claimed entire sanctification, her grandfather, a Regular Baptist minister, assured her that joining the Salvation Army was ‘out of the question’.⁵² Such differences in perception concerning the holiness movement caused considerable conflict and division among many Maritime families. Overall, then, although opposition to the holiness cause came from a variety of groups, including police, bar owners, young people, Roman Catholics and mainline Protestants, the most damaging criticisms actually originated from Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, as well as personal family members.

Expressions of Hostility

The second noteworthy aspect of opposition towards the holiness cause involved the variety of ways in which detractors conveyed their grievances. The least serious of censures were trivial complaints printed in local and religious Maritime newspapers. In 1886, for example, a group of Regular Baptists wrote to the editor of the *Wesleyan*, accusing a group of holiness leaders of ‘propagating a hated doctrine and experience’.⁵³ In another instance, an individual indicted Army officials for charging public admission at their gatherings to certain people while allowing

⁴⁹ Scott, *The Unknown New Brunswicker*, 38.

⁵⁰ Herbert P. Wood, *They Blazed the Trail: An Account of the Adventures of Seven Early-day Officers of the Salvation Army in the Canadian Territory from 1882 to 1910* (Amsterdam, NL: Eldeha Publishing, 1965), 73.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 97- 99.

⁵³ John Lathern, ‘Too Much Sanctification’, *WES*, 26 August 1886, 2.

others free admittance.⁵⁴ A prominent newspaper in Fredericton, New Brunswick, published an article which introduced Salvation Army officials as ‘Guernsey lads who speak the vernacular of uncouth commoners’.⁵⁵ Infrequently, these public criticisms were of a more serious nature, such as a ‘charge of immorality’ which was levelled towards a Salvation Army official in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Not only did the informer accuse the officer of ‘inappropriate involvement with a young girl’, but he also claimed that he knew of other Salvationists who ‘revealed loose morals’.⁵⁶ Generally speaking, the majority of allegations were indeed trivial, albeit insulting to those who were singled out. In any case, the newspaper came to be seen as an effective medium for the criticism of holiness sympathisers.

Expressions of opposition also included public disturbances which detractors effectively executed during the actual holiness gatherings. In 1885, a group of ‘roughs spit tobacco juice over the floor...whispered loudly and made jesting remarks’ at a Salvation Army meeting in Springhill, Nova Scotia.⁵⁷ Five years later, while Susan French, a young Army official, was leading a meeting in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, ‘rough fisher folk... refused to put out their pipes and smoked all the way through the meeting’.⁵⁸ They made ‘outrageous remarks and knocked the legs from under the stove, causing it to sag and add more smoke to the room’.⁵⁹ In 1903, during a holiness revival in Bath, New Brunswick, a farmer purportedly freed a number of horses which had been secured adjacent to the Methodist church. The resulting stampede caused a number of worshippers to jump out the windows of the building, followed by such ‘pandemonium that the meeting abruptly

⁵⁴ ‘The Salvation Army in Charlottetown’, *CP*, 9 October 1886, 5.

⁵⁵ ‘Salvation Army Commotion’, *NBRFA*, 24 October 1885, 4.

⁵⁶ ‘Salvation Army’, *HMH*, 20 February 1888, 4.

⁵⁷ ‘Journeying’s [sic]Through Springhill’, *HMH*, 19 November 1885, 5.

⁵⁸ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 102.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

ended'.⁶⁰ Such disturbances, which were relatively commonplace in the 1880s, were a significant nuisance to holiness sympathisers, even though most of them were minor occurrences.

Another form of resistance, one which created serious problems for holiness advocates, involved severe acts of vandalism. Criminals repeatedly broke into Salvation Army offices, including one in Halifax, where in 1885 'roughs congregated at the barracks and smashed dozens of glass panes'.⁶¹ Several days later, another Army corps in that city was sabotaged, the treasury box destroyed and a large sum of money stolen.⁶² On a different occasion, 'a sneak thief' broke into the Yarmouth headquarters, also escaping with a substantial amount of Army funds.⁶³ Similar incidents were regularly reported in numerous Maritime Salvationist offices.⁶⁴ Reformed Baptists also reported these types of problems, such as in 1888, when the congregation in Sandford, Nova Scotia, met for worship on a Sunday morning only to find that someone had deliberately filled the chimney with debris with the resulting smoke from the stove becoming so 'dreadful' that worship had to be cancelled.⁶⁵ Several Reformed Baptists were actually convinced that it was a Free Christian Baptist who had performed the dastardly deed. Furthermore, a Reformed Baptist supposedly retaliated by cutting the straps of the pump organ in the Free Christian Baptist meeting house, located directly across the road from this church.⁶⁶ Reformed Baptists also encountered numerous acts of vandalism at Beulah Camp, the denomination's campground, located in Brown's Flat, New Brunswick. In 1910, a group of 'thugs' broke windows in a number of the buildings there. Joseph Bullock, a wealthy Methodist philanthropist, subsequently offered a substantial

⁶⁰ Martique, *Trials and Travels*, 99.

⁶¹ 'Salvation Army, Halifax', *HMH*, 24 October 1885, 4.

⁶² 'Salvation Army, Halifax' *HMH*, 30 November 1885, 4.

⁶³ 'Salvation Army', *HMH*, December 1886, 4.

⁶⁴ *FEC*, 6 March 1886, 4; *HMH*, 25 March 1887, 7.

⁶⁵ Personal interview with William Moore, Sandford, Nova Scotia, 12 November 2004.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

reward to anyone who could track down the culprits. Despite the fact that no one was ever named, a number of Reformed Baptists insisted that Free Christian Baptists had been responsible for that cowardly act.⁶⁷ Indeed, vandalism of this nature continued to be challenging for holiness sympathisers well into the twentieth century.

A more dangerous manifestation of opposition involved acts of true physical violence against holiness advocates. In 1885, a bartender in a saloon in Fredericton, New Brunswick, severely injured a Salvation Army officer. Soon afterwards, when a group of thugs assaulted several young women in that city, ‘hurling potatoes, stones and other missiles’ during an Army parade,⁶⁸ one female officer was ‘struck on the side of the head and knocked unconscious’.⁶⁹ That same officer was later struck a second time, along with several other officers, just before Christmas,⁷⁰ and early in 1886, she was hit for a third time by another vagrant.⁷¹ Although similar acts of violence were directed towards Salvationists in other parts of the Maritimes,⁷² Army officials in Fredericton, New Brunswick, reported its notable prevalence in that city.⁷³ Of all the acts of violence directed towards Army officials, the most potentially serious one occurred in Oxford, Nova Scotia, in 1888, when an unidentified group went so far as to explode dynamite under a Methodist Church while Army officers were inside conducting holiness meetings. Although a number of individuals were seriously injured, everyone survived the incident.⁷⁴ This sampling of events represents but a small percentage of violent acts targeted towards Salvationists by those who believed that holiness advocates were endangering their rather cavalier way of living.

⁶⁷ ‘Holiness Prosecution [sic]’, *KH*, January 1911, 3.

⁶⁸ *FEC*, 15 October 1885, 3.

⁶⁹ *NBRFA*, 19 December 1885, 5.

⁷⁰ *FEC*, 17 December 1885, 5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1886, 3.

⁷² *NBRFA*, 31 October 1885, 3; 1 November 1885, 3; *HMH*, 25 August 1885, 5; 28 November 1885, 5; *HH*, 20 April 1886, 2; 8 May 1886, 2; 20 December 1887, 3; *KC*, 26 April 1886, 2; *CP*, 10 October 1887, 5 October 1888, 5.

⁷³ *NBRFA*, 31 October 1886, 3.

⁷⁴ Martique, *Trials and Travels*, 130.

Although many Salvationists were the intended targets of physical abuse, there were few accounts of physical violence shown towards those who were part of the other holiness bodies. One exception to that generalisation was a series of physical attacks on Louis J. King, an itinerant holiness evangelist, who associated closely with the Reformed Baptist Alliance although the denomination never officially ordained his ministry. Between 1889 and 1910, King was the target of significant and repeated acts of aggression by a number of groups and individuals who were incensed by his numerous anti-Roman Catholic campaigns. Soon after King entered the ministry in 1889, his own brother attempted to kill him with an axe, followed several months later by another attempt at the hands of his step-father.⁷⁵ In 1890, while King was conducting outdoor meetings in Saint John, a group of men attempted to knock him over the side of a rocky knoll, resulting in ‘blood flow, fragmented bones and broken bottles’.⁷⁶ Several months later, King held a second series of holiness meetings in that city where an angry mob threw water and missiles at him and yelled, ‘kill him’.⁷⁷ King was unyielding to his opponents’ influences even after his fiancée, Sibil Jones, mysteriously drowned in 1898.⁷⁸ King later wrote that he and Jones had attended a skating party but became separated from one another. He described encountering a mentally challenged individual there whose coat appeared to be torn and who complained of losing one of his skates. When King questioned the man, his response was, ‘Miss Jones is drowned’,⁷⁹ an answer which troubled King for the remainder of his life. He was convinced that Jones had been murdered in a vicious attempt to silence his ministry.⁸⁰ Whether or not that is true, it is certain that King was despised by the many Roman Catholics who strongly resented his continual tirade

⁷⁵ Ibid., 86.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 107.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 107-9.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 111.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 112.

against their denomination. His dramatic sermons usually emphasised what he believed to be the heresies of Roman Catholicism, as well as revealing his accusations of recurrent sexual abuse within the priesthood towards women and children.⁸¹ Generally speaking, the violence which Salvationists endured was far more benign when compared to the physical attacks which King suffered at the hands of his opponents.

A further way in which disparagers of the holiness movement expressed their contempt was through the use of a number of different sanctions. Sometimes these punishments took the form of monetary penalties, such as in 1885 when Salvation Army officers were subjected to fines for singing and shouting during a public march in Saint John.⁸² Sanctions which were far more upsetting to some holiness sympathisers, however, were threats of denominational dismissal. In 1886, in an effort to dissuade others from joining the holiness cause, a Regular Baptist association in New Brunswick threatened J. Henry Coy with the removal of his ministerial credentials unless he abandoned his holiness beliefs.⁸³ Coy stated that representatives from the association advised him that if he was willing ‘to keep quiet about the doctrine’, they were willing to overlook his previous errors and he would retain his denominational status.⁸⁴ The Free Christian Baptist Conference attempted a similar strategy in dealing with a group of holiness sympathisers. Between 1882 and 1888, the subject of sanctification dominated discussions at conferences, precipitating numerous and vigorous debates which are summarised momentarily. Although the controversy appeared to subside at times, it resurfaced again and again. Finally, one specific group of denominational leaders extended an ultimatum to six of its fellow ministers - five in New Brunswick, and one in Nova Scotia, either to abandon their holiness views or to be

⁸¹ William Kostlevy, ed., *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement* (Toronto, ON: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 174.

⁸² *FEC*, 3 December 1885, 3.

⁸³ C. Goodspeed, ‘The Western Baptist Association of N. B.’, *MV*, 6 July 1887, 2.

⁸⁴ S. A. Baker, ‘Some Reminiscences’, *KH*, 13 April 1914, 2.

excommunicated from the denomination. This drastic measure dramatically affected the future Maritime holiness landscape and, therefore, requires examination in depth.

In 1880, Aaron Hartt, a young New Brunswicker with strong Free Christian Baptist roots, held a series of holiness revivals in New Brunswick, after returning from a camp meeting in Douglas, Massachusetts, where he had professed to have experienced entire sanctification.⁸⁵ Large crowds attended Hartt's meetings, during which a number of Free Christian Baptists, including Aaron Kinney, George Macdonald and William Wiggins, also personally reported entire sanctification.⁸⁶ Denominational leaders initially praised Hartt for his evangelistic skill, granting him a licence to minister in 1882.⁸⁷ During Hartt's subsequent meetings, however, so many Free Christian Baptists professed entire sanctification that a number of elders grew uneasy with what they believed to be his total preoccupation with the American holiness movement. This issue quickly became a controversial one, a few elders strongly supporting Hartt while others displayed definite discomfort with his preaching. Subsequent discussions became so animated that denominational leaders eventually selected a group of experienced and well-respected elders, including Joseph Noble, Caleb Phillips, Joseph Parsons, Joseph McLeod and Thomas O. DeWitt, to review the entire subject and report on their deliberations. The concluding statement that this committee presented was succinct, beginning with several quotations from *Natural and Revealed Theology*, a systematic theological text which John Jay Butler, an American Freewill Baptist theologian, had published in 1861.⁸⁸ 'Butler's theology', as it was commonly known, had indeed been endorsed by Free Christian Baptists soon after its publication and had previously become

⁸⁵ Vesta Dunlop Mullen, "I Believe in... *The Communion of Saints:*" *Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church, 1888-1966* (Shoals, IN: Old Paths Tract Society, 2006), 142.

⁸⁶ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 221, 233, 417.

⁸⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Editorial', *RI*, 27 October 1882, 4; 30 March 1883, 2; 11 May 1883, 2.

⁸⁸ John J. Butler, *Natural and Revealed Theology: A System of Lectures* (Dover, New Hampshire: Freewill Baptist Printing Establishment, William Burr, Printer, 1861).

recommended reading for all elders in the denomination.⁸⁹ Although the committee's report also affirmed Butler's theological beliefs, it admonished all individuals 'to use utmost care to avoid making false claims' concerning entire sanctification, a piece of advice which delegates unanimously supported at the annual conference in 1883.⁹⁰ According to George McDonald, pastor of the Woodstock Free Christian Baptist Church, it appeared that any controversy concerning the issue had then been solved; 'those who opposed this brand of holiness theology were quiet yet some remained set upon the suppression of what they called heresy.'⁹¹ Following the meeting, a number of delegates met informally, drafting a letter which outlined their grievances towards a group they labelled 'propagators of heresy'.⁹² As the letter was circulated among denominational leaders, a feeling developed among many members that the denomination had already moved into a troubled phase.

In 1884, the General Conference was held in Fredericton, New Brunswick, and the degree to which this subject had developed into an emotional and controversial one was clearly evident. Joseph McLeod, respected elder and editor of the denominational newspaper, forcefully argued that holiness movement teachings were 'unscriptural, [and] impossible to attain and inconsistent with our doctrine.'⁹³ On the other hand, William Kinghorn, an influential and elderly denominational leader, maintained the view that 'these said teachings are not only possible for all Christians [but are also]... commanded in the scriptures and necessary for growth in grace'.⁹⁴ The gulf dividing those on the two sides of the debate only widened further when McLeod then presented a motion calling for the withdrawal of the credentials of Aaron Hartt and W. B.

⁸⁹ 'A Pulpit Report,' *RI*, 9 November 1883, 2. For an examination of Butler's theology, see Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 81-83.

⁹⁰ *Minutes of the Fifty-First Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick*, 57-8.

⁹¹ George McDonald, 'Birth of the Reformed Baptist Alliance', *KH*, 31 May 1894, 2.

⁹² *Minutes of the Fifty-First Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick*, 58.

⁹³ *Minutes of the Fifty-Second Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick*, 9.

⁹⁴ William Kinghorn, 'Ten Years with the Indwelling Christ', *KH*, April 1893, 3.

Wiggins.⁹⁵ When this proposal was endorsed by a majority of delegates, the theological rift which separated sympathisers and detractors of the holiness movement had become extraordinarily clear and no one could predict the far-reaching consequences of such division.

At the 1885 annual conference, several delegates attempted to minimise the negative effects of the controversy. For example, although D. McLeod Vince, conference secretary, did not address the holiness question directly, he acknowledged that any disagreements on ‘this subject are less serious than they seemed to be, having largely grown out of misunderstanding’.⁹⁶ Vince also spoke briefly of confusion which ‘has sprung up in our churches over phraseology new to our people’,⁹⁷ referring to a litany of terminology which had become popular among supporters of the holiness movement.⁹⁸ No specific holiness-related issues were debated at that conference and it appeared that the issue had, in fact, subsided. During the following annual meeting, however, theological tensions once again ignited, with several leaders arriving well prepared to suppress any lingering vestiges of holiness doctrine. This time, McLeod Vince presented an executive committee’s report calling for the removal from office of anyone embracing ‘a belief in entire instantaneous sanctification’⁹⁹ and declaring that ‘the dogma’, a theology ‘neither taught nor believed by Free Christian Baptists’,¹⁰⁰ should not be viewed as ‘a separate, distinct and instantaneous experience’.¹⁰¹ The report’s acceptance by sixty-seven percent of the seventy delegates present at the meeting suggested that two-thirds of the delegates could not support their

⁹⁵ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 142.

⁹⁶ *Minutes of the Fifty-third Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference*, 1885, 19.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁸ See 191.

⁹⁹ *1886 Year Book of the Free Christian Baptist Church of New Brunswick*, 38-40.

¹⁰⁰ G. A. Hartley, ‘Deliverance and Recommendations Made By the Executive of General Conference’, October 12, 1886, 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

coreligionists who were holiness sympathisers.¹⁰² The issue had once again become one which was certain to divide the denomination.

Although the subject of holiness did not dominate the 1887 conference, its advocates suspected that a majority of the leaders in attendance opposed their platform. Two aging elders, George Hartley and Alexander Taylor, presented a resolution which stated: ‘We believe that the time has come when the Conference ... should defend and protect the same by making the teaching of instantaneous entire sanctification, as it has been taught by some of our ministers of late years... a matter of discipline’.¹⁰³ It was not until the following year, however, that a motion was presented which recommended the ‘withdrawal from fellowship of Revs G. W. McDonald, William Kinghorn, Bamford Colpitts, G. B. Trafton and G. T Hartley’. The motion was passed with a vote of fifty-five to six.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, in an attempt to ensure that these actions would be all-encompassing and fully effective, Hartley and Taylor asked that a letter be sent to every church in the denomination with a warning not to appoint as pastors those whose credentials had been removed.¹⁰⁵ Conference delegates also selected a specific group of ministers, instructing them to visit those churches which had been sympathetic to the holiness cause and empowering them to remove from membership any individuals claiming entire sanctification.¹⁰⁶ In actual fact, the majority of holiness sympathisers quickly severed their ties with the denomination, although a few holiness enthusiasts remained in Free Christian Baptist churches in Hartland, Jacksonville and Woodstock, New Brunswick.¹⁰⁷ Altogether, the denomination terminated the memberships of

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰³ *Minutes of the Fifty-fifth Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference*, 1887, 47, and reprinted in *KH*, 15 July 1894, 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ H. C. Archer, ‘The Fortieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada’, *KH*, 30 November 1928, 2.

¹⁰⁶ G. C. Gray, ‘A Testimony’, *KH*, 15 January 1913. See *Year Book of the Free Christian Baptist Church of New Brunswick for 1889*, (Saint John, NB: George W. Day, North Side King Square, 1889), 8-9.

¹⁰⁷ George McDonald, ‘Birth of the Reformed Baptist Alliance’, *KH*, 31 May 1894, 2.

thirty holiness advocates in Carleton County, New Brunswick, during the first two months of 1889,¹⁰⁸ and it implemented a similar strategy in south-western Nova Scotia, expelling twenty-one holiness advocates from the denomination during that period.¹⁰⁹ Any lingering doubts in the minds of Free Christian Baptists about whether or not an endorsement of the holiness movement precluded one from fellowship there had been definitively removed.

Some Free Christian Baptists also chose to express opposition to holiness sympathisers from other denominations and in other regions. In 1889, for example, Joseph McLeod questioned the standing of those American Freewill Baptists who endorsed the movement, making it clear that Free Christian Baptists could no longer associate with an American Freewill Baptist who chose to have fellowship with holiness advocates. He warned his American cousins that if they desired to avoid ‘the disturbance of fraternal feelings between our two bodies whose beliefs are identical, responsibility for undenominational teaching and unbrotherly conduct of those who left the denomination and established the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada must be repudiated’.¹¹⁰ McLeod agreed with T. H. Siddall, a Free Christian Baptist minister in Nova Scotia, that several American Freewill Baptist ministers ‘have taken up with the Reformed Baptists and in so doing are identifying themselves with the schism’. According to McLeod, Siddall had ‘properly regarded this as unfraternal conduct of the brethren, offering special attention to close associations which existed between American Freewillers and the pastor of the Saint John Reformed Baptist Church.’¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ George McDonald, ‘Birth of the Reformed Baptist Alliance’, *KH*, 31 May 1894, 9; S. A. Baker, ‘Editorial’, *KH*, 15 January 1920, 6.

¹⁰⁹ S. A. Baker, ‘Sandford Reformed Baptist Church’, *KH*, 15 March 1915, 8.

¹¹⁰ Joseph McLeod, ‘Certain Freewill Baptist Ministers’, *RI*, 4 September 1889, 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

Overall, those who opposed the holiness movement and its sympathisers expressed their hostility in a variety of ways, including public reproaches, civic disturbances, vandalism, acts of physical violence and excommunication. The strategic action which caused the most serious and enduring schism between proponents and antagonists of the holiness movement was the outright dismissal of a group of Free Christian Baptist holiness leaders. Ironically, this expression of opposition, which was intended to eliminate the movement, became the true impetus for the establishment of a new denomination, one which would significantly strengthen the Maritime holiness cause for future decades.

Causes of animosity

Another important aspect of opposition towards the holiness movement relates to the causes of such strong animosity expressed towards it. Firstly, there were a number of complaints that holiness sympathisers were enticing church faithful away from the established denominations. In 1885, an unnamed individual expressed concern in the *Fredericton Evening Capital*, the most widely read newspaper in south-western New Brunswick, that too many church members neglected their own churches, or abandoned them entirely after they began associations with the Salvation Army.¹¹² In 1888, Joseph McLeod acknowledged the injustice of Salvationists ‘luring our people away while vowing themselves to attend no other religious meetings unless they get permission of the officer in charge’.¹¹³ Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, a Canadian historian who compared the evangelistic strategies of Methodists and Salvationists in Central Canada, has acknowledged that some Methodists were even troubled by the success of Salvationists in attracting individuals whom the existing churches had not succeeded in reaching.¹¹⁴ Some

¹¹² ‘An Observer’, *FEC*, 20 October 1885, 5.

¹¹³ Joseph McLeod, ‘The Army “Swearing-In”’, *RI*, 4 April 1888, 1.

¹¹⁴ Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 92-3.

Maritimers were disturbed by the zealous behavior of holiness advocates, whose actions threatened to attract larger numbers from well established churches.

A second source of frustration in the minds of some outside the holiness circle was the belief that many in the entire sanctification camp exuded an aura of superior spirituality. In 1887, Aquila Lucas criticised J. S. Allen for his close associations with Free Christian Baptist holiness sympathisers, concluding that Allen lauded their ‘teachings over plain scripture’.¹¹⁵ John Lathern acknowledged that it had troubled him when he witnessed such ‘prideful exhibitions of character by those conducting the [holiness] meetings’.¹¹⁶ John Dawson also accused holiness advocates of presenting ‘a holier-than-thou attitude and forming inner circles’,¹¹⁷ although he conceded that if holiness meetings could be ‘carried out in such a way as to avoid this pitfall they should not be utterly condemned’.¹¹⁸ An ‘official [Methodist] member’ suggested that the ‘doctrine of “Holiness,” as presented by its special advocates rests upon special words and phrases...and emotional feelings’.¹¹⁹ Such an approach troubled those who were neither familiar with this terminology nor understood the meanings. One Methodist concluded that the purpose of holiness conventions was ‘simply to wake the churches up to the fact that outsiders know very little about the second blessing’.¹²⁰ Still other Methodists suggested that the camaraderie shared exclusively among holiness sympathisers had drawn attention to their feelings of exclusivity. One individual claimed that the ‘holiness crowd are [sic] not satisfied with salvation because a simply regenerate man with these brethren does not seem to account for much’. He observed that ‘if a brother would only rise and say he was entirely sanctified, he can be introduced into the inner circle...and at once

¹¹⁵ Aquila Lucas, ‘Letter to the Editor’, *WES*, 7 April 1887, 2.

¹¹⁶ John Lathern, ‘Editorial’, *WES*, 10 January 1889, 2.

¹¹⁷ J. L. Dawson, ‘Entire Sanctification’, *WES*, 12 July 1888, 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹⁹ Another Official Member, ‘Scriptural Holiness’, *WES*, 2 August July 1888, 2.

¹²⁰ Official Member, ‘Holiness and Holiness Conventions’, *WES*, 21 June 1888, 3.

he is accepted by them’, now that he has become ‘illuminated and awakened’.¹²¹ The comments of some holiness leaders, such as W. B. Wiggins, did little to alleviate such perceptions. In 1900, Wiggins preached a sermon in Woodstock, New Brunswick, where he stated that ‘the smoker, the card player, the theatre-goers, etc., will find their own company. So will Holiness people so it’s no wonder people call us clannish’.¹²² Reformed Baptists were also known to criticise Salvation Army officials for tainting true holiness because they invited men ‘who professed entire sanctification and smoked pipes and cigarettes’ to participate in worship.¹²³ The idea that some Christians were sanctified, while others continued to ‘live in disobedience’, angered many individuals and exacerbated rifts already present among them.¹²⁴

A third source of annoyance involved the perception that the local holiness movement had been excessively influenced by Americans. One unidentified ‘official [Methodist] member’ rather cynically suggested that he would deem it totally unnecessary to sit at the feet of imported holiness evangelists ‘to be instructed in the doctrine of Wesley’.¹²⁵ Another anonymous Methodist stated his desire that local ministers ‘will soon wake up to the fact, that the importation of ministers from the Republic, to conduct Holiness Conventions... is an inefficient work of the ministry... [and that they] will discontinue it’.¹²⁶ W. W. Brewer, the pastor of Centenary Church in Saint John, argued that because local Methodist ministers ‘teach “holiness unto the Lord”’, the importation of American holiness evangelists was a pointless endeavour.¹²⁷ In 1896, George J. Bond, the editor of the *Wesleyan*, suggested that some Maritimers were looking to Americans for spiritual guidance because they were ‘dissatisfied with the dry husks of doctrine and turn eagerly to the message of

¹²¹ ‘Official Member,’ *WES*, 21 June 1888, 2.

¹²² W. B. Wiggins, ‘Holiness’, *KH*, 16 August 1915, 1.

¹²³ A. A. Hartt, ‘Holiness in the Salvation Army’, *KH*, March 1891, 3.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁵ Official Member, ‘Holiness Convention’, *WES*, 26 July 1888, 4.

¹²⁶ Another Official Member, ‘Wesley on Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 29 November 1888, 2.

¹²⁷ W. W. Brewer, ‘The Doctrine of Christian Perfection’, *WES*, 21 June 1888, 3.

a teacher who seems to offer them a better thing'. Bond noted, however, that 'our people do not scan his utterances with critical attention while he speaks to them of glorious possibilities lying beyond the horizon...and they are often led...into grievous and hurtful error.'¹²⁸ Clearly, some Methodists and Free Christian Baptists resented the impact of Americans on the Maritime holiness milieu.

A fourth issue which developed into another cause of irritation was a belief, held by members from both these denominations, that the holiness movement was theologically flawed.¹²⁹ In 1885, T. W. Smith, editor of the *Wesleyan*, reacted to the testimonies of those professing holiness, expressing alarm that anyone would teach or believe that entire sanctification was accessible by merely 'trying'.¹³⁰ Such a straightforward path to holiness was difficult for Smith to comprehend even though he conceded that 'the dogma has fully persuaded many [people]'.¹³¹ In 1886, delegates to the Free Christian Baptist ministers' conference agreed that the '[Salvation] Army's theology is faulty and contradicts scripture'.¹³² One Regular Baptist minister admitted that he considered the teaching of entire sanctification, as promoted by holiness advocates, to be 'a hated doctrine'.¹³³ And, at the 1887 Conference of Free Christian Baptists, Alexander Taylor, a well-respected elder in the denomination, stated that 'this new and unscriptural teaching has disturbed the state of our several churches'.¹³⁴

A number of Methodist ministers suggested that the movement's teachings concerning entire sanctification were neither substantiated in scripture nor actually endorsed by John

¹²⁸ George J. Bond, 'Fanaticism', *WES*, 13 May 1896, 2.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 60-64.

¹³⁰ T. W. Smith, 'Editorial', *WES*, 8 September 1885, 3.

¹³¹ T. Watson Smith, 'Editorial', *WES*, 26 August 1886, 2.

¹³² *FEC*, 21 January 1886, 2.

¹³³ Quoted by John Lathern in 'Too Much Sanctification', *WES*, 26 August 1886, 2.

¹³⁴ *Minutes of the Fifty-fifth Annual Session of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick*, 47.

Wesley.¹³⁵ In 1887, W. B. Thomas, a Methodist layman, attempted to rebut an editorial in the *Wesleyan* which supported the holiness cause, accusing the editor of so forgetting ‘the faith once delivered to the saints... as to teach such strange doctrines’.¹³⁶ In 1888, John Lathern, President of the Nova Scotia Methodist Conference, summarised the beliefs of many Methodists when he stated that ‘it must be distinctly understood that no evangelistic teaching should be encouraged but such is in accord with our own doctrines’.¹³⁷ Joseph McLeod spoke on behalf of many Free Christian Baptists when he stated that ‘the intelligent and better thinking people of all shades of belief on Grand Manan [Island] realize that there is neither room for, nor need of, a church organization that teaches these [holiness] views’.¹³⁸ And in 1902, when McLeod eulogised the late George T. Hartley, a Free Christian Baptist holiness sympathiser, he subtly rebuked Hartley, noting that ‘his search for truer and better knowledge caused him to shift his allegiance to the Reformed Baptist Alliance, the result of false teaching’.¹³⁹ Various Methodists and Free Christian Baptists exhibited unease over what they believed to be dangerous theological errors in the holiness movement.

A fifth complaint about holiness advocates was that they contributed to palpable dissension within their own denominations. In 1886, the editor of the *Wesleyan* pointed out that A. T. Dykeman, a Regular Baptist minister in Saint John, resigned from his ministry because of ‘discouragements rooted in the heresy of instantaneous and entire sanctification’. According to the editor, Dykeman was deeply troubled after ‘the idea has become so deeply rooted in the church that it would be an utter impossibility for any Baptist minister to labour with it’.¹⁴⁰ In 1886, the Regular Baptist Convention accused J. Henry Coy of ‘unsettling the faith of some and causing

¹³⁵ *WES*, 16 February, 2; 23 February, 3; 1 March 1888, 3.

¹³⁶ W. B. Thomas, ‘The Holy Ghost When Received’, *WES*, 1 December 1887, 3.

¹³⁷ T. Watson Smith, ‘Nova Scotia Conference’, *WES*, 5 July 1888, 3.

¹³⁸ Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 9 January 1889, 5.

¹³⁹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Do Not Be Discouraged’, *RI*, 7 May 1902, 4.

¹⁴⁰ T. W. Smith, ‘Editorial’, *WES*, 26 August 1886, 3.

discord' because he emphasised entire sanctification as a second distinct work of grace, a development which the editor of the *Wesleyan* lamented.¹⁴¹ In 1886, George A. Hartley, Moderator of the Free Christian Baptist Conference, stated that 'Conference has never experienced such doctrinal disturbances since the presentation of entire instantaneous Sanctification. Discord, strife and division have followed in several localities, so that churches have been weakened, and rendered almost powerless for good.'¹⁴² One Maritimer who was living in Boston wrote to the *Wesleyan* accusing holiness leaders of turning 'holiness into a mystical experience instead of Christian living'.¹⁴³ This individual also wrote a scathing attack on holiness advocates, emphasising their 'tendency towards schism, to censoriousness and to the perversion of Scripture. It is well known that large numbers who have become involved in this movement have separated themselves from the church...whom they look upon as greatly inferior to themselves in piety and illumination.'¹⁴⁴ In 1889, William Downey, an elder in the New Brunswick Conference, reported that the Nova Scotia churches had experienced 'difficulty and dissension on account of doctrines espoused by Aaron Kinney'.¹⁴⁵ In 1897, McLeod minced no words in stating that 'advocates of the 'second blessing' are easily offended, and have no charity for those who disagree with them. They have nothing but railing and abuse and ridicule for meetings and brethren who restrain their operation'.¹⁴⁶ Even in eulogising George T. Hartley, a revered Free Christian Baptist church father and a holiness supporter, McLeod stated the 'man was not patient with those who differed from him'.¹⁴⁷ In 1898, J. B. Daggett, minister at the Free Christian Baptist Church in Hartland, New

¹⁴¹ John Lathern, 'Too Much Sanctification', *WES*, 6 July 1887, 3.

¹⁴² G. A. Hartley, 'The View from Here', *RI*, November 3, 1886, 2.

¹⁴³ Anonymous, 'A Letter from Boston', *WES*, 4 March 1896, 4.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Year Book of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick for 1889* (Saint John, NB: George W. Day, North Side King Square, 1889), 7.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph McLeod, 'The Third Blessing', *RI*, 24 March 1897, 4.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph McLeod, 'Rev George T. Hartley', *RI*, 7 May 1902, 4.

Brunswick, concluded that his congregation had not witnessed revival because of the ‘unhappy sentiment, schism and division by those preachers of holiness’.¹⁴⁸ According to Joseph McLeod, ‘Wherever these holiness men get a footing they make trouble. We do not know a single exception.’¹⁴⁹ In 1889, McLeod accused the Reformed Baptists of advising holiness-minded Free Christian Baptists to remain in ‘your traditional places, push our work, and do not to leave till you are turned out’. McLeod also concluded that, although these leaders may have been sincere, ‘we could no longer tolerate such men who teach heresy and wreak serious harm to our churches’.¹⁵⁰ Thus, many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists remained convinced that holiness sympathisers were blatant trouble makers.

A sixth basis for resentment towards the holiness movement was its lack of sophistication, as well as its inability and obvious lack of interest in keeping pace with the modern church. As early as 1878, A. W. Nicholson, a popular Methodist minister, suggested that even if Wesley’s ideas had been ‘a hundred years ahead of their time, that time has long since passed’.¹⁵¹ He directed the following ‘open question’ to the *Fredericton Evening Capital*: ‘Why do our people leave our own churches, become infatuated with the exhortations of illiterate, ignorant men and women, and parade the streets, headed by a big drum, subject to showers of stones, rotten eggs, and the jeers and scoffs and insults of spectators?’¹⁵² In 1890, John Lathern also criticised the Army’s unusual methods, referring to them as ‘policies of demonstration...[which] give to the neighborhood the appearance of a fair’.¹⁵³ In 1891, Joseph McLeod objected to Army practices whereby ‘officers dance and prance in dust, mud and slush’.¹⁵⁴ Aquila Lucas publicly stated that he had no regard

¹⁴⁸ J. B. Daggett, *Denominational News*, *RI*, 28 September 1898, 5.

