AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION, 1607-1900

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The world of American religion and the world of American women have often overlapped. A glance at *Notable American Women,* for example, reveals that a high percentage of the women listed had careers that somehow revolved around the church or church-related activities. Prior to the twentieth century, the world of religion offered, perhaps, the most acceptable channel for women's energies.

Moreover, the current churches find themselves right in the middle of a complex argument. The radical voices, such as those of Rosemary Radford Ruether in *Religion and Sexism* (New York, 1974) and Mary Daly in *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York, 1968) and *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Boston, 1973) are critical of organized religion as repressive toward women. However, numerous other crusaders have garnered support from both scripture and from the churches themselves to reemphasize both traditional values and the concept of ideal womanhood. The only item on which the two sides agree is that the world of religion often plays a major role in the lives of American women.

This overlapping has been true for almost 400 years, and it is somewhat surprising that historians have not paid more attention to it. The literature on the subject is badly fragmented. This, of course, is directly related to the fact that American religious history has always flowed through denominational channels. American women did not become involved with "religion" as such. Instead, they became Presbyterians, Quakers, Roman Catholics, Shakers, Disciples, Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, etc. Thus their story is divided into the hundreds of denominations that appear throughout our history.

Until recently, the religious realm was generally the arena where American women spoke with most authority. Often they used church auspices to express their opinions on such social issues as temperance, peace, and anti-slavery. The church women also established and directed numerous organizations within the various denominations. Several leaders found the denominations too restrictive and broke from them to found new faiths. There was no other realm that gave as much expression to the concerns of American women as this one.

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The following annotated bibliography will list the key works on this theme. The books and articles were chosen on the basis of excellence and I have arbitrarily decided on a limit of 18 per topic.

Bibliographies

(1) Eugenie Andruss Leonard, Sophie Hutchinson Drinker, Miriam Young Holden, eds., *The American Woman in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, 1565-1800: A Syllabus with Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut, 1962; 1975).

It has 10 pg. section on religion but is now a bit dated. Also, it often refers the reader to general, rather than specific works.

(2) Virginia R. Ferris, ed., *Woman in America: A Guide to Information Sources* (Detroit, 1980) (Volume 7 in the *American Studies* Information Guide Series).

The section on religion is only three and a half pages long but other sections also lead one to the subject.

(3) H. Carleton Marlow has compiled a *Bibliography of American Women,* Part I (Woodbridge, Connecticut, 1975).

This is a bibliography on microfilm which includes 50,000 titles with topical, alphabetical, and chronological headings.

(4) Dorothy Bass, compiler. *American Women in Church and Society, 1607-1920* (New York, 1973).

This is a 36 page mimeographed bibliography. The emphasis is on American Protestantism and the selections tend to be too encyclopaedic.

(5) Cynthia E. Harrison, comp., *Women in American History: A Bibliography* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1978).

A good study.

(6) Gerda Lerner, *Bibliography in the History of American Women.* (New York, 1975).

This is short, but solid.

General

The American Quarterly XXX (Winter, 1978) had a special issue on "Women and Religion," edited by Janet Wilson James; it is available as James, ed., *Women in American Religion* (Philadelphia, 1980). Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller are currently editing a three-volume documentary history: *Women and Religion in America.* At this time, Vol. I: *The Nineteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1980) has been published, to good reviews. In 1981 there appeared an excellent collection of essays, edited by Hilah F. Thomas and Rosemary Skinner Keller, *Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville, 1981). Amanda

Porterfield's *Feminine Spirituality in America: From Sarah Edwards to Martha Graham* (Philadelphia, 1980) is also solid. See also, Sandra Hughes Boyd's master's thesis "Women and American Religious History" (Episcopal Divinity School, 1978).

Colonial

E. S. Morgan has noted in "New England Puritanism: Another Approach," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1961) that 17th century Puritan women outnumbered the men in the churches by a five to four ratio, but there is no single volume on the importance of women in the Colonial denominations. Instead, one must consult the more general accounts.

Eugenie A. Leonard, *The Dear-Bought Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1965) provides a good story of Colonial women, as does

Carl Holliday, *Women's Life in Colonial Days* (Boston, 1933; Reprint, Corner House, 1968).

Robert Thompson, *Women in Stuart England and America: A Comparative Study* (London, 1974) treats the trans-Atlantic dimension while

Edmund S. Morgan, *Virginians at Home: Family Life in the 18th Century* (Williamsburg, 1952) and

Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (New York, 1972) deal with the South. Also see,

James Douglas, *The Status of Women in New England and New France* (Kingston, Ont., 1912).

Anne Bradstreet

Traditionally there have been nine muses, but a London writer in 1650 referred to Anne Bradstreet as "the Tenth Muse," a label that has remained over the years. Bradstreet's book of religious poetry, published that year in London, contained more and varied poems than ever before published by any English woman. It also ranks as the first poetry ever published by an inhabitant of the New World. The two main editions of Bradstreet's poetry are:

Jeannine Hensley, ed., *The Works of Anne Bradstreet* (Cambridge, 1967), and

Joseph R. McElrath, Jr. and Allan P. Robb, *The Complete Works of Anne Bradstreet* (Boston, 1981), in 536 pages.

