FROM EXODUS TO EXILE: THE EARLY FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT AMONG MARITIME BAPTISTS, 1930 – 1939

by

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ABSTRACT

Beginning in the 1920s, faint protests against modernism occasionally emerged from within the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces. In 1930, John James Sidey joined John Bolton Daggett to co-pastor the Kingston-Melvern circuit of churches in Nova Scotia. Disturbed by what they saw as the growing threat of modernism at the Convention-operated Acadia University in Wolfville, they set out to gently guide the Baptist constituency toward a more conservative theology, known as fundamentalism. That year, they founded the Kingston Bible College—one of the first major events in the early Maritime Baptist fundamentalist movement. In 1934, the Convention removed Sidey from its list of ordained ministers and Daggett resigned in protest. Hoping to inspire others, they created a rival network of churches that supported their college, as well as a mission board and a newspaper. Their influence in the region proved largely ineffective and only a hand-full of churches followed them in their crusade, the majority of which had split from them by 1939. As the decade closed, the movement was reduced to one geographical region.

The common historiography of these events largely revolves around J.J. Sidey. However, in order to understand the formation of the movement and its decline in influence, one must look beyond him. While this study explores Sidey's role, it focuses also on those characterized as his "lieutenants," including J.B. Daggett, Neil Herman, J.W. Hill, and T.A. Meister, in the development of the movement. This study shows that Daggett provided much of the impetus for the movement and deeply influenced many of its policies. Additionally, Herman, Hill, and Meister each signify some important development within the movement: Herman provided leadership in the early years and

ultimately symbolized the Kingston Fundamentalists' connection to the Baptist Convention; Hill was the movement's link both to New Brunswick and to the wider, international fundamentalist crusade; and Meister's schismatic attitude limited the movement's growth in the region, ultimately turning it into a localized movement.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Acadia Divinity College
AUA	Acadia University Archives
BBU	Baptist Bible Union
BCOQ	Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec
BUWC	Baptist Union of Western Canada
ICM	International Christian Mission
Ind.	Independent
KBC	Kingston Bible College
KBCA	Kingston Bible College Academy
MQUP	McGill-Queen's University Press
SWA	Soul Winner's Association
UP	University Press
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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1. CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

Fundamentalism among Canadian Baptists in the early twentieth-century took many forms. While the Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC) and the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ) suffered significant schisms from the fundamentalist-modernist debate in the 1920s, the experience in the Maritime Provinces was very different. Indeed, the fundamentalist element did not become significant within the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces until nearly a decade later, in the 1930s—and even then it produced only a tremor.

Spurred on by what they viewed as a growing orientation toward an "anti-Christian" modernism at the Convention-operated Acadia University, John James Sidey (1891 – 1966) and John Bolton Daggett (1870 – 1939) spearheaded this Maritime embodiment of the fundamentalist crusade. These two pastors from a small pastorate in Kingston, Nova Scotia maintained that this purported liberal theology favoured scientific discovery and critical thinking over biblical authority, and therefore they decided that it was necessary to act. Beginning with various meetings and conferences in the late 1920s and early 1930s, their work culminated in the 1930 creation of the Kingston Bible College—a fundamentalist answer to Acadia's supposed modernity. Their momentum grew marginally until 1934 when the Convention took swift action against them and effectively limited their reach within United Baptist Churches.

From 1934 to 1939, this early fundamentalist movement spread from Kingston to several other churches within Nova Scotia, and to one in Prince Edward Island. This Kingston Fundamentalist group, the "Independent Baptists" as they called themselves, published newspapers and hosted prophetic conferences until they began to suffer

significant losses from their ranks. Finally, in 1938 – 1939, several important events took place from which the Kingston movement never fully recovered: (1) Daggett suffered a fatal heart attack in January 1939; and (2) Sidey, now alone, faced a number of painful schisms from within his own movement. As a result, Sidey's group experienced a schism far more significant than that which he was able to precipitate among the United Baptists. Although Sidey continued his crusade, he did not ever experience the same degree of success he had enjoyed in the early 1930s.

The present study centres on the Kingston Fundamentalists—the movement from Nova Scotia that sought to separate from the United Baptist Convention in the 1930s. This study employs the phrase, "early fundamentalist movement" in order to differentiate it from the later expressions of fundamentalism that came to prominence—especially in New Brunswick—in the 1940s and 1950s. This is necessary because the later fundamentalist manifestations within the Maritimes had almost no connection to the subject of the present study. This disparity speaks less to the various differences between the earlier and later fundamentalist movements and more to the significant breakdown of the earlier movement.[1]

While much of the current literature on this topic deals exclusively with John James Sidey, for one to understand clearly the Maritime Baptist branch of the early fundamentalist movement, it is necessary to look beyond Sidey. Although J.J. Sidey was central to the Maritime Baptist fundamentalist leadership, he was merely one player within the movement—a movement that would prove to have all the stability of a house of cards.

[1] Any formal association between these two movements requires further assessment.

Deeply inspired by Toronto's "fighting fundamentalist," T.T. Shields, the Kingston Fundamentalists intensified their criticism of the United Baptist Convention and its traditional training ground, Acadia University. In the late 1920's they launched a series of Shields-esque attacks against the Maritime Baptists. The period from 1930 to 1939 was at once deeply formative and destructive for the early fundamentalists. In 1930, they formed the Kingston Bible College, which was supplemented by the 1936 creation of the Kingston Bible College Academy. Additionally, during this period, they formed the International Christian Mission, and began to print their own newspapers, *The Gospel Light* (c. 1930)—a clear allusion to Shields' *The Gospel Witness*—and *The Question* (c. 1935).

From this framework their movement began to attract leaders from within and without the Baptist Convention, the majority of whom would depart from the Kingston Fundamentalist movement by the end of the decade. With this departure came a decline in the strength of this movement. Whereas the early fundamentalists had threatened to remove several churches from the Baptist Convention in the early 1930s, by the close of the decade, the movement had lost much of its momentum and largely became restricted to Kingston and Greenwood, Nova Scotia.

1.1. LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The historiography of Christian fundamentalism has been a checkered one. The earliest fundamentalist historian, Stewart Cole writing in 1931, credited the development of fundamentalism to the Niagara Conferences in the late nineteenth-century.[2] This

[2] Stewart G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1931; reprint 1963), 31ff.

presupposition was not seriously challenged until 1967, when Ernest Sandeen concluded that fundamentalism developed out of a broad coalition between premillennialism (especially dispensational premillennialism) and the Princeton Theology of Biblical Inerrancy.[3] According to George Marsden, however, this definition was too narrow and did not account for the broader evangelical context. This present study, along with much of the historical mainstream, assumes the basic framework of George Marsden's alternative to Sandeen's approach, which delineates the development of Christian fundamentalism as an outgrowth of nineteenth-century evangelical revivalism fueled by a platform of anti-modernism.[4]

Although the history of fundamentalism has garnered significant attention within various academic circles, there has been no one specific volume that has dictated the study of fundamentalism in a Canadian context. If one is to assume Marsden's basic structure of fundamentalism as a militant form of evangelicalism, the closest one comes to an overview or analysis of fundamentalism in Canada is found in John G. Stackhouse's *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*. Yet, when studying fundamentalism in Canada, the majority of scholars—like Stackhouse—have focused either on T.T. Shields in Ontario, or William "Bible Bill" Aberhart in Alberta.[5] Outside of these

[3] Ernest R. Sandeen, "Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism," *Church History* 36.1 (1967), 66 – 83.

[4] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford, UP, 1980). This study also employs David Bebbington's quadrilateral, which defines evangelicalism by the following traits: conversionism, crucicentrism, biblicism, and activism. See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2 – 17.

[5] John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character* (Toronto, ON: UTP, 1993), 21 – 45.

individuals, historians have analyzed other significant voices within the fundamentalist movement,[6] but few have looked at the Atlantic Provinces.

Despite their seemingly prominent voice within the United Baptist Convention in the 1920s and early 1930s, few historians have taken the time to assess the varying degrees of success and failure within the early fundamentalist movement in the Maritimes.[7] In 1976, Gertrude A. Palmer wrote the first secondary analysis of this Kingston Fundamentalist movement, entitled, *The Combatant*.[8] A native of the Annapolis Valley, Palmer grew up in Sidey's pastorate. Her parents were among those congregants who followed Sidey when their church, Melvern Square Baptist, departed from the Convention in 1934. She was convicted by the message at one of Sidey's annual Bible Conferences in the 1930s and became a Christian shortly thereafter. Palmer remained loyal to Sidey's movement, serving in a variety of teaching positions, including as principal of the Kingston Bible College Academy from 1978 – 1983.[9] Deeply involved in a later form of the movement, Palmer's own account of the early movement focused on John James Sidey, the leader of the Independent Baptists. While Palmer's work smacks of triumphalism and hagiography, it is valuable for its comprehensive timeline and in its record of otherwise little known details.