¹⁴⁹ Joseph McLeod, ‘Some, Questions Answered’, *RI*, 10 April 1889, 4.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵¹ A. W. Nicholson, ‘The Liberal Sentiment in the Churches’, *WES*, 12 October 1878, 4.

¹⁵² ‘An Observer’, *FEC*, 20 October 1885, 5.

¹⁵³ John Lathern, ‘The Salvation Army’, *WES*, 7 August 1890, 3.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph McLeod, ‘The Salvation Army’, *RI*, 8 April 1891, 1.

for holiness ministers who stressed emotional religion. Lucas noted that soon after the Methodist Conference had appointed him to the Jerusalem circuit in New Brunswick, in 1887, he was irritated by an encounter with ‘an aged, crying, emotional preacher who is dominated by the latest inclinations of Holiness’.¹⁵⁵ In 1895, Nathanael Burwash, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada, pointedly addressed the holiness issue when he spoke at the Nova Scotia Annual Conference. ‘If only those seeking to spread scriptural holiness will build the people up in an intelligent Christian service’, reasoned Burwash, ‘instead of giving themselves to fanaticism, extravagance, extreme professions, views, and statements, perversions and caricatures.’¹⁵⁶ Although opponents of holiness never openly acknowledged their embarrassment with the movement’s lack of sophistication and style, this may have indeed been the most significant reason for their rejection of it.

In summary, although numerous reasons existed for the negative reactions experienced by holiness advocates, the complaints levelled by Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were the most troublesome to the movement. These grievances were wide-ranging and included the fear that holiness leaders had attracted and would continue to attract members away from their churches. A number of individuals also accused holiness sympathisers of feigning a spiritual superiority over those who did not endorse the movement. Still others were troubled by the idea that American holiness leaders exerted such sway over Maritime holiness advocates, and by the belief that the movement itself promoted erroneous theology. Some Methodists and Free Christian Baptists accused holiness factions of contributing to discord within both denominations. A number of individuals also resented the movement for its old-fashioned views, boorish worship styles and

¹⁵⁵ Papers on the Reverend Lucas Aquila, Maritime Conference United Church of Canada Archives, Sackville, NB, Fonds F+I-063, Box 337.

¹⁵⁶ Nathanael Burwash, ‘Scriptural Holiness’, *WES*, 25 July 1895, 1.

failure to relate to the present-day church. Of all the complaints directed towards holiness advocates their notable lack of interest in embracing respectability and social acceptance may have been the most troubling factor for upwardly mobile Methodists and Free Christian Baptists.

Decline of Opposition

By the beginning of the twentieth century, opposition towards the movement began to decline quickly, despite the fact that many Maritimers remained fascinated with the strange ways of holiness followers. For example, Russell Cornish, an individual who had been raised as a young boy in a Methodist church in western Prince Edward Island, recalled that throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century large groups of men and women scrutinised the activities of holiness congregations by watching them through the windows of their church buildings. According to Cornish, these onlookers were often spellbound by the intense exuberance exhibited by worshippers as they sang, shouted and marched down the aisles of the church.¹⁵⁷ Lillian Pridham Rix, who as a young woman was converted in the Salvation Army at the age of sixteen and later became a charter member of the first Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene on Prince Edward Island, recalled that so many spectators ‘gathered outside our church to gawk at us that we felt forced to paint over the windows of our little building’.¹⁵⁸ While public interest in the holiness movement continued, its religious critics conversed quietly among themselves; no longer did individuals tend to broadcast their views to the public as others had done previously.

By this time, the subject of holiness theology and the continued growth and development of new holiness churches and organisations was largely being ignored in Methodist and Free Christian Baptist newspapers. Secular Maritime papers rarely addressed such matters either, except for occasional acknowledgment of the construction of a new church building or provision of public

¹⁵⁷ Walter Russell Cornish, interview by author, Carleton, Prince Edward Island, 15 February 1989.

¹⁵⁸ Lillian Pridham Rix, interview by author, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island, 12 August 1983.

updates on the expansion of the Reformed Baptists' campground. Methodist and Free Christian Baptist church minutes and district records after 1900 included no new discourses concerning the more recent holiness bodies. On the whole, the myriad of issues and disputes which had previously been associated with the holiness movement were now being disregarded.

At least four possible reasons account for such shifts in thought and action. Significantly, Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were tired of a controversy which had occupied large portions of their denominational papers for at least a decade. As early as 1888, John L. Dawson admitted that he had become so exhausted by the 'holiness war' that he could no longer support it.¹⁵⁹ Two other Methodist ministers, Job Shenton and Howard Sprague, also had once demonstrated a passion for holiness evangelism. In 1896, George J. Bond, editor of the *Wesleyan* in 1896, described the two men as 'our best expounders of holiness'.¹⁶⁰ In 1886, Shenton, while preaching at an ordination message in Sackville, New Brunswick, reminded Methodists not to 'ignore holiness, the work to which we were called'.¹⁶¹ Four years later, he delivered a stern warning to his co-religionists that 'many of our people have contradicted the confession of Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection',¹⁶² yet rejoiced in the fact that his doctrines recently 'are proclaimed more faithfully by some of those in our midst'.¹⁶³ Twelve of Shenton's 'best sermons' were collected by his wife and published in 1902,¹⁶⁴ and although they clearly demonstrated exceptional writing skills, none of them reflected holiness themes. Shenton may not have been the holiness evangelist that Bond had portrayed him to be. W. C. Milner, a local Methodist historian,

¹⁵⁹ J. L. Dawson, 'Letter to the Editor', *WES*, 23 August 1888, 2.

¹⁶⁰ *WES*, 18 December 1901, 4.

¹⁶¹ Job Shenton, 'Ordination Charge', *WES*, 21 June 1886, 2.

¹⁶² Job Shenton, 'Centennial Sermon at Queen Square Church', *WES*, 14 January 1892, 2.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Mary Shenton, *A Biographical Sketch of the Late Rev. Job Shenton by His Widow with Some of His Sermons and Lectures* (Saint John, NB: J. & A. McMillan, 1902), 1-160.

described Howard Sprague's messages on holiness as 'avalanches in power'.¹⁶⁵ Frederick Desbarres, a professor at Mount Allison University during the last decade of the nineteenth century, declared that Sprague employed his pulpit as a throne.¹⁶⁶ Although Sprague had once stated that holiness should be 'proclaimed very frequently, strongly and explicitly',¹⁶⁷ during the summer of 1888 he admitted that declining health no longer permitted him to 'debate the [holiness] issue'.¹⁶⁸ As close as he came to endorsing holiness after 1888 was during an address at the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Conference in 1891. Sprague reminded his audience of Wesley's emphasis on the 'universality of the Atonement, the necessity of the new birth and the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit', a term which a few Methodists had associated with sanctification.¹⁶⁹ In the long run the efforts of Methodist evangelists offered little support to the movement.

Physically, although a small number of ministers who defended the holiness cause remained in the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the majority of them were now actually quite elderly and infirm and no longer able to defend the doctrine vigorously. Other Methodist and Free Christian Baptist ministers were truly embarrassed by their former associations with the holiness movement and wished simply to forget the whole matter. Furthermore, they chose to distance themselves from those former members of their congregations who were now considered holiness fanatics. They were relieved to be free of those individuals who had either been expelled from the Free Christian Baptists or who had left that denomination or the Methodist Church voluntarily. In the minds of some Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, the holiness advocates were certainly viewed as ill-educated, impoverished and unsophisticated.

¹⁶⁵ W. C. Milner, 'Mount Allison, Its Earlier Years', unpublished paper, Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, New Brunswick, 43.

¹⁶⁶ Peter Penner, *The Chignecto 'Connexion', The History of Sackville Methodist/ United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1990), 182.

¹⁶⁷ Howard Sprague, 'Christian Perfection', *WES*, 23 August 1888, 2.

¹⁶⁸ Howard Sprague, 'The Holiness Question', *WES*, 30 August 1888, 2.

¹⁶⁹ Howard Sprague, 'The Evangelistic Movement of the 18th Century', *WES*, 12 March 1891, 2-3.

Finally, and most importantly, a large number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were now enamoured overwhelmingly by the prospects of merger with other denominations.¹⁷⁰ Methodists sought union with Presbyterians and Congregationalists to form what would become the largest national Protestant denomination, the United Church of Canada. Altogether, then, a number of reasons accounted for the waning of publicly-expressed opposition towards the holiness movement.

Conclusion

Overall, several conclusions may be drawn concerning opposition towards holiness activity in the Maritime region between 1880 and 1920. First, there were many different factions who acted as critics of the holiness movement. Bar owners and other authorities involved in alcohol-related commerce feared Salvation Army officials, as well as Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, because they were perceived to be serious threats to the lucrative liquor trade. Other individuals, including a large number of young Maritimers, retaliated against holiness sympathisers for jeopardising their freedom to enjoy what was perceived as iniquitous pleasure. A group of Roman Catholic leaders accused holiness evangelists of sheer heresy and also of luring away members from their congregations. The greatest threat of all to the work of the holiness movement, however, originated with several mainline Protestant groups who viewed the movement's popularity as a menace to their own denominations.

Secondly, detractors of the movement demonstrated their displeasure in a variety of ways, the least serious of which were trivial complaints. There were other graver forms of opposition, however, including public disturbances as well as extreme acts of vandalism and even physical violence. A group of Free Christian Baptist leaders very forcefully expressed opposition to the

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,' 165-66.

movement by imposing strict sanctions on a group of six holiness-minded ministers. This form of opposition, which included the removal of their ministerial credentials, was meant to be the most effective expression of disapproval and was intended to eradicate the movement. In reality, however, this effort actually inspired those who had been expelled to establish a new denomination, one which would ironically ensure the survival of the movement for decades to come.

Thirdly, critics of the movement offered a variety of explanations for their disdain. These included the beliefs that holiness advocates were attracting members away from the mainline denominations and that many of those sympathetic to the holiness cause were seen as arrogant, claiming in their possession of a higher level of spirituality. Others resented the fact that many facets of this movement, which they insisted were theologically erroneous, had been inspired by Americans. Furthermore, some individuals suggested that the movement was responsible for significant dissension which had arisen in both Methodist and Free Christian Baptist churches. Perhaps the most compelling drawback of the movement, in the minds of many in both of these denominations, however, was its lack of sophistication and its failure to connect with contemporary church life.

Fourthly, opposition towards the holiness movement weakened significantly by the beginning of the twentieth century. Many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were worn out by the many holiness-related controversies which had affected their denominations in the 1880s and 90s. Considering that the few holiness advocates left in these two denominations were now elderly, it was hardly surprising that defence of the movement waned considerably. Many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were no longer comfortable with their denominations' previous holiness emphasis nor were they interested in perpetuating close ties with groups of

people whom they viewed as poorly educated, underprivileged and simple radicals. Instead, many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists directed their energies toward forging unions with other more respectable religious bodies.

CHAPTER SIX

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT LEADERSHIP

Between 1885 and 1902, three new holiness denominations were established in the Maritime Region: the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Holiness Church, later known as the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Despite the fact that each of these religious bodies began as a tiny organisation and encountered significant opposition, by 1920, all of them had developed into distinct and autonomous, albeit fragile, entities. Small holiness factions did continue to exist within the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, sharing common aims and purposes with these three younger denominations. Generally speaking, however, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had largely abandoned the sympathies which many of them had previously shown towards the holiness cause. Because of such significant shifts within these two large denominations, the holiness movement might have faded from existence had it not been for a number of gifted individuals who provided strong leadership for the movement. This chapter considers that group of men and women who advanced the Maritime holiness cause between 1880 and 1920.

A number of criteria were used to determine who might qualify as these outstanding leaders. Firstly, the sermon manuscripts of several holiness-minded ministers were scrutinised to identify which ones emphasised the theological teachings of the American holiness movement. Unfortunately, only a few of these valuable sources of information were actually published in denominational papers and ministerial biographies. Secondly, various holiness preachers kept records of approximate numbers

of individuals who became holiness converts under their ministries. Limited data of this nature was available because relevant record keeping was often inconsistently maintained and only by a small number of evangelists. In spite of such difficulties, this material is nevertheless useful in providing further insight into the leadership of the holiness movement. Thirdly, the degree of public exposure some holiness advocates received in denominational newspapers, both by their own published writings and by the praises of others, has been accepted as a relative indicator of positive acceptance among the religious populace. Finally, another measure used to evaluate these individuals' effectiveness involves the promotions which some of them eventually received to more prominent roles in their respective denominations. This status was regularly recorded in denominational newspapers. Using the above-mentioned criteria, forty-five individuals stood out as effective proponents of holiness. Among these men and women were both ordained ministers and lay individuals, all of whom endorsed the latest trends of the American holiness movement and strengthened the holiness cause in the Maritime region.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part highlights those individuals who most strengthened the holiness cause in the region by gaining the greatest numbers of converts and by acquiring significant executive control over denominational matters. The preaching abilities of those who were most often lauded are succinctly outlined. Furthermore, the journalistic support provided by the most frequently published writings is briefly examined. The second section of the chapter then reflects on the overall complexion of ministerial governance for each of the five denominations. Contrasts in the leadership of each religious body are reviewed in light of the educational standing, religious background, economic status, gender and nationality of its ordained

ministerial staff. Information presented in this chapter accounts, in part, for the determination and success of Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene leaders, as well as to a lesser extent, Salvation Army officers, in advancing the holiness message. It also offers plausible explanation for the eventual abandonment of the holiness message by the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference.

Holiness Evangelism

Undoubtedly, one of the most effective means of spreading holiness theology was through the zealous preaching and advocacy of holiness tenets by a group of dedicated ministers. Between 1880 and 1920, several Methodist ministers conducted numerous holiness revivals. These meetings included rousing singing, testimonies and passionate sermons, and underlying all of this was an emphasis on holiness, specifically the attainment of entire sanctification. Alexander Taylor, for example, led numerous revivals in New Brunswick during the 1880s. At an 1886 convention, which was held in Tracey Mills, New Brunswick, the number of those who reported sanctification exceeded sixty.¹ William Ainley conducted a series of holiness gatherings at Berwick Camp,² the regional Methodist campground, reporting that, between 1884 and 1886, ‘large numbers have sought and obtained the blessing of “Perfect Love”’, a popular expression for sanctification.³ John L. Dawson described ‘a glorious revival’, which he held in Oxford, Nova Scotia, where ‘dozens and dozens of strong men turned to faith in Christ, and persons of all ages sought and found heart purity’.⁴ There is no question that, between

¹ E. S. Parker, ‘Reverend Alexander Taylor’, *RI*, 21 May 1902, 1.

² T. Watson Smith, ‘The Berwick Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 18 July 1884.

³ William Ainley, ‘Hantsport, N.S.’, *WES*, 19 March 1885 2; William Ainley, ‘Evangelistic Services’, *WES*, 26 January 1888, 2.

⁴ Aubrey M. Tizzard, *Centenary Celebrations of Trinity United Church of Canada*, 25 March 1955 (Oxford, Nova Scotia), 5.

1884 and 1900, many Maritimers testified to entire sanctification chiefly through the efforts of these three Methodist ministers.

A small number of prominent Free Christian Baptist ministers also publicly supported the holiness movement. When Joshua Barnes, a well-known evangelist in the denomination, completed his autobiography in 1911, he estimated that during his ministry spanning fifty-seven years (1854-1911), he had witnessed countless converts coming to Christ and experiencing 'perfect love', or entire sanctification.⁵ Aaron Kinney, who had been ordained by New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists in 1868,⁶ estimated that between fifty and ninety men and women testified to being 'wholly sanctified' during one series of meetings which he conducted in Beaver River, Nova Scotia, in 1884.⁷ According to Kinney, his cardinal doctrine was 'sanctification as a second distinct work of grace',⁸ and according to Fred Burnett, a Maritime Free Baptist historian, immeasurable numbers of Maritimers followed Kinney's holiness beliefs.⁹ All things considered, it is evident that some Free Christian Baptist ministers also offered strong support to the Maritime holiness cause in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

There also existed a faction of Free Christian Baptist ministers who did much to advance the original holiness cause and continued to yet a greater extent after they left the denomination in order to establish the Reformed Baptist Alliance. This group included George McDonald, who by the time he was 'fully sanctified' in 1882, was

⁵ Joshua Barnes, *Lights and Shadows of Eighty Years: An Autobiography* (Saint John, NB: Barnes and Company, 1911), 73, 102, 152, 157.

⁶ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), 120.

⁷ Aaron Kinney, 'Denominational', *RI*, 14 March 1884, 2.

⁸ A. Kinney, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 19 June 1885, 2; A. Kinney, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 20 October 1886, 4.

⁹ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of Free Baptist Ministers*, 120-1.

already well recognized for his evangelistic work.¹⁰ In 1873, McDonald had conducted revival meetings at the Albert Street Free Christian Baptist Church in Woodstock, New Brunswick, where seventy-four people were converted.¹¹ In 1884, Joseph McLeod, editor of the *Religious Intelligencer*, suggested that McDonald was indeed, ‘a rare preacher’.¹² This title was further confirmed by others who noted that forty-one individuals testified to ‘full salvation’ at Kierstead Mountain, New Brunswick, in 1885, when McDonald conducted meetings there.¹³ Joshua Barnes described McDonald as ‘the most faithful and successful labourer in our ministry for years’.¹⁴ Considering that between 1874 and 1884 McDonald received more than two hundred new members into the Woodstock Free Christian Baptist Church,¹⁵ that conclusion seemingly held merit. The swelling membership of the Woodstock congregation did not go unnoticed by other elders in the denomination¹⁶ and, as a result, he was subsequently chosen as its first itinerant evangelist in 1893.¹⁷ There is no doubt then that George McDonald’s powerful evangelistic endeavours strengthened the holiness effort in the Maritime region.

Two other Free Christian Baptists who left the denomination to become Reformed Baptist evangelists were Joseph Noble and George Trafton. Both of these men demonstrated unique skills in evangelism, despite the fact that their accomplishments were perhaps less notable than those of some of the others. Between 1883 and 1886, Noble conducted a number of holiness revivals in New Brunswick which, according to a

¹⁰ Vesta Dunlop Mullen, *The Communion of Saints, Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church: 1888-1966* (Shoals, IN: Old Paths Tract Society, 2006), 252.

¹¹ ‘News of the Churches’, *KH*, 15 January 1903.

¹² Joseph McLeod, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 1 February 1884, 2.

¹³ G. W. McDonald, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 6 February 1885, 2.

¹⁴ J. N. Barnes, ‘Notes by the Way, No. 4’, *RI*, 5 June 1895, 4.

¹⁵ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of Free Baptist Ministers*, 124

¹⁶ Sharp Baker, ‘Obituary of George W. McDonald’, *KH*, 15 January 1903, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

local Baptist historian, engendered a great deal of sympathy for the holiness cause.¹⁸ George Trafton's evangelistic work also resulted in scores of reported sanctifications.¹⁹ Following his expulsion from the Free Christian Baptist Conference in 1888, his thirty-five year ministry as a Reformed Baptist led to large numbers of men and women professing entire sanctification.²⁰ Thus, Trafton's work as a Reformed Baptist evangelist did much to strengthen that denomination's affinity for the holiness movement.

Aaron Hartt, a third-generation Free Christian Baptist, remarkably attracted greater numbers of holiness sympathisers than all of the other evangelists in both denominations combined. In fact, virtually all of the most ardent advocates of holiness between 1880 and 1920 became converts to holiness under Hartt's ministry. This group included nine prominent Free Christian Baptist preachers,²¹ as well as two Regular Baptist ministers.²² In 1883, Joseph McLeod praised Hartt for his unusual ability to 'draw large congregations'.²³ This reputation eventually preceded him in that numerous Free Christian Baptist congregations invited him to their churches to 'clear up confusion over holiness'.²⁴ Following Hartt's death in 1923, W. Edmund Smith, a Reformed Baptist minister, concluded that 'the majority of Alliance's leaders between 1888 and 1923 found the experience of heart holiness under the work of this great man'.²⁵ Certainly, it can be said that Hartt's evangelistic efforts amounted to the most significant contribution to the Maritime holiness movement by any single individual.

¹⁸ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of Free Baptist Ministers*, 140.

¹⁹ G. B. Trafton, 'My Faith Journey', *KH*, 15 February 1913, 4.

²⁰ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 397.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 21, 49, 73, 80, 84, 127, 139, 171, 213, 217, 221, 251, 395.

²² *Ibid.*, 84.

²³ Joseph McLeod, 'Denominational', *RI*, 5 January 1883, 2.

²⁴ Aaron Hartt, 'Denominational', *RI*, 1 February 1884, 2.

²⁵ W. E. Smith, 'Rev. Aaron Hartt', *KH*, 30 November 1923, 2.

Lay Leadership

One individual who came to be a favourite evangelist among many Reformed Baptists, despite the fact that he never became an ordained minister in the denomination, was Louis J. King. Raised in a staunchly Roman Catholic home, King was converted during a joint revival, led by Free Christian Baptist and Methodist leaders, near Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1888. After the Reformed Baptist Alliance granted him a preacher's licence the following year, he commenced a series of holiness meetings in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.²⁶ King was well received by many holiness sympathisers; his audacious style attracted hundreds of holiness advocates in the region between 1888 and 1910. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, a number of Alliance leaders chose to dissociate themselves from him because of his extreme and vicious condemnations of Roman Catholics.²⁷ When it eventually became clear to King that the Alliance would never officially accept him as one of their own, he migrated to the United States.²⁸ The denomination's overall membership rose from fifty individuals in 1888 to almost two thousand in 1908 and the fact that King had attracted a significant proportion of these converts was one indication of his skills in evangelism.²⁹ In fact, King may have been responsible for the largest percentage of the denomination's numerical growth in its first two decades of development, indicative of an effective leader. Interestingly, he was also the only individual ever to be endorsed by the Reformed Baptist Alliance as an evangelist who was not an ordained elder.³⁰

²⁶ L. F. Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King* (Toledo, OH: Protestant Book House, 1930), 89.

²⁷ William Kostlevy, ed., *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement* (Toronto, ON: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 174.

²⁸ Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 201-13.

²⁹ *Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada*, 1912, 5.

³⁰ Kostlevy, *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 174.

Because it was difficult to find Pentecostal Nazarene ministers who were willing to re-locate to the Maritimes, lay leadership was necessary for the maintenance of that denomination's new churches.³¹ Two individuals who provided strong leadership for the Elmsdale Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene for almost two years were Leslie Macmillan and George Oliver.³² Although both of these men were native Prince Edward Islanders, they had spent several years working in the New England states in the 1880s and 90s, during which time they became very familiar with the holiness movement. Upon their return to the Maritime region, they sought to establish a holiness work similar to what they had experienced in the United States. Similarly, Ross Schurman, a native of Oxford, Nova Scotia, also spent time in the United States in the 1890s and was introduced to the holiness effort there. Upon returning to Nova Scotia, he assisted a number of American holiness missionaries in their work there. Schurman was a farmer who possessed a natural talent as a public speaker. He had previously assisted local Methodist ministers on numerous occasions at the Oxford Methodist Church prior to his American migration. Schurman claimed personal entire sanctification in 1902 under King's ministry and soon afterwards left the Methodist Church in order to support the newly-established Pentecostal Holiness Church.³³ Thus, these three laymen provided valuable leadership to several young, struggling Pentecostal Nazarene congregations in their early stages of development.

Another layman who significantly contributed to a better understanding of holiness theology in the region was James T. Smith, an elderly Methodist from Tracey

³¹ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith: History of the Canada Atlantic District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 23.

³² J. Fred Parker, *From East to Western Sea: A Brief History of the Church of the Nazarene in Canada* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971), 22.

³³ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 59-60.

Mills, New Brunswick.³⁴ Smith submitted numerous articles on the subject to the *Wesleyan* during the 1880s and 90s. In 1898, he stated that he spoke on behalf of John Wesley himself, when he warned his Methodist brethren that the denomination would suffer severely ‘should we seek a substitute for holiness’.³⁵ Shortly before Smith’s death in 1905, he pointed out the importance of continuing to preach entire sanctification by quoting the words of C. Daniel Curry, a nineteenth-century American Methodist theologian:³⁶ ‘Let the pulpit be silent on any doctrine, a single generation, and that doctrine will be exterminated from the faith of the church.’³⁷ Although Smith’s approach was subtle, he offered a clear warning to Methodists of the price they would pay if the denomination abandoned holiness.³⁸ Smith was the only Methodist layman to speak so frequently and forcefully concerning holiness in the denominational paper. No records exist of holiness-minded laymen preaching in these churches, not a surprising detail considering that Methodist churches were regularly supplied with ordained leaders.

Brief mention must be made concerning the evangelistic skills of one Salvation Army officer. Generally speaking, few of them were gifted preachers and, as a rule, they used other means to attract their large audiences. These included publicity stunts, parades and other ostentatious displays.³⁹ Nellie Banks was one Army official who in 1885, because she was only nineteen years of age, drew enormous crowds to outdoor meetings in Halifax.⁴⁰ According to the *Halifax Morning Herald*, Banks stood on a wagon set on

³⁴ James T. Smith, ‘Correspondence’, *WES*, 24 August 1898, 5; James T. Smith, ‘Perfect Love’, *Wesleyan*, 23 September 1903, 2; James T. Smith, ‘The Higher Life’, *WES*, 1 March 1905, 3.

³⁵ James T. Smith, ‘Correspondence,’ *WES*, 24 August 1898, 5.

³⁶ Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 40.

³⁷ James T. Smith, ‘The Higher Life,’ *WES*, 1 March 1905, 3.

³⁸ James T. Smith, ‘Correspondence,’ *WES*, 24 August 1898, 5.

³⁹ See Chapter 4, ‘Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,’ 161-62.

⁴⁰ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1914* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing, 1952), 74.

an outsized park, speaking to a huge crowd for almost nine hours.⁴¹ Of all the Salvation Army officers who ministered in the region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and first two decades of the next century, Banks was probably the only one who demonstrated any notable talent as an evangelistic speaker.

Overall then, many gifted leaders were involved with the propagation of the holiness movement in the Maritimes during this period in time. Both formally ordained officials and informally trained laypeople provided the impetus and direction which allowed holiness theology to flourish. It seems that evangelism was the best means to disseminate the most up-to-date theological interpretations of the holiness movement.

Advances in Executive Power

A second indicator of exemplary leadership among holiness-minded Maritimers was the promotion of several individuals to positions of high authority. In 1886, for example, after a group of Methodists in Nova Scotia established a non-denominational organisation to support the holiness movement cause, they elected William Ainley as their secretary-treasurer, a position he held for the next fourteen years.⁴² This organisation, which was named the Nova Scotia Association for the Promotion of Holiness, annually sponsored a series of meetings which were held following the Methodist camp meeting which was held each July in Berwick, Nova Scotia.⁴³ Between 1886 and 1900, Ainley was instrumental in attracting a number of prominent American holiness leaders to Berwick Camp as the guest evangelist. Several of these individuals, especially H. N. Brown, John Norberry and Louis Albert Banks, developed close

⁴¹ 'Captain Nellie Banks', *HMH*, 29 October 1885, 2.

⁴² William Ainley, 'Second Week's Meetings at Berwick', *WES*, 26 August 1886, 3.

⁴³ Flemming Holm, *Berwick Camp Meeting: The First Hundred Years, 1872-1972* (Antigonish, NS: Casket Printing and Publishing, 1972), 50.

relationships with Reformed Baptists in New Brunswick.⁴⁴ While this network between Americans and Reformed Baptists strengthened the Reformed Baptist Alliance, Ainley was unable to garner similar support among many Methodists in the region. Generally speaking, although Ainley attempted to attract other Methodist holiness sympathisers to join the organisation, his efforts were generally unproductive. Nevertheless, Ainley was later commissioned by the Maritime Methodist Conference to act as its regional evangelist,⁴⁵ the purpose of which, according to Ainley, was the ‘spreading of scriptural holiness’.⁴⁶ He regularly reported on activities involving the holiness movement, highlighting the activities at Berwick Camp and always emphasising the need for a region-wide holiness revival.⁴⁷ The esteem in which Ainley was held by Methodist holiness sympathisers suggested that many considered him to be an effective leader.

One holiness advocate whom Free Christian Baptists elevated to many leadership positions was Aaron Kinney. Between 1880 and 1886, he acted unofficially as an overseer in the denomination, recruiting a number of ministers to churches.⁴⁸ He regularly disseminated information to various editors of the denominational newspaper concerning revivals, building programmes and pastoral changes, as well as the financial appraisals of several churches.⁴⁹ Frequently, following visits to a host of congregations, Kinney would publicly evaluate the spiritual state of the membership, suggesting ways in

⁴⁴ Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy, MA: Eastern Nazarene College Press, 1994), 197.

⁴⁵ John Lathern, ‘Rev W. Ainley’s Work’, *WES*, 18 September 1895, 4.

⁴⁶ William Ainley, ‘Conference Evangelism’, *WES*, 18 July 1895, 4.

⁴⁷ William Ainley, ‘Berwick Camp Meeting’, *WES*, 11 July 1884, 3; William Ainley, ‘Power! Power! Power!’ *WES*, 4 August 1887, 2; William Ainley, ‘Evangelistic Services’, *WES*, 26 January 1888, 3.

⁴⁸ A. Kinney, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 19 May 1886, 5.

⁴⁹ Aaron Kinney, ‘Letter from Rev A. Kinney’, *RI*, 19 March 1880, 2; Aaron Kenny [sic], ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 2 February 1883, 2; Aaron Kinney, ‘Denominational’, *RI*, 25 May 1883, 2.

which the collective body could improve.⁵⁰ A number of ministers in the denomination, including C. F. Currie, recognised Kinney's keen leadership abilities. Currie, who ministered in several churches in southwestern Nova Scotia, attributed much of the growth and stability among his own membership to Kinney's work among them.⁵¹ Kinney also became the chairman of various boards within the Free Christian Baptist Conference, including sabbath schools and temperance committees.⁵² In 1885, he was selected to represent Free Christian Baptists in Nova Scotia during preliminary negotiations for a union with Regular Baptists.⁵³ Kinney, an unapologetic holiness advocate, steadfastly demonstrated versatility and competence as a leader among Free Christian Baptists.

Reformed Baptists elevated Aaron Hartt to a number of leadership positions after the denomination was established in 1888. Between 1890 and 1920, he served as the primary evangelist on numerous occasions at the Alliance's annual camp meeting in Brown's Flat, New Brunswick, and in alternate years he was selected as camp song leader.⁵⁴ Hartt had lived in the United States between 1875 and 1880, and had become well acquainted with many prominent holiness leaders there.⁵⁵ Following Hartt's return to New Brunswick in 1880, he reiterated what he had learned from several of his colleagues in the United States.⁵⁶ Because of Hartt's associations with individuals such as Hiram Reynolds, William Howard Hoople and Nathan Washburn, all prominent American

⁵⁰ Aaron Kinney, 'Denominational', *RI*, 27 February 1885, 2.

⁵¹ C. F. Currie, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 1 May 1885, 2.

⁵² Joseph McLeod, 'Fiftieth General Conference', *RI*, 20 October 1882, 2.

⁵³ A. Kinney, 'Denominational News', *RI*, 14 August 1885, 2.

⁵⁴ W. E. Smith, 'Rev. Aaron Hartt', *KH*, 30 November 1923, 1.

⁵⁵ Timothy L. Smith, 'John Wesley's Religion in Thomas Jefferson's America', Melvin Dieter, ed., *Great Holiness Classics, Volume 4, The 19th-Century Holiness Movement* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1998), 39.

⁵⁶ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 142.

holiness leaders, he was able to familiarise Maritimers with current holiness movement theology.⁵⁷ Hartt's popularity even extended into the New England states, where he was elected by American holiness leaders in 1890 as chairman for a series of revivals to be held in that region, as well as the Director of the General Holiness League of New England.⁵⁸ Because of Hartt's remarkable singing voice and his ability to lead congregational worship, he also secured a prominent place in several holiness campgrounds in Massachusetts and New York.⁵⁹ Hartt was extolled by Maritimers and Americans alike as a prominent holiness leader.

Reformed Baptists also looked to three other individuals for guidance. Sharp Baker, who was instrumental in actually organising the denomination and establishing its own newspaper, was gifted with superior managerial capabilities. Baker remained the editor and business manager of the *King's Highway* for seventeen years.⁶⁰ His organisational skills were recognised beyond the Maritimes. In Baker's role as Maritime representative to the American Holiness Association during the first decade of the twentieth century, he became well acquainted with many holiness enthusiasts in the New England States. Subsequently, he received a number of invitations to be the guest evangelist at various American holiness camp meetings.⁶¹ Baker, therefore, provided solid leadership to a wider holiness base, in addition to a fragile young Maritime religious body.

⁵⁷ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 56.

⁵⁸ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 58.

⁵⁹ 'New England Camp Meetings', *CW*, 21 April 1892, 4.

⁶⁰ Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy, MA: Eastern Nazarene College Press, 1994), 199.

⁶¹ Percy Trafton, 'Sketch of the Life of Sharp Anthony Baker', *KH*, 15 August 1928, 2-3.

William Wiggins was another individual to whom Reformed Baptists looked for leadership, possibly because he was one of few individuals who possessed a university education.⁶² In 1882, Wiggins spent three months visiting American holiness camps in Maine, Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey,⁶³ where he was introduced to some of the most popular holiness preachers of that time. These interactions strengthened a bond which had already begun to develop between Maritime and American holiness leaders.⁶⁴ In 1888, Wiggins sent letters to those Maritimers he had identified as ‘lovers of holiness’, asking them to consider the possibility of establishing a new denomination.⁶⁵ After the Alliance was officially established in November of that year, he then drafted its *Declaration of Faith*. Wiggins was elected chairman of that body’s constitutional committee during the years 1888 to 1908.⁶⁶ In 1889, he authored a pamphlet entitled ‘Butler’s Theology Versus the Last Deliverance of Conference’, outlining a number of perceived injustices which Free Christian Baptists had committed towards Reformed Baptists.⁶⁷ And, in 1910, Wiggins was selected by delegates to the American Holiness Association as the only Canadian representative of that organisation.⁶⁸ Reformed Baptists no doubt experienced a measure of security from having a leader who was an educated spokesman for the denomination.