There is also a facsimile reproduction, edited, with an introduction by Josephine K. Piercy, *The Tenth Muse (1650) and, From the Manuscripts, Meditations Divine and Morall together with Letters and Occasional Pieces* (Gainesville, Florida, 1965).

As for the scholarly studies, there is a fine chapter on her by Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), and a good brief biography in The Twayne American Authors series:

Josephine K. Piercy, *Anne Bradstreet* (New York, 1965).

Of the numerous articles on her, two stand out:

Ann Stanford, "Anne Bradstreet: Dogmatist and Rebel," *New England Quarterly* XXXIX (1966): 373-389;

Elizabeth Wade White, "The Tenth Muse: A Tercentenary Appraisal of Anne Bradstreet," *William and Mary Quarterly* VIII (July, 1951): 355-377.

Her poetry has been analyzed by

Ann Stanford in *Anne Bradstreet: The Worldly Puritans, an Introduction to Her Poetry* (New York, 1974).

The major biography is

Elizabeth Wade White, *Anne Bradstreet "The Tenth Muse"* (New York, 1971).

Anne Hutchinson

By far the most significant woman in the 17th century religious world was Anne Hutchinson. A mystic and a theologian, her ideas disrupted the community of Boston from 1636-1638. In the wake of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Massachusetts Bay, Anne Hutchinson became the subject of three biographies:

Winifred King Rugg, *Unafraid: A Life of Anne Hutchinson* (Boston, 1930);

Edith Curtis, *Anne Hutchinson: A Biography* (Cambridge, 1930); and

Helen Augur, *An American Jezebel: The Life of Anne Hutchinson* (New York, 1930).

A few years later Theda Kenyon added *Scarlet Anne* (New York, 1940).

The documents surrounding her famous trial before the Boston magistrates and her eventual expulsion from the Massachusetts Bay Colony have been collected in two works:

Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638. Including the short story and other documents.* (Boston, 1894) and

David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown, Conn., 1968).

E. S. Morgan presents the best defense of her expulsion in "The Case Against Anne Hutchinson," *New England Quarterly* (1937), 635-649.

Two recent articles present a feminist interpretation of Hutchinson:

Wellington Newcomb, "Anne Hutchinson versus Massachusetts," *American Heritage* (June, 1974), and

Lyle Koehler, "The Case of the American Jezebels: Anne Hutchinson, and Female Agitation during the years of Antinomianism Turmoil, 1636-1640," *William and Mary Quarterly* XXXI (January, 1974), 55-78. Although heavily criticized Emery Battis, *Saints and Secretaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962) still provides an interesting account of the story. The

latest biography is Selma R. William, *Divine Rebel: The Life of Anne Marbury Hutchinson* (New York, 1981).

Mary Dyer

Although Mary Dyer's name is little known beyond Quaker circles, this humble follower of Anne Hutchinson deserves higher profile. An ordinary Colonial housewife, Mary Dyer was banished with Hutchinson and lived for a period in Rhode Island. Then she moved to England where she became a Quaker follower of George Fox. Upon her return to New England, she was executed by the Boston magistrates under the harsh anti-Quaker laws of the time. "Mary Dyer did hang like a flag," noted one contemporary observer.

The older study by Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1911; 1966) covers the story as does

G. Andrews Moriarty, "The True Story of Mary Dyer," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (January, 1950).

A popularized version is in Deborah Crawford, *Four Women in a Violent Time: Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643), Mary Dyer (1591?-1660), Lady Deborah Mooney (1660-1659), Penelope Stout (1622-1732)* (New York, 1970).

The only biography is Horatio Rogers, *Mary Dyer of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1896), part of which can be found in Jessamyn West, ed., *The Quaker Reader* (New York, 1962), 168-175.

The Colonial German Pietists

Closely related theologically to the Quakers were the variegated bands of German pietists who emigrated to the American colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries. Many of them established communal living arrangements, the most famous of which was Ephrata, a pietistic community in eastern Pennsylvania. Women played an important role in this Protestant "monastery" and Barbara Keiper (Sister Beverly), one of the last of the sisters, who joined at age 16, did not die until her 80th year (on March 16, 1852).

There are no books specifically on the lives of these pietistic women. Instead, one must glean their stories from the following accounts:

James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History* (Allentown, Pa., 1963), and the two studies by Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708* (Philadelphia, 1895; reprinted by Arno Press, New York, 1970), and his two-volume *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1899; reprinted by Arno Press, New York, 1971). Chapter VIII of Volume II sets forth the lives of the sisters in detail.