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[6] E,g.: Warren Charlton, "John McNicol: Word and Spirit—the Centre of Toronto Bible College's Training," *Haddington House Journal* 12 (2010), 121 – 147.

[7] In addition to the two extended accounts discussed hereafter, the early fundamentalist movement has received several peripheral comments from historian Robert S. Wilson. See Robert S. Wilson, "Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century," *Baptist History and Heritage* 36.1-2 (2001), 37; Robert S. Wilson, "The Changing Role of Ecumenical and Trans-Denominational Maritime Baptist Youth Ministries in the Middle of the Twentieth Century," *Roots and Resurgence: Atlantic Baptist Youth Ministry at the Turn of the Millennium*, Bruce Fawcett & Dale Stairs, eds. (Wolfville, NS: Acadia Divinity College, 2013), 62.

[8] Gertrude A. Palmer, *The Combatant: Biography of John J. Sidey* (Middleton, NS: Black Printing Co, 1976).

[9] One may find these details in her autobiography, Gertrude A. Palmer, *Addie's Pilgrimage* (Kingston, NS: International Christian Mission, n.d.). Although there is no date given, contextual clues indicate Palmer wrote this account in the mid-1980s.

In 1987, late historian George A. Rawlyk launched his first excursus into the Kingston Fundamentalist movement with his seminal "Fundamentalism, Modernism and Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s."[10] Here, Rawlyk introduced J.J. Sidey into the historical mainstream. This article, which revolved primarily around the movement's failure to divide the United Baptist Convention, focused on Sidey's role in the movement. Three years later, he reprinted an updated and revised version of this article as the second chapter in his book, *Champions of the Truth*.[11] In an often-overlooked third chapter, however, Rawlyk provided an assessment of J.B. Daggett, typically understood as Sidey's chief lieutenant. While his examination looked at the fundamentalist's relationship with Shields, Rawlyk was able to conclude that Sidey was not as central to the movement's development as he had earlier thought. Significantly, as Rawlyk wrote: "within the context of the 1920s and 1930s, J.B. Daggett was probably more important than J.J. Sidey in the Maritime fundamentalist movement."[12] He built this largely on Daggett's interactions with Shields in shaping the early stages of the movement; yet, his study raises questions beyond this relationship: What was Daggett's role outside of his interaction with Shields? What made him such a significant figure? For that matter, were other prominent figures involved in a way that has been previously overlooked? Unfortunately, with Rawlyk's sudden and tragic passing in 1995, the work on Daggett and the Fundamentalist Baptist movement in the Maritimes has remained in limbo.

While Rawlyk's work is ultimately more critical and arguably more accurate than Palmer's, these vexing questions leave it largely incomplete. Despite the time that has

[10] George A. Rawlyk, "Fundamentalism, Modernism and Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s," *Acadiensis* 17 (1987), 3 – 33.
[11] George A. Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists* (Kingston & Montreal: MQUP, 1990).
[12] Ibid., 102.

elapsed since the publication of Rawlyk's important work, the ramifications of his thesis have not been appropriately fleshed out and Daggett has remained on the fringes of the movement. To a large degree, Palmer's initial work on Sidey dictated the mainstream historiographical approach and in the process minimized Daggett's involvement in the movement.[13] In fact, it appears that Sidey's historical longevity was simply the product of his continued leadership and visibility after Daggett's death in 1939 and, as a result, the majority of retrospective analyses have focused on Sidey. It is probable, however, that even the limited success that Sidey experienced at the helm of the movement would not have been possible were it not for Daggett's earlier leadership.

As mentioned above, another area where Rawlyk's study is incomplete is on the role of other prominent figures within the movement. To the degree in which Daggett has been minimized, other important leaders have been superfluously relegated to the historically irrelevant. Outside of the handful of references in both Palmer and Rawlyk combined, the other key leaders within the movement have received next to no exposure. From looking at the available primary documents, however, it is clear that the fundamentalist movement of the early 1930s was not simply the work of one or two individuals, but in fact the lives of Sidey and Daggett's young lieutenants require significant evaluation.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

As noted above, this study follows Marsden's identification of the development of Christian fundamentalism as a combative outgrowth of the nineteenth-century revivalist movement. This framework clarifies the impetus behind Nova Scotia's early

[13] See ibid., 102.

fundamentalist movement, specifically as a militant anti-modernist form of evangelicalism that rallied to combat the purported liberalism of Acadia University and the United Baptist Convention. As with Marsden's definition of fundamentalism, the Kingston Fundamentalists were not necessarily a reactionary group, but rather, they were a coalition of pre-existent conservative Christians who became militarized by what they considered the "threat" of modernism.

Additionally, with the knowledge that Palmer's work has severely curtailed the historical development of other important figures in the early fundamentalist movement, this study will follow Rawlyk's assessment of Daggett's centrality, and will further use this approach to explore other significant figures commonly characterized as J.J. Sidey's "lieutenants" in the success and failure of the movement. This approach will clarify much about this early fundamentalist movement and will provide a rounder overview of both its successes and failures in the 1930s. The purpose of this thesis is to broaden the conversation surrounding the Kingston Fundamentalists and demonstrate that Neil Herman, John Warren Hill, and Terence Alexander Meister, as well as John Bolton Daggett, played a much larger role in the movement than previously understood.

The first chapter will begin with a brief assessment of the historical context in which fundamentalism emerged as a potent force in the United States and Canada. In particular, it will focus on T.T. Shields in Central and Western Canada, as he was a major source of inspiration for his fundamentalist counterparts in the Maritime region. The second chapter will assess the rise of the Nova Scotia fundamentalists under J.J. Sidey and J.B. Daggett. In this early context, the reader will be introduced to Neil Herman, one of the earliest Baptist fundamentalists in the Maritimes. The third chapter will begin with the

controversy that erupted in the late 1920s, which ultimately led to the minor fundamentalist schism. Beginning with the 1930 founding of the Kingston Bible College as a fundamentalist answer to Acadia University, this chapter will explore this period to 1934, when the United Baptist Convention excommunicated Sidey and Daggett resigned in protest. This chapter will also assess T.A. Meister, one of the few Maritime Baptists who was as actively committed to the fundamentalist movement as Sidey and Daggett. The fourth chapter will detail the eventual loss of momentum that this movement suffered in the late 1930s. In particular, it will assess the new fundamentalist ministries that they launched and their inability to gain significant traction in the region. This chapter will include an assessment of J.W. Hill's role in the movement. Finally, the study will conclude in the late 1930s with the departure of several key individuals, including Herman, Hill, and Meister; as well as Daggett's death—two significant events from which the movement never fully recovered.

2. CHAPTER TWO

Fundamentalism in North America: Historiographical Context

"...when the present conflict is viewed in the perspective of history, it will be seen to be as important and far-reaching in its effect as was the Reformation."
- Thomas Todhunter Shields, "The Fundamentalist-Modernist War"[14]

The early fundamentalist crusade in the Maritime Provinces was part of a larger international movement. The militancy displayed by Nova Scotia's "Champions of the Truth,"[15] was rooted in a conservatism that had emigrated from the United States, with additional influence from across the Atlantic. By the early twentieth-century, once fundamentalism had entered Canada, its influence was felt like an earthquake in the Central and Western Provinces. This fundamentalism, which characterized itself through a militant conservative defense of orthodox Christianity,[16] initially sought to serve as a wall between the perceived influence of modern scholarship and Christians "in the pew."

2.1. ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISM

Christian fundamentalism developed largely on a framework of conservative evangelical theology that emerged in the revivalist-era of the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries.[17] Historian George Marsden said it well when he observed: "a Fundamentalist is an Evangelical who is angry about something."[18] As Marsden's definition indicates, this was a broad coalition that crossed denominational boundaries. The solidifying factor within fundamentalism was the development of a new wave of intellectualism that spread across Europe and North America in the nineteenth-century.

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[14] T.T. Shields, "Fundamentalist-Modernist War," *The Gospel Witness* (12 May 1927), 10.
[15] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*.
[16] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 4.
[17] Ibid., 224.
[18] George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 1.

This new intellectualism dawned with a series of innovative ideas, the theorists of which Christian historian Martin E. Marty identified as "The god-killers."[19] David Strauss' *Life of Jesus* (1835), which popularized "higher criticism," challenged the historicity of the Gospels. According to Strauss, prior biblical scholarship focused too much on the "supernatural," and it mistakenly sought to make "the inconceivable conceivable."[20] In the same vein of rational pursuit that had driven Strauss, came Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859),[21] a scientific primer that presented the theory of evolution through "natural selection," which removed the need for a divine mover. In the throes of industrialization, Karl Marx's "Communist" social theories based on equality famously decried religion as "the opiate of the masses." Marx concluded: "Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality."[22] Finally, in Friedrich Nietzsche's "The Parable of the Madman," the Philosopher famously stated, "God is dead,"[23] as a sign of the declining influence of religion. This flood of new ideas raised a host of new questions for theologians.