Another Reformed Baptist included in this group of robust leaders was George McDonald. He was chosen as president of the denomination for three separate terms⁶⁹ and

⁶² Percy J. Trafton, ‘Sketch of the Life and Experience of Rev. W. B. Wiggins, B. A’, *KH*, 31 October 1924, 1.

⁶³ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 148.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 76.

⁶⁵ George B. MacDonald, ‘The Birth of a Denomination’, *KH*, 15 October 1924, 2.

⁶⁷ H. C. Archer, ‘A Tribute to W. B. Wiggins’, *KH*, 15 October 1924, 4

⁶⁸ Sharp A. Baker, ‘Denominational News’, *KH*, 15 September 1910, 3.

⁶⁹ S. A. Baker, ‘Alliance News’, *KH*, 30 June 1900, 3.

also acted as editor of the denominational newspaper from 1893 until 1897, and from 1900 until his death in 1902.⁷⁰ George McDonald travelled in 1888 to New England, where he met William McDonald and Joshua Gill, both editors of New England holiness newspapers. Although these Americans were largely unfamiliar to most Maritimers, McDonald went on to facilitate their visits to the region, resulting in the gathering of numerous holiness converts.⁷¹ Such encounters contributed to strong relations between holiness groups in the two countries, leading to a secure standing of Maritimers within the American holiness movement for many years.⁷² Certainly, the combined efforts of Baker, Wiggins and McDonald served to strengthen the Alliance during its formative era.

Preaching Styles

Following extensive research, only a few documented comments could be found which detail the impressive oratorical abilities of a number of holiness leaders. Several individuals reported their observations concerning various preachers who offered strong endorsements to the holiness movement and its tenets. John Dawson, for example, was described by one of his recent converts as ‘the most able holiness preacher in Nova Scotia’.⁷³ Horatio H. Cosman, a Reformed Baptist layman,⁷⁴ stated that his pastor, Joseph Noble, who was a ‘clear and powerful preacher of holiness’,⁷⁵ introducing him to ‘full salvation’ in 1882.⁷⁶ Following a revival meeting which Noble had conducted in Campbell Settlement, New Brunswick, the church clerk there similarly described him as

⁷⁰ S. A. Baker, ‘Obituary of G. W. McDonald’, *KH*, 15 January 1903, 2.

⁷¹ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 254.

⁷² *Beulah Camp 1894-1984, Ninetieth Anniversary Year* (Sussex, New Brunswick: Atlantic District Wesleyan Church, 1984), 5.

⁷³ Quoted in Martique, *Trials and Travels of Evangelist L. J. King*, 131.

⁷⁴ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 80-83.

⁷⁵ H. H. Cosman, ‘Holiness Preachers that I Have Known’, *KH*, 15 May 1916, 4.

⁷⁶ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 81.

one who had ‘a rare capacity to impress the idea of sanctification’.⁷⁷ John Allen, an aging Methodist minister, maintained that Aaron Hartt was ‘the most powerful holiness preacher in the Maritimes’.⁷⁸ And, although Reformed Baptists were also well known for their passionate preaching, only one of them was described as an extraordinary orator. Handley Mullen, a young Reformed Baptist, acknowledged the powerful delivery of his pastor, George B. Trafton. Mullen recalled how Trafton possessed a ‘most characteristic way of emphasizing his point by stooping forward and swinging his body to one side, and by swinging his arms, especially swinging one hand and arm around in a circle and up’.⁷⁹ It is evident that at least a few of these holiness advocates attempted to deliver energetic holiness discourses.

Three Pentecostal Nazarene ministers were also known to be outstanding speakers. Hiram Reynolds, one of the denomination’s district superintendents, was said to preach stirring messages on the subject of holiness, bringing together large crowds from a variety of religious backgrounds. At least one hundred individuals in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, joined the Pentecostal Holiness Association between 1902 and 1906 under his ministry.⁸⁰ A number of former Methodists strongly identified with Reynolds who periodically reminded them that those within their previous affiliation had abandoned the ‘Wesleyan teaching of “Full Salvation”’.⁸¹ Another Pentecostal Nazarene minister who was a gifted speaker was George E. Noble, a native of Haverhill, Massachusetts, who was known among many New Englanders as a skilled evangelist. Soon after he became the first full-time minister at the Oxford Pentecostal church in

⁷⁷ Ibid., 140.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 140.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 396.

⁸⁰ Parker, *From East to Western Sea*, 18.

⁸¹ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 7.

1902,⁸² Myrta Peel, one of his converts, described him as ‘a great preacher in the Old Testament’, noting that ‘under his anointing I made great strides’.⁸³ Another Pentecostal Nazarene reputed to be a powerful holiness expositor was J. Warner Turpel, also a native New Englander. Martin Buchanan, one of Turpel’s converts on Prince Edward Island, described Turpel as ‘a preacher who stirred the souls of men to their very depths. Sometimes his addresses resulted in remarkable outward manifestations of feeling. Under his preaching people often rose up in agony over their sin, and came to the altar crying to God for mercy’.⁸⁴ During Turpel’s ministry on Prince Edward Island, between 1919 and 1928, close to three hundred men and women professed entire sanctification.⁸⁵ The accomplishments of Reynolds, Noble and Turpel, all American defenders of the holiness movement, contributed significantly to overall denominational development between 1906 and 1920. Outstanding preaching ability, therefore, was a defining characteristic for several of the movement’s strongest leaders and crucial to the success of the Maritime holiness cause.

Journalistic Support

A number of holiness advocates, chiefly Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, effectively used their denominational newspapers to further the holiness movement. Methodists, such as Howard Sprague, frequently submitted articles to the *Wesleyan*, writings which defended holiness. In 1888, after attending a number of regional holiness conventions, Sprague declared that he would stake his ‘reputation as an intelligent man and a Christian minister upon the assertion that anyone who would ridicule these

⁸² Ibid., 8.

⁸³ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁴ Martin Buchanan, Summerside, Prince Edward Island, personal interview with Fred MacMillan, 27 December 1971. Cited in Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 25.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 68-72.

meetings offers utter misrepresentations'.⁸⁶ He also warned Methodists of the price they would pay if they pushed out 'the holiness men'.⁸⁷ Sprague's journalistic support of the holiness movement ended abruptly, after he revealed in August 1888, that his health no longer permitted him to participate in the controversy.⁸⁸ While Sprague's journalistic support of holiness may have been brief, it was nevertheless, important.

William Ainley also used that same denominational paper to strengthen regional holiness support. In 1886 and 1887, he wrote a series of articles clarifying theological misconceptions concerning entire sanctification, an experience which he stated was 'neither new nor foreign to us'.⁸⁹ He acknowledged, however, that a number of his coreligionists continued to express confusion over the subject, an issue which perplexed him.⁹⁰ Ainley then proceeded further to enlighten Maritime Methodists on holiness theology by drafting a second succession of articles, recapitulating Phoebe Palmer's 'altar theology',⁹¹ a spiritual encounter which he claimed to have personally experienced.⁹² Through these various writings, then, Ainley certainly made clear his express support for the Maritime holiness movement.

The writings of John Allen, a Methodist minister, were frequently published in the 1880s, during the height of the holiness controversy. In 1884, Allen insisted that sanctification was not optional for genuine believers, describing it as 'an absolute prerequisite to usefulness and the only preventive to backsliding'.⁹³ Three years later, he reminded Methodists of Wesley's conviction that they had been 'raised up to spread

⁸⁶ Howard Sprague, 'Letter from Rev Dr. Sprague', *WES*, 5 July 1888, 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁸ Howard Sprague, 'The Holiness Question', *WES*, 30 August 1888, 3.

⁸⁹ William Ainley, 'Second Week's Meetings at Berwick', *WES*, 26 August 1886, 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹¹ See Chapter 3, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 76-78.

⁹² William Ainley, 'Power! Power! Power!' *WES*, 4 August 1887, 2.

⁹³ John S. Allen, 'Holiness Meetings', *WES*, 25 December 1884, 3.

scriptural holiness over the land'.⁹⁴ Allen acknowledged that 'confusion' surrounding the subject has occurred because few Methodists here are familiar with the doctrine'⁹⁵ and he pleaded with denominational leaders to engage 'one evangelist who is a distinct witness of the experience himself'.⁹⁶ Allen argued that 'only a sanctified ministry and a revival of holiness' would restore the denomination.⁹⁷ For a brief time, Allen utilised the denominational paper to provide Maritime Methodists with a greater understanding of the doctrine of entire sanctification.

Of all the Methodist journalists, John Lathern may have been the most effective holiness advocate. As editor of the *Wesleyan* from 1887 until 1895, Lathern crafted literally dozens of editorials in its support and, during his final year, he also published a series of lengthy articles which traced the growth in holiness of several eighteenth-century English 'sanctified souls'.⁹⁸ In Lathern's last attempt as editor to support the movement publicly he wrote an extensive column which he called 'The Baptism of Fire'. This piece presented entire sanctification as a cure for any 'faint-hearted believer and an experience all Methodists must pursue'.⁹⁹ Lathern explored many aspects of holiness in the Methodist paper and did so more extensively than any other Methodist in the region. Although he and several other Methodist leaders effectively used the denominational newspaper to strengthen the holiness cause, all of them eventually abandoned or at least downplayed its importance over time.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁵ John S. Allen, 'Holiness unto the Lord', *WES*, 24 March 1887, 2.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁸ John Lathern, 'Wesley on Sanctification', *WES*, 8 May 1890, 2; 'Scriptural Holiness', *WES*, 25 July 1895, 1; John Lathern, 'Seven Sanctified Souls', *WES*, 16 October 1895, 4.

⁹⁹ John Lathern, 'The Baptism of Fire', *WES*, 27 June 1895, 2.

Two Free Christian Baptists who effectively used the newspaper medium to endorse the holiness movement were Alexander Taylor and Aaron Kinney. Although by 1880 Taylor was a minister of advanced years, he continued to contribute to the *Religious Intelligencer*, publishing a considerable number of holiness-related articles during the next decade.¹⁰⁰ In 1885, he noted that few within the denomination were pursuing holiness ‘as we ought’,¹⁰¹ later citing the hesitancy of Free Christian Baptist ministers as evidence of ‘our low spiritual state’.¹⁰² In one article, Taylor pointed out the importance of ‘a pure heart, and the necessity of a proper understanding of a doctrine that so much affects our religious life’.¹⁰³ Through a series of holiness articles, Taylor emphasised that ‘a pure heart does imply a mighty change.... for the old state was, at best, one of suppression, in which the evil thoughts were kept under’.¹⁰⁴ Kinney subsequently affirmed Taylor’s positive view of entire sanctification, describing how the experience had delivered him from ‘a tobacco habit that had tormented me for nineteen years’.¹⁰⁵ Kinney challenged his colleagues to pursue the experience, declaring that it ‘is indecent to preach deliverance to others when you... remain in bondage’.¹⁰⁶ Taken together, a number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists successfully used journalism as a means to propagate holiness. After the controversy concerning this issue reached its climax in 1888, few of them continued, however, to support the movement in Methodist and Free Christian Baptist newspapers. Rather, a number of holiness advocates went on

¹⁰⁰ Alexander Taylor, ‘Sanctification, No. 1’, *RI*, 16 February 1883, 2; Alexander Taylor, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 1 May 1885, 2; Alexander Taylor, ‘The Pastorate System’, *RI*, 22 December 1886, 1; Alexander Taylor, ‘A Pure Heart, No. I.’, *RI*, 28 December 1887, 1; Alexander Taylor, ‘A Pure Heart, No. II.’ *RI*, 4 January 1888, 1.

¹⁰¹ Alexander Taylor, ‘Denominational News’, *RI*, 1 May 1885, 2.

¹⁰² Alexander Taylor, ‘The Pastorate System’, *RI*, 22 December 1886, 1.

¹⁰³ Alexander Taylor, ‘A Pure Heart, No. I.’, *RI*, 28 December 1887, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Taylor, ‘A Pure Heart, No. II.’ *RI*, 4 January 1888, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Aaron Kinney, ‘My Experience with Tobacco’, *RI*, 11 January 1888, 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

to join the Reformed Baptist Alliance and commenced to raise the holiness banner in its denominational paper.

Denominational Leadership

The second half of this chapter examines the collective leadership of each of the five holiness-minded denominations. In an attempt to portray accurately the general composition of each ministerial group, several factors, including the education, religious background, economic status, gender and nationality of these individuals are considered. With a greater understanding of the overall tenor of each religious body's leadership, one is then better able to account for some of the significant denominational differences of opinion which developed regarding the holiness movement.

Education

One factor which significantly influenced the leadership of each religious group was the degree of education or formal training attained by its ministers. Of the five denominations, the Methodist Church possessed the best educated ministerial cadre. In 1976, E. Arthur Betts, a Maritime Methodist historian, determined that almost eighty per cent of the 311 Methodists who ministered in the region between 1786 and 1900 were college graduates.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Methodists were the first of these religious bodies to organise an affiliated post-secondary institution in the Maritimes. Specifically, Mount Allison College was established in 1843 in the small town of Sackville, New Brunswick, located a few miles from the Nova Scotia border.¹⁰⁸ In examining that college's development between 1843 up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the struggles it faced in maintaining commitments to both Christianity and intellectual rigour in teaching

¹⁰⁷ E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1976), 125-63.

¹⁰⁸ John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963*, Vol. I: 1843-1914 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press), vii.

and scholarship became obvious.¹⁰⁹ For example, Howard Sprague, who was appointed to the theological faculty at Mount Allison University in 1908, had once been an ardent holiness advocate in the 1880s but gave up that cause in the 1890s because of ‘debilitating health issues’.¹¹⁰ That Sprague gradually continued to distance himself from the movement was further made clear by William G. Watson, Professor of Old Testament and Systematic Theology, who believed that by 1908 Sprague had become ‘decidedly liberal’. Watson noted, however, that Sprague’s revised beliefs would no longer pose a problem for him because the majority of Methodists continued to hold him in high esteem and were accepting of a liberal arts education which did not ‘cling to outmoded theologies’.¹¹¹ This type of education, which was received by the majority of Methodist ministers during these years, therefore, facilitated the denomination’s transition into respectable society.

The leadership of the Free Christian Baptist Conference, on the other hand, differed notably in that it consisted mainly of poorly educated individuals. Fred Burnett’s extensive study of 437 Free Baptist ministers found that only slightly more than ten per cent of them possessed any education beyond six years of public schooling.¹¹² Burnett’s discovery was hardly surprising, however, given that the denomination had traditionally rejected all formal education, believing it to be incompatible with healthy Christianity.¹¹³ Henry Alline, an individual under whose ministry several of the pioneer Free Christian

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 221-4, 227-8, 271-4.

¹¹⁰ Howard Sprague, ‘The Holiness Question’, *WES*, 30 August 1888, 2.

¹¹¹ W. G. Watson to J. W. Graham, 17 October 1908, United Church Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Methodist education papers, Box 16.

¹¹² Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers*, 5-239.

¹¹³ D. G. Bell, ‘The Allinite Tradition and the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptists, 1830-1875’, *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World*, Robert S. Wilson., ed. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press Limited, 1988), 56.

Baptists were converted, stressed that education was an ‘external trapping of religion’.¹¹⁴ A number of his followers decided that biblical truth was indeed diluted by those engrossed in a pursuit of higher learning.¹¹⁵ Despite the fact that these ideas were passed on to second-generation Free Christian Baptists,¹¹⁶ beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century some members of this religious body started to shift their perspective. They began instead to encourage young ministerial candidates to enrol at Bates College, an American Freewill Baptist institution which endorsed the holiness movement’s teaching on entire sanctification.¹¹⁷ Importantly, almost all of these individuals remained in the United States following graduation.¹¹⁸ Had they returned to the Maritime region, support for the holiness cause would undoubtedly have been strengthened. In 1880, a number of Free Christian Baptist leaders were sufficiently interested in training their own constituents in the Maritime region that they approached several Regular Baptist ministers to consider the possibility of jointly establishing a post-secondary educational institution. Four years later, the two religious bodies co-founded the St Martin’s Baptist Seminary, located in St Martin’s New Brunswick.¹¹⁹ Despite the fact that in 1894 the institute closed permanently due to financial problems, the ability of these two denominations to collaborate so closely, reflected the extent to which they had become

¹¹⁴ D. G. Bell, ed., *Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1984), 15.

¹¹⁵ G. A. Rawlyk, ‘The Holiness Movement and Canadian Maritime Baptists’, George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1993), 295.

¹¹⁶ C. H. Orser, *Life and Ministry of Rev. G. W. Orser and a History of the Primitive Baptist Church Together with Sketch of the life of Rev. C. H. Orser* (Hartland, NB: Observer Office, 1914), 69-70.

¹¹⁷ G.A. Burgess, and A.M. Ward, eds., *Free Baptist Cyclopaedia*, (Chicago: The Woman’s Temperance Publication Association, 1886), 79.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 170, 176, 260, 299, 347, 348, 349, 486.

¹¹⁹ *Minutes of the New Brunswick Free Christian Baptist General Conference*, October 1894, 44.

compatible.¹²⁰ In any case, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of Free Christian Baptist leaders, including George A. Hartley, Joseph McLeod, D. McLeod Vince and John Noble, were elderly, infirm men who had received little public schooling. This issue undoubtedly contributed to this ministerial body's lack of ability to provide suitable leadership, a factor which essentially contributed to denominational decline.

Reformed Baptist leaders, the majority of whom were former Free Christian Baptists, had also received inadequate formal schooling. In fact, although many were skilled tradesmen, the majority had less than five years of public schooling.¹²¹ Vesta Dunlop Mullen's comprehensive study of fifty-one Reformed Baptist ministers between 1888 and 1920 found that just fourteen per cent of them possessed an eighth-grade education.¹²² Unlike its Free Christian Baptist lineage, however, members of this group, which was well aware of the challenges that their uneducated forebears experienced in denominational building, viewed educational deficiencies as a serious disadvantage to their own church development. In order to overcome this challenge, Reformed Baptists appointed a Ministerial Standards Committee in 1897, commissioning its members to draft a set of detailed educational guidelines for their ministerial ranks.¹²³ This body exempted older prospective ministers from travelling to the United States for theological training but insisted that all young candidates should complete high school and attend college. Ministerial candidates, thereafter, were required to meet an examining board, a group which would assess their educational credentials. That approach continued until

¹²⁰ Allison A. Trites, 'The New Brunswick Baptist Seminary, 1833-1895,' Barry M. Moody, ed., *Repent and Believe, The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1980), 113.

¹²¹ Fred Burnett, *Biographical Directory*, 3.

¹²² Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 1-429.

¹²³ *Minutes of the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada for the Year Ending 30 June 1898*, (Saint John, NB: Barnes & Company), 31.

1945, when the denomination established its own regional college in Woodstock, New Brunswick.¹²⁴ Thus, although the earliest Reformed Baptist leaders were lacking in education, eventually they became significantly troubled by that fact and determined that future leaders would be better equipped with theological training.

The majority of Maritime Pentecostal Nazarene ministers were former pastors of American Methodist Episcopal churches¹²⁵ and had studied at American Methodist colleges.¹²⁶ In 1900, a number of Americans who had left Methodist churches during the last quarter of the nineteenth century organised a holiness Bible school in Saratoga, New York.¹²⁷ After the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was established in 1907, it took ownership of this institution and in 1919, relocated it to Wollaston, Massachusetts. Because it was the closest holiness institution to the Maritimes, even Reformed Baptists urged those within their ranks wishing to prepare for ministry to study at this particular New England institution. Not until later in the twentieth century, however, did second-generation Maritime Nazarenes begin to pursue post-secondary education by studying there.¹²⁸

It is difficult to determine with certainty the extent of public education which early Salvation Army officers received. From a study of the records at the Army's national archives, as well as information gleaned from biographical accounts of several Maritime Army officials, one can see that formal education was not required for positions of leadership in this organisation. Yet, twenty per cent of the twenty Maritimers who

¹²⁴ *Minutes of the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada for the Year Ending 30 June 1937* (Saint John, NB: George Day Printing), 11; *Minutes of the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada for the Year 1945* (Saint John, NB: George Day Printing), 12.

¹²⁵ Neil Hightower, ed., *Love Does That: The Story of Nazarenes in Canada* (Brampton, ON: Friesen Corporation, 2002), 15.

¹²⁶ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 54, and Kostlevy, *A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 250.

¹²⁷ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 82.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 327.

enlisted as Salvation Army officers between 1885 and 1900 possessed some secondary or college education.¹²⁹ These individuals included Emma Allan, a native of Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia, who was a graduate of the Nova Scotia Provincial Normal School;¹³⁰ Susan French, a resident of Saint John, who studied for a short time at the New Brunswick Provincial Normal School;¹³¹ Roscoe Heine, a young Free Christian Baptist in Millstream, New Brunswick, who graduated from Bates College and was licensed by the Free Christian Baptist Conference;¹³² and Lutie DesBrisay, who had graduated from high school before enlisting in the Army in 1886.¹³³ The remaining sixteen cadets had experienced little public schooling. In spite of this, these individuals, including Robert Warren and John Hardy, eventually became very prominent Army officials. This would suggest that the organisation's indifference towards formal schooling had little impact on subsequent work by its officers.

What conclusions may be drawn concerning the effect of education upon Maritime holiness leadership? First, and generally speaking, education appeared to be at odds with the aims of the holiness movement. Methodist leaders, for example, were the most highly educated group of these five religious bodies and also were the first ones to distance themselves from holiness theology. Free Christian Baptists, on the other hand, were traditionally among the least well-educated but the staunchest defenders of the holiness movement. Once they came to appreciate the advantages of an educated ministerial body, they soon abandoned their holiness associations altogether. Secondly,

¹²⁹ See Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 53, 70, 89.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹³² James Roscoe Heine, 'Monthly Record of Roscoe Heine,' (unpublished journal, 9 September 1895- 31 March 1936), Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: Fredericton, New Brunswick # MC3167, 7.

¹³³ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 53.

some in these religious organisations understood the value of formal learning yet remained fearful of having their progeny educated in secular society. Reformed Baptists, for example, realised that their leaders sorely lacked in education and believed that an educated ministry was imperative for the development of the denomination. They insisted, however, that a suitable education must be based upon holiness movement theology and that their ministerial students should exclusively attend holiness institutions. In a similar way, Pentecostal Nazarene leaders, the majority of whom had previously been Methodists, already possessed some formal schooling yet believed that liberal arts education undermined holiness passion. As a result, they established their own college in New England, one which Reformed Baptists utilised for several decades. Thirdly, the Salvation Army was unique in that its leaders neither espoused nor denigrated formal education. Rather, what they considered to be essential was that officers should receive training in practical matters, including the operation of facilities and the refining of various methods for attracting audiences and gaining converts. Overall then, each of these religious bodies viewed the education of their leadership differently. By the beginning of the twentieth century, all of them adopted a form of schooling which best suited their perceived organisational needs.

Spiritual Nurture

A second influence upon many of those who provided leadership to these organisations was their religious upbringing, a factor which has been underscored by a few Maritime historians. E. Arthur Betts' research pointed out that almost half (65) of all the Methodist ministers in the Maritime region between 1786 and 1900 had been raised in devout Methodist homes. Betts also speculated that many of the others may have

experienced similar nurturing. He also noted that thirty-five per cent (58) of those who he was certain had been raised as Methodists claimed to have experienced personal conversion before twelve years of age.¹³⁴

Fred Burnett's study of Free Christian Baptist leaders between 1832 and 1906 yielded similar findings.¹³⁵ He concluded that the majority of the 182 individuals not only had been raised in Free Christian Baptist homes but also that sixteen per cent (30) of these men had professed conversion before the age of twelve.¹³⁶ Although Burnett was not able to ascertain detailed accounts for the approximately 150 others, he believed that because so many of them were second- and third-generation Free Christian Baptists they also experienced salvation at relatively young ages.¹³⁷

In another comparative study, Vesta Dunlop Mullen found that more than half (27) of the fifty-one Reformed Baptists who ministered in the Maritime region between 1880 and 1920 had been raised in devoutly religious homes.¹³⁸ She noted that, out of these twenty-seven men and women, all but one reported a personal conversion during childhood, the majority of which were said to have occurred prior to the age of twelve.¹³⁹ Mullen's findings parallel those of Timothy Smith, an American holiness historian, who investigated the religious training of the first Pentecostal Nazarene missionaries to the Maritimes. Smith concluded that out of those who migrated to this region, only one of them, Hiram Reynolds, had not been raised as an Episcopal Methodist.¹⁴⁰ Reynolds, who

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 125-6, 128, 131, 132, 135-37, 139, 142, 143, 145, 148-50, 153-56, 158-60.

¹³⁵ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers*, 1-185.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 67, 74, 94, 151, 166, 174.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, xvi.

¹³⁸ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 4, 11, 21, 30, 65, 73, 80, 122, 124, 139, 142, 154, 204, 208, 217, 233, 275, 338, 357, 362.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 4, 11, 21, 30, 80, 84, 92, 122, 124, 139, 142, 171, 204, 217, 226, 233, 275, 338, 344, 357, 404, 417.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 76.

eventually became a prominent Nazarene minister and district superintendent, was raised in a non-Christian home but experienced conversion while attending a secular university in the 1870s.¹⁴¹ Taken together, these findings suggest that familial spiritual nurturing was a significant influence in creating religious leaders.

Salvation Army records support this conclusion to an extent but also add another dimension to it. Most of the forty Salvation Army officers between 1885 and 1900 who were native Maritimers had been raised from birth in deeply religious homes. Only two of the forty men and women, however, reported personal conversion in their ancestral denomination. These included Susan French, a young Free Christian Baptist who was converted under the ministry of her grandfather, an elder in that denomination.¹⁴² Roscoe Heine, the son of devout Free Christian Baptists, was converted in Free Christian Baptist revival meetings in Millstream, New Brunswick.¹⁴³ Except for French and Heine, all the others stated that they first experienced salvation in Salvation Army meetings.¹⁴⁴ This suggests that the Army was especially successful in attracting initially unconverted individuals to enlist eventually as officials in the organisation.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the majority of leaders in all these denominations had been raised in a Christian environment. One significant difference surfaced, however. Most Methodist and Free Christian Baptist leaders had been brought up in their respective denominations. On the other hand, almost all Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene ministers originated in either Free Christian Baptist or Methodist environments yet chose to leave their family denominational affiliations, electing instead

¹⁴¹ Kostlevy, *A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 250.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 99

¹⁴³ Ruth Scott, *The Unknown New Brunswicker* (Fredericton, NB: Capital Free Press, 1988), 10.

¹⁴⁴ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 53, 70, 89.

to support what they believed to be genuine holiness bodies. In a similar way, the majority of leaders in the Salvation Army had also been reared by religious families. Since becoming an officer meant leaving one's traditional upbringing, these Salvation officials likewise became distanced from their initial religious backgrounds.

Economic Status

A third important dynamic which affected many of these leaders was their financial standing.¹⁴⁵ Although first-generation Methodists had once been poor and disadvantaged, by 1900 many of them were successfully earning livelihoods as professionals and artisans.¹⁴⁶ This factor contributed to a novel situation wherein a large number of constituents enjoyed relative financial security. As a result, the salaries of many Methodist ministers were significantly higher than those of ministers in the other groups. For example, between 1880 and 1890 the annual salaries of Methodist clergy in urban centres ranged between \$720 and \$925, incomes which could be categorised only as dreams for ministers in other holiness communities.¹⁴⁷ Even Methodist ministers in rural areas, whose salaries were significantly less than those of men serving in the cities, relied on larger and more dependable incomes than ministers in the remaining denominations.¹⁴⁸

Free Christian Baptists were, on average, less wealthy than Methodists but more affluent than Reformed Baptists, Pentecostal Nazarenes or Salvationists.¹⁴⁹ A few Free Christian Baptists enjoyed the advantage of being raised in moderately prosperous

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 7, 'Constituency,' 290-305.

¹⁴⁶ T. W. Acheson, 'The Problem of Methodist Identity', Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 117.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Penner, *The Chignecto 'Connexion': The History of Sackville Methodist/ United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1990), 69.

¹⁴⁸ Warren W. Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island* (Summerside, PE: Williams and Crue, 1984), 278.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 7, 'Constituency,' 290-305.

families, including Joseph McLeod, who had inherited his father's publishing business in 1867,¹⁵⁰ and D. McLeod Vince, whose family was sufficiently wealthy to finance his post-secondary education in the early 1870s, as well as law school in 1878.¹⁵¹ The majority of Free Christian Baptists were poor, however, a fact demonstrated in the limited financial support they were able to offer their leaders. When elders had conducted itinerant ministries until the 1870s, their congregants had provided them with free room and board, as well as limited shares of their harvests from the land or sea.¹⁵² Beginning in the 1880s, ministers started to settle into single pastorates upon being called to serve particular congregations. Each church then arranged accommodation and provided ministers with small salaries. Such small advances indicated that Free Christian Baptists were moving towards a measure of social respectability.

Despite the fact that between 1890 and 1920 the majority of Reformed Baptists were poor, they received considerable financial backing from Joseph Bullock, a wealthy Methodist entrepreneur. This individual lived in Saint John, New Brunswick, where he was the principal owner of the Imperial Oil Company.¹⁵³ Over a number of years, Bullock contributed enormous sums of money to the Queen Square Methodist Church in Saint John. In 1891, he challenged the members of the Ladies Aid Society in that congregation, proposing that if they were able to collect fourteen hundred dollars towards the purchase of a new organ, he would match that amount.¹⁵⁴ Bullock's philanthropic interests were not limited only to the Methodist Church. In 1894, he also contributed

¹⁵⁰ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers*, 128.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁵² Erna G. Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church, Royalton Reformed Baptist Church, 1889-1966, Royalton Wesleyan Church, 1966-1989, One Church* (Sussex, NB: Royal Printing, 1989), 167.

¹⁵³ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 214.

¹⁵⁴ Mrs Job M. Shenton, *A Biographical Sketch of the Late Rev. Job Shenton by His Widow With Some of His Sermons and Lectures* (Saint John, NB: J. & A. McMillan, 1902), xlvii.

towards the purchase of property near Saint John, where Reformed Baptists established Beulah Camp,¹⁵⁵ and for the next two decades he financed numerous expansion projects there.¹⁵⁶ Bullock's wife, Elisabeth, also independently endowed various holiness enterprises. She personally financed a number of projects at Beulah Camp, including the construction of a permanent meeting hall, and provided monetary support for various missionary endeavours and expansion programmes.¹⁵⁷ In 1910 and 1913, the Bullock family matched every dollar donation made at camp meeting.¹⁵⁸ Bernard Mullen, a third-generation Reformed Baptist, remembered his father stating that 'Brother and Sister Bullock carried on a long-term love affair with Beulah and although they were loyal Methodists, they were more loyal to the grand Wesleyan doctrine and experience of entire sanctification'.¹⁵⁹ Reformed Baptists benefited greatly from the Bullocks' generosity for many years.

The Bullocks' philanthropy actually extended even beyond Methodist and Reformed Baptist congregations. Between 1902 and 1907 they made a number of generous financial offerings to the Oxford Pentecostal Nazarene Church when it sponsored revival meetings in various communities in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. In 1907, after Aaron Hartt informed the Bullocks that the Springhill Pentecostal Church had no organ, they promptly supplied one.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, no other Maritime family provided the degree of financial support to as many holiness groups as did Joseph and Elisabeth Bullock during the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 213.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 213-15.

¹⁵⁸ 'Beulah Camp', *KH*, 29 July 1910, 4; 'Beulah News', *KH*, 15 July 1913, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 213.

¹⁶⁰ A. Hartt, 'News from the Churches', *BC*, 2 March 1907, 11.

¹⁶¹ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 213.

Except for the Bullock family, the Reformed Baptist Alliance benefited from no other significant financial backing. Most of its leaders struggled financially, routinely receiving little of monetary value from their congregations. Instead, their charges held ‘pounding parties’ twice annually,¹⁶² events where church members congregated at the minister’s home, bringing a few pounds of sugar or flour or some other useful item. Ken Gorvette, an elderly Reformed Baptist minister, noted that in the early years of the twentieth century many congregations sporadically gave their pastor a ‘love offering [which consisted of]... more love than offering’.¹⁶³ The financial challenges which Reformed Baptist ministers endured were discouraging to those contemplating entering the pastoral ministry. Such hardship was demonstrated by the fact that during the denomination’s first thirty-two years of existence, it ordained fewer than forty individuals into the ministry.¹⁶⁴

There were two Reformed Baptist ministers who enjoyed a limited measure of financial security. One of these was William Kinghorn, an elderly man who owned a successful tanning business and privately supported a number of new congregations established in the 1890s.¹⁶⁵ George Mcdonald recalled that ‘Kinghorn expressed kindness in such a way that was only known to the recipient and to God’.¹⁶⁶ The other minister who was reasonably comfortable, in the financial sense, was William Wiggins. He was blessed with a small but dependable salary as a schoolteacher, one advantage which few Reformed Baptists could boast.¹⁶⁷ Although there is no indication that Wiggins flaunted

¹⁶² Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church*, 164.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁶⁴ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, v-vii.

¹⁶⁵ G. W. Mcdonald, ‘Reformed Baptist Ministers’, *KH*, 15 January 1895, 4.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶⁷ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 203.

his limited wealth, it did sufficiently finance his numerous visits to the United States where he met numerous leaders in the American holiness movement. All in all, although the majority of Reformed Baptist leaders were financially disadvantaged, many of them grew their own gardens and raised cattle, sheep and chickens to feed their families, and were happy to minister in churches in the Maritime region.

The first Pentecostal Nazarene ministers in the Maritime region were Americans and former Methodist clergy, the majority of whom were accustomed to regular remuneration. Moving to a foreign country, being separated from family and friends by hundreds of miles and attempting to survive on an inadequate and unreliable salary must have been disconcerting to them. The fact that one's remuneration corresponded to the current financial status of the local fishers and farmers in the church proved to be a significant drawback. Worse yet, most of the homes which were provided for the minister and his family were shabby and old, offering little relief from the extremes of heat and cold. Louise Cone, the wife of a Pentecostal Nazarene minister who moved to Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island, from Boston in the early years of the twentieth century recalled that in her former home she enjoyed 'three bedrooms and a bath', whereas her new Maritime home offered 'four bedrooms and a path'.¹⁶⁸ This, of course, referred to the outdoor toilet which most Maritimers utilised until the mid-twentieth century. Mabel Webb, another Pentecostal Nazarene minister's wife, noted that 'many of us were sent to churches which had no money... It's a wonder that we didn't freeze or starve to death!'¹⁶⁹ In light of these conditions, it was hardly surprising that Pentecostal Nazarene congregations regularly struggled to find American ministers for their churches.