Many of the sisters composed hymn tunes, and in 1766, while it was active, the community of Ephrata published *The Marvelous Playings of Paradise (Paraidisehes Wunder-spiel)*. It contains 725 hymns, of which 100 are by the sisters. Twenty-five different women contributed hymns to the collection. Their music is currently housed in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The sisters Christina Lassle, Elizabeth Eckstein, and Maria Muller, among others, also wrote religious poetry, although it is not available in English. There was no comparable group of women hymn writers or poets until the middle 20th century. This world is also discussed in John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History* (New York, 1973).

Ann Lee and the Shakers

Perhaps the most fascinating, and certainly the most long-lasting, of the American communal religious experiments were those begun by the Shakers, whose official name was the "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." From the beginning, women played a major role in this movement. Shaker theology stated that God was androgynous, that the second coming of Christ was to be spiritual only, and that it would be manifest in the female form.

Ann Lee (1736-1784) assumed this role. Shakers argued that she manifested the image and likeness of the Eternal Mother, as the image and likeness of the Eternal Father was found in Jesus. "It is not I that speak," she once said, "it is Christ who dwells in me." Their distinctive doctrines evolved into an insistence on (a) celibacy—concupiscence was the original sin which had caused the Fall; (b) confession to the Elders as a way to cleanse the soul and be saved; (c) communal life and labor on a tightly structured plan, chiefly agriculture and handicrafts; (d) the consecration of work and labor as one's divine offering to the Lord. Together these ideas produced a series of inventions. None were patented, and all were given to the world. The Shakers introduced the first model farms, garden seed packets and a rigid insistence on cleanliness. They also produced thousands of marvelous dolls, baskets, and furniture that today command premium prices on the antique market.

When Ann Lee died in 1784, the movement was saved from collapse by Joseph Meacham. Realizing the importance of women, he elevated Sister Lucy Wright to lead "in the female line." For twenty-five years, until her death in 1821, Lucy Wright oversaw the life of all the Shaker women. The Shaker dual concept of God and Christ also brought about a dual concept of the secular order: separate male and female facilities existed in all their communities. Although exact statistics are not available, at their height in the 1840s they numbered about 6000 people.

Actually, the Shaker communities often served as Protestant "nunneries." Single women could join, as could those escaping from unhappy marriages—thereby avoiding the stigma of divorce. In any one of the eighteen Shaker communities, they could lead lives that were useful as well as filled with companionship. All told, about 17,000 people lived the Shaker life. Today there are less than a dozen still living.

J. P. MacLean compiled a *Bibliography of Shaker Literature, with an In-*

troductory Study of the Ohio Believers (Columbus, Ohio, 1905), and this is updated by the "Note on Sources" found in the best one-volume study of the Shakers:

Edward D. Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (New York, 1953).

Edward F. Dow's brief *A Portrait of the Millennial Church of Shakers* (Orono, Maine, 1931) is also solid.

No portrait of Ann Lee survives, but her many sayings may be read in

Rufus Bishop and Seth Y. Wells, compilers, *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Our Blessed Mother, Ann Lee* (1816). The second edition was expanded as

Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee and The Elders (2nd edition, Albany, 1888). AMS reprinted this in 1975.

Shaker Frederick W. Evans wrote the first biography, *Ann Lee* (1858), while the latest biography is

Nardi Reeder Campion, *Ann the Word: The Life of Mother Ann Lee, Founder of the Shakers* (Boston, 1976).

Other excellent modern studies include:

Edward D. Andrews, *The Gift to be Simple: Songs, Dances, and Rituals of the American Shakers* (New York, 1946),

Marguerite F. Melcher, *The Shaker Adventure* (Princeton, 1941),

Francis Gerald Ham, "Shakerism in the Old West" (Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1962), and

Jean MacMahon Humez, *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (Amherst, 1981).

Jemima Wilkinson

Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819) followed a path similar to that of Ann Lee. A Rhode Island Quaker, Jemima Wilkinson fell seriously ill and lay in a trance for days. When she awoke, she insisted that she had actually died—"left time" was her phrase—and had been reborn to fulfill Christ's role in her lifetime. Never again did she sign her name "Jemima Wilkinson." From now on she was "The Publick Universal Friend," and she used only an "X."

With a simple message of peace, repentance, and justice, she gathered several followers in Rhode Island. Then, in 1779 she moved to western New York state where she established a community named "Jerusalem." Here she urged, but did not insist on, celibacy. Here all lived communally. The little settlement survived because it took in orphans and also served as a way station for travelers, as that section of New York state was just being opened for settlement. The Publick Universal Friend died in 1819, and no Joseph Meacham or Lucy Wright arose to insure the continuity of her movement. Because she had no successors, and because she offered no distinctly new theological ideas,

her community quickly began to fade. The land had long been sold when the last survivor of Jerusalem died in 1874.

There are only a few studies of her:

Robert P. St. John, "Jemima Wilkinson," in the *New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal* (April, 1930).

Charles L. Marlin, "The Preaching of Jemima Wilkinson: Public Universal Friend" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Indiana, 1961).

The best biography is Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, 1964).