As theologians approached these new discussions, they came to varied conclusions. For many Christians, this tension was a debate over the millennium: an eschatological estimation of Jesus Christ's return based on a concept from the Book of Revelation (Rev. 20). Two opinions emerged that were closely related to this developing controversy. Those who sought to harmonize these new ideas with their faith chose to see them as

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[19] Martin E. Marty, *A Short History of Christianity* (New York, NY: Meridan, 1959), 298 – 301.

[20] David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*, vol. 1, trans. Marian Evans, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Calvin Blanchard Pub., 1860), 3.

[21] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray Pub., 1859).

[22] Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Samuel Moore, trans. (London, 1888; Reprint Project Gutenberg Ebook, 2005), 48 – 49.

[23] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* (1882, 1887) par. 125.

evidence that the world was getting better and that it would remain on this trajectory until Christ returned to reign in a perfected kingdom. This optimistic view of the world was known as postmillennialism. Further right on the theological spectrum, many conservatives believed that these new ideas symbolized not that the world was getting better, but rather that it was getting much worse and that it would continue to decline until Christ came to rescue the Christians. This pessimistic outlook was known as premillennialism. A third, less polarizing option, suggested that the millennium was symbolic—a position known as amillennialism.

No matter what their eschatological expectations, a group of conservative Christians from a variety of denominations rallied against these "modern" ideas. At the vanguard of this coalition were those who stressed the supernatural activity of the Holy Spirit and those who emphasized biblical authority. The former was used as a way to neutralize the modernist's reliance on rationalism, while the latter upheld doctrines that they considered biblical "truths." In 1910, the Presbyterian General Assembly agreed upon a five-point statement of necessary doctrines: (1) biblical inerrancy; (2) virgin birth; (3) substitutionary atonement; (4) bodily resurrection; and (5) the authenticity of miracles.[24] The first historian of fundamentalism identified these as the "five points of fundamentalism."[25] While these traits were not necessarily the defining features of fundamentalism, for many later Christian fundamentalists they would serve as the earmarks of their movement.

[24] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 117.
[25] As cited in ibid., 262, note 30. Cf. Stewart G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism*, 34.

This desire to defend orthodox Christianity led to the development of a twelve-volume series of essays entitled, *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*.[26] The series, published between 1910 and 1915, consisted of 90 essays written by an international aggregation of 64 theologians that sought to shield a decidedly conservative form of Christianity from modernity's attacks. For these contributors, the primary purpose of this project was its biblical defense against a growing liberal theology that they believed had downplayed the centrality of the Bible.

Historians credit the term "fundamentalist" to Curtis Lee Laws, who in the 1 July 1920 issue of the Baptist newspaper *The Watchman Examiner* wrote that a fundamentalist was one who would "do battle royal for the fundamentals."[27] Laws maintained that fundamentalists could differ on the "nonessentials" of the faith, which to his mind included one's eschatology or view of science. While the modern popular nuance of the term "fundamentalism" may equate it with an eschatological viewpoint, this was not the case with the earliest "fundamentalist" leaders. Indeed, today Christian fundamentalism is linked most notably with dispensationalism, the theory that divides the history of the world from conception to consummation into seven "dispensations" while maintaining an emphasis on unfulfilled prophecy. It is necessary, however, to observe that dispensationalism is at most a sub-culture of fundamentalism. Early fundamentalist leaders were concerned not with one's eschatology—or with one's opinion of science—but rather, with one's view of the Bible. For Laws, a fundamentalist was one who was committed to a conservative, orthodox, and supernatural defense of Christianity.

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[26] A.C. Dixon & R.A. Torrey, eds., *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*, vol. I (Chicago, IL: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910).

[27] Curtis Lee Laws, "Convention Light Sides," *The Watchman Examiner* 8 (1 July 1920), 834.

By the mid-1920s, however, defining fundamentalism had become an increasingly difficult task. As a result, on 21 June 1925, in the *New York Times*, conservative Presbyterian scholar J. Gresham Machen wrote: "The term fundamentalism is distasteful to the present writer and to many persons who hold views similar to his." Rather, Machen's definition of fundamentalism was an evangelicalism that defended core conservative tenets like the resurrection and the centrality of Christ from perceived modern advances. "Christians welcome the discovery of new facts," wrote Machen, "but old facts, if they be really facts, will remain facts beyond the end of time."[28] Machen's article described a fracture within fundamentalism between (1) those who sought to defend the theological imperatives associated with conservative Christianity and (2) the broader fundamentalist culture interested primarily in discrediting evolution.[29]

Less than a month after Machen's article appeared in the *New York Times,* the "Scopes Monkey Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee ensured that the latter category would become the most prominent understanding of Christian fundamentalism.[30] Earlier that year, the governor of Tennessee, Austin Peay, signed *The Butler Act* into law. This new law stated: "it shall be unlawful for any teacher ... to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."[31] Although the mandated textbook contained lessons on the theory of evolution, the state had not officially charged anyone for upsetting *The Butler Act* until John T. Scopes, a local science teacher, voluntarily

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[28] J. Gresham Machen, "What Fundamentalism Stands for Now," *New York Times* (21 June 1925), 21.

[29] Thomas Kidd, and Barry Hankins, *Baptists in America*, *a History* (New York, NY: Oxford UP, 2015), 192.

[30] Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998).

[31] *The Butler Act*, House Bill No. 185, c. 27 (25 March 1925).

submitted himself to the authorities in order to open a public debate over the issue. The "Monkey Trial," officially "The State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes," drew a national audience who followed the stories in the newspapers and listened to the recently invented radio. The story struck a clarion note for, by the late nineteenth-century, evolution in all forms had become a telltale sign of "heresy" in the Southern United States.[32] This made Dayton a particularly inhospitable place for the staging of a debate over the merits of modernism's acquiescence to scientific theory. It was clear that the trial was not about John T. Scopes, but instead was a battle between fundamentalism and tradition on one side, and modernism and intellectualism on the other.

On either end of this battle, intellectual titans entered the arena. To prosecute Scopes came William Jennings Bryan (1860 – 1925), a three-time Democratic presidential candidate. Bryan was known throughout the country for his oratorical ability and for his firm stance on biblical authority—in fact, it appears that he was to the theological right of a number of authors who contributed to *The Fundamentals*, especially when it came to evolution.[33] To defend Scopes was Clarence Darrow (1857 – 1938), a world-class criminal attorney and elocutionist who represented the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Darrow was an agnostic who supported the right to teach scientific theories in the classroom. A popular fictitious retelling of this trial, a play (1955) that was adapted into a movie (1960), *Inherit the Wind*, has largely influenced the long-term understanding

[32] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 104.

[33] E.g.: George Frederick Wright, "The Passing of Evolution," *The Fundamentals*, vol. VII, 5 – 20. James Orr, "Science and the Christian Faith," *The Fundamentals*, vol. IV, 91 – 104.

of the events in Dayton.[34] In the film, the William Jennings Bryan character declares, "It is God himself who is on trial."[35]

The trial itself, which ran from 10 to 21 July 1925, meant very little. After only nine minutes of deliberation the jury of Tennessee locals resoundingly concluded that Scopes was guilty and the judge ordered that Scopes pay the minimum fine of $100.[36] While Bryan had won the local battle, Darrow had won the national one. Throughout the trial, the media had depicted Bryan's fundamentalists as a backward people and had maintained that Darrow had championed the civilized in a battle against an obsolete conviction from a bygone era. Where modernism was primarily a fixture within the universities rather than the churches, the Monkey Trial had succeeded in characterizing fundamentalists as narrow-minded, opposed to intellectual pursuits, and at variance with all forms of scientific discovery—a characterization that wholly departed from the fundamentalism of Laws, Machen, and *The Fundamentals*.

For many in the public, the Scopes-Monkey Trial married the ideas of fundamentalism and anti-evolution. In the years that followed the Scopes Monkey Trial, many fundamentalists abandoned that title, and opted for the more appealing, "evangelical."[37] While this term dated back to the revivalist period of the eighteenth-century and therefore echoed of conservative Protestantism, it did not have the same kind of stigma that the term "fundamentalist" had developed. There were, however, a number of Christians who chose to wear the "fundamentalist" title with pride. The

[34] See Larson, *Summer for the Gods*; Barry Hankins, "The (Worst) Year of the Evangelical: 1926 and the Demise of American Fundamentalism," *Fides et Historia* 43.1 (2011), 3 – 6.
[35] *Inherit the Wind*, directed by Stanley Kramer, performed by Frederic March (Stanley Kramer Production Co., 1960).
[36] Ibid., 191.
[37] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 195.

fundamentalists defined themselves as a singular, unrepentant, form of militant evangelicalism.