¹⁶⁸ Personal correspondence with Louise Cone, Covina, California, 13 July 1983.

¹⁶⁹ Personal Interview with Mabel Webb, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 7 November 1977.

The Salvation Army offered less financial assistance to its leadership than any other religious body. With inadequate finances, a group of officers struggled to establish corps in 1885 in several communities. For the most part, officers were required to secure their own personal employment in order to support themselves. Even money borrowed from family members was often insufficient to fund Army programmes, and, as a result, a number of Army officials became very skilled fund raisers. A few individuals, however, such as Roscoe Heine, endured extreme poverty. Shortly after joining the Salvation Army in 1885, Heine borrowed money from his father, something he was forced to do on several future occasions. By 1893, his financial situation was so dire that Heine resigned from his position in the Salvation Army and accepted an American Freewill Baptist pastorate.¹⁷⁰ Although the majority of Maritimers who enlisted in the Salvation Army between 1885 and 1920 were indigent individuals, three of them had actually been raised by well-to-do parents. These included Lutie DesBrisay, whose father was a judge in Charlottetown,¹⁷¹ and Susan French, whose father was a successful Saint John businessman,¹⁷² as well as the aforementioned Roscoe Heine, whose father owned a prosperous farm. The fact that the Army offered such poor monetary support to its leaders surely discouraged other Maritimers from becoming Army officials, thus explaining why such small numbers of locals enlisted during those years.

Gender

A fourth aspect of leadership which deserves attention is the subject of gender. Although none of these denominations questioned the suitability of male leadership, there

¹⁷⁰ Scott, *Unknown New Brunswicker*, 19.

¹⁷¹ Julie V. Watson, *Historic Charlottetown, Images of Our Past* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2007), 135.

¹⁷² 'Benjamin French', 1911 Canada Census, *Ancestry.ca*.

existed a range of opinion concerning the degree to which women were suited to the management of various components of church life, particularly the role of minister. Maritime Methodists had generally been averse to female leadership. For example, when Phoebe and Walter Palmer toured the region in 1858 and 1874, those who reported her ministry in the *Provincial Wesleyan* emphasised her husband's activities while inaccurately portraying Mrs Palmer as only a secondary participant.¹⁷³ In 1890, Maritime Methodists established what they called the 'Wesley Deaconess Order'. This became an arm of the church which was supervised by the local minister but which empowered women to minister to the physical and spiritual needs of female church members, as well as to both men and women outside the congregation.¹⁷⁴ In 1910, the Maritime Methodist Conference officially lifted its ban on female preaching to mixed congregations, followed eight years later by an official offer of equal status with men.¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, despite all these advances, by 1920 the Maritime Methodist Conference had yet to ordain any female minister.¹⁷⁶

A number of Methodist women possessed remarkable management abilities, excellent formal educations and strong oratorical talents, yet few of them were offered primary leadership positions. Annie Leake Tuttle, for example, was an intelligent, well-educated and talented individual who left the region in order to exercise her leadership skills. In 1887, she moved from Nova Scotia to accept a position in Newfoundland as an educator of teachers. After several years in that role, she resettled in British Columbia,

¹⁷³ Ralph Richardson, 'Methodist Revivalism and the Baptists of Eastern British America in 1858' in David T. Priestly, ed., *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 28-29.

¹⁷⁴ D. W. Johnson, *Methodism in Eastern British America* (Sackville: Tribune Printing, 1925), 403.

¹⁷⁵ Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 281-2.

¹⁷⁶ Johnson, *Methodism in Eastern British America*, 426.

where she became the matron of a rescue home for Chinese immigrant workers.¹⁷⁷ Tuttle demonstrated unquestionable managerial competence and excellent leadership skills in both positions and yet, when she returned to Nova Scotia in 1895, her work there was restricted to the education of children and women's missionary activity.¹⁷⁸ Methodists were thus slow to empower women with high positions of authority and governance.

Free Christian Baptist women, on the other hand, traditionally had been more active in leadership roles.¹⁷⁹ In 1902, Joseph McLeod publicly acknowledged that the denomination supported gender equality, noting that 'both our men and our women were proclaimers of the message of life'.¹⁸⁰ Such was not the case in most matters, however. Beginning in the 1880s, women seldom participated in worship gatherings in public exhortations and instead assumed the role of 'cheerfully investigating the novelties of woman's missionary societies and sabbath schools'.¹⁸¹ Some prominent male church members occasionally questioned the practice of relegating females to less authoritative and far more limited positions. In 1880, for example, Alexander Taylor acknowledged the powerful role of women's 'aid societies', expressing distinct frustration that 'my sisters are excluded from any participation in either District or Conference work with the brethren'.¹⁸² Joshua Barnes expressed a similar concern, stating that 'our tendency for females to serve exclusively in secondary roles is unnecessary and ineffectual'.¹⁸³ In

¹⁷⁷ Annie Leake Tuttle, *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best*, Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 92-9.

¹⁷⁹ Michael Christie and Roland McCormick, *The Early Years of Barrington's Free Baptists* (Yarmouth, NS: Sentinel Printing, 2007), 7-38.

¹⁸⁰ Edward Manning Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, Granville Street, 1902), 411-12.

¹⁸¹ D. G. Bell, 'Henry Alline and Maritime Religion', *Canadian Historical Association Booklet*. No. 51 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1993), 22.

¹⁸² Alexander Taylor, 'Some Suggestions, No. 5', *RI*, 18 June 1880, 2.

¹⁸³ J. N. Barnes, 'Denominational News,' *RI*, 29 January 1890, 5.

1890, Barnes admitted that the ‘men have done well’, ‘yet the women have done better’.¹⁸⁴ Other leaders in the denomination, such as John Daggett, shared a different perspective. In 1902, Daggett stated that because our ‘preachers must demonstrate real manhood, I will never raise a discussion as to the advisability of admitting women to the ministry’.¹⁸⁵ Joseph McLeod also strongly objected to women in ministry, stressing that the Bible’s teaching ‘expressly is that a woman shall not exercise the office of teacher or preacher in the public worship of the church’.¹⁸⁶ In 1905, he expressed his personal conviction that even though the ordination of women had developed into a ‘growing custom amongst our Free Baptist brethren in the United States... we trust the woman ordaining custom will never get a foothold in any denomination in this country’.¹⁸⁷ McLeod was interested in aligning the denomination with Maritime Methodists, a respectable religious body which did not ordain women until later in the twentieth century. At any rate, in the end Free Christian Baptists were unable to reach a consensus concerning the issue. It was obvious to many, however, that women received little encouragement or mentoring from denominational leaders. A case in point: although the denomination never specifically ruled against sending a woman into missionary service, neither did it ever commission a female to that particular ministry.¹⁸⁸

Apart from the Salvation Army, Reformed Baptists were the most receptive to female leadership in comparison with other Protestant denominations at that time. Given their close associations with the American holiness movement, which empowered both

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸⁵ J. B. Daggett, ‘Preaching’, *RI*, 1 October 1902, 4.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Women in the Churches’, *RI*, 8 March 1899, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Joseph McLeod, ‘Ordaining Women’, *RI*, 25 January 1905, 9.

¹⁸⁸ H. Miriam Ross, ‘Matrimonial Matters: Maritime Baptist Women and “Single Lady Missionaries” Commissioned for Burma/ India, 1867-1920’, David T. Priestly, ed., *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 112.

men and women for Christian service, this position was reasonable.¹⁸⁹ In 1901, just twelve years after the denomination had been established, Reformed Baptists ordained Ella Kinney-Sanders into ministry, the first female to be ordained in all of Canada.¹⁹⁰ Kinney-Sanders, the daughter of Aaron Kinney, raised a family of eight children, five sons and three daughters, all but one of whom became Reformed Baptist ministers,¹⁹¹ another indication of the extent to which this denomination accepted female leadership. Prior to 1920, Reformed Baptists also ordained Mary Ella Slipp, an individual who became a well-known evangelist in New Brunswick and New England.¹⁹² A strong endorsement of the Reformed Baptist platform of equal rights for women was the denomination's decision in 1910 to pass unanimously a motion which defended 'women's suffrage'.¹⁹³ Altogether, this religious body ordained four women between 1888 and 1920, a notable development compared with other evangelical groups at that time.¹⁹⁴

Although a large percentage of Pentecostal Nazarene leaders in the United States were actually women, the majority of Maritime ministers in this denomination were men.¹⁹⁵ Out of twenty-one American ministers who immigrated to the Maritimes between 1901 and 1920, only four were female. In 1909, Elsie Cunningham and Lura Horton, both commissioned by the New England Association of Pentecostal Churches, were sent to

¹⁸⁹ Leslie D. Wilcox, *Be Ye Holy: A Study of the Teaching of Scripture Relative to Entire Sanctification with a Sketch of the History of the Literature of the Holiness Movement* (Cincinnati, OH: Revivalist Press, 1965), 87.

¹⁹⁰ *Minutes of the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada for the Year Ending 30 June 1912*.

¹⁹¹ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 338-41.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 357.

¹⁹³ *Minutes of the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada for the Year Ending 30 June 1910*, 26.

¹⁹⁴ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, v-viii.

¹⁹⁵ See Rebecca Laird, *Ordained Women in the Church of the Nazarene: The First Generation* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1993) and Nancy A. Hardesty, *Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to co-pastor the church there. A year later, however, the district superintendent described their ongoing ministry as ‘not especially fruitful’ and they returned to the United States.¹⁹⁶ In 1918, the New England Association sent Mary Custance and Annie Allen to the churches in Oxford and Springhill, Nova Scotia. They experienced greater success than Cunningham and Horton, yet their ministry lasted less than three years.¹⁹⁷ While Pentecostal Nazarenes did not discourage women from entering the ministry at that time, the challenge of travelling long distances to mission fields which were neither exotic nor romantic prevented most female ministers from accepting Maritime pastorates. The majority of them chose instead to remain in the United States,¹⁹⁸ leaving men, for the most part, to manage the denomination’s work in the Maritime region.

Two notable laywomen also offered strong leadership in Maritime Pentecostal Nazarene churches. Lillian Pridham Rix had been raised in a Presbyterian home but was converted in Salvation Army meetings in 1912. Beginning at the age of sixteen, she conducted meetings at the Elmsdale Pentecostal Nazarene Church between 1917 and 1920.¹⁹⁹ Rix recalled ‘lively testimonies and saints who brought the glory down’, marching up and down the aisles, shouting praises to God and enthusiastically waving handkerchiefs in the air.²⁰⁰ Myrta Peel, another lay woman who became a leader in the Maritime holiness movement, was a former member of the Methodist Church in Oxford, Nova Scotia. She professed sanctification in 1902, under the ministry of Louis King,²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶Nathan Washburn, ‘The Canadian Maritime Provinces’, *BC*, 22 May 1909, 5.

¹⁹⁷ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 70-1.

¹⁹⁸ Laird, *Ordained Women in the Church of the Nazarene*, 139-42.

¹⁹⁹ Personal correspondence with Lillian Pridham Rix, Saint John, New Brunswick, 6 January 1984.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Martique, *Trials and Travels*, 131.

shortly thereafter leaving the Methodist Church to join the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Peel offered strong leadership to that congregation, leading the singing and testimony meetings for many years and sometimes, when resident ministers were difficult to secure, did the majority of preaching in several independent holiness churches.²⁰² It is clear, therefore, that although only a small number of women offered leadership in the Pentecostal Nazarene Church in the early years of its Maritime development, its constituents certainly accepted both male and female leadership.

From its inception, the Salvation Army readily encouraged women to become Army officers. In 1885, William Booth sent several British females to the Maritime region, the most remarkable of whom was Nellie Banks. Following her arrival in Halifax at the age of eighteen, newspaper reporters closely scrutinised her ministry.²⁰³ When Banks first conducted a meeting in that city, one reporter observed what he called ‘her Madonna face’, not a reference to beauty in the usual sense since the reporter noted that her form could not be considered handsome - ‘rather small, somewhat round-shouldered, and gives evidence of excessive work’.²⁰⁴ On the contrary, the reporter wanted to suggest Banks’s ‘spiritual beauty’, concluding that ‘her countenance at times is seraphic’.²⁰⁵ Banks demonstrated a remarkable ability not only to attract large audiences but also to organise corps in various communities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.²⁰⁶ According to another reporter, Banks ‘wielded perfect command not only over her soldiers, but also over the audience... a mere girl who possesses extraordinary speaking power, and

²⁰² Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 7.

²⁰³ ‘Salvation Army Volley’, *HMH*, 17 August 1885, 3.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁰⁶ Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, 276.

apparently great executive and administrative ability'.²⁰⁷ Banks's charisma, as well as her organisational abilities, largely laid the foundation for the Salvationist work in the region for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

A second female Army officer who provided exemplary leadership was Lutie DesBrisay, a native of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. DesBrisay had been converted in Salvation Army meetings at the age of seventeen and immediately enlisted as an officer.²⁰⁸ Shortly afterwards, DesBrisay accepted the supervision of 'a difficult corps' in Amherst, Nova Scotia. Because she demonstrated notable success there, she was appointed Maritime District Officer in 1889.²⁰⁹ DesBrisay was later stationed in Ontario, Manitoba and Bermuda,²¹⁰ and in 1915 became Commander at the Lippincott Garrison in Toronto.²¹¹ In 1916, she was appointed Chief Women's Side Officer at the Training College of Eastern Canada, and later became the Woman's Social Service Secretary for Canada East.²¹² During her career, DesBrisay established five maternity hospitals in various Canadian cities from coast to coast.²¹³ The 'lady from the Island' proved to be a formidable leader and a great asset to the Salvation Army.²¹⁴ Clearly, this religious body empowered male and female leadership equally.

What can be said concerning the receptivity of these denominations towards female leadership? Certainly, striking gender disparities were very obvious among the five groups. Not a single ordained leader in Methodist or Free Christian Baptist churches was

²⁰⁷ 'Officer Nellie Banks', *HMH*, 28 October 1885, 4.

²⁰⁸ Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, 275.

²⁰⁹ Julie V. Watson, *Historic Charlottetown: Images of Our Past* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2007), 135.

²¹⁰ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 57-60.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 64.

²¹³ Peter E. Rider, *Charlottetown: A History* (Charlottetown, PE: TechnoMedia, 2009), 28.

²¹⁴ Wood, *They Blazed the Trail*, 53.

a woman. At the other end of the spectrum was the Salvation Army where fifty percent of all officers were women. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes were not opposed to women in ministry and held the middle ground in terms of numbers: twelve per cent of Reformed Baptist as well as nineteen per cent of Pentecostal Nazarene ministers were women. Only the Methodist Church and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, however, empowered female lay leadership. This may be partially explained in that the Methodist denomination, older and well developed as it was, continued to evolve socially in such a way that the role of women was recognised and valued. Likewise, the Pentecostal Nazarene Church, having been founded by former Methodists, held similar views concerning female leadership. Free Christian Baptist lay leadership was distinctly male-dominated, in part reacting to mainline Protestant views of female leadership as being disreputable. There were both Free Christian Baptist ordained and lay leaders who believed that the acceptance of female leadership conflicted with public social acceptance. Reformed Baptists, on the other hand, who had ordained women to ministry, did not have a single female lay leader. It appears that the firmly established male network of leaders precluded such a development from happening.

National Origin

One final aspect of leadership which should be addressed concerns the ancestry of denominational leaders. From the outset, a marked difference in the proportion of indigenous leaders to foreign-born individuals in several of these groups is evident. For example, the Methodist and Pentecostal Nazarene ministerial staff were evenly split between foreign and local leaders while almost every Free Christian Baptist and

Reformed Baptist leader was a native Maritimer.²¹⁵ This detail is not unexpected, given the fact that both denominations were distinctively Maritime-based. A number of American holiness leaders who had visited the region in the 1880s had ancestral origins in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.²¹⁶ In the early years of the twentieth century, Pentecostal Nazarenes demonstrated a much greater receptivity towards accepting Americans as leaders than did Reformed Baptists. This may be explained by the fact that Pentecostal Nazarenes shared a common trait with many American holiness leaders: the majority from both groups were former Methodists.²¹⁷ Another factor was that Reformed Baptists insisted upon baptism by immersion and required local autonomy for individual churches, two measures which neither Methodists nor Pentecostal Nazarenes accepted. The Salvation Army, which was exceptional in practically every aspect, initially commissioned most of its leaders from Great Britain. Shortly after being established in the Maritime provinces, however, the Army enlisted a number of individuals who were indigenous to the region.²¹⁸ All in all, in only two of these denominations, namely the Free Christian Baptist Conference and the Reformed Baptist Alliance, were the majority of leaders indigenous Maritimers. The other religious bodies, all of which had been first established in other countries and transplanted to the region, accepted many foreign-born individuals as leaders for their congregations.

²¹⁵ See Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers*, 125-63; Burnett, *Biographical Directory of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Free Baptist Ministers*, 5-185; Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 68-72; Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 4, 11, 21, 30, 65, 73, 80, 122, 124, 139, 142, 154, 204, 208, 217, 233, 275, 338, 357, 362.

²¹⁶ Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 76.

²¹⁷ Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith*, 6.

²¹⁸ 'A List of Salvation Army Officers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1885-1900', Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

Conclusion

Altogether, between 1880 and 1920, a heterogeneous group of men and women provided strong support and leadership for the Maritime holiness movement. They successfully propagated holiness theology and supported others who shared similar views through a variety of means. By far the most effective method of spreading holiness theology was through evangelism and a number of Methodist, Free Christian Baptist, Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene preachers were known to be very gifted speakers. Although Salvationists were not generally considered eloquent preachers, they were nevertheless adept at attracting large audiences, thus also making their mark in advancing holiness doctrine.

Some individuals who ranked as exceptional holiness leaders were eventually promoted to high ranking positions within their respective denominations. Although a few Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were given influential roles within the overall holiness movement, it was a group of Reformed Baptists who gained the most significant places of influence within the movement in the Maritime region. These individuals were also actively involved with their American counterparts who held similar prominent positions in the movement there. In fact, the number of Maritime Reformed Baptist ministers who were elected to positions of authority in the American movement was quite remarkable.

The holiness movement also benefited from a small number of Maritime proponents who regularly wrote numerous holiness articles in the denominational newspapers between 1880 and 1920. Although the Methodist and Free Christian Baptist publications published a myriad of these in the 1870s and 80s, a marked journalistic shift

occurred within both of these religious bodies during the mid-1880s. As a controversy surrounding conflicting interpretations of holiness intensified during the middle years of that decade the incidence of articles in support of holiness declined sharply; not coincidentally, at that time a number of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist leaders began to address openly the issue in unfavourable terms.²¹⁹ Thus, it had become increasingly clear that both the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference were rapidly moving away from any previous identification they had accepted with the holiness movement. By 1888, after the Reformed Baptist Alliance was established, its leaders then took up the journalistic torch for holiness in their new denominational newspaper.

In considering the overall leadership of these five religious bodies, several conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the degree of education possessed by each ministerial body affected its response to holiness. For the most part, higher education did not fit well with sustaining the movement. To be sure, Methodist ministers, the most highly educated group, became the first ones to distance themselves from the doctrine of holiness. Although Free Christian Baptist ministers were traditionally not well educated, they too abandoned their previous involvement with the holiness cause. They did so, however, only as they came to realise the social advantages of a well educated leadership body. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, on the other hand, understood some of the advantages accruing with higher education, yet they steadfastly determined that their ministers should continue to be trained exclusively in holiness institutions. Salvationists differed from the other four groups in that they neither valued nor rejected education. Rather, they ensured that their officials were trained in practical organisational matters.

²¹⁹ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 184-90.

Each of the denominations, therefore, developed views of education that suited their specific requirements.

Secondly, childhood spiritual nurturing was an influential factor in the leadership of four of these groups. Except for the Salvation Army, all of the other religious bodies were led by a majority who had been raised in devoutly spiritual homes. Most Methodist and Free Christian Baptist leaders were the offspring of strong supporters of these respective denominations. Interestingly, the majority of Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene ministers were also the children of Free Christian Baptist and Methodist church members. And given that both of these denominations were, in essence, factions of the Free Christian Baptist and Methodist denominations, such a finding was to be expected.

Thirdly, some correlation existed between the economic status of each denomination's ministerial leadership and its response to the holiness movement. Methodist leaders, who were the most affluent group, were the first individuals to express displeasure with the holiness movement. In a similar way, it seems that the more financially secure Free Christian Baptist leaders became, the further they distanced themselves from the movement. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, the majority of whom were not financially secure, continued to associate with the American holiness movement long after the other two had abandoned it.²²⁰ On the other hand, although the majority of Salvation Army officers experienced similar financial hardships as Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene leaders had been subjected to, the early close associations which Army officials had developed with holiness sympathisers in the region did not continue. In its place, a large number of Army officers demonstrated

²²⁰ See Chapter 7, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Constituency,' 300-301.

enormous passion in assisting Maritimers during a number of regional crises. While their remarkable involvement in the aftermath of the 1917 Halifax explosion is the most obvious example,²²¹ the time and energy which many of them devoted to jail ministries, as well as food distribution and a variety of medical supports illustrates the way that their concern for the spiritual health of Maritimers gradually melded with immediate corporeal matters.²²²

Fourthly, these denominations reacted differently towards the issue of female leadership. Methodists and Free Christian Baptists firmly rejected any suggestion that women could be ministers, while Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes embraced the idea. On the other hand, only Methodists and Pentecostal Nazarenes empowered females as lay leaders. This can be at least partly explained by the fact that the Methodist Church was the oldest and best developed and had therefore evolved to such an extent that women were now recognised in a number of roles, albeit non-ministerial ones. The Pentecostal Nazarene denomination, which was established by former Methodists, followed suit. Reformed Baptists, who were the progeny of Free Christian Baptists, demonstrated a compatible approach towards female lay leadership in that a strong male network of lay leaders in both religious bodies appeared to preclude such developments. Salvationists were, by far, the most receptive to female leadership. Generally, half of all Army officers were women, a pattern which continued well into the twentieth century.

Finally, the percentage of native-born and foreign-born ministers who served in the Maritime region was markedly different in several denominations. Methodist,

²²¹ 'The Halifax Disaster', *WC*, 29 December 1917, 1.

²²² 'On the Move', *WC*, May 1887, 12.

Pentecostal Nazarene and Salvationist churches, all of which had first been established in other parts of the world, were endowed with healthy percentages of imported leaders. Many of those who ministered in the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army had emigrated from England. And, although that pattern diminished over time, well into the twentieth century a number of their leaders still came from abroad. The Free Christian Baptist and Reformed Baptist ministers differed considerably from the others in this regard. The leadership in these denominations, both of which were indigenous organisations, consisted almost exclusively of native Maritimers.

All in all, it is clear that many leaders in the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference, two religious bodies which eventually abandoned their previous holiness movement associations, differed considerably from one another. By the same token, the leadership contrasted noticeably within the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, two religious bodies which continued to support the holiness movement well into the twentieth century. In order to account for these relationships, one should bear in mind that many ministers in both the Methodist Church and in its progeny, the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, were well educated, foreign-born individuals who had been raised in the Methodist faith. On the other hand, the majority of leaders in the Reformed Baptist Alliance, as well as the parent body, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, were native Maritimers who significantly lacked in formal training and had been raised in Free Christian Baptist households. Nevertheless, this is where the patterns diverge. A number of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist leaders remained sympathetic to the holiness movement. They offered great support to it, abandoning their denominational affiliation and uniting with Reformed Baptists or

Pentecostal Nazarenes. For the most part, however, the majority of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist leaders abandoned their previous holiness leanings in order to focus on prospective unions with mainline denominations which were considered to be respectable, socially connected religious bodies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MARITIME HOLINESS MOVEMENT CONSTITUENCY

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of Maritimers belonged to one of a number of Christian denominations. According to the 1901 Canadian Census, a national survey which took account of one's religious affiliation, ninety-three per cent (831,797) of the residents of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were members or adherents of one of ten Christian groups.¹ Such religious loyalties significantly affected many aspects of life, including with whom individuals cultivated relationships, to whom they were married and by whom they were employed. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the constituencies of the Methodist Church, the Conference of Free Christian Baptists, the Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, by highlighting any differences which existed between their constituents in terms of age, gender and occupation. In order to compare and contrast these retrospectively, denominational profiles were constructed using the membership records of seven Methodist, eight Free Christian Baptist, four Reformed Baptist and two Pentecostal Nazarene churches, as well as 1901 Canadian Census returns concerning Salvation Army adherents. The following profiles and analyses are examined so that a better understanding of the unique qualities of each denomination can be gained.

All of these religious bodies, in varying degrees, were associated with holiness teachings.² Although few Methodists and Free Christian Baptists accepted the theological

¹ 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

² See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 48-52.

views of the late nineteenth-century holiness movement, for the purposes of this study, both groups were taken into account for specific reasons. Methodists were included because they historically had accepted, although not uniformly, the tenet of entire sanctification of believers, even though by the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of them had abandoned that view.³ Free Christian Baptists were also counted because they had traditionally endorsed Wesley's emphasis on holiness.⁴ During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, however, many Free Christian Baptists distanced themselves from the theology and practices of the American holiness movement.⁵ Since there were no studies conducted on the public sentiment of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists concerning the movement, it is impossible to know how many individuals within either denomination were sympathetic to it. The fact, however, that Methodists and Free Christian Baptists nurtured the majority of those who would eventually establish the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene is a valid justification for examining the composition of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist constituencies. The Salvation Army was included as a representative holiness body despite the fact that its officers and adherents did not uphold a uniform interpretation of holiness theology.⁶

In 1901, the combined membership of the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference, the Salvation Army and the Reformed Baptist Alliance in the Maritime region totalled 147,226. Added to this number were two hundred members of the

³ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,' 139.

⁴ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 50.

⁵ See Chapter 5, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Opposition,' 184-89.

⁶ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1976* (Toronto, ON: Peter Martin Associates, 1977), 234-35.

Pentecostal Nazarene Church, a denomination which was not officially established until 1906. Furthermore, because church records for this religious body have not been well preserved prior to 1920, any available data has been incorporated into this study in order

Table 7:1 Denominational Samples of Maritime Churches⁷

Denomination	Membership	Sample Size	Percentage of Denomination
Methodist Church, 1901	103,836	547	0.5
Free Christian Baptist Conference, 1901	40,000	888	2
Salvation Army, 1901	1,748	1,748	100
Reformed Baptist Alliance, 1901	1,642	208	13
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 1906 and 1917	200	58	29
Total	147,426	3,449	2

to encompass all of the Maritime holiness groups which existed between 1880 and 1920. Taken together, the membership of these five groups totalled 147,426 individuals, representative of slightly less than twenty per cent of the regional population.

The first section of this chapter analyses differences in age patterns among 3,449 of these individuals, an admittedly small sample equalling only two per cent of the total identified membership. This study, however, based in part upon the membership rolls of twenty-one specific churches, represents a strong cross section of each religious body, including a variety of congregational sizes from both urban and rural settings. Membership records were obtained directly from local churches or from denominational archival holdings and were cross-referenced with records from the 1901 Canadian Census. These two sources combined provided pertinent information, including the age of church members, their dates of birth and death, as well as marital status and occupation.

⁷ Source: 1901, 1911 and 1921 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

A number of challenges emerged in the process of collecting statistical information. First, the task of correlating the membership rolls of seven Methodist churches and eight Free Christian Baptist congregations with 1901 Canada Census returns was most definitely arduous. Secondly, the study samples represent small percentages of each constituency. For example, although by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church claimed a membership of more than one hundred thousand members, a sampling of 547 Methodists accounted for less than one per cent of its constituency. In a similar way, the Free Christian Baptist sample, consisting of 888 individuals, represented just slightly more than two per cent of that denomination's total membership. Despite the fact that the samples are small, they nevertheless represent each denominational membership in terms of a variety of regional settings and congregational sizes in pastoral and municipal settings.

A second challenge which surfaced concerned difficulties in correlating the age and occupational status of Free Christian Baptists with census findings. Canadian census recorders frequently coalesced Regular, Free Christian and Reformed Baptists into a single category, despite the fact that these streams of Baptists held diverse theological views.⁸ Further complicating the confusion was the tendency of census recorders to list inconsistently Baptist affiliations by using various titles, including 'Free Baptist,' 'Freewill Baptist,' 'Free Will Baptist,' 'R. Baptist,' 'Regular Baptist,' 'Ref. Baptist,' 'Baptist Ref.' or simply 'Baptist.' Obviously, this inclination created obstacles for ascertaining the true size of the Free Christian Baptist constituency. For example, the 1901 census listed the number of Free Christian Baptists at 15,743,⁹ a figure which Joseph McLeod, a prominent leader

⁸ See Chapter 2, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Theology,' 46-47.

⁹1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, 2004, Series RG31-C-1, Statistics Canada Fonds, microfilm reels: T-6428 to T-6556.

in that denomination, insisted was an inaccurate assessment. McLeod argued that a true tally would exceed 36,000 and 4,000 in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia respectively.¹⁰ As the principal leader of Free Christian Baptists at that time, McLeod had his sights set on union with Regular Baptists and was concerned that his denomination should be portrayed accurately to other Maritimers. Even though the denomination had experienced a decline in membership, after a large group left to form the Reformed Baptist Alliance denomination in 1888, census records remained incorrect. McLeod's estimates, which eventually proved to be more accurate, were substantiated by *Free Baptist Yearbook* data from 1900.¹¹ McLeod's findings also were later confirmed by the estimates of Regular Baptists.¹² At any rate, although the task of connecting church records with census findings was challenging, *ancestry.ca*, an electronic resource, proved to be invaluable in providing relevant information concerning large numbers of these individuals.

A third difficulty that was encountered involved the acquisition of Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene membership registers. Pioneers in both denominations were so initially preoccupied with establishing these organisations that they demonstrated little interest in posterity and, as a result, few of them preserved early church records. Reformed Baptists established twenty-two churches during 1888 and 1889, yet only four charter membership rolls have survived since that time.¹³ Pentecostal Nazarenes, who were

¹⁰ Joseph McLeod, 'A Sketch of the History of the Free Baptist of New Brunswick', in Edward M. Saunders, *History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, 1901), 435.

¹¹ *Free Christian Baptist Conference Of New Brunswick Minutes, 1900 and Free Baptists of Nova Scotia Conference Minutes, 1900.*

¹² S. McC. Black, 'The Census and the Free Baptists', *MV*, 21 January 1903, 4.

¹³ *Minutes of the Reformed Baptist Alliance for the Year Ending June 30, 1902* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day, 1902), 22-27.

equally remiss, established six churches between 1906 and 1917, yet preserved only two membership registers.¹⁴

Fourthly, it must be acknowledged that during the early years of the twentieth century, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes comprised an exceedingly small proportion of the Maritime population. That is, despite the fact that samples from both groups actually encompassed a large number of their constituents, in comparison with Methodist and Free Christian Baptist and Salvation Army samples, such small tallies limited the number of conclusions which could be definitively extrapolated.

Likewise, a number of difficulties arose concerning Salvation Army data. The fact that Army officers maintained such meagre records concerning adherent numbers made it difficult to determine the size of individual corps. It is true that some Army officials were attentive to the number of those professed conversion and entire sanctification, information which they regularly publicised in the *War Cry*. It appears, however, that if any of these officers maintained records concerning numerical gains and losses, they have not been preserved.¹⁵ The Salvation Army sample, therefore, is based upon 1901 Canadian Census findings and includes all individuals classified as being officers or adherents in that organisation. Although their numbers are exceptionally higher than those of the other religious bodies, the sample is utilized as an example of that constituency. The fact that virtually half of the combined sample of the five denominations is from the Salvation Army does not distort the findings. The problem here was that census takers inconsistently recorded Salvation Army adherents under variety of titles, including ‘Salvation Army’,

¹⁴ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 68-72.

¹⁵ *WC*, 3 March 1888, 10 March 1888, 17 March 1888, 7 April 1888, 28 April 1888, 30 June 1888, 15 March 1890, 6 April, 1889, 6 June 1889.

‘Salvationist’, ‘S. Army’ or ‘Salvation A’. Taking these considerations into account, the most accurate tally available of Salvationists according to the 1901 census is 1,748.¹⁶

Another complication was that Army officials considered all those who regularly supported the organisation to be adherents. And because the organisation did not officially receive individuals into membership, as did the other religious bodies, this issue impeded some comparisons being drawn between it and the remaining four holiness groups. Army officers sometimes recognised individuals as adherents even if they no longer supported the organisation. Furthermore, a number of members from Protestant churches who associated closely with the Salvation Army did not communicate that to the denomination with whom they had maintained earlier affiliations. Consequently, Army adherents were occasionally additionally listed as members of churches, a factor which distorts membership statistics to one degree or other. Despite all these drawbacks, it was essential to include the Salvation Army in this comparison since it was traditionally closely tied to the holiness movement.

Church Samples

Seven Methodist churches were chosen for this study, the largest of which was a congregation in Sackville, New Brunswick. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had become one of the most influential Methodist churches in the region, because, in part, it was one of the oldest congregations to be established in New Brunswick. The church had been founded in 1788 in Sackville, the most central town in the entire Maritime Region¹⁷ and eventually the location of Mount Allison College, the only Methodist college in the

¹⁶ 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

¹⁷ Peter Penner, *The Chignecto 'Connexion': The History of Sackville Methodist/United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1990), 11.

region. As a result, a significant number of members in the church were college faculty and students.¹⁸

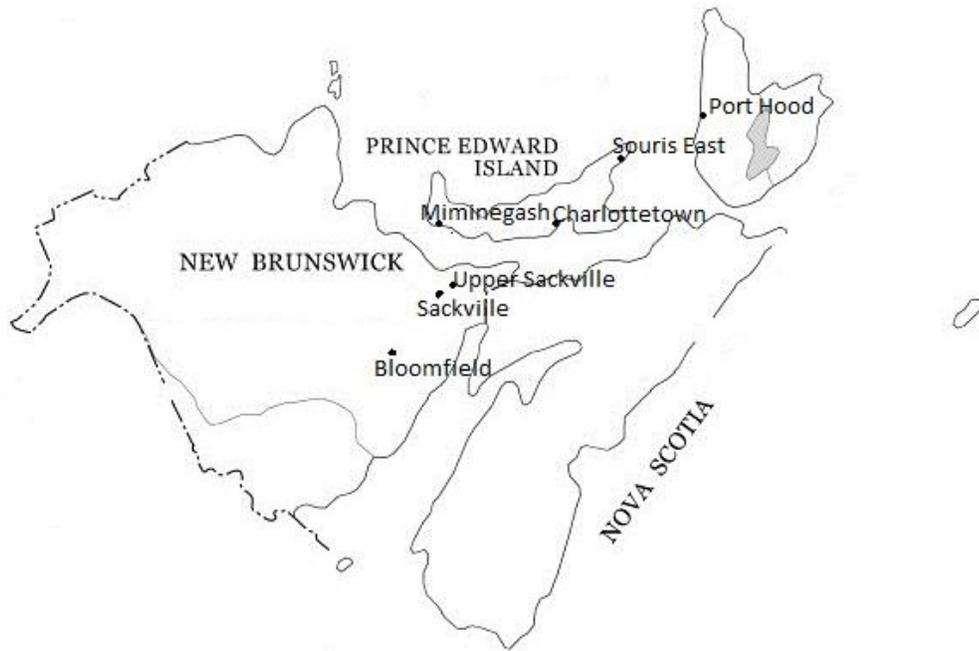


Figure 7:1 Location of Churches in Methodist Sample

First Methodist Church, located in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, was another congregation of considerable size. That many of its constituents were wealthy and prominent citizens was demonstrated by the stylish homes they owned, as well as by the important public offices many of them held.¹⁹ Despite the fact that most of its church records were destroyed by fire in the early twentieth century, comprehensive Sunday school records were preserved, several of which proved useful to this study. Two average-sized Methodist congregations included in this research were located in Upper Sackville,

¹⁸ Ibid., 33-4.