Miscellaneous Colonial Items

Women also played a significant role in the day-to-day operation of most Colonial main-line denominations. The efforts of Barbara Heck, a loyal follower of John Wesley, proved crucial in establishing the first Methodist church in America, in New York in 1766. Dorothy Ripley, a Black Georgia woman, gained brief fame as an itinerant Methodist minister. Hanna Adams of Dedham wrote numerous religious tracts. In 1727 the Ursuline nuns began the first American school for girls in New Orleans. They later also established both a hospital and orphanage. There are no books specifically on their activities. Instead, one should consult the general denominational histories for the Colonial period, or brief articles in local journals, such as Heloise Hulse Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 2 (January, 1919).

Antebellum Movements:

Spiritualism

The next avenue of active female participation in the world of religion came with the rise of Spiritualism. Begun by Kate and Margarette Fox with their Rochester, New York, "Rappings" in the 1830s, the idea of making contact with the "world beyond" grew rapidly throughout the entire century. In 1870 Lester Frank Ward predicted that Spiritualism would become the next widespread American faith. By 1900 it had attracted the attention of such widely diverse people as Arthur Conan Doyle, William Dean Howells and Mark Twain. Although it never assumed the dimensions once predicted for it, by the 20th century Spiritualism formed a distinctive part of the American religious tradition. From the time of origin, Spiritualism has been largely a women's movement.

The two older studies,

J. D. Hill, *Spiritualism, Its History, Phenomena, and Doctrine* (Garden City, N.Y., 1919), and

Joseph McCabe, *Spiritualism: A Popular History* (London, 1920) should be supplemented by the excellent essay by

R. Lawrence Moore, "Spiritualism" in Edwin S. Grustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1974).

Biographies of the two protagonists are

W. G. L. Taylor, *Katie Fox: Epoch Making Medium* (New York, 1933), and

Earl W. Fornell, *The Unhappy Medium: Spiritualism and the Life of Margaret Fox* (Austin, 1964).

See also, R. Lawrence Moore, "The Spiritualist Medium: A Study of Female Professionalism in Victorian America," *American Quarterly* 27 (May, 1975), 200-21.

Anti-Slavery

The anti-slavery movement eventually proved more political than religous, but one should not underestimate the evangelical dimension of the reformers. Except for Frances Wright, all of the women abolitionists came from evangelical backgrounds. Their understanding of "equality" and "freedom" had distinct biblical roots. Numerous accounts have noticed the connection between abolitionism and feminism.

The most important general studies illuminating the religious background of the participants are:

Samuel Sillen, *Women Against Slavery* (New York, 1955),

Alma Lutz, *Crusade for Freedom: Women of the Antislavery Movement* (Boston, 1968), and

Blanche G. Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America* (Urbana, 1978).

Autobiographies, reminiscences, and biographies of the main protagonists include:

Elizabeth Buffum Chace, *Anti-Slavery Reminiscences* (Central Falls, Rhode Island, 1891),

John White Chadwick, ed., *A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley* (New York, 1969 [1889]),

Gerda Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Woman's Rights and Abolition* (Boston, 1967),

Arthur Fauset, *Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill, 1938),

Lillie Wyman, "Women in Philanthropy—Work of Anti-Slavery Women," in *Woman's Work in America,* edited by Annie N. Meyer (New York, 1891. Reprint, Arno Press, 1972),

Gilbert Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds. *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1944.* 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass., 1934), and

Sarah Southwick, *Reminiscences of Early Anti-Slavery Days* (Cambridge, Mass., 1893).

The standard biography of Margaret Fuller is still

Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York: 1940), but an interesting interpretation may be found in

Bell Gale Chevigny, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1976).

The two best biographies of Lucretia Mott are probably,

Otelia Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott* (New York, 1958; 1971) and Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (New York, 1980).

Frances Wright

Since Freethought or aggressive rationalism is now usually classified as a religious "faith," the story of Frances Wright, Scottish follower of Robert Owen, belongs here. While her "noble experiment" in setting up a bi-racial community in Tennessee did not survive, Frances Wright proved to be a figure of national importance in the mid-nineteenth century.

The two standard biographies are:

William Randall Waterman, *Frances Wright* (New York, 1924), and

A. J. G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson, *Frances Wright: Free Inquirer* (New York, 1939), but they should be supplemented by her own

Views of Society and Manners in America. Edited by Paul R. Baker (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963 [1821]).

Three articles treat her experiment at Nashoba in detail:

Edd Winfield Parks, "Dreamer's Vision: Frances Wright at Nashoba (1825-30)," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* II (1932), 35-86,

O. B. Emerson, "Frances Wright and Her Nashoba Experiment," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* VI (1947): 291-314, and

Helen Elliott, "Frances Wright's Experiment with Negro Emancipation," *Indiana Magazine of History* XXXVI (1939): 141-57.

The feminine version of the rationalist movement after the Civil War took shape in the ministry of Caroline Julia Bartlett Crane (1858-1935) and her "People's Church" of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Her papers now are in the archives of Western Michigan University.