2.2. FUNDAMENTALISM IN CANADA

As fundamentalism's clout declined in the United States, in the very different religious climate of Canada, it remained a potent force. In the interwar years, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy became one of the United States' most significant religious exports. Because many of the events pertaining to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy had taken place within the United States, in Canada "there was no systematic fundamentalist-modernist division."[38] Indeed, although Canadian religious leaders had been involved in various stages of the controversy, including several contributors to *The Fundamentals*, much of the controversy had taken place almost exclusively on American soil. Therefore, the backlash fundamentalism experienced in Canada in the wake of the Scopes Monkey Trial was less severe than in the United States.

In twentieth-century Canada, this laid the foundation for a controversy that would manifest itself with particular tenacity among Baptists. Indeed, as university campuses developed into theological battlefields, it was significant that at the turn of the century Baptists in Canada had three major post-secondary institutions: Acadia University in Nova Scotia, McMaster University in Ontario, and Brandon College in Manitoba. By the early twentieth-century, academics that had been trained in the United States had cross-pollinated Canadian universities with controversial modernist ideas, to which the fundamentalist response was swift and destructive.

[38] Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and* Canada (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), 430.

2.2.1. "Canada's Spurgeon": A Biographical Sketch of T.T. Shields

Canada's most significant contribution to the early fundamentalist movement, and one of the greatest influences on the Maritime fundamentalists, was the British-born preacher, Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873 – 1955).[39] Shields, born in Bristol in 1873, immigrated to Canada in 1885, where his father, who had served in a variety of Protestant pastorates in England, joined the Baptist denomination. In the spring of 1889, the senior Shields became an ordained Baptist minister within the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ).[40] According to Shields' biographer, Leslie Tarr, T.T. Shields "was virtually his father's shadow."[41] Later in his life, Shields claimed that everything he knew about the Bible, he had learned from his father.[42] This paternal impulse toward the ministry proved to be strong for the younger Shields, who preached his first sermon in 1894 and later that year followed his father into the ministry.

During Shields' early ministry, he pastored a number of churches throughout Southern Ontario, before finally, in 1904, answering a call from Adelaide Street Baptist Church in London. Aside from his later ministry in Toronto, these would prove to be among his most formative years. In London Shields forged a name for himself within the BCOQ. Despite his lack of formal theological training, his natural oratorical ability opened a number of doors. By 1908, he had risen in popularity to the point where he was asked to deliver the closing message at one of the Convention gatherings. In his message, entitled, "Our Future as Baptists," Shields stated: "You cannot be right…unless

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[39] For an uncritical biography of T.T. Shields, see Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada: T.T. Shields (1873 – 1955)* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1967); or Leslie K. Tarr, "Another Perspective on T.T. Shields and Fundamentalism," *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, Jarold K. Zeman, ed. (Burlington, ON: Welch Printing Co., 1980), 209 – 224.

[40] In 2008, the BCOQ changed its name to the Canadian Baptists of Ontario and Quebec.

[41] Tarr, *Shields of Canada*, 26.

[42] As cited in ibid., 19.

you think rightly of Him. Only as we put the crown on Christ may we hope to have a future that is worthy of our past."[43] This stirring message raised his clout within the Convention.

Because of his expanding prominence, an exploratory committee approached Shields to assume the pastorate of Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto. The church's large congregation, central location, and strong ties to McMaster University made it the most prestigious pulpit in the BCOQ. Here, Shields served from 1910 until his death in 1955. Throughout his time in Toronto, he used his pulpit along with his own newspaper, *The Gospel Witness*, as both a soapbox and a judge's bench.

Shields' shift toward fundamentalism coincided with the close of the First World War. Mark Parent says that prior to the War, Shields' theology was deeply Christocentric, whereas in later forms he took a more bibliocentric approach.[44] While Shields' confidence in Christ's necessity in the process of salvation was consistent throughout his ministry, the frequency with which he spoke about the Bible's authority increased dramatically. Moreover, the nature of Shields' understanding of biblical inspiration—albeit decidedly conservative prior to this—became solidified within a paradigm of biblical inerrancy and thereby a form of classic fundamentalism. While earlier in his ministry, Shields was content to suggest that the Bible was not a science "textbook,"[45] his later arguments against modernism ran contrary to this notion.

David Elliot suggests that this shift took place while Shields served as supply preacher at Charles Haddon Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London during the War—an

[43] Printed in *The Canadian Baptist*, as cited by ibid., 46.

[44] Mark Parent, "The Irony of Fundamentalism: T.T. Shields and the Person of Christ," *Fides et Historia* 26.3 (1994), 42 – 57. See also, Mark Parent, "The Christology of T.T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism" (McGill University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1991).

[45] Ibid., 46.

accomplishment that had been the preacher's life-long dream. It is likely that as Shields stood in the pulpit of the "Prince of Preachers," he thought of Spurgeon's own battle against theological liberalism thirty years earlier. In 1887, Spurgeon criticized the Baptist Union in England over their perceived acceptance of new ideas. To him, these ideas were simply a departure from the truth—a "downgraded" gospel. That autumn, he resigned his membership from the Baptist Union over this "Downgrade Controversy." Like his hero before him, Shields became determined to take a stand against the enemy that he saw challenging his Baptist community: modernism. Significantly, in his absence his pulpit was filled by A.C. Dixon, one of the two editors of *The Fundamentals*. While Shields was in London fulfilling his dream of occupying his hero's pulpit, Dixon was in Toronto priming the Jarvis Street congregation for Shields' later theological barrage. As the First World War came to a close, Shields prepared to mount a spiritual war against modernism.[46]

Shields became an unrepentant enemy of modernism. So strong was his ire toward this perceived anti-Christian view that he maintained: "There is a true analogy between the Germanic powers in wartime and that of Modernism today." By this, Shields meant that the modernists, like the Germans, used subtle techniques to debilitate and control all individuals privy to their message—or as Shields preferred to call it, their "propaganda."[47] Quite unabashedly, Shields argued that modernism was a satanic ploy to destroy the Christian faith. It was Shields' conviction that modernism was not a "dilution of Christianity, but a denial of it; not a modification of Christianity, but the murderer of

[46] David R. Elliot, "Three Faces of Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: Aberhart, Maxwell, and Shields," *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, David Priestley, ed. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1996), 177.

[47] T.T. Shields, "Spurgeon as a Defender of the Faith," *The Gospel Witness* (27 Dec. 1934), 2.

it."[48] For Shields, someone who claimed to be a "progressive" or "liberal" Christian was no Christian at all.

The controversy moved on apace in the autumn of 1919. That October, the organ of the BCOQ, *The Canadian Baptist*, carried an editorial entitled "Inspiration and the Authority of Scripture," wherein the author raised questions with regard to the "traditional view" of biblical inspiration.[49] Shields' response appeared in the next issue as he swiftly denounced the editor of the newspaper and demanded that the Convention clarify its own position on the Bible.[50] Later that month, the Convention assembly voted to uphold biblical inerrancy as the Baptist standard. Most notably, this controversy illustrated that Shields, despite his rather hostile rejoinder, had a number of allies within the Convention. This Convention meeting was emblematic of the emerging lines of demarcation between those who sympathized with or tolerated the modernist theology, and those who supported the conservative-fundamentalist element.

By early 1921, however, controversy had come to Shields' own Jarvis Street Baptist Church. A "Men's Committee" made up of members from within his congregation launched a campaign to remove Shields from the pulpit. They described him as "a dictator, and a self-appointed Bishop of the Baptist Church of Ontario and Quebec."[51] In April, the Deacons called a meeting at the church to determine whether or not Shields would retain his role as pastor. They stipulated that there was to be no formal discussion and, unless Shields received the favour of two-thirds of the vote, he would be required to submit his resignation. When the vote returned, it was 284-199 in favour of Shields,

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[48] Ibid., 2.
[49] "Inspiration and the Authority of Scripture," *The Canadian Baptist* (2 October 1919), 8.
[50] As cited by Tarr, *Shields of Canada*, 66 – 67.
[51] As cited in ibid., 80.

which, although a majority, did not satisfy the requisite two-thirds. The final decision to remove Shields was delayed until the next business meeting, which was held on 29 June. Those in attendance took a second vote, which resulted in an even closer result of 204-176. Ignoring the two-thirds rule, Shields instead looked to this slim victory as the favour of the majority. Finally, a third meeting was held on 21 September, with a vote of 351-310. Unable to secure a majority in any of the votes, as many as 341 members withdrew from the church membership.[52] Within the Convention and his own church, Shields had become a polarizing figure—a trait that would come to characterize his ministry as a whole.