¹⁹ Flora Smith Rogers, *Glimpses of Glory and Grace* (Charlottetown, PE: Trinity United Church, 1964), 33.

New Brunswick, and Port Hood, Nova Scotia. The Upper Sackville church had been established by its parent body, the Sackville congregation, in 1790.²⁰ The two groups contrasted sharply with one another and exhibited a number of differences present in urban and rural churches at that time. The Port Hood house of worship was located in a remote fishing village on the north shore of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. A Methodist presence was first established on that island in 1840 by British missionaries; by 1886, the congregation had developed to such an extent that it was able to construct its own edifice.²¹ This research also includes three small Methodist congregations. One of these was located in Souris, Prince Edward Island, and was first established in 1824 after a Methodist shipyard worker held meetings in that tiny community.²² Another small church included in this study is the Bloomfield Methodist Church, which was organised in 1874 in Bloomfield, New Brunswick, and sponsored by several churches from neighbouring communities. Five years later, Methodists at the western end of Prince Edward Island established a church in the tiny community of Miminegash.²³ Taken together, these churches represent congregations of varying sizes in urban and rural settings and in both affluent and impoverished communities.

²⁰ T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church within the territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America: including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda, Vol. II* (Halifax, NS: S. F. Huestis, 1877), 7.

²¹ D. W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda from the Beginning till the Consummation of Union with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in 1925* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Printing, 1925), 78.

²² Smith, *History of the Methodist Church*, 127-28.

²³ Warren W. Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island* (Summerside, PE: Williams and Crue, 1982), 142.

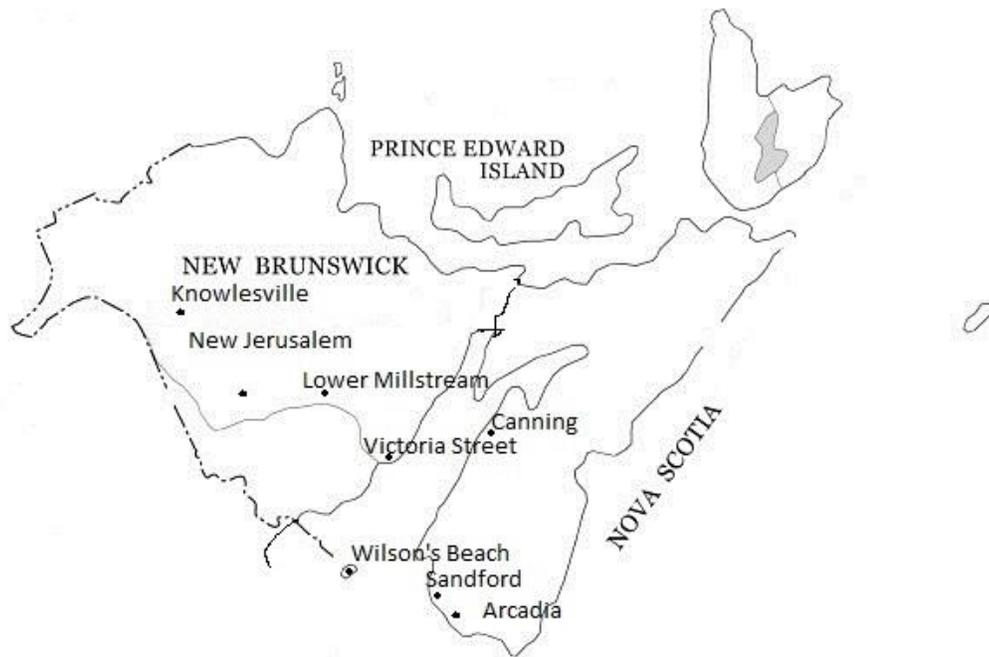


Figure 7:2 Location of Churches in Free Christian Baptist Sample

Eight Free Christian Baptist churches, representing a variety of congregational sizes, were included in this study. A large and impressive building, known as the Victoria Street Church, was built in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1878 by several sister congregations.²⁴ By 1904, it had three hundred members, a large congregation by Free Christian Baptist standards at that time.²⁵ In 1835, Free Christian Baptists in Nova Scotia constructed a meeting house in Arcadia, a community adjacent to Yarmouth.²⁶ By 1901, it comprised one hundred and sixty-seven members, another large Free Christian Baptist body at that time. Two medium-sized congregations were churches in Sandford, Nova

²⁴ Roland K. McCormick, *Faith, Freedom and Democracy, The Baptists in Atlantic Canada* (Tantallon, NS: Four East Publications, 1993), 112.

²⁵ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), 141.

²⁶ McCormick, *Faith, Freedom and Democracy*, 51.

Scotia, and New Jerusalem, New Brunswick. The Sandford church, located fifteen miles north-west of Arcadia, had been established in 1836.²⁷ The New Jerusalem church had been organised in a small community forty miles north-west of Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1840.²⁸ Four small congregations which were also incorporated into the study were three other New Brunswick churches, including Knowlesville and Lower Millstream, as well as the Wilson's Beach congregation which was located on Campobello Island, in the Bay of Fundy. One other tiny church included in the sample was the congregation in Canning, Nova Scotia. Taken together, these churches represent a cross-section of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Maritime Free Christian Baptists.

Although the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada had established forty-seven churches between 1888 and 1900, many of them possessed extremely small memberships.²⁹ Sadly, only four of these churches were able to locate congregational records for the years 1888 to 1920, all of which are included in this study. In 1888, a church was organised in Hartland, New Brunswick, shortly after the denomination was established in the neighbouring community of Woodstock. Early the next year, a church was started in North Head, a small community on Grand Manan Island, the largest of the Fundy Islands which are located thirty-two kilometres off the coast of New Brunswick.³⁰ The largest of the four churches was organised in 1889 in Royalton, New Brunswick, a community in the north-western part of Carleton County, situated less than two miles from the Canadian-American border.³¹ That year a church was also organised in Sandford, Nova Scotia, a

²⁷ Ibid., 64.

²⁸ Smith, *History of the Methodist Church*, 332.

²⁹ Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy: ENC Press, 1994), 1.

³⁰ Vesta Dunlop Mullen, *'I Believe in... The Communion of Saints: 'Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church 1888-1966*, (Shoals, IN: Old Paths Tract Society, 2006), 251.

³¹ Erma G. Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church: Royalton Reformed Baptist Church* (Sussex, NB: Royal Printing, 1989), 195-97.

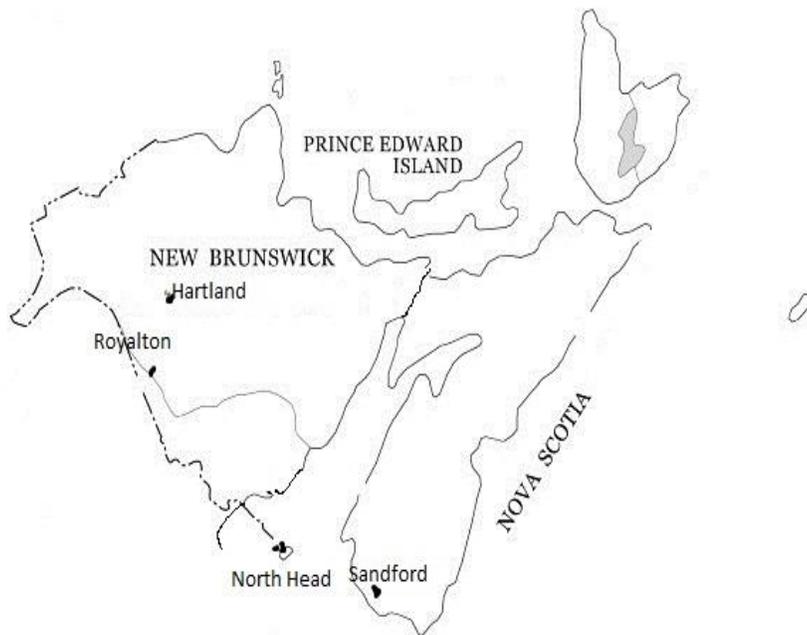


Figure 7:3 Location of Churches in Reformed Baptist Sample

small community outside Yarmouth.³² Considering that the majority of churches in the denomination were located along the Saint John River Valley region of New Brunswick, as well as in the southwest corner of Nova Scotia, these four churches, two from each region, represent the denomination well.

Altogether, five Pentecostal Nazarene Churches were established in the region prior to 1920, only two of which preserved their membership rolls, both of which are contained within this investigation. A Pentecostal Holiness Church which was established in Oxford, Nova Scotia, in 1902 became affiliated with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene after that denomination was founded in the United States in 1906. The other Pentecostal

³² Jesse Ellis, *Historical Trails through Port Maitland, Beaver River, Sandford, Short Beach, Darling's Lake* (Port Maitland, NS: Lescarbot Printing, 1985), 86.

Nazarene congregation included in this research was established in Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island, in 1917.³³

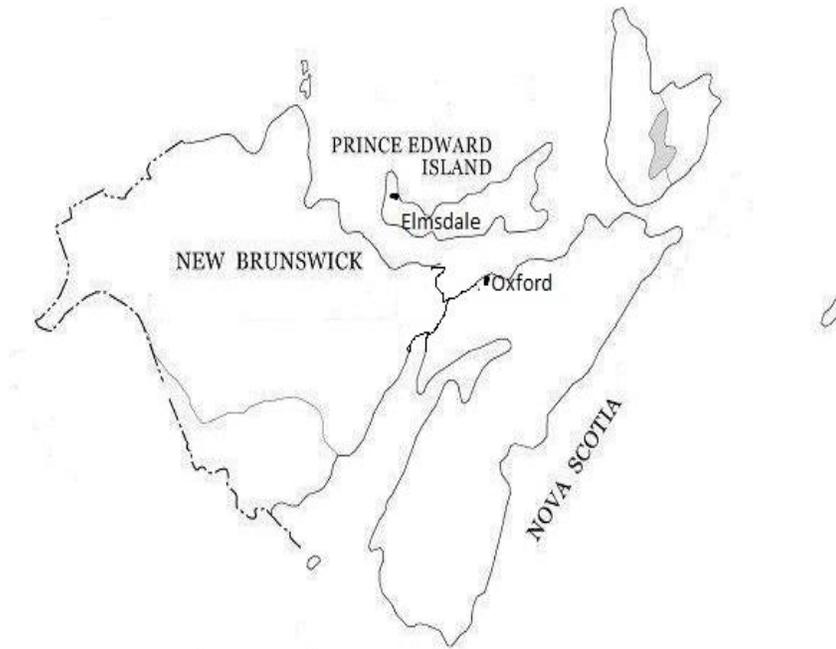


Figure 7:4 Location of Churches in Pentecostal Nazarene Sample

Age Patterns

The first matter used to compare the constituencies of the five groups is the age composition of each membership. This is an important consideration since it affected the development of every religious body. Age patterns reflected, to some extent, the appeal of a denomination to individuals from various age groupings, as well as indicating the youthfulness and vitality of a religious body. Conversely, congregations with predominantly elderly members would possibly struggle to maintain an adequate supply of healthy leaders or attract and retain young members. Because these holiness-minded

³³ Minutes of the Elmsdale Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 23 July 1917, 1.

denominations had to respond to the theological interpretations and worship trends of the holiness movement, one might consider whether or not the age composition of a church body may have affected the outlook of some congregations towards the holiness movement. For example, Fred Burnett, a Maritime Free Christian Baptist historian, noted that the majority of young Maritime ministers who had been trained at Bates College, an American Freewill Baptist institution, accepted the endorsement which that institution offered to late nineteenth-century holiness theology and became strong holiness advocates.³⁴ Burnett also concluded that, although the majority of these individuals remained in the United States after completing their theological studies, had larger numbers of them returned to the Maritime region, they would have offered immense support to Free Christian Baptist holiness sympathisers. There is no doubt that such a situation would have significantly strengthened the holiness faction within that denomination, the consequences of which are difficult to conjecture.³⁵ This issue, which is examined in Chapter 2, is one example of the way in which the age composition of a constituency can affect its future growth and development.

³⁴ Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers*, 130.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

Table 7:2 Methodist Church Age Profile³⁶

Age	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
70+	2	8	2	8	7	2	3	32
60-69	1	17	1	6	19	3	12	59
50-59	3	15	5	13	35	5	10	86
40-49	4	13	4	15	43	8	17	104
30-39	8	18	3	9	40	11	11	11
20-29	2	9	4	9	39	7	22	92
10-19	2	1	6	16	22	2	11	60
0-9	--	--	8	2	1	1	2	14
Total	22	81	33	78	206	39	88	547

Table 7:3 Methodist Church Age Profile (percentages)

Age	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
70+	9	10	6	10	3	5	3	6
60-69	5	21	3	8	9	8	14	11
50-59	14	19	15	17	17	13	11	16
40-49	18	16	12	19	21	21	19	19
30-39	36	22	9	11	19	28	13	18
20-29	9	11	12	11	19	18	25	17
10-19	9	1	18	21	11	5	13	11
0-9	---	---	25	3	1	2	2	2

Tables 7:2 and 7:3 reveal several findings concerning the ages of these constituents.

To begin with, only six per cent of these membership samples were seventy years of age or older, not a surprising discovery detail given the limited life expectancy of Maritimers

³⁶ Sources: Bloomfield Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Second Methodist Church Sunday School Class Records, 1887, located at Trinity United Church, Charlottetown, PE; Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island*, 214, 227; Port Hood Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Sackville Methodist Church Minute Book, 1900, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Souris East Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Upper Sackville Methodist Church Membership Roll, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2.

at that time; as late as 1920, the majority of those living in the region did not reach sixty years of age.³⁷ Another explanation was that quite a number of older Maritimers regularly attended church but did not belong to any particular denomination, a conclusion which has been supported by a number of community historians. Several researchers have concluded that church membership became significantly more popular among Maritimers in the twentieth century, an occurrence for which they have offered a number of explanations. First, the inadequate education, financial condition and poor self-esteem of men especially, prevented them from joining a church.³⁸ Secondly, others had been raised in one denomination, supported their spouses by attending church with them but did not change their religious affiliation.³⁹ Thirdly, there were some who understood the commitment required of church membership and did not wish to comply.⁴⁰ Several possible explanations exist, therefore, which help to account for the small proportion of elderly Methodist church members.

Secondly, a small number of constituents were children less than ten years old. This may be understood, in part, because the larger congregations typically officially received younger individuals into the church after they were publicly accepted into the Christian faith. This generally occurred at the onset of adolescence even if the children had professed conversion earlier.⁴¹ One exception to this pattern was the Miminegash church, a congregation which consisted of only five families. It seems that it had competed with

³⁷ Dhrua Nagnur, *Longevity and Historical Tables 1921-1981 (Abridged) Canada and the Provinces*, July 1986, 8-7000-511, 80.

³⁸ Margaret Adams, *Goin' to the Corner, A History of Elmsdale, Elmsdale West, and Brockton* (Summerside, PE: Crescent Isle Publishers, 2006), 148

³⁹ Judson M. Corey, *The Story of Knowlesville, The Community and its People* (Saint John, NB: Keystone Printing, 1985), 129.

⁴⁰ Jesse Ellis, *Historical Trails through Port Maitland, Beaver River, Sandford, Short Beach, Darling's Lake*. Port Maitland, NS: Lescarbot Printing, 1985), 86.

⁴¹ J. B. Hemmeon, 'Our Children,' *WES*, 26 January 1898, 5.

Bible Christians in the tiny community for twenty years or more by recruiting new members, regardless of their age.⁴² Generally speaking, very few members of these Methodist congregations were children.

Thirdly, given the fact that the constituencies of these churches differed according to size, wealth, location and occupation, the similarities between them in age composition were striking. For example, the Sackville congregation was located in one of the more prosperous towns at that time in New Brunswick and included more than two hundred members, the majority of whom were gainfully employed. On the other hand, there were much smaller congregations, such as the church in Port Hood, Nova Scotia, which was situated in a tiny coastal community on the north shore of Cape Breton Island. It consisted of only seventy-eight members, few of whom had any financial advantages. Yet the age profiles of the two congregations were remarkably similar. All in all, a small proportion of Methodist members were elderly and an even smaller number of them were children. Almost sixty per cent of all members were between the ages of twenty and forty-nine, suggesting that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of Methodists were young adults. And so it appears that the age profiles of these Methodist churches were similar, regardless of size and location.

Tables 7:4 and 7:5 demonstrate several patterns among these Free Christian Baptist churches. Firstly, a small proportion of constituents were children, a predictable outcome given that these churches received into membership only those who publicly testified to personal conversion and had been baptised by immersion. Furthermore, many members of these churches doubted whether anyone of such a young age could understand the theology

⁴² Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island*, 214-17.

surrounding salvation and baptism.⁴³ Generally speaking, the baptism of children under ten was a rare occurrence.

Table 7:4 Free Christian Baptist Age Profile⁴⁴

Age	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Sandford NS	Victoria Street NB	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
70 +	16	12	6	3	3	15	29	4	88
60-69	29	9	3	4	2	17	37	10	111
50-59	25	11	12	10	13	24	38	7	140
40-49	22	16	11	12	17	21	41	9	149
30-39	30	11	5	12	9	9	59	13	148
20-29	30	89	7	9	16	11	56	12	149
10-19	10	1	--	7	25	5	34	1	83
0-9	5	--	--	4	3	7	6	--	20
Total	167	68	44	61	88	2	300	56	888

Table 7:5 Free Christian Baptist Age Profile (percentages)

Age	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Sandford NS	Victoria Street NB	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
70 +	10	18	14	5	18	14	10	7	10
60-69	17	13	7	7	13	16	12	18	13
50-59	15	16	27	16	16	23	13	13	15
40-49	13	24	25	20	24	20	14	16	17
30-39	18	16	11	20	16	9	20	23	17
20-29	18	12	16	15	12	11	18	21	17
10-19	6	1	--	11	1	5	11	2	9
0-9	3	--	--	6	--	2	2	--	2

⁴³ B. Minard, 'Christian Baptism', *RI*, 9 September 1881, 2, Joseph McLeod, 'Objections to Infant Baptism,' *RI*, 16 June 1886, 1, Joseph McLeod, 'The Free Baptist Position', *RI*, 5 March 1890, 4.

⁴⁴ Sources: Arcadia Baptist Church Register, 1886- 1991, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.765/1; Canning Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1867- 1904, Acadia University Archives, D1900.818/1; Knowlesville Free Christina Baptist Church, in Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 86; Lower Millstream Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1885-1977, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS D1900.587/3; New Jerusalem First Baptist Church Revised List of Members, made from the original list as revised near end of preceding Church Book, June 1931, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.630/2; Sandford United Baptist Church Records, 1866-1936, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.277/1; Victoria Street United Baptist Church Membership Register, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2; Wilson's Beach Free Christian Baptist Church Records, 1888-1923, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.745/1.

Secondly, very few constituents were less than twenty years of age. This suggests that at the beginning of the twentieth century, a small number of those who had been raised in Free Christian Baptist homes joined that denomination during their teenage years. Despite the fact that, in parts of New Brunswick a large number of individuals were adherents of this religious body, by the end of the nineteenth century, the denomination experienced serious decline in membership.⁴⁵ At any rate, in only three of the eight churches were there significant numbers of teenagers and young adults. One of these was the New Jerusalem congregation, where twenty-eight per cent of members were between the ages of ten and nineteen. This development occurred only after a number of revivals were held in that community between 1889 and 1895, resulting in many converts from a broad spectrum of ages.⁴⁶ Eleven per cent of members at the Lower Millstream church also represented this age category. That church was particularly small, consisting of ten families, the majority of whom were church members, regardless of age.⁴⁷ The Victoria Street church, located in Saint John, New Brunswick, was the largest in the denomination at that time. It was situated in one of the most industrialised areas of the entire Maritime region. As a result, a large number of teenagers had migrated there from other parts of the region, all of them seeking employment. Many of these newcomers, no doubt, joined the church in order to experience camaraderie and affinity with those in similar circumstances. Apart from these three congregations, however, the other Free Christian Baptist churches had few members under the age of twenty.

⁴⁵ Burnett, *Biographical Directory*, 131.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 51, 80, 88, 93, 98, 125, 137, 149, 152, 157, 171.

⁴⁷ Frank Northrup and Evelyn Northrup, *Echoes of the Past from the Millstream and Surrounding Areas* (Fredericton, NB: New Brunswick Bicentennial Commission, 1984), 58.

Thirdly, there existed some variation in the proportion of older members in these churches. That is, although at least ten per cent of constituents were seventy years of age or older in five of the churches, the remaining congregations reported few members of similar age. The largest numbers of elderly individuals were found in the oldest churches, all three of which had been established in the 1830s, the Arcadia, Sandford and Canning congregations. The Victoria Street church, which was established twenty years after these churches, had developed into a large congregation by the beginning of the twentieth century. Its membership represented a broad spectrum of ages.⁴⁸ Three of the churches had small proportions of elderly constituents, a development which is accounted for by the fact that large numbers of former members had exchanged their religious affiliation, choosing to join the Reformed Baptist Alliance, between 1888 and 1900. Generally speaking, then, the number of older Free Christian Baptists in these churches differed according to each congregation's particular circumstances.

Fourthly, apart from the differences between the churches in proportion of elderly and youth, each one included a similar number of members between the ages of twenty and fifty-nine. Such a pattern would appear to reveal that all of them were supported by healthy numbers of young and middle-aged adults, a favourable circumstance for any congregation. One must consider, account, however, that the holiness controversy hastened large numbers of individuals to leave some of these churches in favour of joining new ones. In 1888, for example, almost half of the members in the Sandford church alone left and joined the Reformed Baptist Alliance. Because many of them did not ask to have their memberships removed, however, church records continued to include a large number of inactive adult

⁴⁸ Church Membership Roll of Victoria Street United Baptist Church, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2.

members, resulting in an inaccurate depiction of the church.⁴⁹ It should be pointed out that, because of the remote location of some of these churches, the size of their membership did not increase. For example, the Knowlesville church, which was located in a tiny community in the interior of Carleton County, New Brunswick, was organised in 1862 yet attained no significant numerical gains during four decades of ministry.⁵⁰ In several instances, therefore, church records from small congregations in far-flung localities did not accurately portray the decline in membership which had transpired.

Taken together, one observes several similarities which existed among these Free Christian Baptist churches. Except for the New Jerusalem congregation, none of them had many members who were less than twenty years of age and, although there was some diversity in the proportions of those who were elderly, their memberships were comparable with the numbers of those in various age groupings between the ages of twenty and fifty-nine. It should also be pointed out that, although not observable from these statistics, the size of membership in several of these congregations did not increase from the time that they were first established until well into the twentieth century. This is important to note, given the fact that a number of church record keepers neglected to remove the names of those who had left Methodist and Free Christian Baptist churches in order to join what dissatisfied individuals perceived to be more holiness-minded bodies.

Tables 7:6 and 7:7 demonstrate that age patterns among Salvation Army adherents differed from the constituencies of the other denominations. For example, the 1901 census results showed that a large number of Salvationists were under ten years of age. In comparing this finding with those of the other denominations one must take into account

⁴⁹ Ellis, *Historical Trails*, 158.

⁵⁰ Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 1-7.

that the Salvation Army considered anyone regularly attending its meetings to be an adherent, regardless of age. A more important discovery, however, was that sixty-two per cent of all adherents were under the age of thirty, a pattern which does demonstrate the degree to which a large proportion of the Salvation Army constituency consisted of young Maritimers.

Table 7:6 Salvation Army Age Profile⁵¹

Age	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
70+	10	18	14	42
60-69	30	32	1	63
50-59	38	70	5	113
40-49	64	86	15	165
30-39	91	183	22	296
20-29	122	215	22	359
10-19	99	196	30	325
0-9 years	112	255	18	385
Total	566	1055	127	1748

Table 7:7 Salvation Army Age Profile (percentages)

Age	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
70+	2	2	11	2
60-69	5	3	1	4
50-59	7	7	4	6
40-49	11	8	12	9
30-39	16	17	17	17
20-29	22	20	17	21
10-19	17	19	24	19
0-9	20	24	14	22

These findings also suggest that older Maritimers generally were less accepting of the Salvation Army than were younger individuals. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for example, only two per cent of adherents were seventy years of age or older. On Prince Edward Island that number was significantly larger. In fact, adherents in that age category

⁵¹ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

there exceeded ten per cent, a situation which resulted from a mass exodus from the Bible Christian Church in 1884, when that body united with the main Methodist denomination. The following year, Salvationists established a corps in Charlottetown, following which a number of former Bible Christians became Army adherents. According to Arthur Cudmore, one of the converts, eighteen of them were between the ages of fifty and eighty-three.⁵² In New Brunswick, where eighty-six per cent of adherents were under the age of fifty, and in Nova Scotia, where the proportion was slightly larger, the Army struggled to reach individuals over the age of fifty. Even on Prince Edward Island, where, sixteen per cent of adherents were fifty years or older, almost half of the adherents there were between the ages of twenty and forty-nine. Taken together, the Salvation Army was supported mainly by a young generation of Maritimers in the early years.

Tables 7:8 and 7:9 reveal several important details concerning the Reformed Baptist constituency. To begin with, a small number of them were less than ten years of age, an expected outcome considering that the denomination insisted that every member should enunciate a personal conversion, an experience to which few children could attest.⁵³ Furthermore, the proportion of members between ten and twenty years of age varied greatly among the churches. For example, in excess of fifteen per cent of the Hartland and Royalton constituencies were in that age category, while only three per cent of Sandford's members were between the ages of ten and nineteen and not a single constituent in the North Head congregation was under the age of twenty.⁵⁴ Jesse Ellis, Sandford's resident

⁵² Personal Interview with Arthur Cudmore, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 15 February 1984.

⁵³ A. H. Sherwood, 'How Some Lose Holiness', *KH*, 15 April 1898, 1.

⁵⁴ Burnett, *Biographical Directory*, 67, 183, and Mullen, *Ordained Ministers of the Reformed Baptist Church*, Society, 2006), 80-81; Karen Small, *Sands Of Time* Vol. 10, No. 1, Grand Manan Historical Society, Grand Manan, New Brunswick, 1981, 18.

Table 7:8 Reformed Baptist Alliance Age Profile⁵⁵

Age	Hartland NB	North Head NB	Royalton NB	Sandford NS	Total
70+	--	5	--	2	7
60-69	1	3	4	7	15
50-59	5	5	6	15	31
40-49	5	--	29	13	47
30-39	6	--	23	12	41
20-29	6	5	17	15	43
10-19	4	--	15	2	21
0-9	--	--	2	1	3
Total	27	18	96	67	208

Table 7:9 Reformed Baptist Alliance Age Profile (percentages)

Age	Hartland NB	North Head NB	Royalton NB	Sandford NS	Total
70+	--	28	--	3	3
60-69	3	16	4	11	7
50-59	19	28	6	22	15
40-49	19	--	30	19	23
30-39	22	--	24	18	20
20-29	22	28	18	22	21
10-19	15	--	16	3	10
0-9	--	--	2	2	1

historian and a lifelong Reformed Baptist, offered an interesting explanation for the small number of teenage members in the Sandford church. He explained that although the community employed large numbers of young men and women in fish processing factories, the majority of young Reformed Baptists chose to join two other churches in the denomination from adjacent communities. According to Ellis, a deep bitterness between Reformed Baptists and Free Christian Baptists in Sandford did not affect the congregations of Brazil Lake or Part Maitland, and, as a result, young people favoured those two churches

⁵⁵ Sources: Hartland Wesleyan Church Records, 1888-1920, located in Hartland, New Brunswick; The 85th Anniversary of the Seal Cove Wesleyan Church, 26 September 1974; Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church*, 195-97; Sandford Reformed Baptist Church/ Wesleyan Church Membership Register, 1889-1996, Sandford, NS.

over the Sandford church.⁵⁶ Overall, the findings suggest that individuals under the age of twenty were not necessarily attracted to the denomination. It should also be noted that there were large numbers of constituents over the age of forty-nine in three of these congregations. In excess of seventy per cent of constituents in the North Head church belonged in that age grouping, along with between twenty and thirty per cent of members in two other congregations. In each of these communities there were a number of former Free Christian Baptist elders who were very persuasive in their attempts to convince older Free Christian Baptists to leave the denomination and join a newly-established holiness body. This was especially true in the North Head church, which was located on Grand Manan Island, an island positioned thirty-two kilometres from the southern coast of New Brunswick, in the centre of the Bay of Fundy. Holiness advocates on Grand Manan Island were remarkably successful in influencing older friends to become holiness sympathisers partly because they were separated by long distances from individuals who were more skilled in denouncing the movement than those who resided on the island. On the whole, however, the majority of members were between the ages of twenty and forty-nine, suggesting that at the beginning of the twentieth century the denomination was still in an infancy stage and was mainly supported by younger members.

Tables 7:10 and 7:11 reveal several age patterns among the Pentecostal Nazarene membership. To begin with, a significant proportion of them were between thirty and thirty-nine years old, establishing the fact that the denomination was supported mainly by younger members. This small sample, however, demonstrated that the two groups differed from one another in various ways. Firstly, while six per cent of Oxford's charter members

⁵⁶ Ellis, *Historical Trails*, 158.

Table 7:10 Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene Age Profile⁵⁷

Age	Elmsdale PEI	Oxford NS	Total
70+	--	2	2
60-69	1	1	2
50-59	--	1	1
40-49	6	5	11
30-39	10	8	18
20-29	3	2	5
10-19	7	5	12
0-9	--	7	7
Total	27	31	58

Table 7:11 Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene Age Profile (percentages)

Age	Elmsdale PEI	Oxford NS	Total
70+	--	6	3
60-69	4	3	3
50-59	--	3	2
40-49	22	16	19
30-39	37	27	31
20-29	11	6	9
10-19	26	16	21
0-9	--	23	12

were seventy years of age or over, the congregation in Elmsdale did not have a single member in that age category. Secondly, although twenty-three per cent of Oxford's members were under the age of ten, the Elmsdale congregation had no members in that age category. Thirdly, the majority of the Elmsdale congregation were between the ages of ten and forty-nine years of age whereas the ages of Oxford's constituents were spread across a much wider continuum. The fact that the two churches had very different beginnings helps to account for these differences, details which were discussed in Chapter 4.⁵⁸ Taken

⁵⁷ Sources: Elmsdale Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1917-1920, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island; Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, Oxford, Nova Scotia; 1901, 1911 and 1921 Canada Census.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Institutions,' 134-38.

together, the majority of constituents in both congregations ranged between young adulthood and the beginning of middle age: seventy per cent in the Elmsdale church and just under fifty per cent in the Oxford congregation. As a rule, therefore, the constituencies in these two recently established congregations were young men and women.

Table 7:12 Age Profile of the Five Denominations

Age	Methodist Church	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Salvation Army	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Total
70+	32	88	42	7	2	171
60-69	59	111	63	15	2	250
50-59	86	140	113	31	1	371
40-49	104	149	165	47	11	476
30-39	11	148	296	41	18	603
20-29	92	149	359	43	5	648
10-19	60	83	325	21	12	501
0-9	14	20	385	3	7	429
Total	547	888	1748	208	58	3449

Table 7:13 Age Profile Comparisons of the Five Denominations (percentages)

Age	Methodist Church	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Salvation Army	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Total
70+	6	10	2	3	3	5
60-69	11	13	4	7	3	7
50-59	16	15	6	15	2	11
40-49	19	17	9	23	19	14
30-39	18	17	17	20	31	17
20-29	17	17	21	21	9	19
10-19	11	9	19	10	21	15
0-9	2	2	22	1	12	12
Total	16	26	51	6	1	100

All in all, several contrasts are evident in the age patterns of constituents in each of the five denominations. Except for the Salvation Army, in which a large proportion of adherents were between the ages of birth and twenty-nine years of age, very few constituents in any of the other churches were children. Even when one takes into account the fact that the Salvation Army included the children of adherents in organisational accounting, still less than twenty per cent of adherents were over forty years of age. This

demonstrates the degree to which the organisation was oriented to youth in society in comparison with the other groups. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was a distant second in this regard. And although a significant number of its members were between the ages of thirty and forty-nine, this paled in comparison with the support which the Salvation Army received from more youthful citizens. The majority of Methodists and Free Christian Baptist constituents were evenly scattered between the ages of twenty and fifty-nine and the two denominations were remarkably similar in their age composition. A significant proportion of Reformed Baptists were over the age of forty-nine, an issue which developed after large numbers of former Free Christian Baptists left their churches to become Reformed Baptists.