Other Reforms of the Antebellum Era

Most of the other reform movements of early- and mid-nineteenth-century America involved numerous women from evangelical backgrounds. These are detailed in the somewhat dated, but still solid

Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York, 1944).

Some of the most prominent of these were:

Dorothy Clarke Wilson, *Stranger and Traveler: The Story of Dorothea Dix, American Reformer* (Boston, 1975),

Edmund Fuller, *Prudence Crandall: An Incidence of Racism in 19th Century Connecticut* (Middletown, Conn., 1971),

Beth Bradford Gilchrist, *Life of Mary Lyon* (Boston, 1910),

Bertha-Monica Stearms, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," *American Historical Review* 37 (July, 1923),

Julius Moritzen, *The Peace Movement in America* (New York, 1912),

Lillian O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators: Rhetoric in the Ante-Bellum Reform Movement* (New York, 1952),

Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution—The Young Women's Christian Association* (New York, 1936), and

Leonard I. Sweet, *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelism* (Philadelphia, 1983).

Sunday Schools

While today Sunday Schools are seldom seen as reform movements, they certainly assumed that role in the nineteenth century. The role of women in the Sunday School movement can be seen in the three articles by Anne Boylan:

"Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Women in Sunday Schools," *Feminist Studies* 4 (1978): 62-80,

"The Role of Conversion in Nineteenth-Century Sunday Schools," *American Studies* XX (1979): 35-48, and

"Sunday Schools and Changing Evangelical Views of Children in the 1820s," *Church History* 49 (1979): 320-333.

For the story of Joanna Graham Bethune, a Presbyterian, who earned the title of "The Mother of Sabbath Schools in America," see George W. Bethune, *Memoirs of Mrs. Joanna Bethune* (1863).

Florence Drake, "Mary Bourbonnaise Organized a Sunday School," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XL (Winter, 1962-63), and

Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright, *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism* (New York, 1971) are also interesting.

Phoebe Palmer

Phoebe Palmer became both an active social worker—she founded the Five Points Mission in New York City, an early settlement house—as well as an articulate proponent of the Methodist doctrine of sanctification or "perfectionism."

Her *The Way of Holiness* (1843) became a minor classic and was often reprinted, as was her *Faith and Its Effects; or, Fragments from My Portfolio* (1856). Two years after her death, Richard Wheatley compiled *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer* (1876). She is also treated in John L. Peters, *Christian Perfectionism and American Methodism* (Nashville, 1956), Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (Nashville, 1957), and Anne C.

Loveland, "Domesticity and Religion in the Antebellum Period: The Career of Phoebe Palmer," *The Historian* XXIX (May, 1977).

Missions

The mission story, at home and abroad, encompassed all the denominations. See, R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in the First Feminist Movement in North America* (Grand Rapids, 1980), and

Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in 19th-Century America," *American Quarterly* 30 (Winter, 1978).

Mary Webb, a Baptist, originated the first female Missionary Society (in Boston) and remained the treasurer for 56 years. Her story is found in A. L. Vail, *Mary Webb and the Mother Society* (Philadelphia, 1914). For other denominations, consult

Mary N. Dunn, *Women and Home Missions* (1936),

T. L. Tomkinson, *Twenty Years' History of the Woman's Home Missonary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880-1900* (Cincinnati, 1908), and

Sara Estelle Haskin, *Women and Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (1920).

Among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the women provided both money and personnel for an extensive western parochial school system.

Edith J. Agnew and Ruth K. Barber, "The Unique Presbyterian School System of New Mexico," *Journal of Presbyterian History* XLIX (Fall, 1971), and their *Sowers Went Forth* (Alburquerque, 1981) discuss this.

Margaret Connell Szasz treats the Congregationalists in "Albuquerque Congregationalists and Southwestern Social Reform, 1900-1917," *New Mexico Historical Review* 55 (July, 1980), 231-252.

See also Clyde Hansen, "History of the Development of Non-Mormon Schools in Utah" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953).

Elizabeth Howell Verdesi, *In But Still Out: Women in the Church* (Philadelphia, 1976) treats Presbyterian women's activities in both missions and education.

The Catholic sisterhood also stressed the work of education in their missions.

Declan F. Carroll, "The Sisters of Loretto: Pioneer Educators" (Master's thesis, University of Kentucky, 1937),

M. Rose Swaan, "Lorettine Educational History in New Mexico" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1949),

Sister Mary Stanislaus Van Well, *The Educational Aspects of the Missions in the Southwest* (Milwaukee, 1942), and

Frederick M. Bacon, "Contributions of Catholic Religious Orders to

Education in New Mexico since the American Occupation" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1947).

Temperance

Probably the most popular of the 19th century reform movements for religious women was that of temperance. After the Civil War, no crusade ever approached the temperance drive in numbers and zeal. Good studies of this multi-faceted drive to rid America of alcohol include the semi-official biography by

Anna Gordon, *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard* (Chicago, 1898) as well as the more modern study by

Mary Earhart, *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago, 1944).