2.2.2. Shields and McMaster's Modernity

After he regained a degree of stability within his own congregation, Shields turned his attention to McMaster University,[53] the institution controlled by his own Convention—a tactic that later fundamentalists in the Maritimes would emulate. McMaster University was the namesake of Senator William McMaster (1811 – 1887), who had been a prominent member of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church. Upon his death, Senator McMaster donated a substantial sum of money for the purpose of creating a Baptist-operated university in Toronto. Later that year, the Toronto Baptist College amalgamated with the Woodstock College to form a new institution named "McMaster," after its primary benefactor. Because of the university's significance within the Convention, Shields took a great interest in its operation.

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[52] Ibid, 79 – 82.

[53] For a good study on this, see G.A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Education, and McMaster University," *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, George Rawlyk, ed. (Kingston & Montreal: MQUP, 1988), 31 – 62.

To Shields, who was elected to McMaster's Board of Governors in 1920, the university had a distinct role within the province as a purely Baptist institution. Shields believed that the BCOQ needed to support McMaster because it offered education from a distinctly Baptist worldview.[54] For Shields, it was necessary that McMaster not violate the evangelical principles on which many of its supporters stood. McMaster's "greatest need," wrote Shields, was that it "be not conformed to this world."[55]

As reports of the university's "modernist" curriculum began to emerge, however, it became clear that McMaster could not sustain the standard which Shields had set for it and rather than becoming the focus of Shields' admiration and support, it became a lightning rod of controversy. Although Shields had defended McMaster from attacks by the Rev. Elmore Harris in 1910,[56] by the early 1920s, Shields became McMaster's leading antagonist. In 1923, he aligned himself with the new fundamentalist group, the Baptist Bible Union of North America (BBU), where he was elected to serve as its first president. In his first address as president, he declared his war on modernism.[57] By 1924, Shields publically declared that through modernism, "The Devil [had] captured nearly all the colleges of the land."[58]

Shields desired to purge McMaster of its modernism and transform it into a training ground for conservative Christians. In 1924, Shields' wrath came upon the university

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[54] See T.T. Shields, "McMaster Urgently Needs Money," *The Gospel Witness* (5 October 1922), 3. Cf. T.T. Shields, "A Great Opportunity," *The Gospel Witness* (3 June 1922), 2-3; and T.T. Shields, "Baptists and Education," *The Gospel Witness,* (21 September 1922), 3-4.

[55] T.T. Shields, "How to Improve McMaster," *The Gospel Witness* (12 October 1922), 2-3.

[56] In 1894—the same year Shields began his ministry—Harris had helped to establish the Toronto Bible Training School (now Tyndale University) as an alternative to McMaster.

[57] David R. Elliot, "Knowing No Borders: Canadian Contributions to American Fundamentalism," *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, George A. Rawlyk, Mark A. Noll, eds. (Montreal & Kingston: MQUP, 1994), 365.

[58] T.T. Shields, "A Religious Devil," *The Gospel Witness* 2.48 (10 April 1924), 4.

when he learned that the Board of Governors had elected to give William H.P. Faunce, the President of Brown University, a honourary Doctorate of Divinity—an honour that he himself had received in 1918.[59] Shields considered Faunce a symbol of modernity and demanded that the university reconfigure the basis by which it granted honourary degrees. In a vote at the Convention assembly later that year, the BCOQ agreed and introduced the stipulation that any future individual who might receive the award must identify as an evangelical Christian. The following year, however, McMaster named L.H. Marshall, a purported modernist, to the Chair of Pastoral Theology.[60] Although the issue over Faunce's honourary doctorate was smoothed over with relative ease, Marshall's appointment proved to be the catalyst to raise Shields' fundamentalist campaign to a new level.

For the fundamentalists in the BCOQ, L.H. Marshall was the quintessential modernist. Marshall had raised questions on the Atonement that, according to Shields, had made it seem "wholly subjective."[61] Additionally, Marshall rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (Genesis – Deuteronomy), raised concerns with the supernatural, and questioned the historicity of the Book of Jonah. But perhaps most grievously, Marshall was an unrepentant advocate of modern science.[62] To the fundamentalists, if Marshall called himself a Baptist, it "[left] the door wide open for the

[59] Additionally, in 1917 Shields had received a Doctorate of Divinity from Temple University.

[60] On the Faunce and Marshall controversies, see Rawlyk, "A.L. Crimmon," 54ff.

[61] T.T. Shields, "'The Canadian Baptist's' Defence of Professor Marshall," *The Gospel Witness* (7 October 1926), 8 – 12.

[62] T.T. Shields, "Professor L.H. Marshall's Position Summarized to Date," *The Gospel Witness* (23 September 1926), 11 – 20. Cf. T.T. Shields, "An Analysis of Prof. Marshall's Confession of Faith," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 43 – 50.

rankest modernist to enter, and still call himself [sic] a Baptist."[63] Marshall seemed to promote everything that Shields stood against.

Although Marshall was the focus of the McMaster controversy, Shields repeatedly questioned what kind of "Baptist" university would employ such an individual. It was Shields' conviction that McMaster's steady climb toward modernity had in fact signaled the decline of Baptist polity within Central Canada. Several months later, Shields wrote: "Every Baptist church, theoretically, is a self-governing institution; but Modernism is creating everywhere among Baptists high ecclesiastical machines which exist for the purpose of crushing out the life of all who dissent."[64] From this perspective, Marshall, who Shields maintained had denied the necessity of baptism for church membership,[65] was considered not simply emblematic of modernity, but also of the alleged anti-Baptist characteristic that had become dominant within the BCOQ. Shields' fundamentalists argued that the "Baptists" of Ontario and Quebec were no longer truly Baptists.

The inevitable clash between these two ends of the spectrum took place at the regular BCOQ gathering from 15 to 21 October 1926, the proceedings for which—as well as a commentary—were subsequently carried in the following edition of *The Gospel Witness*. This mammoth edition of the newspaper, which numbered 176 pages, exclaimed on the front cover: "Ichabod! McMaster's new name."[66] During the McMaster debate, which

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[63] John Linton, "Professor Marshall and Modernism," *The Gospel Witness* (23 September 1926), 22. Interestingly, Linton could not cooperate with Shields, and eventually led a parallel separatist group called the "Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches." See Robert S. Wilson, "Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century," *Baptist History and Heritage* 36.1-2 (2001), 39.

[64] T.T. Shields, "The Fundamentalist-Modernist War," *The Gospel Witness* (12 May 1927), 9.

[65] T.T. Shields, " Says Baptism Not Essential to Church Membership," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 50 – 51.

[66] *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 1. Reference to 1 Samuel: the wife of the apostate heir to the Israelite priesthood gave birth on the day they lost the Ark of the Covenant in

purportedly lasted twelve and a half hours and included only two breaks,[67] John Linton took the floor after T.T. Shields and proclaimed that it was impossible for one to maintain that a modernist could be "as personally loyal to Jesus Christ as a Bible-believing Baptist."[68] With this, Linton's address explicitly outlined how the fundamentalists differentiated between the two branches that had emerged within the BCOQ: the modernists and the Baptists—for them, the two were not compatible and were indeed mutually exclusive. This fall gathering solidified any fluid or artificial dividing line that had existed previously within the Baptist constituency—the fundamentalists and their supporters, against the modernists and their sympathizers.

For many within the Convention, Shields' activity—which was seen as an attempt to sow seeds of disunity—was inexcusable. During one of the final gatherings of Convention, A.J. Vining of the College Street Baptist Church in Toronto, offered a resolution demanding that Shields apologize for his remarks about the BCOQ. He added:

> … Should he decline, this Convention requests Dr. Shields to submit forthwith to the Convention his resignation as a member of the Board of Governors of McMaster University, and that this Convention hereby advises the Jarvis Street Baptist Church of Toronto, that Dr. T. T. Shields will not be an acceptable delegate to future meetings of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec…until the apology asked for by this Convention is made to and accepted by the Executive Committee for the time being of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.[69]

For the Convention, Shields' attacks were too grave to overlook, and they offered the Jarvis Street minister an ultimatum.

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battle. She named her son, "Ichabod" (Hebrew, "inglorious") and declared, "The glory has departed from Israel!" (1 Sam 4:21).

[67] T.T. Shields, "The Length of the Debate," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 3.

[68] "Rev. John Linton's Speech," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 138. Linton eventually distanced himself from Shields and began his own fundamentalist Baptist denomination.

[69] As cited in "Dr. Vining's Resolution," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 144 – 145. Cf. T.T. Shields, "An Innocuous Resolution," *The Gospel Witness* (4 November 1926), 11.