Gender

The second topic to be scrutinised is the gender of constituents. And, as the tables below reveal, the proportion of males to females in these denominations differed substantially. This suggests that several of these religious bodies were more appealing to men while larger numbers of women embraced other groups. Tables 7:14 and 7:15 highlight the gender patterns among these Methodists. Firstly, a larger number of constituents in most churches were women. Considering that the ratio of males to females in the Maritime Region in 1901 was more or less equal (1.03:1), the extent to which women overshadowed membership in these churches was reasonable.⁵⁹ One exception to this pattern was the record of the Charlottetown adult Sunday school class, a group which was

⁵⁹ 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

Table 7:14 Methodist Church Gender Profile⁶⁰

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
Males	8	46	9	28	64	19	37	211
Females	12	35	17	38	125	18	41	286
Total	20	81	26	66	189	37	78	497
Ratio	1:1.5	1:0.6	1:1.9	1:1.4	1:1.9	1:0.5	1:1.4	1:1.4

Table 7:15 Methodist Church Gender Profile (percentages)

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
Males	40	57	35	42	34	52	47	42
Females	60	43	65	58	66	48	53	58

included in this study since it offered useful information on gender and occupation of the only large Methodist church on Prince Edward Island at the turn of the twentieth century. Many women at that time were preoccupied with teaching Sunday school themselves. Furthermore, the fact that many women were not as apt as men to attend adult classes, it is expected that a majority of students in many adult Sunday school classes would be male.⁶¹ A second exception to the preponderance of female members was the Souris East congregation. The church was located adjacent to an important seaport which employed large numbers of migrant fishermen and dock workers, a number of whom joined the local

⁶⁰ Sources: Sources: Bloomfield Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Second Methodist Church Sunday School Class Records, 1887, located at Trinity United Church, Charlottetown, PE; Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island*, 214, 227; Port Hood Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Sackville Methodist Church Minute Book, 1900, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Souris East Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Upper Sackville Methodist Church Membership Roll, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2.

⁶¹ Rogers, *Glimpses of Glory and Grace*, 22.

Methodist church during their residence there.⁶² Other than these two groups, however, the female constituency outnumbered its male counterpart.

Several reasons account for a gender ratio which favoured women. For one thing, females outnumbered males in the Sackville congregation, in part, because of its close proximity to Mount Allison College, an institution which sponsored an academy for women. Besides the fact that many young women came to Sackville from various parts of the Maritimes to study at the academy, a significant number of them remained there, some of whom established careers while others found husbands. Furthermore, many Sackville residents hired female servants who became members of the Sackville church.⁶³ Two other churches in which women significantly outnumbered men were the Bloomfield and Miminegash churches. Both of these were located in rural parts of the Maritimes where numerous Protestant churches had flourished for many years and where women were traditionally active in church work. Taken together, the gender ratio for these churches averaged 1.4 women for every man, certainly not a huge difference, yet nevertheless demonstrating that female members certainly outnumbered males in these Methodist congregations.

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the findings in Tables 7:16 and 7:17 concerning gender differences among the Free Christian Baptist constituency. On the whole, female membership exceeded male affiliation with three exceptions, the churches at Knowlesville, Lower Millstream and Wilson's Beach. Of these three churches, however,

⁶² Douglas Baldwin, *Prince Edward Island, An Illustrated History* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2009), 114.

⁶³ Penner, *Chignecto 'Connexion'*, 111-15.

Table 7:16 Conference of Free Christian Baptists Gender Profile⁶⁴

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Sandford NS	Saint John NB	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Males	70	31	21	28	32	43	125	31	381
Females	83	35	20	26	37	55	149	23	428
Total	153	66	41	54	69	98	274	54	809
Ratio	1:1.2	1:1.1	1:1	1:0.9	1:1.3	1:1.2	1:1.2	1:0.7	1:1.1

Table 7:17 Conference of Free Christian Baptist Gender Profile (percentages)

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Sandford NS	Saint John NB	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Males	46	47	51	52	46	44	46	57	47
Females	54	53	49	48	54	56	54	43	53

only in the Wilson's Beach congregation was the difference significant. In all three of these communities, lumbering and fishing employed large numbers of natives of the area but also relatively large numbers of migrant workers, some of whom remained in these communities and joined the local Methodist church there. The congregation at Arcadia and Saint John boasted the largest percentage of female members. These churches, both of which were located near fish processing plants, as well as textile manufacturing factories and plants which assembled clothespins. As a result, these communities employed large

⁶⁴ Sources: Sources: Arcadia Baptist Church Register, 1886- 1991, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.765/1; Canning Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1867- 1904, Acadia University Archives, D1900.818/1; Knowlesville Free Christina Baptist Church, in Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 86; Lower Millstream Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1885-1977, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS D1900.587/3; New Jerusalem First Baptist Church Revised List of Members, made from the original list as revised near end of preceding Church Book, June 1931, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.630/2; Sandford United Baptist Church Records, 1866-1936, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.277/1; Victoria Street United Baptist Church Membership Register, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2; Wilson's Beach Free Christian Baptist Church Records, 1888-1923, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.745/1.

numbers of women.⁶⁵ Overall, the gender ratio of the combined Free Christian Baptist sample was 1.1 women for every man, not a significant difference. This demonstrated that although women were slightly more interested in joining Free Christian Baptist churches than were men, the gender ratio was closer to being equal than it was among the Methodists.

Table 7:18 Salvation Army Gender Profile⁶⁶

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
Males	215	358	52	625
Females	215	400	44	659
Total	430	758	96	1284
Ratio	1:1	1:0.9	1:0.8	1:1

Table 7:19 Salvation Army Adherents (percentages)

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
Males	50	47	54	49
Females	50	53	46	51

Tables 7:18 and 7:19 reveal the remarkable similarities which existed in the gender ratio among Salvation Army adherents in all three provinces. Although Prince Edward Island demonstrated a slightly larger proportion of males, that difference may be accounted for by the fact that a number of young men who were former Bible Christians enlisted in the Salvation Army in 1885.⁶⁷ It should be noted that during the Army's first fifteen years in the Maritime region, at least half of its officers were women, a development which surely attracted other women also to enlist in the organisation.⁶⁸ Taken together, the

⁶⁵ *Yarmouth, N.S.: The Western Gateway of Nova Scotia* (Yarmouth, NS: Yarmouth Town Council, 1918), 34-47.

⁶⁶ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

⁶⁷ Personal Interview with Arthur Cudmore, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 15 February 1984.

⁶⁸ 'A List of Salvation Army Officers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1885-1900,' Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

ratio between males and females of all Salvation Army corps was one woman for every man, representative of a most egalitarian religious body concerning gender.

Table 7:20 Reformed Baptist Alliance Gender Profile⁶⁹

Church	Hartland NB	North Head, NB	Royalton NB	Sandford NS	Total
Males	8	9	42	25	84
Females	14	9	46	40	109
Total	22	18	88	65	193
Ratio	1:1.8	1:1	1:1.1	1:1.6	1:1.3

Table 7:21 Reformed Baptist Alliance Gender Profile (percentages)

Church	Hartland NB	North Head, NB	Royalton NB	Sandford NS	Total
Males	36	50	48	38	44
Females	64	50	52	62	56

Tables 7:20 and 7:21 show that, on average, female constituents outnumbered males in the Reformed Baptist Alliance. Admittedly, in the North Head and Royalton churches the number of males and females was equal, but in the other churches female constituents exceeded males by twenty-three per cent. This was not a surprising discovery, bearing in mind that the majority of these women were former members of the Free Christian Baptist Conference, a denomination which traditionally shared leadership roles equally between men and women. Furthermore, a number of female Reformed Baptists had been recruited to the denomination by local holiness evangelists, the majority of whom also were former Free Christian Baptists, and some of whom were women.⁷⁰ Most of these preachers strongly condemned the Free Christian Baptist Conference, accusing it of relinquishing its holiness heritage, obviously a message which resonated with a large number of women as

⁶⁹ Sources: Hartland Wesleyan Church Records, 1888-1920, located in Hartland, New Brunswick; The 85th Anniversary of the Seal Cove Wesleyan Church, 26 September 1974; Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church, 195-97*; Sandford Reformed Baptist Church/ Wesleyan Church Membership Register, 1889-1996, Sandford, NS.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 6, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Leadership,' 206-13.

well as men. Altogether, the gender ratio among these four Reformed Baptist constituencies was 1.3 women for every man, an indication that larger proportions of women were receptive to this new holiness denomination than were men.⁷¹

Table 7:22 Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene Gender Profile⁷²

Church	Elmsdale PEI	Oxford, NS	Total
Males	15	12	27
Females	9	7	16
Total	24	19	43
Ratio	1:0.6	1:0.6	1:0.6

Table 7:23 Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene Gender Profile (percentages)

Church	Elmsdale PEI	Oxford, NS	Total
Males	63	63	63
Females	37	37	37

Tables 7:22 and 7:23 reveal that men outnumbered women in the Pentecostal Nazarene sample. The charter memberships of these two congregations both included a number of men whose wives refused to unite with the new denomination, retaining instead their memberships in Methodist, Presbyterian or Anglican churches. For example, Carmen Costain and his son, Benjamin, joined the Elmsdale church in 1917, although Carmen's wife, a devout Methodist, refused to join what she believed was a 'strange church'.⁷³ There were also several single men in both churches, a development which oddly had no female counterpart in the Elmsdale church and only one single woman, compared to four single men in the Oxford congregation.⁷⁴ Altogether, the gender ratio of these two churches was 1:0.6, an indication that men were more responsive than women to the efforts of Pentecostal

⁷¹ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 338.

⁷² Sources: Elmsdale Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1917-1920, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island; Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, Oxford, Nova Scotia; 1901, 1911 and 1921 Canada Census.

⁷³ Personal Interview with Russell Hardy, Alberton, Prince Edward Island, 20 October 1983.

⁷⁴ Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, Oxford, Nova Scotia.

Nazarene missionaries at that time. This surely indicated to the leaders in these churches that more effort would have to be implemented in order to make the denomination more attractive to women in the area, endeavours which would not reap significant benefits until after 1920.

Table 7:24 Gender Profile of Membership- Comparison of Methodist Church, Conference of Free Christian Baptists, Salvation Army, Reformed Baptist Alliance and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene

Denomination	Methodist Church	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Salvation Army	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Total
Males	211	381	625	84	27	1328
Females	286	428	659	109	16	1498
Total	497	809	1284	193	43	2826
Ratio	1:1.4	1:1.1	1:1	1:1.3	1:0.6	1:1.2

Table 7:25 Comparison of Methodist, Free Christian Baptist, Salvation Army, Reformed Baptist Alliance, and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (percentage of adult males, and females)

Denomination	Methodist Church	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Salvation Army	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Total
Males	42	47	49	44	63	47
Females	58	53	51	56	37	53

Tables 7:24 and 7:25 highlight several contrasts which existed in the gender composition of these five constituencies. To begin with, while the ratio among male and female Salvationists was almost equal, female membership in the Methodist Church, the Free Christian Baptist Conference and the Reformed Baptist Alliance outnumbered the male counterpart. There are several explanations for the preponderance of women in each of these religious bodies. Methodists, for example, had well established missionary societies and Sunday schools by the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century,

two programmes in which women provided the majority of leadership.⁷⁵ Although Free Christian Baptists were at least a decade later than Methodists in birthing similar organisations, both groups consisted of large numbers of women whose work both in Sunday school and missionary work strengthened their respective denominations. As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the two groups were at comparable stages of development. The Reformed Baptist Alliance boasted a larger proportion of female members than either the Methodists or the Free Christian Baptists. This demonstrated the extent to which Reformed Baptists were able to attract females to join the church. Many female members enthusiastically supported the denomination's indigenous preachers, the majority of whom were former Free Christian Baptists and all of whom were staunchly holiness-minded. Among Pentecostal Nazarenes, the gender ratio favoured males, a very different phenomenon when compared to any of the other religious bodies. Such a high number of male constituents suggested that men were more sympathetic to this new denomination and more willing to accept its foreign leadership. One plausible explanation for this was the fact that relatively large numbers of Maritime men had worked in the New England States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, many of whom became personally acquainted with American holiness preachers.⁷⁶ Given the fact that few of their wives had neither lived in the United States nor witnessed the excitement of the holiness movement there, their reservation concerning a foreign denomination is understandable. Apart from the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, the other four holiness bodies had equal or greater representation by female members in their churches.

⁷⁵ E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 73-4.

⁷⁶ Fred Macmillan, *Profiles of Faith: History of the Canada Atlantic District Church of the Nazarene* (Kankakee, IL: Adcraft Printers, 1976), 23.

Occupational Status

Table 7:26 Denominational Samples (Occupation) ⁷⁷

Denomination	Sample Size	Percentage of Total (1,230)
Methodist Church	254	21
Conference of Free Christian Baptists	381	31
Salvation Army	508	41
Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada	61	5
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	26	2
Total	1,230	100

The final section of this chapter analyses the occupations of 1,230 members of these five religious organisations, as recorded in the 1901 and 1911 Canadian Census. The sample includes 254 Methodists, 381 Free Christian Baptists, 508 Salvationists, 61 Reformed Baptists and 26 Pentecostal Nazarenes, a total of thirty-six per cent of all individuals listed in Tables 2-25. Using the 2011 Canadian National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S),⁷⁸ the various fields of employment were grouped according to the following classifications: Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport; Business, Finance and Administration; Education; Health; Law and Social, Community and Government Services; Management; Manufacturing and Utilities; Natural and Applied Sciences; Natural Resources and Agriculture; Sales and Services; and Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators. Admittedly, these classifications are based on current demographic norms yet, according to Statistics Canada, they represent all aspects of historic national life well.⁷⁹ The first six categories represent white-collar workers,

⁷⁷ Sources: 1901 and 1911 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

⁷⁸ For Canadian National Occupational Classifications see media@hrsdc-rhdcc.gc.ca.

⁷⁹ The first Canadian National Occupational Classification system (NOC) was created by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada in 1991. The following year Statistics Canada published the National Occupational Classification for Statistics (NOC-S). In 2011, the two versions were united into a new system which eliminated any differences existing between the two previous classifications. According to Statistics Canada the advantages of both former classification versions were preserved. See *National Occupation Classification (NOC)* (Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, 2012), 4.

individuals who were employed in professional, managerial or administrative work, and all of which required formal education or specific training. The remaining six categories characterise blue-collar occupations, jobs which necessitated no formal education and no special instruction.

Table 7:27 Occupations of Methodists (percentages)⁸⁰

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	--	--	3	5	--
Education	18	--	--	--	9	--	5
Health	--	3	--	--	3	--	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	--	5	--	4	7	5	3
Management	--	27	--	8	13	24	--
Manufacturing and Utilities	--	11	--	4	7	5	8
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--	2	--	3
Natural Resources and Agriculture	64	11	100	84	33	47	66
Sales and Service	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	18	43	--	--	23	14	15
Size of Working Force	11	37	14	25	105	21	41

Table 7:27 highlights the occupations of 254 Methodists who were employed in an assortment of fifty occupations. From these findings one observes a highly diversified labour force among Methodists.⁸¹ Farmers (99) ranked highest on the list, followed by merchants (26), fishermen (11), labourers (11), carpenters (9), teachers (9), sailors (6) and

⁸⁰ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

⁸¹ See Appendix, 371-72.

clergy (6), as well as a small numbers of individuals who were engaged in forty-two other careers. Several employment patterns emerged among these constituents, first of which was that a large number of Methodists owned and operated their own businesses. Among the members of the Charlottetown Sunday school, for example, more than a quarter of them managed private businesses, while several others owned private enterprises.⁸² As early as 1880, a similar pattern had become well entrenched in a number of larger congregations, including Brunswick Street Methodist Church in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Hugh Bell, one of the prominent laymen in that congregation, estimated that there were ‘perhaps more wealthy men in Brunswick Street than in any other church in the city’.⁸³ By 1896, numerous members of the Charles Street Methodist church in Halifax also demonstrated significant affluence. In fact, when that congregation established an Epworth League, a Methodist youth organisation which had been founded to promote fellowship, worship, Christian service and the study of the scriptures, in 1890, the number of professionals in the group was remarkable. They included the manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway Telegraph, the Comptroller of the Maritime Telegraph and Telephone Company, several civil engineers, accountants, doctors and merchants.⁸⁴ The pattern became well established among some urban Methodist congregations in the mid-nineteenth century, as Maritime historian Allen B. Robertson demonstrated in his research concerning Methodists in Nova Scotia during the first half of that century.⁸⁵ Similar trends emerged in smaller churches

⁸² Peter E. Rider, *Charlottetown, A History* (Charlottetown, PE: Techno Media, 2009), 92.

⁸³ Margaret I. Campbell, *No Other Foundation: The History of Brunswick Street United Church with its Methodist Inheritance* (Halifax, NS: Brunswick Street United Church, 1984), 220.

⁸⁴ Brochure and pictures of the J. Wesley Smith Memorial, Halifax, Nova Scotia, located at the United Church Archives, Sackville, NB, PC-2.21A/11.

⁸⁵ Allen B. Robertson, “‘Give All You Can’: Methodists and Charitable Causes in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia”, in Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 94.

towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the Souris East Methodist Church, for example, twenty-four per cent of its constituency owned fish factories or ship building operations. Likewise, eight per cent of members owned or operated lobster canning factories in the Port Hood congregation. Clearly, significant numbers of Methodists were upwardly socially mobile at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Many Methodists were among the most successful entrepreneurs in the Maritime region. Rufus F. Black, a prominent member of the Methodist church in Truro, Nova Scotia, established a number of businesses in the town during the 1870s. In 1880, Black became somewhat of a celebrity after he became the local justice of the peace, followed a year later by being promoted to colonel in the local militia.⁸⁶ Joseph Bullock was another prominent businessman, establishing a lucrative career as an oil merchant in New Brunswick. Bullock eventually amassed such wealth that he became one of the largest shareholders in Imperial Oil, one of Canada's largest corporations at that time.⁸⁷ The financial power and commercial influence of various Methodists helped to advance the denomination's stature within the Maritime community.

From Table 7:27 one also notices the large proportion of Methodists who were employed as farmers or fishermen, many of whom owned private enterprises. Such a high number of farming and fishing operations was understandable, given that large portions of the region consisted of exceptionally fertile agricultural land, not to mention its vast oceanic resources. Thirty-three per cent of Sackville's constituency, as well as eleven per cent of the Charlottetown group, were fishermen or farmers. In the remaining churches, the percentages were much higher still, ranging between fifty and one hundred per cent. One

⁸⁶ 'News of the Churches', *WES*, 14 December 1911, 5.

⁸⁷ Mullen, *Beulah Journal*, 214.

should bear in mind that during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a majority of those who worked as farm-hands or fishing mates struggled to secure adequate and dependable incomes. On the other hand, numerous farmers and fishers began to prosper during these years. Methodists were well represented in both categories, indicating that although many of them continued to struggle financially, many others were well on the way to a measure of financial security.

Another feature worth noting are the numerous trades and professions among urban constituents. For example, members of the Sackville church were employed in one of twenty-eight occupations, and members of the Sunday school in the Charlottetown congregation followed closely behind.⁸⁸ Admittedly, many of these jobs offered limited sources of income, yet a number of them proved to be a dependable source of employment, an advantage which countless Maritimers did not enjoy at that time.

One more important finding was the small number of constituents who were employed in the Manufacturing and Utilities sector, primarily as domestic servants. The Sackville congregation had the largest proportion of house-keepers, the majority of whom were employed by Mount Allison College faculty, as well as Methodist physicians, doctors and accountants.⁸⁹ Some of those who were employed by these professionals enjoyed a measure of social sophistication, such as one of the 'girls' who worked for Mrs Josiah Wood, a wealthy socialite in Sackville. This individual stated that while in the employment of Mrs Messiah [sic] Wood 'life seemed less sordid when she was near and material standards could not measure her own fineness'.⁹⁰ Such humble individuals regularly

⁸⁸ See Appendix, 371-72.

⁸⁹ Penner, *Chignecto 'Connexion'*, 87-91.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Penner, *Chignecto 'Connexion'*, 115.

interacted with the local social elite, something which few ordinary Maritimers experienced.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, was the fact that more than one quarter of constituents were employed in white-collar professions. This supports the idea that many Methodists had risen on the social ladder during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The majority of these white-collar professionals lived in urban centres; blue-collar workers remained scattered throughout the region. The Sackville and Upper Sackville churches best demonstrated this division. For example, while close to forty per cent of the urban Sackville congregation were professionals, only eleven per cent of members in the church in Upper Sackville were employed in professional fields. Despite the fact that, by 1900 many Methodists continued to struggle financially, more of them reflected prosperity than their co-religionists had during most of the previous century.⁹¹

Table 7:28 shows the occupations of 381 Free Christian Baptists who were employed in forty-seven fields of work.⁹² The highest number of them were farmers (132), followed by fishermen (43), carpenters (37), labourers (27), sailors (19), merchants (17), servants (10) and clergy (6). These findings suggest a number of conclusions, not the least important of which is the fact that in five of these congregations a significant proportion of members were business managers. For example, thirteen per cent of members in the Saint John church, as well as nine per cent in Wilson's Beach, either owned or managed business operations. By 1900, the city of Saint John, which had competed with Halifax as the region's most prosperous municipality, boasted the services of two national railways, the

⁹¹ Allen B. Robertson, "Give All You Can": Methodists and Charitable Causes in Nineteenth Century Nova Scotia', Scobie and Grant, *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 92-3.

⁹² See Appendix, 373-74.

best freight rates in the Maritimes, and a robust trade sector, all of which contributed to a bustling economy.⁹³ Given those circumstances, it was hardly surprising

Table 7:28 Occupations of Free Christian Baptists (percentages)⁹⁴

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Sandford NS	Victoria Street NB	Wilson's Beach NB
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	5	--	--	--	2	--
Education	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Health	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	3	6	--	5	5	--	4	--
Management	4	--	--	--	3	2	13	9
Manufacturing and Utilities	7	--	5	4	14	2	20	16
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Natural Resources and Agriculture	50	59	90	31	70	73	16	75
Sales and Service	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	36	29	--	58	5	23	41	--
Size of Working Force	78	17	19	45	37	37	116	32

that a large number of Free Christian Baptists in Saint John enjoyed a measure of prosperity. Even the membership in a small rural congregation enjoyed financial independence at Wilson's Beach, where one hundred per cent of those who owned fish processing factories were Free Christian Baptists. Taken together, these findings suggest that a large proportion of these constituents were beginning to appreciate the benefits of economic self-sufficiency.

⁹³ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 151.

⁹⁴ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

Another point worth noting was that although a small proportion of members in three other congregations owned or managed a variety of businesses, the majority of them were employed as farmers or fishermen. Those who owned their own farms or fishing operations were not dependent upon others for employment, a situation which the majority of Maritimers did not enjoy. Admittedly, while the majority of those who controlled private farming and fishing activities experienced a measure of independence, few of them enjoyed significant prosperity until much later in the twentieth century.

A significant number of Free Christian Baptists were employed in Manufacturing and Utilities. In the Lower Millstream church, for example, almost sixty-eight per cent of those in the labour force were railroad engineers or builders. And apart from two rural churches, whose members were farmers or fishermen, a large number of the other constituents were employed in trades.⁹⁵ Although these jobs were neither prestigious nor lucrative, they nevertheless offered dependable salaries, something which eluded many Maritimers at that time.

Another important observation was that the differences existing between urban and rural congregations were not significant. For example, a large number of members in the Saint John and Arcadia churches, both of which were located in urban areas of the Maritime region, were employed in a diversified collection of occupations. However, considering the small populations of the rural communities of Lower Millstream and New Jerusalem, the degree of diversity of employment was surprising. The fact is that both these communities were centrally located in populous counties where job opportunities were comparatively plentiful. Between 1880 and 1910, the Canadian Pacific Railway upgraded New Brunswick

⁹⁵ See Appendix, 373-74.

railway lines in Saint John, Kings and Queens Counties, providing employment for hundreds of Maritimers.⁹⁶ And despite the fact that not a single constituent was employed in Arts, Culture, Recreation or Sport, the occupations of many constituents represented a broad spectrum which offered moderate and dependable remuneration.

Table 7:29 Occupations of Salvationists (percentages)⁹⁷

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	0.5	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	0.2	--
Education	0.5	1	--
Health	3	0.5	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	12	10	15
Management	2	2	3
Manufacturing and Utilities	33	40	15
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--
Natural Resources and Agriculture	17	23	10
Sales and Service	3	0.3	6
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	29	23	51
Size of Working Force	188	281	39

Table 7:29, which reflects the occupations of 508 Salvation Army adherents who were employed in seventy-four fields of labour,⁹⁸ illustrates several employment patterns which existed among Salvationists in all three provinces. The proportion of those employed in Management was small, showing that very few Salvationists owned or operated businesses and did not enjoy the independence and influence associated with entrepreneurship. The percentage of those employed in Law and Social, Community and

⁹⁶ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 93-4.

⁹⁷ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

⁹⁸ See Appendix, 375-76.

Government in all three provinces was also similar, although the results in this category admittedly were perplexing. Eleven per cent of adherents were categorised in that grouping on account of a large numbers of Army officials (53) living in the region, a number which conflicts with official archival records that identify only twenty officers.⁹⁹ One possible explanation is that census takers may have listed a number of adherents as being officials, individuals who were no doubt engaged in Army activities but not commissioned as officers. A second possible explanation is simply that Army statistics are incomplete and that the names of a number of officers are not listed in official records. In any case, each province reported similar findings concerning the number of constituents in social and community service.

A more important observation is the overwhelming majority of Salvationists who were engaged in blue-collar employment. A high proportion of them were labourers (15%), servants (11%), carpenters (8%), miners (6%) and sailors (4%). In fact, out of more than five hundred constituents, a tiny group was employed in professional occupations, including seven nurses, four teachers and one doctor. Small numbers of Salvationists were employed in a variety of ways, including artistry, piano tuning, weaving, photography, pram repair, lithography, junk dealing and bar tending, not to mention the making of such items as candy, harnesses, lamps and soap. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia constituencies represented a slightly more diverse range of occupations than on Prince Edward Island, a reasonable observation considering the smaller size of the organisation there.¹⁰⁰ Generally speaking, Salvationists were employed in a wide range of resourceful occupations, the great majority of which were blue-collar occupations.

⁹⁹ *Canadian Corps Openings, 1885-1960* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Triumph Press, 1960), 20-63.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix, 375-76.

Table 7:30 Occupations of Reformed Baptists (percentages)¹⁰¹

Church	Hartland, NB	North Head, NB	Royalton, NB	Sandford, NS
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	--	--
Education	--	--	6	--
Health	--	--	--	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	--	--	--	9
Management	18	--	--	--
Manufacturing and Utilities	9	18	19	4
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--
Natural Resources and Agriculture	46	82	69	74
Sales and Service	--	--	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	27	--	6	13
Size of Working Force	11	11	16	23

The 1901 Canada Census recorded sixty-one Reformed Baptists who were employed in 13 different occupations, the most common of which were farmers (27), fishermen (15), labourers (7), sailors (3) and ministers (2).¹⁰² Table 7:30 suggests a number of similarities and contrasts among these memberships. First of all, a majority of Reformed Baptists were engaged in farming or fishing. Most of the fishermen were members of the Grand Manan and Sandford congregations, while nearly all the farmers belonged to the Royalton and Hartland churches. Furthermore, there existed very little occupational diversity. For example, the town of Hartland, which was centrally located in a densely populated part of New Brunswick, and included a diversified labour force, employed

¹⁰¹ Source: 1901 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

¹⁰² See Appendix, 377.

Reformed Baptists there included five farmers, one merchant, one hotel owner, one dress maker, one shoemaker and one tanner. Such a small number of occupations demonstrates the homogeneity in the workforce of Reformed Baptists. In Royalton, almost seventy per cent of all members were farmers, while the Sandford congregation consisted entirely of fishermen and a police officer. The entire membership at the North Head church was employed either as fishers, farmers or labourers. For the most part, therefore, the majority of Reformed Baptists remained unskilled and fairly poor individuals at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Table 7:31 Occupations of Pentecostal Nazarenes (percentages)¹⁰³

Church	Elmsdale, PEI	Oxford, NS
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--
Education	--	--
Health	--	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	8	--
Management	-	--
Manufacturing and Utilities	30	46
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--
Natural Resources and Agriculture	54	54
Sales and Service	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	8	--
Size of Working Force	13	13

Table 7:31 shows that more than half of all Pentecostal Nazarenes were employed in farming occupations. Apart from this pattern, the Elmsdale congregation included one police officer and one blacksmith, while the Oxford church had one domestic servant and one lumberer.¹⁰⁴ These findings substantiate the claim that the majority of Pentecostal

¹⁰³ Sources: 1901 and 1911 Census of Canada, Library and Archives Canada, www.collectionscanada.gc.ca.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix, 377.

Nazarenes were neither educated nor trained for white-collar professions and as a result earned meagre wages, representing the low strata of society.

Table 7:32 Occupations of Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes (percentages)

Denomination	Methodists	Free Christian Baptists	Salvationists	Reformed Baptists	Pentecostal Nazarenes
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	1	--
Business, Finance and Administration	2	0.5	--	--	--
Education	2	1	1	1	--
Health	5	1	2	--	--
Law and Social, Community and Government Services	5	3	11	3	4
Management	12	6	2	3	--
Manufacturing and Utilities	7	11	35	11	38
Natural and Applied Sciences	1	0.5	--	--	--
Natural Resources and Agriculture	46	46	20	69	54
Sales and Service	--	1	2	1	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	20	30	27	11	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Size of Working Force	254	381	508	61	26

Table 7:32 represents the occupational patterns of these five denominations and suggests several comparative inferences concerning them. Firstly, it is important to note any similarities which existed between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists, two groups which most distanced themselves from the holiness movement. No constituents in either denomination were employed in Arts, Culture, Recreation or Sport, not a surprising discovery, considering that almost no one in the Maritime region earned a livelihood in theatre or sports until later in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, and more importantly,

¹⁰⁵ Forbes and Muise, *Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 192.

the constituencies of rural Methodist and Free Christian Baptist congregations parallel one another in Natural Resources and Agriculture, another reasonable development, given that the main sources of livelihood in most Maritime communities were farming, fishing, lumbering and mining.

Several differences between these two denominations also surfaced. For example, the disparity in the number of those employed in management positions was noteworthy. While twelve per cent of Methodists owned or operated businesses, only six per cent of Free Christian Baptists were employed in management occupations. The difference between the two denominations is not as pronounced in the categories of Business, Science, Health, and Education and Law, although when these five classifications are considered as single entities, a distinction between the two denominations becomes apparent. That is, ten per cent of Methodists were employed in white-collar occupations compared to six per cent of Free Christian Baptists. And while the proportion of those employed in health-related careers in the two constituencies was similar, the number of individuals employed in the field of education was significantly higher among Methodists than Free Christian Baptists. The fact that a majority of professors at Mount Allison College were members of the Sackville church obviously contributed to that phenomenon. On the whole, while twenty-seven per cent of Methodists were employed in white-collar professions, careers which required post-secondary education, only twelve per cent of Free Christian Baptists were employed in similar careers. Such a reduced number among Free Christian Baptists demonstrated that at the beginning of the twentieth century they lagged behind Methodists in education and professional skills, as well as the affluence associated with these careers.

There also were distinctions between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists in the categories of Sales and Service, Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Manufacturing and Utilities. Whereas Free Christian Baptists dominated these menially task-oriented occupations, not a single Methodist earned a livelihood in Sales and Service. On the other hand, Methodists lagged behind Free Christian Baptists by ten percentage points in Trades and four per cent in Manufacturing and Utilities, a category which largely consisted of domestic servants. Eleven per cent of Free Christian Baptists were hired to perform household tasks, quite a large percentage, demonstrating the number of individuals in that denomination who lived in humble circumstances. All told, seventy-three per cent of Methodists were employed in blue-collar employment, some of which required specific training yet did not involve formal education. On the other hand, eighty-two per cent of Free Christian Baptists earned a livelihood in the plebeian workforce. This suggests that, at the beginning of the twentieth century Methodists on average remained higher than Free Christian Baptists on the social ladder and possessed superior educations to them.

The common features of the occupations of Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, two groups which passionately supported the holiness movement, are worth noting. Large numbers from both constituencies were employed in Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators, Natural Resources and Agriculture and Manufacturing and Utilities, a logical outcome given that the majority of them lived in rural areas where farming and fishing dominated the labour market. This confirms the fact that most Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes were unskilled, poorly paid labourers who possessed little or no professional training and post-secondary schooling.

Finally, the uniqueness of the Salvation Army is repeatedly highlighted in these findings. For example, very few adherents were involved in Natural and Applied Sciences and Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport, pointing to the inadequate education of most of these individuals. On the other hand, it was the only religious body to have such a wide variety of employment, portraying its success in enlisting followers with many employable talents and abilities. Eighty-two per cent of them were employed in Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators, Natural Resources and Agriculture and Manufacturing and Utilities. Eleven per cent of them were employed in the category of Law and Social, Community and Government, compared to less than five per cent of Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes. Although at first glance this might suggest that Salvationists were better educated than the other two groups or fared better financially than them, the majority of Salvationists who worked in the Law and Social, Community and Government classifications were Army officials, individuals who were not required to be well-educated. In comparison with the other groups, a much smaller percentage of their adherents were farmers or fishermen, an expected development since most of them lived in urban centres. Very small numbers of them were educated professionals given that the majority worked in blue-collar fields of labour representing a broad spectrum.

Assessment of Similar Studies

It is difficult to compare these findings with studies of a similar nature since they are extremely limited. The best available source for the period under consideration is *The English Church in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870 - 1930*, written by Jeffrey Cox.¹⁰⁶ His survey of Anglicans and Nonconformists in Lambeth, England, reflects a number of

¹⁰⁶ Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1982).

different findings from those documented in this chapter. Cox used a system of occupational classification which was adapted from the General Register Office in Great Britain. Similar to the one used in this present study, this approach separated employment into a hierarchy of categories, beginning with professional and managerial jobs and continuing with routine clerical, small shop keeping, skilled operative, semi-skilled and unskilled labour.¹⁰⁷ Cox discovered that comparable numbers of Anglicans and Nonconformists were employed in all of the occupational groupings. For example, Cox noted that between 1880 and 1910, the majority of individuals, regardless of denominational affiliation, were employed in classification IIIb, which included small shopkeeper, shop assistant, dealer, dairyman and milkman, or classification IIIc, which comprised skilled operative, motorised driver, cook, market gardener, builder, decorator and tailor. Nonconformist religious bodies included Baptists, Congregationalists, Free Methodists, Presbyterians, Primitive Methodists and Wesleyans. Otherwise stated, Cox's findings showed no significant occupational differences between denominations considered to be mainstream and the marginalised religious bodies. That discovery contrasts vividly with this study which has highlighted substantial occupational differences between individuals in denominations considered either to be mainstream or moving towards social acceptance, with other ostracised religious bodies.

In 1992, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, two American sociologists, completed a study which compared many nineteenth- and twentieth-century mainline denominations and sects in the United States.¹⁰⁸ Although they did not delve deeply into the economic

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 303.