These, however, should be supplemented by Willard's own accounts:

Glimpses of Fifty Years (1839-1889) (Chicago, 1889) and

Woman and Temperance: or, The Work and Workers of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Hartford, 1883).

Her more militant successor, Carrie Nation, is treated in

Herbert Asbury, *Carrie Nation* (New York, 1929), and

Robert L. Taylor, *Vessel of Wrath: The Life and Times of Carrie Nation* (New York, 1966).

Two recent studies are: Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia, 1981) and Barbara L. Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity, Women, Evangelicalism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, 1981).

Women Ministers in the Nineteenth Century

While the American Association of Women Ministers was not founded until 1919, there were far more women clergy in the nineteenth century than most people have realized.

Congregationalist Antoinette Louise Brown Blackwell's autobiography lies unpublished in the library of Radcliffe College, but she is briefly treated in Elinore Rice Hays, *Those Extraordinary Blackwells* (New York, 1967), and more fully in Laura Kerr, *Lady in the Pulpit* (New York, 1951). Anna Howard Show, Methodist minister, tells her tale in *The Story of a Pioneer* (New York, 1915). Olympia Brown became a Universalist minister in the 1870s and later wrote her *Acquaintances Old and New Among Reformers* (Milwaukee, 1911). Gwendolyn Willis has recently edited Brown's *An Autobiography* (Racine, Wisconsin, 1960), and the 1963 *Annual Journal of the Universalist Historical Society* was devoted entirely to Brown's career. The experiences of Black women ministers is told by Jualynne Dodson, "Nineteenth-Century A.M.E. Preaching Women," 276-289, in Thomas and Keller, eds., *Women in New Worlds.* In the Methodist Protestant Church, several women became

itinerants. See William T. Noll, "Women as Clergy and Laity in the 19th Century Methodist Protestant Church," *Methodist History* 15 (January 1977).

Good accounts may also be found in Fannie MacD. Hunter, *Women Preacher* (Dallas, 1905), Frances E. Willard, *Women in the Pulpit* (Chicago, 1888), Ada C. Bowles, "Women in the Ministry," in *Women's Work in America,* edited by Annie N. Meyer (New York, 1891), and Georgia Harkness, "Pioneer Women in the Ministry," *Religion in Life* 39 (1970): 261-271.

The Quakers were often in the forefront of this movement, as seen in Margaret Hope Bacon, *As the Way Opens: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (Richmond, 1980), and

Janis Calvo, "Quaker Women Ministers in Nineteenth-Century America," *Quaker History* 63 (Autumn, 1974), 75-93.

Although she extends a little beyond the time span of this essay, the most colorful woman minister in American history was undoubtedly Aimee Semple McPherson. Two biographies exist on her:

Lately Thomas, *Storming Heaven: The Lives and Turmoils of Minnie Kennedy and Aimee Semple McPherson* (New York, 1970), and

Robert Bahr, *Least of All Saints: The Story of Aimee Semple McPherson* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979).

Ellen Gould Harmon White

But nineteenth-century religious women did not restrict themselves to working within the existing denominational boundaries. Many of the newer sects that emerged during this vigorous era were begun by women religious leaders. Ellen Gould Harmon White, for example, served first as an itinerant Adventist preacher to convey the message of William Miller. After the Civil War, she became the co-founder of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Her enormous literary output may be seen in *Comprehensive Index to the Writings of Ellen G. White* (3 vols., 1962-63). Ellen White's most popular book, however, is her easily available, *The Great Controversy,* which details her cosmology.

Arthur W. Spalding, *There Shines a Light: The Life and Work of Ellen G. White* (Nashville, 1953) presents a favorable view while

Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York, 1976) is rather critical.

Alma Bridwell White

Ellen White's contemporary, Alma Bridwell, married Kent White, a Methodist minister, who encouraged her to lead hymns, prayers, and even to preach. In 1893 she experienced a "second blessing" and began conducting revivals on her own, without her denomination's approval. Finally in 1901 she established in Denver the Pentacostal Union, which after 1917 became known as the Pillar of Fire Church. She helped establish Belleview College and KPOF

Radio station, which is still in operation. Susan Stanley of Iliff Theological Seminary is completing a dissertation on Alma White and her movement. Alma White eventually appointed herself Bishop of her Church and thus became the first woman Bishop in America. Her autobiography, *The Story of My Life* is in 5 volumes (1919-1930). The Pillar of Fire Press has also compiled her *Press Reprints,* edited by C. R. Paige and C. K. Ingler. White's *Looking Back from Beulah* (1902) offers a shorter version of her activities.

Christian Science

Probably the most unique, and long-lasting contribution by women to the late-nineteenth century world of religion came in the rise of "New Thought" in its numerous forms. The most famous person in this regard—although she herself denied the connection—was Mary Baker Eddy. Her relentless theological search led to the formation of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, headquartered in Boston, and the founding of the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1908.