By virtue of his fiery attitude, for many Shields had become not simply McMaster's leading antagonist, but the Convention's as well. After Vining proposed this resolution, Bowley Green of the Emmanuel Baptist Church, also in Toronto, rose to second the motion. Green, who had admitted to holding a sympathetic stance to the conservatism of the fundamentalists, maintained that the issue that faced the Convention was "not of theology but of conduct, not of doctrine but of practice. …the issue [was] not Professor Marshall; the issue [was] Dr. Shields."[70] The resolution carried with "a large majority."[71] Had Shields kept the discussion as a debate about theological ideas, it is likely that it would have been much better received and, moreover, it is possible that it could have changed the Convention's trajectory.[72]

2.2.3. Baptist Schism in Central Canada

Although it was unapparent before the autumn Convention gathering of 1926, following the proceedings, a schism within the BCOQ seemed unavoidable. As Green stated from the floor of the Convention, "if we cannot get rid of this unsavoury and unchristian spirit, in the name of God, let the split come."[73] Shields' only response to Green's statement was to observe that his only regret was that he had not begun his assault sooner and that he had not been more "vigorous."[74] Shields openly welcomed a denominational split from the group he considered an apostate shell of what it once was.

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[70] As cited in "Dr. Bowley Green's Speech," *The Gospel Witness* (4 Nov. 1926), 151 – 152.
[71] "Who Swallowed the 'Bundle of Lies'?" *The Gospel Witness* (4 Nov. 1926), 159.
[72] Clark H. Pinnock, "The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887 – 1927," *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, Jarold K. Zeman, ed. (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1980), 196.
[73] As cited in "Who Swallowed the 'Bundle of Lies'?" 156.
[74] Ibid., 156.

Perhaps Shields' most audacious step in precipitating this split was his work within post-secondary education. In 1925, Shields, who had no university education, laid plans to erect a conservative college as an alternative to McMaster University. This plan came to fruition in January 1927 with the opening of the Toronto Baptist Seminary in Shields' own Jarvis Street Baptist Church. That is, the church that had birthed McMaster University now housed an institution that stood in total opposition to the university. According to Baptist statesperson and lay-historian, Henry Renfree, Shields' move to create the seminary "practically ensured that a schism would take place."[75] Shields wrote that under no circumstances would his seminary cooperate with McMaster University. For Shields, McMaster's "moderate modernism" was the same as having "moderate leprosy," and his new institution wanted no part in it.[76] Similarly, that same year, under the auspices of the BBU Shields acquired control of Des Moines University in Iowa,[77] for which he was president. Shields oversaw two post-secondary institutions, which he hoped would serve as an alternative to the modernity of other Baptist universities.

The writing was on the wall and a schism within the BCOQ was imminent. That same year, Shields created the Regular Baptist Missionary and Education Society of Canada as a direct challenge to the BCOQ's own mission board. Along with *The Gospel Witness*, which Shields had launched in 1922, by 1927 Shields had created his own network of fundamentalism both in Canada and the United States. With his prominent position among many BCOQ conservatives and his own educational institutions,

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[75] Henry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988), 221.

[76] T.T. Shields, "The Pastor's College," *The Gospel Witness* (5 November 1925), 12.

[77] See T.T. Shields, "The Bible Baptist Union University of Des Moines," *The Gospel Witness* (16 June 1927), 2 – 27. Des Moines University ultimately closed its doors after a series of debacles only two years later in 1929. On the failure of Shields's efforts at Des Moines University, see Elliot, "Knowing No Borders," 364-369.

newspaper, and home and foreign missionary board, it appeared as though he had created a basic framework for an alternate Baptist Convention.

In the fall of 1927, the BCOQ approached the Provincial Parliament in order to amend their constitution to allow them to remove churches from their Convention. This was a thinly veiled maneuver to anathematize Shields and his comrades from the Convention ranks. The headline of 8 September 1927 edition of Shields' newspaper read: "Shall Fundamentalist Baptists Challenge the Convention to Excommunicate Them, or Withdraw and Form Another Convention in October?"[78] In this article, Shields defined the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in terms similar to those that had driven the authors of *The Fundamentals*.

> What is it all about? Fundamentally, it is all about this Book, that is what it is about. Some of us believe that the Bible is the Word of God, that it is supernaturally inspired, that from Genesis to Revelation it is full of Christ Who is the Incarnate God… There are those who deny that the Bible is the Word of God, and that is what the controversy is about. Do not let anybody blind your minds, for that is the matter in a nutshell: as to whether we have divine authority in the Scriptures of truth.[79]

Yet, in addition to Shields' attempt to sum up the controversy, he continued his personal character attacks against those whom he considered responsible for perverting the Convention. It was clear that Shields was not interested in reconciling with his counterparts in the BCOQ but instead concluded that a complete division of his fundamentalists and the BCOQ's purported modernists would be necessary.

The BCOQ determined that Shields' Jarvis Street, and other churches that had supported the "Regular Baptists," had been operating at variance to the Convention's purposes and therefore it removed the congregations from the Convention. Those

[78] T.T. Shields, "Shall Fundamentalist Baptists Challenge the Convention to Excommunicate Them, or Withdraw and Form Another Convention in October?" *The Gospel Witness* (8 Sept. 1927), 1.
[79] Ibid., 3.

churches that were removed from the BCOQ formed the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec, and elected Shields as their president. Although the union included only 30 churches when it was organized, according to Renfree, approximately 100 churches had sent delegates to the founding meeting. Within a few months, over 40 more churches joined, and after a year, the union boasted 77 churches with a total membership of 8,500.[80]

2.2.4. Baptist Schism in Western Canada

Similarly, in Western Canada, by the 1920s Brandon College had become a centre of controversy. Founded in 1899 as a small Baptist college under the auspices of the Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC),[81] the institution was located in the business sector of Brandon, Manitoba. In 1912, Howard Primrose Whidden assumed the office of the president. As historian J. Brian Scott observes, "It is simply quite difficult to make an argument for an evangelical spirit in H.P. Whidden."[82] Under Whidden's presidency, the college redefined itself as a liberal-evangelical cohort. Tommy Douglas, a graduate of Brandon College and later Premier of Saskatchewan, stated that under the tutelage of some of Brandon's liberal Professors, "In the aggregate, it liberalized [his] views."[83]

As early as 1921, the BUWC yearbook remarked that there was "a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction" among delegates from British Columbia. The following year, an anonymous pamphlet authored by "interested laymen [sic]" appeared throughout the BUWC. It raised concerns with the BUWC's financial policy and it targeted Brandon

[80] Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*, 223.
[81] In 2007, the BUWC changed its name to the Canadian Baptists of Western Canada.
[82] J. Brian Scott, "Brandon College and Social Christianity," *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada*, Jarold K. Zeman, ed. (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 143, 148.
[83] As cited by Ibid, 144.

College specifically for its perceived endorsement of modernity.[84] The latter issue moved to the fore and became the centre of a contentious debate within the Western Union.

Although T.T. Shields was based in Toronto, his fundamentalist attacks stretched far into Western Canada. Much like McMaster, rumours about the school's theology department had raised a number of red flags among its supporters. Shields believed: "to aid and abet the destructive work of Brandon College was nothing short of treason to Christ and His gospel."[85] While Shields was perhaps not as directly involved at Brandon as he was at McMaster, his newspaper regularly provided support for Western fundamentalists.[86]

Much like the events at McMaster, the perceived apathy of the BUWC toward Brandon College's modernism provided fodder for the fundamentalists. In 1926, a number of fundamentalists, displeased by the union's lack of action against Brandon College, formed the British Columbia Missionary Council. The following year, they attended a British Columbia association meeting and proposed that the Convention adopt a statement of faith that mirrored that of Shields' BBU. Failing to achieve that end, the fundamentalists gathered and resolved to form their own independent convention, which included "A third of the forty-eight Convention churches," and "a quarter of the 6,244

[84] J.E. Harris, *The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History, 1873 – 1973* (Saint John, NB: Lingley Printing, 1976), 75.

[85] W.H.P. Faunce, "Freedom in School and Church," *World's Work* 45 (1923), 509-511, as cited in Walter E. Ellis, "What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Baptist Higher Education in Western Canada," *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Montreal & Kingston: MQUP, 1988), 78.

[86] E.g.: T.T. Shields, "British Columbia Baptists," *The Gospel Witness* (8 Sept. 1927), 12.

members."[87] The schismatic group took the name, the Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia.

Quite unlike McMaster, however, Brandon College did not have the financial stability to remain a feasible institution amidst this controversy. During its whole time of operation, it had struggled with finances and, compared to the difficulty of the Baptists in central Canada, it received relatively little attention.[88] While criticism grew and support waned, the financial situation at Brandon became increasingly dire. Finally, the Great Depression of 1929 was Brandon's deathblow. Brandon's finances could not recover, and in 1938, the College was forced to affiliate with the University of Manitoba, after which the BUWC removed itself from its responsibility to the institution.