¹⁰⁸ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

condition of these religious bodies, they noted that by 1880 the affluence of many Methodists had substantially increased.¹⁰⁹ They further observed that in addition to the dissolution of financial barriers which had existed between Methodists and the mainstream denominations throughout much of the nineteenth century, social and theological divisions which were present among them were also waning.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, they observed that the holiness bodies consisted mainly of poverty-stricken individuals. All of these are similar to the findings of this study which portrays the growing affluence of Maritime Methodists at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finke and Stark also developed the work of Carl Oblinger (1973),¹¹¹ who compared the educational status of Methodist ministers and the leaders of a number of holiness factions in Illinois, in 1880. Oblinger noted that fifty-nine per cent of Methodist ministers possessed college education and that many of them had attended seminary. Conversely, only six per cent of holiness leaders were high school graduates. In fact, fifty-five per cent of them had received little public schooling.¹¹² These findings are parallel to those in this study which highlights the deficiency of education among some of the holiness leaders and many holiness sympathisers.

Oblinger also examined 1880 census findings for Illinois and noted that holiness sympathisers outside the Methodist Church were poorer than Methodists. He cited the findings that forty-four per cent of farmers who identified with independent holiness factions owned farms less than fifty acres in size, whereas only seventeen per cent of

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 160

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 161.

¹¹¹ Carl Oblinger, *Religious Mimesis: Social Basis for the Holiness Schism in Late-Nineteenth-Century Methodism - the Illinois Case, 1869-1885* (Evanston, IL: Institute for the Study of American Religion, 1973).

¹¹² Quoted in Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 166.

Methodists owned small farms. Conversely, only seventeen per cent of holiness factions owned large holdings, with ten thousand acres or more, compared to thirty-five per cent of Methodists who owned large farms.¹¹³ These findings are similar to a pattern which emerged in this study, one which demonstrated that, on the whole, Methodists who supported the holiness movement tended to be less wealthy than Methodists who were not in favour of it.

Hannah Lane, a Maritime historian, analysed Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregational churches in southeastern New Brunswick between 1854 and 1881.¹¹⁴ She discovered that most Methodist lay leaders were in middle or higher wealth groups while forty per cent of Presbyterians were in a lower wealth category. In 1861, twenty-nine per cent of Methodists earned less than ninety-nine pounds annually while more than fifty per cent of Presbyterians and seventeen per cent of Congregationalists were in a higher income bracket.¹¹⁵ All in all, Methodists were not as affluent as these denominations during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. This present study, however, has noted that by the end of the nineteenth century many Maritime Methodists were finally secure. Other than Lane's research, no one has yet compared the occupations and financial status of Maritimers representing a variety of Protestant groups. Hence, a great deal of research focused on these issues must be undertaken if these denominations during the years 1880 to 1920 are to be fully understood.

¹¹³ Ibid., 166.

¹¹⁴ Hannah M. Lane, 'Evangelicals, Church Finance, and Wealth-Holding in Mid-Nineteenth Century St Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine', in Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert, eds., *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 109-50.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 130.

Conclusion

To recapitulate, the data taken together demonstrate a number of similarities which existed between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists. The two groups were analogous to one another in terms of age, gender and occupation. The proportion of older members in these denominations was much larger than any of the other groups. Furthermore, female constituents also significantly outnumbered males, a reasonable development, given that by the beginning of the twentieth century two of their most important organisations, namely the Sunday school and the Woman's Missionary Society, were primarily administered and supported by women. These two religious bodies were also more closely matched in terms of education than were any of the other denominations, although on average, Methodists dominated all the white-collar occupations. That Free Christian Baptists lagged considerably behind them in professional employment also signifies inferior social status. Nevertheless by the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of Free Christian Baptists were well on the way to matching the affluence and sophistication of many Methodists.¹¹⁶

Secondly, a comparison of Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes reveals two striking differences. There existed an obvious differentiation in the age divisions between their respective memberships, clearly evident in the fact that while thirty-three per cent of all Pentecostal Nazarenes were less than twenty years of age, only eleven per cent of Reformed Baptists were represented in that age category. As previously mentioned, Reformed Baptists were more likely than Pentecostal Nazarenes to stress that church membership be based upon baptism by immersion, as well as one's ability to articulate personal conversion. Reformed Baptist and Pentecostal Nazarene constituencies also

¹¹⁶ See Chapter 4, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Institutions,' 158-60.

differed with respect to gender. Whereas the Reformed Baptist Alliance was especially successful in recruiting females to the organisation,¹¹⁷ men outranked women in the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene by a ratio of two to one. In fact Pentecostal Nazarenes had the highest male representation of all five religious bodies. It appears that Maritime women were more reluctant to join a new denomination which was primarily established by American missionaries.

Apart from these differences, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes paralleled one another in terms of occupation and financial status. The majority of members in both religious bodies were employed in blue-collar occupations, primarily farming and fishing. And although Reformed Baptists demonstrated a slightly broader occupational spectrum, the bulk of them, along with Pentecostal Nazarenes, were employed in fields of labour which required little education or training and frequently offered unreliable or insufficient remuneration.

The uniqueness of the Salvation Army must be understood. For one thing, the majority of its adherents were less than thirty years of age. In fact, the proportion of adherents in the organisation who were less than thirty years of age far exceeded those of that age category in all of the other religious bodies. Despite the fact that anyone who regularly attended Army gatherings was considered to be an adherent, regardless of age, nevertheless fewer than twenty per cent of adherents had reached the age of forty, a strong indication of the degree to which Salvation Army support came from younger Maritimers. This organisation, more than any other, was also most evenly matched in terms of male and female support. All of these factors point to the distinctiveness of this religious body.

¹¹⁷ Mullen, *Communion of Saints*, 338.

Finally, and most importantly, obvious disparities emerged in the proportion of white- and blue-collar workers in these denominations. More than one quarter of the Methodist constituency was employed in white-collar professions, evidence that many of them had risen on the social ladder during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Admittedly, smaller numbers of Free Christian Baptists were employed in white-collar occupations, yet many of them worked in management positions, operated farming and fishing operations, or were employed in manufacturing industries, all divisions of the labour force which offered dependable, albeit smaller, salaries than professional service provided. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes were engaged in blue-collar employment. Adherents of the Salvation Army, generally an urban body, represented the broadest range of activities in employment, while most Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes were farmers or fishermen. Most of the constituents in these three denominations were unskilled, relatively poor individuals. Representative of the lowest echelon of the social order, these men and women enjoyed very little social acceptance and had no measure of sophistication to maintain. These factors help to explain why the defenders of holiness unashamedly supported a movement from which many affluent and respectable Methodists and Free Christian Baptists sought to dissociate themselves.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Between 1880 and 1920, Maritime Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes emphasised holiness theology as an important aspect of orthodox Christianity. During that period, however, several of these religious groups underwent significant changes which affected the ways in which they interpreted this aspect of their religious faith. The Methodist Church, the oldest of these denominations, had achieved social acceptance and respectability by Maritimers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a development which unfolded simultaneously with the abandonment by many of its members of the denomination's traditional holiness emphasis. At that time, Free Christian Baptists also were beginning to attain a greater measure of public recognition and approval. Consequently, large numbers of members from both of these denominations renounced the radical aspects of holiness, some of which their forebears had previously endorsed. In contrast, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene firmly held to holiness theology, branding the pursuit of denominational decorum and social approval as contrary to authentic Christian faith. Actually, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes intensified their holiness views, endorsing the perspective of the American holiness movement concerning an experience known as entire instantaneous sanctification. And while the Salvation Army continued to underscore holy living, many of its officials placed similar emphases upon the physical needs of society, as well as salvation and entire sanctification. Taking all these important developments into account, this final chapter reflects upon the ways that the theologies, institutions and constituencies of each religious body shaped their

responses to the holiness movement. Each of these factors helps to account for the unqualified praise given to it by Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, along with a virtual abandonment of it by many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists.

Beginning in the 1880s, the groups endorsed a somewhat different interpretation of holiness theology. The Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference experienced a series of internal struggles after they were unable to achieve a consensus on this issue. As a result, serious controversies surrounding this subject plagued both of these denominations, beginning in the 1880s and continuing for Methodists throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Free Christian Baptists, on the other hand, essentially put to rest the holiness-related disputes in 1888 by evicting from the denomination a group of holiness enthusiasts. Conversely, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, both of whom wholeheartedly supported the American holiness movement, experienced negligible internal conflict. In fact, the strong endorsement by Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes of the movement not only strengthened their internal cohesiveness but also fostered a shared identity between the two religious bodies. As pointed out in previous chapters, the Salvation Army differed significantly from the other four religious bodies in many respects. Although this organisation officially sanctioned holiness movement theology, and many of its officers advocated its doctrines, a number of other officials focused more of their energies on reforming society than on promulgating the views of the movement.

All in all, between 1880 and 1900, the holiness views of numerous Methodists and Free Christian Baptists reflected a moderate position, one which certainly emphasised the importance of holy living yet denied the possibility of anyone achieving

entire sanctification before death. That view eventually facilitated the mergers of both denominations with other mainline denominations. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, on the other hand, never considered a union with other groups, although the Reformed Baptist Alliance would contemplate uniting with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene later in the twentieth century. Both these denominations viewed many other religious organisations with disdain, believing that Methodists and Free Christian Baptists especially had forsaken their Wesleyan heritage; other religious bodies, they supposed, had overlooked or simply failed to embrace 'scriptural holiness'. Meanwhile, the Salvation Army demonstrated no interest in uniting with other religious bodies. Instead, it developed in a broader context of social reform, and increasingly concentrated its efforts on community service.

The emphasis which the holiness movement placed upon entire instantaneous sanctification became a summons which a number of Methodists and Free Christian Baptists vehemently opposed. They believed that this aspect of holiness theology was especially erroneous and strongly rejected the idea that such an experience even existed. In particular, they denounced the idea that sanctification was a second definitive work of grace. Many of them also repudiated the notion that entire sanctification could be attained instantly, the moment an individual purportedly willed its existence. Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, on the other hand, stalwartly maintained all of these ideas. As a result, a serious rift developed and deepened between Methodists and Free Christian Baptists on one side and Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes on the other.

During the 1880s, each denomination responded to the holiness movement in significantly different ways. For example, although the Methodist Church and the Free

Christian Baptist Conference never officially addressed the claims of the holiness movement theology, a number of their constituents, including both those who supported the movement and those who opposed it, hotly debated the issue during the 1880s. A group of influential Methodists and Free Christian Baptists openly condemned the holiness platform through preaching and journalism. Their success in distancing both of these denominations from the movement may be measured by the fact that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the holiness factions which had previously existed in both the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference virtually disappeared.

The Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada, the majority of whose constituents were former Free Christian Baptists, along with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, most of whom had previously been members of the Methodist Church, gave strong support to American holiness movement theology and practice. Furthermore, both of these religious bodies cultivated and maintained strong associations with their American counterparts. The Salvation Army's moderated response to the movement meant that, while some of its leaders supported the movement, many others candidly admitted that they neither understood nor accepted aspects of its doctrine. As a whole, therefore, beginning in the 1880s the responses of these religious bodies to the holiness movement diverged from one another and continued to drift further apart as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

It is obvious that each denomination differed from one another in a number of ways. Not only did they embrace differing configurations of church government and experience distinct growth patterns, but they also collaborated with those outside their denomination at fluctuating levels. Methodists and Free Christian Baptists had frequently

interacted with one another during much of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of that century, however, both these groups shifted their energies to prospective unions with other religious bodies. Maritime Methodists began to evaluate the advantages of a merger with more affluent Protestant denominations. Although union did not immediately occur, a merger of Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in 1925 established the United Church of Canada, the largest of all national Protestant denominations in the twentieth century.

Free Christian Baptists similarly considered the advantages of uniting with Maritime Regular Baptists or American Freewill Baptists. Following at least twenty years of deliberation, they finally amalgamated with Regular Baptists in 1905-06, organising the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces. Regular Baptists generally were far more advanced than Free Christian Baptists in terms of wealth, education and sophistication, and were regarded by many Maritimers to be a respectable Protestant denomination. These two streams of Baptists established the largest Baptist denomination ever to assemble in the Maritime region, a union which the majority of Free Christian Baptists endorsed.

Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes experienced an affinity with one another and continued to interact occasionally. Both of these tiny denominations well understood that their survival required mutual support and encouragement. Consequently, the two groups supported one another in holiness conventions and camp meetings. Because of significantly different views which they held concerning church polity and baptism, however, the two groups did not seriously consider uniting with one another until the middle of the twentieth century. The Salvation Army functioned independently

from all the other groups and, although some Salvationists collaborated with Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, and less frequently with Methodists, by and large the organisation remained a conspicuously distinctive religious body.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were significantly more affluent than the three remaining denominations. Many Methodists, who were by far the most prosperous of all of these religious groups, worshipped in churches which were noticeably more stylish than those belonging to the other denominations. They were, as well, the only ones financially able to establish and maintain a post-secondary institution. Free Christian Baptists, who followed behind Methodists in financial security, constructed a number of new churches which reflected a measure of elegance their antiquated buildings had not demonstrated. And although they briefly established a college with the financial assistance of Regular Baptists, the effort did not succeed, nevertheless it indicated that the denomination desired acceptance into the Protestant mainstream. Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, on the other hand, remained poor during the final years of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. These religious bodies exhibited little interest in social acceptance, something which would not have been in their grasp in any case. The significant economic woes which each one experienced early in the twentieth century were manifested in the limited finances of individual congregations, in the simplicity of their church buildings and in their helplessness to sponsor regional educational facilities.

The constituencies of each religious body were also markedly different from one another. Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were most analogous to one another in terms of age and gender, both possessing large proportions of female supporters and

elderly members. The Reformed Baptist constituency retained an even higher number of female members than either of these denominations, while the gender ratio favoured males by a ratio to two to one among Pentecostal Nazarenes. The Salvation Army differed from all the others, possessing the largest proportion of adherents between the ages of birth and twenty-nine; it was also the most evenly balanced regarding gender. All things considered, the profiles of Methodist and Free Christian Baptist constituencies were most closely matched while the memberships of the remaining religious bodies was heterogeneous in both age and gender.

A number of disparities existed in the percentage of white- and blue-collar workers in each constituency. More than one quarter of the Methodist membership was employed in white-collar professions, a clear indication of the advanced educational standing of many Methodists. This factor was also reflected in the significantly higher place they enjoyed on the social ladder in comparison with members of the other denominations. Although smaller numbers of Free Christian Baptists were employed in white-collar occupations, still a sizeable number of them were employed in fields of labour which provided dependable remuneration. Conversely, the overwhelmingly majority of Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes were engaged in blue-collar employment, the majority of whom were unskilled and relatively poor individuals. These men and women, who represented the lowest social stratum, were preoccupied with the demands of earning a living and caring for their family's basic physical needs. Challenged by these immediate and pressing purposes, few Salvationists, Reformed Baptists or Pentecostal Nazarenes were consumed with social respectability. Of all the differences between these religious bodies, this one best explains why affluent

Methodists and upwardly socially mobile Free Christian Baptists sought to dissociate themselves from a movement which consisted largely of the poorest people in the entire region.

Most important of all was the fact that these religious bodies viewed social respectability in particularly diverse ways. That many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists enjoyed social approval was apparent in the style of churches they constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, their desire for acceptance was also evident in the ways that their public worship practices came to mirror closely that of the Presbyterian Church, a large mainstream Protestant denomination. Many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists replaced traditional revival meetings with public institutes. Their previous passionate and sometimes unrestricted worship practices were frequently replaced with concert events and social gatherings. Another indication that both denominations had moved closer to the mainstream was the restraint of some ministers in maintaining the traditional denominational bans on public dancing, card playing and theatre attendance, as well as tobacco and alcohol consumption. These numerous long-standing taboos were quietly and quickly forgotten by some church leaders and members alike.

The Salvation Army, the Reformed Baptist Alliance and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene demonstrated little interest in becoming socially acceptable denominations. Many members of these religious bodies were confident that, if true holiness was to be maintained, they had to remain separated from a myriad of sinful practices. Consequently, many leaders in the denominations insisted that their constituents must pay strict adherence to a long list of social rules. For the most part, respectability, in the

minds of Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes, was an idea to be feared, rather than sought after.

Comparing the findings of this study with what has previously been written about the response of these holiness-minded bodies to social acceptance and respectability will confirm or challenge what has been suggested in these chapters. Unfortunately, little has been written concerning them in relation to this issue. Only a small number of those who have examined the histories of the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference have addressed this issue. In 1990, Peter Penner, a Maritime Methodist historian, acknowledged that the issue of respectability significantly changed the course of Maritime Methodists, concluding that, by the end of the nineteenth century, several ministers abandoned an emphasis which they had previously placed upon holiness in order to achieve prominence in the denomination.¹ This present study supports Penner's theory. In tracing the role of several of the strongest supporters of the holiness movement, including John Dawson, John Lathern and Howard Sprague, all Methodist ministers, this research points to the fact that by the beginning of the twentieth century all of them had redirected their energies towards other aspects of Methodist church life, including higher education and amalgamation with other national mainline churches.² Such changes reflected an increasing desire by Methodists to take their rightful place in conventional Canadian denominationalism.

This study also supports the judgment of T. W. Acheson, another Maritime historian, who concluded that Maritime Methodism was transformed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century from a spiritually passionate body to a politically

¹ Peter Penner, *The Chignecto 'Connexion': The History of Sackville Methodist/ United Church, 1772-1990* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1990), 73.

² See Chapter 6, 'Maritime Holiness Movement Leadership,' 224-25.

activist one, largely due to the affluence and social acceptance of its constituency.³ Admittedly, although this present research did not examine the political aspirations of Methodists, nonetheless it acknowledged a number of affluent individuals who rose to prominent positions of influence, both in the denomination and in Maritime society. As noted in the first chapter, William Brooks arrived at a similar conclusion when he determined that, as early as 1880, the Methodist Church in the Maritime region fell into the ownership of the respectable classes to such an extent that ‘Wesley’s legacy of evangelical passion’ was no longer relevant to many Methodists.⁴ This strengthens the idea that, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Methodist Church in the Maritime region was indeed a religious body upholding propriety.

The findings of this study, however, do not corroborate some of the research which examines nineteenth-century Methodists in other parts of Canada. For example, Alden Aikens concluded that large numbers of affluent Methodists in Ontario and Quebec held fast to Wesley’s teaching of Christian perfection during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Considering the fact that this study has shown that a majority of Methodists in the Maritime region had virtually abandoned the holiness emphasis by the end of the nineteenth century, Aikens’ discovery suggests that Methodists in various parts of the country responded very differently to holiness theology. Aikens also noted that the involvement of Methodists in Ontario and Quebec in the holiness movement declined sharply after various factions formed holiness associations outside the denomination.⁵

³ T. W. Acheson, ‘The Problem of Methodist Identity’, Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 116-7.

⁴ William Howard Brooks, ‘The Changing Character of Maritime Wesleyan Methodism, 1855-1883’ (unpublished thesis, MA, Mount Allison University, Sackville, NB, 1965), 116.

⁵ Alden Warren Aikens, ‘Christian Perfection in Central Canadian Methodism, 1828-1884’ (unpublished thesis, PhD, McGill University, Montreal, PQ, 1987), 224.

This study has demonstrated that, unlike Central Canada, the holiness element in Maritime Methodist churches did not diminish after small non-denominational holiness associations were established in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In fact, neither of these associations survived into the twentieth century. Despite such a development, large numbers of Methodists still left their churches between 1888 and 1900 to join new denominations. This suggests that the presence of these faltering independent holiness organisations in the Maritimes did not exert as strong an influence in that region as it had in Ontario. Despite these regional differences, however, this present study confirms much of the limited previous research findings concerning Maritime Methodists.

As pointed out in the first chapter, research on the holiness component of the Free Christian Baptist Conference is woefully inadequate. Fred Burnett, the only historian to offer any treatment of this subject, portrayed the holiness movement as an American phenomenon which orthodox Free Christian Baptists rejected.⁶ The findings of this study do not support this claim. On the contrary, this research has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that a faction which the denomination expelled offered the strongest and most resilient backing to the movement between the years 1880 and 1920. No historian who has researched the Salvation Army, the Free Christian Baptist Conference or the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene has attempted to explain why each of these religious bodies was established in the Maritimes in the first place. The assumption appears to be that their entrance into the region was both an act of divine providence and the result of faithful Christian service.

⁶ Frederick C. Burnett, *Biographical Directory of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), 131.

To date, the only historian to consider seriously the impact of social upheaval and secularisation upon religious passions among Maritimers in the nineteenth century is the late George Rawlyk. This individual isolated what he believed to be a common Allinite holiness undercurrent present in the historical development of Methodists, Free Christian Baptists and Reformed Baptists during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rawlyk concluded that Henry Alline's followers ultimately cultivated a powerful radical strand in Canadian evangelical history.⁷ More relevant to this study, however, was Rawlyk's inference that the quest for social acceptance by Methodists and Free Christian Baptists jeopardised and eventually severed their Allinite-holiness heritage.⁸ This study completely accepts such a judgment, but also maintains that the three remaining holiness bodies' fervent rejection of social approval actually strengthened their holiness passions.

On the whole, very little discussion has taken place in Canada concerning the outcome of a holiness denomination's quest for respectability. In any examination of the late nineteenth century holiness movement in Canada, however, numerous suggestions surface that many supporters of the movement repudiated respectability and they accomplished this in a number of ways. Firstly, they rejected many popular activities and life style choices of the day. Ralph Horner, for example, a Central Canadian Methodist minister who organised the Holiness Movement Church in 1895,⁹ believed that Christians should have no association with secret societies nor should they purchase life insurance

⁷ George A. Rawlyk, 'The Holiness Movement and Canadian Maritime Baptists', George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1993), 294.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 315.

⁹ Kostlevy, *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 151.

policies, two preoccupations for many affluent citizens at that time.¹⁰ By 1900, Central Canadian Free Methodists went so far as to denounce ‘neck-ties, stud-buttons, pins...big sleeves, puffed shoulders, vice-like corsets, peculiar shaped hats...lace curtains and collars...indecently long mustaches and beards...gold rimmed spectacles’.¹¹ Horner succinctly summarised the view of many holiness advocates, concluding that Christian purity and jewellery ‘do not go together’.¹² Other holiness enthusiasts in Central Canada denounced respectability by participating in activities which detractors of the movement considered to be disgraceful. In 1891, Horner conducted holiness meetings in Wilton, Ontario, where ‘a peculiar feature of the meetings was the number who were prostrated...and others lay motionless as if in death’.¹³ On other occasions individuals danced or shook with uncontrollable fits of laughter; there was one instance of a man roaring like a lion.¹⁴ The fact that most civilised persons disapproved of such displays of crude emotion exerted little or no effect on the holiness throng.

As a result of such acrimony in Ontario between holiness sympathisers and detractors, those who supported the movement gathered together regularly, yet separate from the established denominational setting. In 1890, followers of Robert Nelson Burns refused to have fellowship with Methodists who were not sympathetic to the movement,

¹⁰ Ralph C. Horner and Mrs A. E. Horner, *Evangelist: Reminiscences from His Own Pen Also Reports of Five Typical Sermons: With Eight Photo Engravings* (Brockville, ON: Standard Church Book Room, 1926), 156.

¹¹ R. Wayne Kleinsteuber, *Coming of Age: The Making of a Canadian Free Methodist Church* (Mississauga, ON: Light and Life Press Canada, 1980), 36.

¹² Horner, *Evangelist*, 122.

¹³ *CG*, 30 September 1891, 612, quoted in David W. Bebbington, ‘The Holiness Movement in British and Canadian Methodism in the Late Nineteenth Century’, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Volume 50, Part 6, October 1996, 216.

¹⁴ Horner, *Evangelist*, 51.

declining to contribute funds to the church or participate in regular prayer meetings.¹⁵ Burns was a popular Methodist minister in Ontario, and editor of two widely read holiness newspapers, the *Herald* and the *Expositor of Holiness*.¹⁶ His followers referred to themselves as ‘New Lights’, meaning that they had a fresh understanding of divine guidance.¹⁷ Similar to the findings of this study, attitudes of spiritual superiority fuelled the animosities of respectable individuals who loathed many aspects of the holiness movement. Although the research concerning the relationship between holiness passions and respectability is limited, what little has been carried out to date corroborates several findings of this study.

Taking everything into account, the only thorough treatment of this subject to date has been the work of David W. Bebbington, a British historian of politics and religion. In offering a number of reasons for the decline of holiness teachings in Great Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, Bebbington concluded that the advance of respectability was one of a number of contributing factors.¹⁸ Bebbington highlighted several issues which safeguarded the survival of holiness sympathies in Great Britain, including its close identification with Wesleyan theology and emphasis upon revivalism, as well as its ability to adapt to social class, geography and gender.¹⁹ In each of these aspects there are similarities and differences between the holiness movement in its Canadian Maritime context and its British counterpart. Similar to its British equivalent, Maritime holiness

¹⁵ ‘A Methodist Minister to Editor’, *CG*, 22 July 1891, 451, quoted in Bebbington, ‘The Holiness Movement in British and Canadian Methodism’, 224.

¹⁶ Kostlevy, *A to Z of the Holiness Movement*, 34-5.

¹⁷ *CG*, 22 July 1891, 451, quoted in Bebbington, ‘The Holiness Movement in British and Canadian Methodism’, 227.

¹⁸ David Bebbington, ‘Holiness in Nineteenth-Century British Methodism’, W. M. Jacob and Nigel Yates, eds., *Crown and Mitre: Religion and Society in Northern Europe since the Reformation* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1993), 163-66.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 166-74.

thrived on revivalism. Holiness conventions and camp meetings, both of which were strongly revivalist in tone, supported the movement during the early years of the twentieth century, until such time as the Reformed Baptist Alliance became a self-sustaining denomination. All things considered, Bebbington viewed the holiness movement in Canada as being moderate and sober, and less adaptable to the respectable standards of the Victorian age than its British counterpart.²⁰ Unlike in the British holiness movement, therefore, social class remained a significant barrier which separated Maritime holiness sympathisers from those who opposed the movement. For the most part, very few holiness advocates in the region were upwardly mobile individuals, another significant difference between the Maritime movement and its counterpart in Great Britain.

On the whole, this study has offered a number of important insights into the development of five Maritime denominations between 1880 and 1920. It should be noted that no particular structure of church governance was better suited for the advancement of the holiness cause. On the other hand, the success of the movement and continued existence of many small churches depended considerably upon the support holiness sympathisers offered to one another. The most divisive issue among these five denominations was the controversy which developed concerning entire sanctification. It eventually became so problematic that the Methodist and Free Christian Baptist constituencies were severely fragmented. Although Methodists, unlike Free Christian Baptists, did not experience any significant internal schism, nevertheless the denomination was affected by several hundred individuals who separated from their familiar Methodist congregations, the majority of whom joined the Pentecostal Church of

²⁰ Ibid., 170.

the Nazarene, along with smaller numbers who became Reformed Baptist or Salvation Army adherents. Likewise, the Free Christian Baptist Conference was significantly changed after a large group of passionate ordained and lay members exited from the denomination to establish the Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada. Representatives on both sides of the crisis claimed that doctrinal disagreements were the root cause of their troubles. This study has demonstrated, however, that theological differences alone do not account for the chasm which eventually separated holiness movement sympathisers and detractors.

The consequences of growing affluence, as well as the desire for social acceptance and the attainment of respectability by many Methodists and Free Christian Baptists were issues which also contributed to the resentment which eventually distanced them from holiness advocates. On the other hand, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes claimed neither to desire wealth nor to long for social approval. Rather, they advocated the teachings and practices of the holiness movement, believing that the majority of educated, wealthy and white-collar Methodists and upwardly mobile Free Christian Baptists had abandoned their denominations' traditional penchant for holiness theology. It is clear that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, very few wealthy, educated or professional Maritimers approved of the holiness movement. In that process, however, the Methodist Church and the Free Christian Baptist Conference sacrificed two traditional defining features, namely dynamic personal conversion and the pursuit of holiness. Despite the fact that both elements had once been valued by their predecessors, many members of these religious bodies considered the radical enthusiasm of the holiness movement as a component of church history which was best forgotten. Meanwhile, a

vestige of individuals looked nostalgically to the past and sought to recapture its spiritual passion, an achievement which was realised only in newer, less sophisticated religious bodies.

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Appendix

The Appendix includes the following:

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¹ Sources: *BC*, 1890- 1912; *KH*, 1890-1920; *PW*, 1880-1885; *RI*, 1880-1906; *WC*, 1885-1920; *WES*, 1886-1920.

² Source: Canadian Corps Openings, 1885-1960, Salvation Army Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

³ Sources: Hartland Wesleyan Church Records, 1888-1920, located in Hartland, New Brunswick; The 85th Anniversary of the Seal Cove Wesleyan Church, 26 September 1974; Erma G. Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church: Royalton Reformed Baptist Church, 1889-1966, Royalton Wesleyan Church, 1966-1989, One Church* (Sussex, NB: Royal Printing, 1989, 195-97; Sandford Reformed Baptist Church/ Wesleyan Church Membership Register, 1889-1996, located in Sandford, Nova Scotia.

⁴ Sources: Elmsdale Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1917-1920, located in Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island; Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, located in Oxford, Nova Scotia.

⁵ Sources: Bloomfield Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Second Methodist Church Sunday School Class Records, 1887, located at Trinity United Church, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; Warren W. Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island* (Summerside, PE: Williams and Crue, 1984), 214, 227; Port Hood Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Sackville Methodist Church Minute Book, 1900, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Souris East Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Upper Sackville Methodist Church Membership Roll, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2.

⁶ Sources: Arcadia Baptist Church Register, 1886- 1991, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.765/1; Canning Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1867- 1904, Acadia University Archives, D1900.818/1; Knowlesville Free Christina Baptist Church, in Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 86; Lower Millstream Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1885-1977, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS D1900.587/3; New Jerusalem First Baptist Church Revised List

Table 9	Age Profile of Adherents (1901) - Salvation Army ⁷
Table 10	Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Reformed Baptist Alliance ⁸
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Table 14	Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Conference of Free Christian Baptists ¹¹

of Members, made from the original list as revised near end of preceding Church Book, June 1931, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.630/2; Sandford United Baptist Church Records, 1866-1936, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.277/1; Victoria Street United Baptist Church Membership Register, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2; Wilson's Beach Free Christian Baptist Church Records, 1888-1923, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.745/1.

⁷ Source: 1901 Canada Census.

⁸ Sources: Hartland Wesleyan Church Records, 1888-1920, located in Hartland, New Brunswick; The 85th Anniversary of the Seal Cove Wesleyan Church, 26 September 1974; Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church, 195-97*; Sandford Reformed Baptist Church/ Wesleyan Church Membership Register, 1889-1996, Sandford, Nova Scotia.

⁹ Sources: Elmsdale Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1917-1920, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island; Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, Oxford, Nova Scotia.

¹⁰ Sources: Bloomfield Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Second Methodist Church Sunday School Class Records, 1887, located at Trinity United Church, Charlottetown, PE; Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island*, 214, 227; Port Hood Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Sackville Methodist Church Minute Book, 1900, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Souris East Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Upper Sackville Methodist Church Membership Roll, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2.

¹¹ Sources: Arcadia Baptist Church Register, 1886- 1991, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, D1900.765/1; Canning Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1867- 1904, Acadia University Archives, D1900.818/1; Knowlesville Free Christian Baptist Church, in Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 86; Lower Millstream Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1885-1977, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, D1900.587/3; New Jerusalem First Baptist Church Revised List of Members, made from the original list as revised near end of preceding Church Book, June 1931, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.630/2; Sandford United Baptist Church Records, 1866-1936, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.277/1; Victoria Street United Baptist Church Membership Register, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2; Wilson's Beach Free Christian Baptist

Table 15	Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Reformed Baptist Alliance ¹²
Table 16	Gender Profile of Membership (1907 and 1917 - Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene ¹³
Table 17	Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Comparison of Methodist Church, Conference of Free Christian Baptists, Reformed Baptist Alliance, and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene
Table 18	Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) – Methodist Church (according to classifications) ¹⁴
Table 19	Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) – Conference of Free Christian Baptists (according to classifications) ¹⁵
Table 20	Occupational Profile of Adherents (1901) - Salvation Army (according to Classifications) ¹⁶

Church Records, 1888-1923, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.745/1.

¹² Sources: Hartland Wesleyan Church Records, 1888-1920, located in Hartland, New Brunswick; The 85th Anniversary of the Seal Cove Wesleyan Church, 26 September 1974; Crawford-Macaulay, *One Hundred Years of a Country Church*, 195-97; Sandford Reformed Baptist Church/ Wesleyan Church Membership Register, 1889-1996, Sandford, NS.

¹³ Sources: Elmsdale Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1917-1920, Elmsdale, Prince Edward Island; Oxford Church of the Nazarene Membership Roll, 1902-1907, Oxford, Nova Scotia.

¹⁴ Sources: Bloomfield Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Second Methodist Church Sunday School Class Records, 1887, located at Trinity United Church, Charlottetown, PE; Goss, *Methodists, Bible Christians and Presbyterians in Prince Edward Island*, 214, 227; Port Hood Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Sackville Methodist Church Minute Book, 1900, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Souris East Methodist Church Minute Book, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2; Upper Sackville Methodist Church Membership Roll, 1901, Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, PC-752/16, MS2A2

¹⁵ Sources: Arcadia Baptist Church Register, 1886- 1991, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.765/1; Canning Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1867- 1904, Acadia University Archives, D1900.818/1; Knowlesville Free Christian Baptist Church, in Corey, *Story of Knowlesville*, 86; Lower Millstream Free Christian Baptist/ United Baptist Church Membership Roll, 1885-1977, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS D1900.587/3; New Jerusalem First Baptist Church Revised List of Members, made from the original list as revised near end of preceding Church Book, June 1931, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.630/2; Sandford United Baptist Church Records, 1866-1936, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.277/1; Victoria Street United Baptist Church Membership Register, 1904-1925, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.694/2; Wilson's Beach Free Christian Baptist Church Records, 1888-1923, Esther Clark Wright Collection of Baptist History, Acadia University Archives, Wolfville, NS, D1900.745/1

¹⁶ Source: 1901 Canada Census.

Table 21	Occupational Profile of Members (1901) -Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada (according to classifications) ¹⁷
Table 22	Occupational Profile of Membership (1907 and 1917) - Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (according to classifications) ¹⁸
Table 23	Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) - Methodist Church Sample ¹⁹
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Table 26	Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) -Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada ²²
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Table 28	Comparison of Occupational Profiles of Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Salvationists, Reformed Baptists Pentecostal Nazarenes (1901)

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Source: 1901, 1911 and 1921 Canada Census.