Gail T. Parker, *Mind Cure in New England: From the Civil War to World War I* (Hanover, N.H., 1973),

Stephen Gottschalk, *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life* (Berkeley, 1973), and

Donald Meyer, *The Positive Thinkers* (New York, 1965) detail the movement.

Sybil Wilbur, *Mary Baker Eddy* (New York, 1907) is very sympathetic, while the three-volume study by the official Christian Science historian, Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy* (New York, 1966-1977) is the most complete. The best short biography is the lengthy sketch by Sydney E. Ahlstrom in *Notable American Women.*

New Thought

It was Emma Curtis Hopkins, however, who became the real founder of New Thought. She was once a colleague of Mary Baker Eddy, but found herself driven from the fold by theological and personal quarrels. She then became a traveling lecturer and also established a theological seminary in Chicago. Through these means, she influenced literally thousands of people. There is no biography of her, but her writings have been reissued: *Scientific Christian Mental Practice* (Roseville, Calif., 1956), and *High Mysticism* (Cornwall Bridge, Conn., n.d.). Her stress on the spiritual dimensions of healing—what we would now call "faith healing"—had numerous repercussions among the major denominations, especially the Episcopalians with their short-lived Emmanuel movement; her ideas also had an impact on the medical profession. "Psychic healing" took on unique form when an illegitimate Mexican Indian woman began healing people throughout the southwest in the late 19th-early

20th centuries. Her story is found in William Curry Holden, *Teresita* (Owings Mills, Md., 1978).

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the New Thought groups today is their reliance on "positive thinking" or "possibility thinking." Hopkins also stressed this and she had great influence on the founders of the major new thought churches: Unity School of Christianity, Divine Science, and Religious Science. Divine Science was begun by the three Brooks sisters of Pueblo, Colorado: Althea Brooks Small, Fannie Brooks James, and Nona L. Brooks, and their friend from California, Malinda E. Cramer. Louise McNamara Brooks, *Early History of Divine Science* (Denver, 1963) treats that story. Nona Brooks eventually became one of Denver's most influential woman ministers, and the metaphysical writings of Divine Science soon spread all over the west. Her only biographer is Hazel Deane, *Powerful Is the Light* (Denver, 1945).

Unity

The story of Unity in Kansas City is even more successful. Emma Curtis Hopkins' message of metaphysical truth and divine healing found a receptive ear in Myrtle Fillmore, who, with her husband Charles, established the Unity School of Christianity. Today Unity is housed in a beautiful location southeast of Kansas City where it beams its message of positive thinking, prayer, and healing to the world.

Thomas E. Witherspoon, *Myrtle Fillmore: Mother of Unity* (Unity Village, Mo., 1977) is the best biography.

James Dillett Freeman, *The Household of Faith: The Story of Unity* (Lee's Summit, Mo., 1951),

Dona Gatlin, *Unity's Fifty Golden Years* (Kansas City, 1939), and

Horatio Dresser, *A History of the New Thought Movement* (New York, 1919) are also solid.

The writings of the "metaphysical movement," almost all by women, received widespread circulation in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century. Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health, with Keys to the Scriptures* went through innumerable editions. In 1901 the *Atlantic Monthly* declared Mrs. Eddy to be the most popular author of her day. Malinda E. Cramer, *Divine Science and Healing* (Denver, 1907); Fannie Brooks James, *Truth and Health* (Denver, n.d.); and the ever-popular *Lessons in Truth,* by Dr. H. Emilie Cady (Kansas City, n.d.) joined the list.

Roman Catholics

The Roman Catholic Church has had numerous institutions by and for American women. The 1958 *Guide to Catholic Sisterhoods in the United States* (Washington, 1958) lists over 500 Sisterhoods with foundations in America. This story needs to be explored in more detail. For a beginning, see

Mary Ewens, "The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth-Century America:

Variations on the International Theme" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1971);

Mary L. Owens, "The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West: An Historical Study of Origins and Westward Expansion from 1812 to 1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1935);

Joseph I. Dirvin, *Mrs. Seaton, Foundress of the American Sisters of Charity* (New York, 1962);

Anna McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness: Life and Letters of Mother Angelo Gillespie, C.S.C., 1824-1887, American Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Cross* (Paterson, N.J., 1944);

Louis Avant, "The History of Catholic Education in New Mexico since the American Occupation" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1946);

Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* (Milwaukee, 1948); and

Thomas M. McMahon, "The Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona's Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890" (M.A., St. Louis University, 1952).

Elinor Tong Dehen, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States* (Hammond, Ind., 1913; 1930) gives a brief history of the numerous groups.

Miscellaneous 19th Century

Barbara J. Berg in *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York, 1978), and Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca, 1971) treat women's involvement with city missions, while Anne F. Scott's, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970) shows how the church provided the main avenue for leadership for educated southern women. Ann Douglas' *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1978) has become a minor classic with her thesis on how the clergy and the women helped shape nineteenth-century American culture.