2.2.5. Influence on the Maritimes

No individual from outside of the Maritimes was more central in inspiring and guiding the Maritime Baptist fundamentalists than T.T. Shields. If Shields was the "Spurgeon of Canada," as many historians have noted, J.J. Sidey, one of the premier fundamentalist leaders in Nova Scotia, had hoped to become the "Shields of the Maritimes."[89] Indeed, the Independent Baptists, as they were later known, emulated most of Shields' techniques—particularly those which targeted "modernist" post-secondary institutions—and attempted to lead a schism similar to those that Shields had precipitated in the Central and Western Canadian Baptist Conventions.

While the Maritime fundamentalists used many of Shields' techniques, their theology took a notably American classic-fundamentalist hue. They fell into the revivalist culture

[87] Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon*, 228. Cf. Ellis, "What the Times Demand," 77.
[88] Ellis, "What the Times Demand," 81.
[89] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 72.

of the United States, which stressed the Spirit's activity, and opened the door for cross-denominational work—as long as those involved were committed to the fundamentalist cause—which, most notably, created a working relationship with Maritime Pentecostals. Additionally, the Maritime fundamentalists adopted premillennial eschatology as their foundation—as opposed to Shields' "quasi-amillennialism"[90]—and most became dispensationalists. They subscribed to the conservative ideal of biblical inerrancy, as well as a William Jennings Bryan-esque opposition to evolution. Where the American influence was less a factor in Shields' own ministry, it did help to drive the Maritime Baptist fundamentalists. As a result, the Maritime fundamentalists adopted an amalgam of British and American fundamentalism.

When describing the religious climate of the Southern United States, Marsden paints a picture that equally describes the situation in Nova Scotia:

> some of the most extreme fundamentalists separated into their own denominations or into independent churches. These were mainly dispensationalists for whom strict separation was an article of faith. By about 1960, this wing of the movement was the only one that still chose to wear the badge of "fundamentalist."[91]

The fundamentalist movement of J.J. Sidey and J.B. Daggett was one such group that wore the "fundamentalist badge" with honour.

2.3. SUMMARY

Fundamentalism in North America emerged in response to a wave of new ideas that began to permeate the culture and the church. While the earliest leaders of this movement emphasized biblical authority as the defining feature, for many, by the mid-1920s fundamentalism had come to mean "antievolution." This informal classification

[90] Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 30.
[91] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 195.

became solidified during the Scopes-Monkey Trial. Though they retained their displeasure for Marxism, rationalism, and especially higher criticism, they came to view evolution as one of the most outward signs of modernism.

In Canada, T.T. Shields subscribed to this fundamentalist perspective and turned his attention to where these new ideas were most free to thrive: universities. He attacked McMaster University for its endorsement of purported modernists W.H.P. Faunce and L.H. Marshall. To Shields, McMaster's willingness to recognize these individuals was emblematic of the BCOQ's spiritual health. Shields took his grievances to the floor of Convention, where he precipitated a large-scale split, creating the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec in 1928. At the same time, he coached fundamentalists in British Columbia through a similar schism, where they created the Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia in 1926. The Shields-led fundamentalist crusade deeply affected Baptists across Canada.

3. CHAPTER THREE
Fundamentalism in the Maritimes: The Birth of a Movement

"To all sane-minded people there is simply no concord between the manifested Spirit of the Jesus of the Gospels and the Spirit of Modern Christianity."
- John James Sidey, "Is Christ Coming Again?"[92]

At the centre of the early Maritime Baptist fundamentalist history were John Bolton Daggett and John James Sidey. Gertrude A. Palmer, who was closely associated with the Kingston Fundamentalists, went so far as to name John James Sidey the "Wesley of the Maritimes," and John Bolton Daggett a "modern Luther."[93] While these lofty assessments smack of hagiography, they emphasize—however dramatically—the importance that Daggett and Sidey had to the early fundamentalist movement among Maritime Baptists.

3.1. EARLY FUNDAMENTALIST LEADERS IN THE MARITIMES

Palmer's writing has done much to revise and control the broader historical approach to the early fundamentalist movement among Maritime Baptists. In her attempt to deify Sidey, she placed him squarely at the centre of the movement and thereby downplayed the involvement of other individuals. Perhaps the most important of those figures historians have glossed over was John Bolton Daggett.[94]

3.1.1. Preacher-Politician: John Bolton Daggett (1870 – 1939)

John Bolton Daggett was born on the island of Grand Manan, New Brunswick in 1870. His father, Edmund, was a leader in the local Free Baptist church and a Justice of

[92] J. J. Sidey, "Is Christ Coming Again?" *The Challenge* (August 1923), 7.
[93] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 74, 110.
[94] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 102.

the Peace. Through the course of the younger Daggett's life, he mirrored the career of his father both as a preacher and in the public sector. After a brief stint at Colby College in Maine, Daggett concluded that post-secondary education was not necessary for his calling and he returned to New Brunswick. In 1891, Daggett became a licentiate with the Free Baptist Conference of New Brunswick and subsequently served as minister to the Lewis Head, Second Salisbury, Second North River, Wheaton Settlement, and Steeves Mountain Free Christian Baptist churches.[95] He was ordained in 1894 at Tracey Mills Free Baptist Church in New Brunswick and eventually rose in the ranks of the Free Baptist conference.

In 1898, he married Elizabeth Jane Merrithew (1872 – 1942) from Keswick, New Brunswick.[96] The couple's first child, C. Rhodes Daggett, born in 1900, did not survive infancy, and died in 1902. The couple settled in the Fredericton area, where, in the autumn of 1903, Elizabeth gave birth to their son, Eldon Edmund Daggett. The next year, in 1904, Daggett was elected to serve as the Moderator of the Free Baptist Conference of New Brunswick, where he purportedly opposed the Union of the Free Baptists and Regular Baptists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—a merger that eventually took shape in 1905-06 with the creation of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Province.

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[95] Frederick C. Burnett, "Daggett, John Bolton," *Biographical Directory of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Free Baptist Ministers and Preachers* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1996), 85.

[96] Interestingly enough, according to their marriage license, W. C. Keirstead, the later prolific Professor of Philosophy and Economics at the University of New Brunswick, served as the marriage officiant. In many ways, Keirstead's progressive worldview was on the other end of the theological spectrum from Daggett's later professed fundamentalism. For a good study on Keirstead, see Daniel C. Goodwin, "The Origins and Development of Wilfred Currier Keirstead's Social and Religious Thought," *Acadiensis* 37.2 (2008), 18 – 38. Cf. George A. Rawlyk, "J.M. Cramp and W.C. Keirstead: The Response of Two Late Nineteenth-Century Baptist Sermons to Science," *Profiles of Science and Society in the Maritimes Prior to 1914*, Paul A. Bogaard, ed., (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 119 – 134.

Not long after the creation of this unified Baptist body, Daggett was diagnosed with tuberculosis. His steadily declining health forced him to withdraw from his active role in the ministry. He was forced to travel to the Mayo Clinic in the United States in order to obtain the necessary medical treatment. According to J.J. Sidey's unpublished autobiography, when Daggett returned to Canada, he sought to be reinstalled in the Baptist hierarchy, but "new men were in power…[who] naturally looked askance upon one who had formerly opposed their cherished plans for Union and they were not large-visioned men sufficient to put duty before prejudice."[97]

In 1911, apparently barred from the ministry, Daggett accepted a position with New Brunswick's Department of Agriculture, where he became the Deputy to the Minister of Agriculture, Hon. James A. Murray. He held this position until 1917 when the Liberal Party defeated the governing Conservative administration.[98] With this electoral loss, Daggett left office and decided to return to the ministry. He assumed the pulpit at Marysville Baptist Church outside of Fredericton; however, his time in the political limelight was not done. In 1918 he was implicated in the "Patriotic Potato Scandal"—a New Brunswick World War One relief effort that had been conducted under shady circumstances.

On the 4 August 1914, in order to defend neutral Belgium, Great Britain declared war on Germany. By virtue of its place in the British Empire, Canada was now involved in a European conflict. In New Brunswick, the Legislative Assembly began to discuss how it could contribute to the war effort and, on 2 September 1914, it approved a measure to contribute 100,000 bushels of potatoes, totaling approximately 40,000 barrels, to Britain

[97] J.J. Sidey, "The Widow's Mite," Unpublished (1961), 20. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[98] In New Brunswick, political party affiliations were unofficial until the early 1930s.

and Belgium. This "Patriotic Potato Gift" was estimated to cost roughly $75,000. On 27 October, the government voted to increase this grant by another $75,000. Altogether, the government pledged $153,505.75 for 68,603 barrels of potatoes.[99] In 1918, the new liberal government commissioned Price-Waterhouse and Company to audit the provincial financial records. On the "Potato Gift," they revealed a discounted sum of $32,861, which the previous government insisted had come from the sale of surplus potatoes to Cuba. The Cuban government denied any involvement and it was discovered that the $32,000 had in fact come from an unknown source in Moncton.[100] In order to determine if there had been any wrongdoing, the government commissioned the "McQueen Inquiry," led by Shediac lawyer, James McQueen. The first witness called to the stand was J.B. Daggett.