¹⁹ Source: 1901 Canada Census.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Source: 1901, 1911 and 1921 Canada Census.

Table 1 Entire Sanctification Testimonies, 1880 - 1920

Name	Religious Affiliation at the time of Entire Sanctification	Source
Ainley, William	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 24 May 1888, 2
Alexander, James W.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 14 July 1882, 1
John S. Allen	Methodist	<i>Wes</i> , 24 March 1887, 2
Anonymous	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 24 December 1880, 2
Anonymous	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 13 December 1888, 2
Babcock, Freeman	Free Christian Baptist	<i>RI</i> , 30 April 1902, 1
Ballentine, George N.	Regular Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 16 March 1914, 1
Barker, J. H.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 24 May 1888, 4
Barss, Moses	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 7 April 1892, 3
Beal, Mrs W. S.	Reformed Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 31 October 1910, 3
Blaney, Mrs John	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 3 January 1913, 6
Bliss, Amos A.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 21 December 1883, 2
Bowser, J. Wesley	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 20 May 1881, 3
Bowser, Robert	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 15 August 1884, 2
Brandon, Mrs	Salvation Army	Robert Warren Diary, 1 July 1905
Brewer, W. W.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 21 June 1888, 3
Burpee, L. M.	Reformed Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 15 August 1907, 3
Carr, Franklin	Reformed Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 15 January 1915, 2
Case, George F.	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 27 February 1915, 5
Clark, Mrs	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 28 February 1914, 3
Clark, Simeon	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 14 February 1914, 3
Clark, Mrs Simeon	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 14 February 1914, 3
Cowperthwaite, H. P.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 1 March 1888, 3
Cosman, Horatio H.	Free Christian Baptist	<i>RI</i> , 30 March 1887, 4
Coy, J. Henry	Regular Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 15 July 1919, 8
Dawson, John L.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 23 August 1888, 2.
Dixon, Frank W.	Reformed Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 15 January 1916, 1
Doane, Fannie	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 8 May 1890, 4
Donkin, Frederick	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 6 January 1882, 2
Doucette, Zilpah	Roman Catholic	<i>KH</i> , January 1892, 2
Downey, George A.	Free Christian Baptist	<i>RI</i> , 13 August 1890, 5
Embree, Mrs Barry	Methodist	<i>BC</i> , 16 May 1908, 8
Estabrooks, A.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 25 December 1884, 3
Estabrooks, Elijah	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , January 1891, 2
Fisher, J. M.	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 8 June 1898, 4
Fulton, Mrs Silas	Methodist	<i>WES</i> , 12 January 1888, 3
Grant, Evelyn	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 30 November 1915, 3
Gravinor, John	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 30 September 1911, 2
Gray, G. G.	Free Christian Baptist	<i>KH</i> , 3 January 1913, 6
Green, M.	Free Christian Baptist	<i>RI</i> , 27 April 1887, 5

Hamilton, Miss	Regular Baptist	WES, 25 September 1884, 4
Hardy, John	Salvation Army	Herbert Wood, <i>They Blazed the Trail</i> , 74
Hartley, George T.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, October 1891, 3
Hart, Joseph	Methodist	WES, 2 April 1880, 2
Heine, James Roscoe	Free Christian Baptist	James Roscoe Heine Diary, 4
Hillman, Sarah	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 30 November 1915, 3
Hoyt, Mrs G. Hartley	Reformed Baptist	KH, 15 March 1915, 6
Huestis, George O.	Methodist	WES, 12 August 1881, 2
Hunter, Mr	Methodist	WES, 11 July 1895, 3
Hutchinson, Mc. A.	Methodist	WES, 11 March 1896, 7
Johnson, Miss	Salvation Army	Diary of Robert Warren, 1 July 1905
Jones, Eliphalet	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 March 1915, 5
Jones, W. W.	Reformed Baptist	KH, 15 February 1901, 3
Jost, Jeremiah V.	Methodist	WES, 29 August 1891, 3
Kierstead, Ida	Reformed Baptist	KH, 31 May 1909, 3
King, Louis J.	unaffiliated	L.F. Martique, <i>Trials and Travels</i> , 87
Kinghorn, William	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 4 May 1893, 2
Kinney, Aaron	Free Christian Baptist	RI, 20 October 1886, 4
Lathern, John	Methodist	WES, 16 October 1895, 4
Lawson, Mrs Charles	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 30 August 1915, 8
Leard, Isabella	Methodist	WES, 2 September 1896, 7
Lipsett, Mrs Truth E.	Methodist	WES, 2 March 1897, 6
Lockhart, Christopher	Methodist	WES, 8 December 1887, 3
Lodge, W. W.	Methodist	WES, 12 February 1902, 7
Lucas, 'Brother'	Salvation Army	Wood, <i>They Blazed the Trail</i> , 80
Lucas, 'Sister'	Salvation Army	Ibid., 81
Macmillan, Charles Leslie	Presbyterian	Fred Macmillan, <i>Profiles of Faith</i> , 23
McDonald, George W.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1903, 2
McLachlan, G. H.	Methodist	WES, 1 December 1887, 2
McLeod, D.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 30 March 1915, 6
McMullin, Stephen	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1909, 2
McNinch, Asa	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 30 March 1915, 6
Minard, Burton	Free Christian Baptist	RI, 9 January 1885, 4
Mitchell, George	Methodist	WES, 7 April 1892, 3
Moses, Thomas William	Reformed Baptist	KH, 15 April 1896, 4
Newton, G.	Methodist	KH, 15 August 1909, 4
Noble, F. H.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 16 August 1915, 5
Noble, Joseph	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 May 1916, 4
Page, I. E.	Reformed Baptist	WES, 8 May 1889, 3

Peel, William	Methodist	Martique, <i>Trials and Travels</i> , 132
Peel, Mrs William	Methodist	WES, 18 May 1898, 7
Peel, Myrta	Methodist	Macmillan, <i>Profiles of Faith</i> , 7
Perrin, Clarence	Methodist	WES, 9 May 1895, 3
Perry, John	Free Christian Baptist	RI, 18 December 1885, 2
Porter, Edna	Reformed Baptist	KH, 31 May 1909, 4
Reed, Caroline	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 31 May 1915, 8
Ritcy, Mrs Jacob	Methodist	WES, 23 November 1883, 6
Rix, Lillian Pridham	Presbyterian	Personal Correspondence with author, 6 January 1984
Rogers, Chloe	Methodist	WES, 23 February 1888, 3
Saunders, Hephzibah	Reformed Baptist	KH, 15 February 1913, 4
Seeley, J. Hamilton	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1916, 1
Seeley, Mrs. J. Hamilton	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1916, 1
Shaw, Hadyn	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1920, 6
Shaw, Mrs Hadyn	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1920, 6
Shenton, Job	Methodist	WES, 21 June 1886, 2
Slipp, Ella	Reformed Baptist	KH, 27 February 1915, 6
Smith, James T.	Methodist	WES, 24 August 1898, 5
Smith, Robert W.	Methodist	WES, 13 October 1887, 3
Smith, Sarah	Methodist	WES, 22 September 1887, 3
Smith, W. Edmund	Reformed Baptist	KH, 27 February 1915, 8
Stickney, Mrs William	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 January 1916, 5
Storey, Mrs G. B.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 30 October 1915, 6
Taylor, Alexander	Free Christian Baptist	WES, 4 January 1888, 1
Thomas, E. B.	Methodist	WES, 27 October 1887, 3
Trafton, George B.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 November 1910, 1
Trafton, Mrs Myles S.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 14 February 1914, 5
Truman, S. Hiram	Methodist	WES, 9 May 1895, 3
Walker, J. Herbert	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 31 May 1909, 3
Watt, L. C.	Free Christian Baptist	KH, 15 September 1914, 1
Watts, Catherine	Methodist	WES, 21 March 1884, 2
Weldon, Mary A.	Methodist	WES, 18 August 1882, 3
Wellcome, Mrs W. D.	Methodist	WES, 22 June 1883, 3
Whelpley, Mrs D	Reformed Baptist	KH, 15 January 1915, 8
Wood, Mrs George	Methodist	WES, 27 September 1888, 3

Table 2 Entire Sanctification Newspaper Accounts 1880-1920 (by Decade)

Newspapers	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1920	Total
<i>Beulah Christian</i>	--	--	1	--	1
<i>King's Highway</i>	--	5	8	35	48
<i>Religious Intelligencer</i>	5	1	1	--	7
<i>War Cry</i>	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Wesleyan</i>	32	14	1	--	47
Total	37	20	11	35	103

Table 3 Entire Sanctification Accounts from All Accessible Sources, 1880-1920 (by Decade)

Source	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1920	Total
Diaries	1	--	2	--	3
Newspapers	37	20	11	35	103
Personal Correspondence	--	--	1	--	1
Published Biographies	1	2	4	--	7
Total	39	22	18	35	114

Table 4 Salvation Army Corps in the Maritime Provinces, 1885-1920²⁴

Year	Corps	Location	Total
1885	14	Saint John, NB Saint John II, NB (Closed 1888) Sussex, NB Saint John III, NB (Closed 1976) Carlisle, NB (Closed 1890) Moncton, NB Fredericton, NB Halifax I, NS St Stephen, NB (Closed 1900) Truro, NS Dartmouth, NS Westville, NS (Closed 1889) Stellarton, NS (Closed 1890) Woodstock, NB	14
1886	21	St George, NB (Closed 1892) Charlottetown, PE Springhill Mines, NS Kentville, NS (Closed 1900) Summerside, PE (Closed 1943) Shediac, NB (Closed 1892) Annapolis, NS (Closed 1921) Petitcodiac, NB (Closed 1892) Windsor, NS (Closed 2000) Dorchester, NB (Closed 1912) Salisbury, NB (Closed 1892) Parrsboro, NS (Closed 1900) Bathurst, NB (Closed 1928) Saint John IV, NB Campbellton, NB Newcastle, NB (Closed 1935) Chatham, NB (Closed 1942) Yarmouth, NS Liverpool, NS (Closed 1912) Hillsboro, NB (Closed 1912) Lunenburg, NS	35
1887	17	North Head, NB (Closed 1912) Bear River, NS (Closed 1921) Digby, NS (Closed 1900) Georgetown, PE (Closed 1912) St Andrews, NB (Closed 1892)	52

²⁴ *Salvation Army Corps Openings, 1885-1960* (Toronto, ON: Salvation Army Triumph Press, 1960), 20-63.

		Bridgetown, NS (Closed 1900) New Glasgow, NS (Closed 1892) Waterville, NS (Closed 1912) Pugwash, NS (Closed 1935) Chester, NS (Closed 1892) Hartland, NB (Closed 1892) Shubenacadie, NS (Closed 1892) Victoria Corner, NB (Closed 1892) Canning, NS (Closed 1900) Oxford, NS Sackville, NB (Closed 1909) St John III	
1888	6	Westport, NS (Closed 1892) Sydney, NS Freeport, NS (Closed 1912) Lawrencetown, NS (Closed 1892) Hillsboro, NB Amherst, NS	58
1889	5	Hampton, NB (Closed 1900) Shelburne, NS (Closed 1900) Fairville, NB (Closed 1910) Halifax II, NS Pictou, NS	63
1890	2	Halifax III, NS (Closed 1928) Saint John V, NB (Closed 1914)	65
1892	2	Bridgewater, NS (Closed 1900) Saint John V, NB	67
1893	1	Clark's Harbour, NS (Closed 1928)	68
1895	2	Sydney Mines, NS Glance Bay, NS	70
1899	1	Saint John, VI, NB	71
1901	1	Louisburg, NS (Closed 1920)	72
1902	5	Halifax IV, NS (Closed 1909) Dominion, NS (Closed 1912) Glance Bay II, NS (Closed 1912) Whitney Pier, NS (Closed 1999) Port Hood, NS (Closed 1920)	77
1903	2	Londonderry, NS (Closed 1921) Inverness, NS (Closed 1912)	79
1915	1	Alberton, PE (Closed 1921)	80
1917	1	Trenton, NS	81
1919	1	Florence, NS (Closed 1947)	82
1920	--		82
Total	82		82

Table 5 Reformed Baptist Churches in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1888-1920²⁵

Year	Number of Churches Established	Location	Total Number of Churches	Total Membership
1888	8	Hartland, NB Lower Southampton, NB Nortondale, NB Saint John, NB Upper Woodstock, NB Victoria Corner, NB Waterville, NB Woodstock, NB	8	540
1889	19	Bloomfield, NB Brazil Lake, NS Campbell Settlement, NB Cedar Lake, NS Geary, NB Jacksonville, NB Lower Hainsville, NB Maple Ridge, NB Maplewood, NB Mercer Settlement, NB Middle Southampton, NB Millville, NB Moncton, NB Nashwaak, NB North Head, NB Port Maitland, NS Royalton, NB Sandford, NS Seal Cove, NB	27	* ²⁶
1890	2	Mapleton, NB Riverdale, NS	29	*
1891	2	Greenbush, NB Upper Hainsville, NB	31	*
1892	2	Lutz Mountain, NB Woodward's Cove, NB	33	*
1893	5	Canterbury, NB Lower Brighton, NB Lubec Ridge, ME	38	1,296

²⁵ *History of the Organization of the Reformed Baptist Denomination of the Dominion of Canada* (Saint John, NB: George E. Day, 1890), 1-55, and Bernard Mullen, *A Beulah Journal: The First Fifty Years, 1894-1944* (Quincy, MA: Eastern Nazarene College Press, 1994) 1-99.

²⁶ * denotes no available record.

		Meductic, NB North Lubec, ME		
1894	4	Dennysville, ME Marysville, NB West Pembroke, ME Phinney's Cove	42	*
1895	3	Beals, ME Hartfield, NB Parker's Cove, NS	45	*
1896	--	--	45	1,515
1897	1	Calais, ME	46	
1898	--	--	46	1,574
1899	--	--	46	1,642
1900	1	Bristol, NB	47	1,555
1902	--	--	47	1,600
1903	1	Westchester, NS	48	*
1904	1	Amherst, NS	49	1,664
1905	2	Fort Fairfield, ME Holderville, NB	51	*
1906	1	Head of Millstream, NB	52	*
1907	4	Gordonsville, NB Grey's Mills, NB New Tusket, NS Upper Springfield, NB	56	1,817
1908	2	Four Falls, NB Lower Millstream, NB	58	1,915
1909	3	Caribou, ME Norton, NB Perth, NB	61	*
1910	2	Fredericton, NB Mount Hope, NB	63	*
1911	1	Rosedale, NB	64	*
1912	1	Jonesport, ME	65	*
1913	1	Knoxford, NB	66	1,899
1914	--	--	66	1,907
1915	--	--	66	1,835
1916	1	Wood Island, NB	67	1,804
1917	--	--	67	1,938
1918	--	--	67	2,047
1919	--	--	67	1,980
1920	--	--	67	2,157
Total	67	--	67	2,157

Table 6 Pentecostal Nazarene Churches in the Maritime Provinces, 1902- 1920²⁷

Year	Number of Churches Organised	Location
1902	2	Oxford, NS Springhill, NS (closed, 1968)
1909	1	Collingwood, NS (closed, 1910)
1910	1	Yarmouth, NS (closed, 1916)
1914	1	Wicklow, NB (closed, 1914)
1917	1	Elmsdale, PE

Table 7 Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Methodist Church

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville, NB	Total
Membership	22	81	33	78	206	39	88	547
70+ years	2	8	2	8	7	2	3	32
60-69 years	1	17	1	6	19	3	12	59
50-59 years	3	15	5	13	35	5	10	86
40-49 years	4	13	4	15	43	8	17	104
30-39 years	8	18	3	9	40	11	11	100
20-29 years	2	9	4	9	39	7	22	92
10-19 years	2	1	6	16	22	2	11	60
0-9 years	--	--	8	2	1	1	2	14

²⁷ Minutes of the Association of Pentecostal Church of America, 1902-1907, Proceedings of the New England District Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 1907-1919, Church of the Nazarene Archives, Lenexa, Kansas.

Table 8 Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Conference of Free Christian Baptists

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NB	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Saint John NB	Sandford NB	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Membership	167	68	44	61	88	300	104	56	888
70+ years	16	12	6	3	3	29	15	4	88
60-69 years	29	9	3	4	2	37	17	10	111
50-59 years	25	11	12	10	13	38	24	7	140
40-49 years	22	16	11	12	17	41	21	9	149
30-39 years	30	11	5	12	9	59	9	13	148
20-29 years	30	8	7	9	16	56	11	12	149
10-19 years	10	1	--	7	25	34	5	1	83
0-9 years	5	--	--	4	3	6	2	--	20

Table 9 Age Profile of Adherents (1901) - Salvation Army

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
Membership	566	1055	127	1748
70+ years	10	18	14	42
60-69 years	30	32	1	63
50-59 years	38	70	5	113
40-49 years	64	86	15	165
30-39 years	91	183	22	296
20-29 years	122	215	22	359
10-19 years	99	196	30	325
0-9 years	112	255	18	385

Table 10 Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Reformed Baptist Alliance

Church	Hartland, NB	North Head, NB	Royalton, NB	Sandford, NS	Total
Membership	27	18	96	67	208
70+ Years	--	5	--	2	7
60-69 years	1	3	4	7	15
50-59 years	5	5	6	15	31
40-49 years	5	--	29	13	47
30-39 years	6	--	23	12	41
20-29 years	6	5	17	15	43
10-19 years	4	--	15	2	21
0-9 years	--	--	2	1	3

Table 11 Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene

Church	Elmsdale, PEI	Oxford, NS	Total
Membership	27	31	58
70+ years	--	2	2
60-69 years	1	1	2
50-59 years	--	1	1
40-49 years	6	5	11
30-39 years	10	8	18
20-29 years	3	2	5
10-19 years	7	5	12
0-9 years	--	7	7

Table 12 Age Profile of Membership (1901) - Comparison of Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Salvationists, Reformed Baptists and Pentecostal Nazarenes

Denomination	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Methodist Church	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Salvation Army	Total
Membership	888	547	58	208	1748	3449
70+ years	88	32	2	7	42	171
60-69 years	111	59	2	15	63	250
50-59 years	140	86	1	31	113	371
40-49 years	149	104	11	47	165	476
30-39 years	148	100	18	41	296	603
20-29 years	149	92	5	43	359	648
10-19 years	83	60	12	21	325	501
0-9 years	20	14	7	3	385	429

Table 13 Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Methodist Church

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
Membership	20	81	26	66	189	37	78	497
Adult males	8	46	9	28	64	19	37	211
Adult females	12	35	17	38	125	18	41	286

Table 14 Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Conference of Free Christian Baptists

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Saint John NB	Sandford NS	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Membership	153	66	41	54	69	274	98	54	809
Adult males	70	31	21	28	32	125	43	31	381
Adult females	83	35	20	26	37	149	55	23	428

Table 15 Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Reformed Baptist Alliance

Church	Hartland, NB	North Head, NB	Royalton, NB	Sandford, NS	Total
Membership	22	18	88	65	193
Adult males	8	9	42	25	84
Adult females	14	9	46	40	109

Table 16 Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene

Church	Elmsdale, PEI	Oxford, NS	Total
Membership	24	19	43
Adult males	15	12	27
Adult females	9	7	16

Table 17 Gender Profile of Membership (1901) - Comparison of Methodist Church, Conference of Free Christian Baptists, Reformed Baptist Alliance, and Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene

Denomination	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Methodist Church	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Total
Membership	809	497	43	193	1542
Adult males	381	211	27	84	703
Adult females	428	286	16	109	839

**Table 18 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) – Methodist Church
(according to NOC classifications)²⁸**

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
Management	--	10	--	2	14	5	--	31
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	--	--	3	1	--	4
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	3
Health	--	1	--	--	3	--	--	4
Education	--	--	--	--	9	--	2	13
Law and Social	--	1	--	1	6	1	1	10
Community and Government	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	2
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sales and Service	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	2	16	--	--	24	3	6	51
Natural Resources and Agriculture	7	4	14	21	35	10	--	118
Manufacturing and Utilities	--	4	--	1	8	--	--	18
Total	11	37	14	25	105	21	41	254

²⁸ Canadian National Occupation Classifications, 2012.

Table 19 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) – Conference of Free Christian Baptists (according to NOC classifications)

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Saint John NB	Sandford NS	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Management	3	--	--	--	1	15	1	3	23
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	1	--	--	3	--	--	4
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Health	--	1	--	1	--	3	--	--	5
Education	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Law and Social, Community and Government	2	1	--	2	2	5	--	--	12
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sales and Service	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	28	5	--	26	2	47	8	--	116
Natural Resources and Agriculture	39	10	17	14	26	18	27	24	175
Manufacturing and Utilities	6	--	1	2	5	23	1	5	43
Total	78	17	19	45	37	116	37	32	381

Table 20 Occupational Profile of Adherents (1901) - Salvation Army (according to NOC classifications)

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
Management	3	6	3	10
Business, Finance and Administration	--	1	--	1
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--	--
Health	6	2	--	8
Education	1	3	--	4
Law and Social, Community and Government	24	28	--	58
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	1	--	--	1
Sales and Service	5	2	2	9
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	54	73	20	138
Natural Resources and Agriculture	32	67	4	100
Manufacturing and Utilities	62	111	6	179
Total	188	281	39	508

Table 21 Occupational Profile of Members (1901) -Reformed Baptist Alliance of Canada (according to NOC classifications)

Church	Hartland NB	North Head NB	Royalton NB	Sandford NS	Total
Management	2	--	--	--	2
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	--	--	--
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	1	--	1
Health	--	--	--	--	--
Education	--	--	1	--	1
Law and Social, Community and Government	--	--	--	2	2
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	1	--	--	--	1
Sales and Service	1	--	--	--	1
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	3	--	--	3	6
Natural Resources and Agriculture	5	9	11	17	42
Manufacturing and Utilities	1	2	3	1	7
Total	11	11	16	23	61

Table 22 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) - Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (according to NOC classifications)

Church	Elmsdale PEI	Oxford NS	Total
Management	--	--	--
Business, Finance and Administration	--	--	--
Natural and Applied Sciences	--	--	--
Health	--	--	--
Education	--	--	--
Law and social, Community and Government	1	--	1
Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport	--	--	--
Sales and Service	--	--	--
Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators	1	--	1
Natural Resources and Agriculture	7	7	14
Manufacturing and Utilities	4	6	10
Total	13	13	26

Table 23 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) Methodist Church Sample

Church	Bloomfield NB	Charlottetown PEI	Miminegash PEI	Port Hood NS	Sackville NB	Souris East PEI	Upper Sackville NB	Total
Accountant	--	--	--	--	3	1	--	4
Banker	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	3
Blacksmith	--	1	--	--	2	--	1	4
Brakeman	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Butcher	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Can Maker	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
Carpenter	2	1	--	--	6	--	--	9
Carriage Trimmer	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Collar Maker	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
College professor	--	--	--	--	4	--	--	4
Dressmaker	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Engineer	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	3
Factory Worker	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Farmer	7	3	13	9	31	10	26	99
Fisherman	--	--	1	10	--	--	--	11
Harness maker	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Hotel owner	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	2
Labourer	--	3	--	1	4	1	2	11
Lawyer	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Lime Burner	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Livery Stableman	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Machinist	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Mason	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	3
Mayor	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Mechanic	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Merchant	--	7	--	2	13	4	--	26
Medical Doctor	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Military	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Milkman	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Miller	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Miner	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	2
Minister	--	1	--	1	3	1	--	6
Nurse	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Painter	--	--	--	--	1	--	3	4

Postal Worker	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Potter	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Railroad Builder	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
Saddler	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Sailor	--	1	--	1	4	--	--	6
Seedsman	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Senator	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Servant	--	--	--	--	4	--	1	5
Shoemaker	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Stove Manufacturer	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Tanner	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Teacher	2	--	--	--	5	--	2	9
Tinsmith	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Train Conductor	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Truckman	--	1	--	--	1	--	1	3
Total	11	37	14	25	105	21	41	254

Table 24 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) Free Christian Baptist Sample

Church	Arcadia NS	Canning NS	Knowlesville NB	Lower Millstream NB	New Jerusalem NB	Saint John NB	Sandford NS	Wilson's Beach NB	Total
Agent	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Asylum Director	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Axe Maker	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Banker	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Beer Maker	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Blacksmith	--	1	--	3	1	3	--	--	8
Carpenter	10	2	--	11	--	14	--	--	37
Clerk	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Coachman	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Cooper	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Cotton Mill Worker	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Dressmaker	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
Engineer	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Engraver	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Farmer	32	10	17	14	26	11	19	3	132
Fireman	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Fisherman	7	--	--	--	--	7	8	21	43
Gardener	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Hotel owner	1	--	--	--	--	4	1	--	6
Inspector	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Janitor	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Labourer	1	--	--	2	5	14	--	5	27
Machinist	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Mason	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
Merchant	2	--	--	--	1	11	--	3	17
Medical Doctor	--	1	--	1	--	3	--	--	5
Miller	1	--	--	11	--	6	--	--	18
Miner	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Minister	1	1	--	2	2	--	--	--	6
Moulder	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Nail Cutter	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Painter	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5
Policeman	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Porter	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Postal Worker	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	--	4

Railroad Builder	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	2
Sail Maker	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
Sailor	6	1	--	--	--	8	4	--	18
Servant	4	--	1	--	--	4	1	--	10
Stevedore	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Teamster	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Tinsmith	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Translator	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Truckman	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	--	4
Upholsterer	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Washer	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Wire Operator	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Total	79	17	19	45	37	116	37	32	381

Table 25 Occupational Profile of Salvation Army Adherents (1901) New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island

Province	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	Prince Edward Island	Total
Agent	--	1	--	1
Artist	1	--	--	1
Axe Grinder	3	--	--	3
Baker	--	1	--	1
Barber	--	1	--	1
Bartender	--	--	1	1
Blacksmith	3	6	1	10
Brick Maker	--	3	1	4
Bookkeeper	--	1	--	1
Bridge Builder	1	--	--	1
Butcher	2	1	--	3
Candy Maker	--	1	--	1
Car Builder	--	1	--	1
Carder	--	4	--	4
Carpenter	16	20	3	40
Carriage Trimmer	--	1	--	1
Caulker	--	3	--	3
Clergy	1	2	--	3
Clerk	5	1	2	8
Compositor	1	1	--	2
Cooper	1	2	--	4
Delivery Man	--	1	--	1
Doctor	--	1	--	1
Dressmaker	11	4	3	18
Engine Driver	--	1	--	1
Farmer	15	18	4	37
Factory Worker	2	--	--	2
Fisherman	8	--	--	8
Gardener	--	3	--	3
Harness Maker	2	--	--	2
Hotel Owner	1	2	--	3
Iron Moulder	--	3	--	3
Lamp Maker	--	1	--	1
Janitor	2	2	--	4
Junk Dealer	--	1	--	1
Labourer	28	48	1	77
Laundry Maid	1	4	--	5
Letter Carrier	--	1	--	1
Lithographer	--	1	--	1
Loader	--	2	--	2

Machinist	2	1	2	5
Mattress Maker	1	--	--	1
Merchant	2	4	1	7
Miller	--	--	1	--
Miner	--	30	--	30
Nurse	6	1	--	7
Painter	3	2	2	7
Plasterer	--	--	2	2
Porter	1	--	--	1
Pram Repair	--	1	--	1
Photographer	--	2	--	2
Piano Tuner	--	--	1	1
Pressman	1	--	--	1
Printer	--	2	1	3
Prison Warden	1	--	--	1
Prisoner	--	3	--	3
Quarryman	--	4	--	4
Sailor	6	16	--	22
Salvation Army Officer	22	25	6	53
Servant	21	30	4	55
Ship Carpenter	--	4	--	4
Shoe Maker	1	--	--	1
Soap Maker	1	--	--	1
Stableman	1	2	--	3
Stone Cutter	--	--	1	1
Tanner	2	--	--	2
Teacher	1	3	--	4
Teamster	5	5	--	10
Telegraph Operator	--	1	--	1
Truckman	1	1	1	3
Watch Maker	--	--	1	1
Weaver	1	1	--	2
Web Drawer	2	--	--	2
Woodsman	3	--	--	3
Total	189	281	36	508

Table 26 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) Reformed Baptists

Church	Hartland, NB	North Head, NB	Royalton, NB	Sandford, NS	Total
Dressmaker	1	--	--	--	1
Engineer	--	--	---	--	---
Farmer	5	4	11	7	26
Fisherman	--	5	--	10	15
Harness maker	1	--	--	--	1
Hotel owner	1	--	--	--	1
Labourer	1	2	3	1	8
Merchant	1	--	--	--	1
Minister	--	--	--	2	2
Sailor	--	--	--	3	3
Shoemaker	1	--	--	--	1
Tanner	1	--	--	--	1
Teacher	--	--	1	--	1
Total	12	11	16	23	61

Table 27 Occupational Profile of Membership (1901) Pentecostal Nazarenes

Church	Elmsdale, PEI	Oxford, NS	Total
Blacksmith	1	--	1
Farmer	7	6	13
Labourer	4	5	9
Lumberer	--	1	1
Policeman	1	--	1
Servant	--	1	1
Total	13	13	26

Table 28 Occupational Profile Comparison of Methodists, Free Christian Baptists, Salvationists and Reformed Baptists (1901) and Pentecostal Nazarenes (1907, 1917)

Denomination	Conference of Free Christian Baptists	Methodist Church	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	Reformed Baptist Alliance	Salvation Army	Total
Accountant	--	4	--	--	--	4
Agent	1	--	--	--	1	2
Asylum Director	1	--	--	--	--	1
Axe Grinder	--	--	--	--	3	3
Axe Maker	1	--	--	--	--	1
Baker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Banker	1	3	--	--	--	4
Barber	--	--	--	--	1	1
Bartender	--	--	--	--	1	1
Beer Maker	1	--	--	--	--	1
Blacksmith	8	4	1	--	10	23
Bookkeeper	--	--	--	--	1	1
Brakeman	--	1	--	--	--	1
Brick maker	--	--	--	--	4	4
Bridge Builder	--	--	--	--	1	1
Butcher	--	1	--	--	3	4
Can Maker	--	2	--	--	--	2
Candy Maker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Car Builder	--	--	--	--	1	1
Carder	--	--	--	--	4	4
Carpenter	37	9	--	--	39	85
Carriage Trimmer	--	1	--	--	1	2
Caulker	--	--	--	--	3	3
Clerk	1	--	--	--	8	9
Coachman	1	--	--	--	--	1
Collar maker	--	1	--	--	--	1
College Professor	--	4	--	--	--	4
Compositor	--	--	--	--	2	2
Cooper	2	--	--	--	3	5
Cotton Mill Worker	1	--	--	--	--	1
Delivery Man	--	--	--	--	1	1
Dressmaker	2	1	--	1	18	22
Engineer	1	3	--	---	--	4
Engine Driver	--	--	--	--	1	1
Engraver	1	--	--	--	--	1
Factory Worker	--	1	--	--	2	3
Farmer	132	99	13	27	37	308

Fireman	2	--	--	--	--	2
Fisherman	43	11	--	15	8	77
Gardener	1	--	--	--	3	4
Harness Maker	--	3	--	1	2	6
Hotel Owner	6	2	--	1	3	12
Inspector	2	--	--	--	--	2
Iron Moulder	--	--	--	--	3	3
Janitor	1	--	--	--	4	5
Junk Dealer	--	--	--	--	1	1
Labourer	27	11	9	8	77	132
Lamp Maker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Laundry Maid	--	--	--	--	5	5
Lawyer	--	3	--	--	--	3
Letter Carrier	--	--	--	--	1	1
Lime Burner	--	1	--	--	--	1
Lithographer	--	--	--	--	1	1
Livery Stableman	--	1	--	--	--	1
Loader	--	--	--	--	2	2
Lumberer	--	--	1	--	--	1
Machinist	1	1	--	--	5	7
Mason	2	3	--	--	--	5
Mattress Maker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Mayor	--	1	--	--	--	1
Mechanic	--	2	--	--	--	2
Merchant	17	26	--	1	7	51
Medical Doctor	5	3	--	--	1	9
Military	--	1	--	--	--	1
Milkman	--	1	--	--	--	1
Miller	18	1	--	--	--	19
Miner	1	2	--	--	30	33
Minister	6	6	--	2	3	17
Moulder	1	--	--	--	--	1
Nail Cutter	1	--	--	--	--	1
Nurse	--	1	--	--	7	8
Painter	5	4	--	--	7	16
Photographer	--	--	--	--	2	1
Piano Tuner	--	--	--	--	1	1
Plasterer	--	--	--	--	2	2
Policeman	1	--	1	--	--	2
Porter	1	--	--	--	1	2
Postal Worker	4	1	--	--	--	5
Potter	--	1	--	--	--	1
Pram Repair	--	--	--	--	1	1
Pressman	--	--	--	--	1	1
Printer	--	--	--	--	3	3

Prison Warden	--	--	--	--	1	1
Prisoner	--	--	--	--	3	3
Quarryman	--	--	--	--	4	4
Railroad Builder	2	2	--	--	--	4
Saddler	--	2	--	--	--	2
Sail Maker	2	--	--	--	--	2
Sailor	19	6	--	3	22	50
Salvation Army Officer	--	--	--	--	53	53
Seedsman	--	1	--	--	--	1
Senator	--	1	--	--	--	1
Servant	10	5	1	--	55	71
Ship Carpenter	--	--	--	--	4	4
Shoemaker	--	1	--	1	1	3
Soap Maker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Stableman	--	--	--	--	3	3
Stevedore	1	--	--	--	--	1
Stone Cutter	--	--	--	--	1	1
Stove Manufacturer	--	1	--	--	--	1
Tanner	--	1	--	1	2	4
Teacher	--	9	--	1	4	14
Teamster	3	--	--	--	10	13
Telegraph Operator	--	--	--	--	1	1
Tinsmith	1	1	--	--	--	2
Train Conductor	--	1	--	--	--	1
Translator	1	--	--	--	--	1
Truckman	4	3	--	--	3	10
Upholsterer	1	--	--	--	--	1
Washer	1	--	--	--	--	1
Watch Maker	--	--	--	--	1	1
Weaver	--	--	--	--	2	2
Web Drawer	--	--	--	--	2	2
Wire Operator	1	--	--	--	--	1
Woodsman	--	--	--	--	3	3
Total	382	254	26	62	506	1230