Numerous contemporary women authors wrote short stories, hymns, and novels with religious themes all through the century. Isabella MacDonald Alden, wife of a Presbyterian minister, edited the Sunday School weekly, the *Pansy*. She also used the pseudonym "Pansy" for her over 70 children's books. Her autobiography *Memories of Yesterday* details this adventure. Fanny Crosby, the blind hymn writer, was perhaps the most prolific of all writers of songs for the century. She wrote two autobiographies, *Fanny Crosby's Life Story* (1903) and *Memories of Eighty Years* (1906). Bernard Ruffin, *Fanny Crosby* (Boston, 1976) is the only modern study of her.

Institutions

Church women also created and/or directed numerous religious institutions during the nineteenth century. Anne Ayres pioneered in establishing an American Episcopal sisterhood in the 1850s and a few years later Harriet Starr Cannon created an Episcopal sisterhood which directly resembled a Catholic order. Harry B. Porter, Jr., *Sister Anne, Pioneer in Women's Work* (pamphlet, 1960) and Sister Mary Hilary [Doswald] C.S.M., *Ten Decades of Praise: The Story of the Community of Saint Mary* (1965) tell their stories. Kate Harwood Waller Barrett took over the leadership of the Florence Crittenton Homes for Girls, as told in Otto Wilson and Robert Barrett, *Fifty Years' Work with Girls, 1883-1933* (1933). Evangeline Cary Booth served as the fourth general of the Salvation Army and Maud Ballington Booth became cofounder of the Volunteers of America. See Philip W. Wilson, *General Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army* (New York, 1948) and Susan F. Welty, *Look Up and Hope! The Motto of the Volunteer Prison League: The Life of Maud Ballington Booth* (New York, 1961). Evadel Vakia Bowles became an important Black leader of the YWCA, as told by Gladys Gilkey Calkins, "The Negro in the Young Women's Christian Association" (Master's thesis, George Washington University (1960). A solid recent study is John P. McDowell, *The Social Gospel in the South: The Woman's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939* (Baton Rouge, 1982).

Religious Life on the American Frontier

The role of women in establishing and maintaining the western frontier Sunday Schools, hospitals, and churches was enormous. Not only were they often among the founders of numerous local church organizations, their various guilds and societies kept the churches alive during their most tenuous times. Strawberry festivals, oyster parties, New England dinners, ice cream socials, and cake bazaars were just some of the means used by pioneer women to raise money to build, decorate, or refurbish the local church building. Their story has not yet been told, but good accounts may be gleaned from

Dee Brown, *The Gentle Tamers: Women in the Old Wild West* (New York, 1958),

Nancy Wilson Ross, *Westward the Woman* (New York, 1944),

William F. Sprague, *Women and the West: A Short Social History* (New York, 1940; Reprint, 1972),

Sandra Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience* (Albuquerque, 1982),

Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Woman: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880* (New York, 1979), and her essay, "Ministry Through Marriage," 143-160, in Thomas and Keller, eds., *Women in New Worlds.*

Joanna Stratton, *Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier* (New York, 1980) has a good chapter on the importance of religion in the women's lives.

Nineteenth-century women missionaries of note include Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, wife of Marcus Whitman, Kate and Sue McBeth, Presbyterian missionaries to the Nez Perce in Idaho, and Alice Blake, Presbyterian nurse and missionary to New Mexico. See

Clifford M. Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and the Opening of Old Oregon* (Glendale, 1973) 2 vols.; *Narcissa Whitman, My Journal* (1836; Reprint, 1982);

Kate McBeth, *The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark* (Chicago, 1908); and

Cheryl Foote, "Alice Blake: Angel of Trementina," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 60 (Fall, 1982): 228-242.

Numerous nineteenth-century women also ventured forth on the foreign mission field. Perhaps the most famous were the three wives of Adoniram Judson, Anna, Sarah, and Emily. Their story can be read in

Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Mission for Life* (New York, 1980).

Mormons

Finally, there are the Mormon women, a group that has still not been adequately treated in Latter-Day Saint historical literature. See

Leonard J. Arrington, "Blessed Damozels: Women in Mormon History," *Dialogue* VI (Summer, 1971), for a beginning, and the accounts in

William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York, 1958).

Were the women of polygamous unions horribly treated, as the ex-wife of Brigham Young, Ann Eliza Young, argued in *Wife Number Nineteen, or a Life in Bondage* (Hartford, 1876); or was Edward W. Tullidge more correct in *Women of Mormondom* (New York, 1877) when he defended the high position of women under polygamy?

Two solid modern studies are:

Stanley S. Irvins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* X (1956), and

Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York, 1954), which, despite its title, is a solid sociological analysis of polygamy.

Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Britton also treat this theme in their excellent *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (New York, 1979), the best one-volume study now available.

From 1607 to the early 20th century, the world of the American religious denominations provided an important focus for the activities of American women. Perhaps this introductory bibliography will lead to further study of this fascinating theme.