As under-secretary to the Agricultural Minister, Daggett was directly involved in the purchasing of the potatoes. Of those 68,000 barrels of potatoes that the government had purchased for the war effort, just over 51,000 were sent to Europe—this left approximately 17,000 barrels of potatoes aboard ships in the Saint John Harbour. In early 1915, Daggett approached the A.C. Smith Company, which had been involved in procuring the potatoes for the government, and informed them that the government had overpaid them and that they would be required to return an apparently arbitrary sum of approximately $9,500. According to the McQueen Inquiry, Daggett deposited $5,077.60 to cover a "personal" cost and deposited the remainder into his personal account.[101]

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[99] These stats taken from *The Report of Commissioner McQueen on Patriotic Potato Inquiry* (8 February, 1919), 3 – 4.

[100] Arthur T. Doyle, *Front Benches and Back Rooms: A Story of Corruption, Muckrucking, Raw Partisanship and Intrigue in New Brunswick* (Toronto, ON: Green Tree Pub. Co., 1976), 191 – 192.

[101] *McQueen on Patriotic Potato Inquiry*, 24. Cf. Doyle, *Front Benches*, 194.

The remaining 17,000 barrels of potatoes, most of which eventually rotted in the Saint John Harbour, totaled a loss of approximately $32,000 for the government—the original sum discovered by the auditors in 1918. According to the Inquiry, the late Premier George Clarke suggested that that sum should be remunerated through loans from conservative supporters. With this proposition in mind, Clarke apparently approached W.B. Tennant, a New Brunswick businessman with ties to a prominent construction company. Tennant indicated that he would be willing to help the government if his construction company was awarded a contract for an upcoming Valley Railway project. His company's tender was ultimately accepted and he wrote a cheque for $61,500, and gave it to the MLA for Kings County, George Jones. Daggett was given $33,900 from this amount to take care of potato loss, which he deposited at the Bank of Montreal on 30 May 1916 inexplicably under the name, "Wm. Thompson."[102]

A number of government officials had perpetrated fraud, the details for which were only partially uncovered in the McQueen Commission. The report revealed that a number of politicians involved had benefitted financially from the scandal. For instance, McQueen's Inquiry found several holes in the story for which those involved could not provide a solid answer. He suggested: (1) there had been no record of insurance money returning to the province; and (2) that the province had not received any revenue for several hundred barrels sold in Saint John.[103] Moreover, those funds that were acquired to repay the government came through unsavoury channels. Although no one implicated in the scandal was ever formally charged, one partisan pamphlet dramatically called it:

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[102] Ibid., 29 - 33. The remainder of the sum went to conservative interests, including $10,000 to *The Daily Gleaner* newspaper and $6,000 for a by-election in Carleton County. See Doyle, *Front Benches*, 200.

[103] *McQueen on Patriotic Potato Inquiry*, 40 – 41.

"The blackest chapter in the political history of this or any other province."[104] Daggett's role in the controversy—however debatable—left a legacy that he was never able to escape.

Not long after this controversy, Daggett concluded his ministry at Marysville Baptist Church and went to Tryon Baptist Church in Prince Edward Island. It was here that Daggett initially met the individual who the Halifax-based radio preacher Perry F. Rockwood would later identify as "the pioneer separationist of the Maritimes": John James Sidey.[105]

3.1.2. "The Combatant": John James Sidey (1891 – 1966)

John James Sidey was born in Portsmouth, England in 1891. Shortly after his birth, Sidey went with his parents to Newfoundland, where his father worked alongside Wilfred Grenfell as a Methodist missionary. After seven years, Sidey's mother, Sarah, separated from her husband and returned to England with her young son. In his youth, he learned that he had a gift for public oratory. At over six-feet tall, Sidey's imposing stature was offset by his natural charm and charisma. Like his father, Sidey had hoped to become a missionary to North America and, in 1911, he travelled to Nova Scotia to fulfill this dream. Sidey eventually settled in Windsor, Nova Scotia, where he lived with his uncle.

In 1916, Sidey relocated to the United States in order to pursue an education. He enrolled at Northwestern University in Chicago, Illinois. Sidey's educational experience was a deeply formative one. In Gertrude Palmer's biography of Sidey, the author goes so far as to indicate that Sidey's true conversion experience came while he was a student.

[104] "Patriotic Potatoes: Facts for the Electors to Ponder Over," (Fredericton, NB, n.d.).
[105] As cited by Palmer, *The Combatant*, 195.

While this is perhaps an overstatement, it would be accurate to suggest that it was here that Sidey developed a tendency toward fundamentalism, though at this point, where he lacked his later militancy, it was best characterized as "conservative evangelicalism."[106] Palmer traces Sidey's educational career by observing that he "was a young man with an insatiable yearning for knowledge," and that he "began to let his intellect get in his way and his walk of faith became a maze of questions from which he was not to escape for some years." Further, she adds, "Intellectual froth had fogged up his thinking and the cloud spread deeply over his spiritual understanding."[107] Within Palmer's writing, she brazenly suggests that his intellectual pursuits impeded his spiritual growth. In Sidey's own retrospective account written in 1961 he noted, "It was a terrific battle to rid myself of the new ideas that had been, by study and by teaching, super-imposed upon the experience of my youth."[108]

The antidote to Sidey's struggle appears to have been the theological climate of Chicago itself. For many fundamentalists, including Sidey, the Chicago School of Theology (in the University of Chicago) was modernism's North American capital. This influence took root especially in Canada where Baptists across the country developed a strong association with the school in the early twentieth-century—a position for which they later experienced turbulence at the hands of irritated fundamentalists.[109] During this period, the Chicago school employed significant modernist leaders like Shailer Mathews, who was the dean of the school, and Shirley Jackson Case, a New Testament scholar

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[106] George A. Rawlyk, "J.J. Sidey and the Soul Winner's Revival of the 1920's," *Wrapped Up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 125.

[107] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 27, 29.

[108] Sidey, *The Widow's Mite,* 10.

[109] E.g.: Ellis, "What the Times Demand," 77; Cf. Scott, "Brandon College and Social Christianity," 154ff.

originally from New Brunswick. However, Sidey was unable to find harmony between what he saw as the tension between this modernist theology and his faith, and instead looked for other answers. On at least one occasion, Sidey attended a prophetic conference at the Moody Bible Institute, near Chicago's north end.[110] Here, Sidey discovered premillennial eschatology and the breed of fundamentalism to which he would later subscribe: dispensationalism.

In 1917, when the United States entered the First World War, Sidey temporarily paused his academic training in order to serve as a chaplain at Fort Sheridan, outside of Chicago. In this role, Sidey described a dramatic rededication experience wherein two Salvation Army "lasses" led a moving service for the troops stationed at Fort Sheridan. It was here that he swore that he would "get back to the old way [he had] learned at [his] mother's knee."[111]

A crucial step in Sidey's spiritual development came on 25 March 1918, when he married Edna Reynolds Carde, from Burlington, Nova Scotia. One year later, in 1919, Edna gave birth to Isabel Sarah Sidey and in 1921, gave birth to John Donald Sidey. Although Edna was not as passionate as her husband during the later fundamentalist movement, Sidey credited her with having a "strong early training in fundamental realities," that helped him to survive the "whirlpool of modern thought."[112] Edna was clearly one of the most important influences in Sidey's life. Moreover, Donald E. Carde, Sidey's new brother-in-law, became Sidey's partner in evangelism. After their marriage, the new Mrs. Sidey travelled with her husband to Chicago, where Sidey finished his education.

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[110] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 45.
[111] Sidey, *The Widow's Mite*, 10.
[112] Ibid., 9.

When Sidey returned to school, he transferred from Northwestern University to Union Theological College, in Chicago.[113] There, Sidey received a Bachelor of Theology in 1921. While enrolled at Union, in 1921, Sidey also enrolled at Oriental University, a correspondence school in the District of Columbia where after a few months and a short thesis entitled, "Immortality, the Inevitable Result of Progressive Universe,"[114] he received a Master of Arts *and* a Doctorate of Divinity. Five years after Sidey received these degrees, however, Oriental was exposed as a degree mill, and, as George Rawlyk observed, "its doors were permanently closed, or more accurately its mail-box permanently sealed."[115]

3.1.3. The Soul Winners' Association

Following his graduation, Sidey returned to Nova Scotia to work as an itinerant evangelist under the auspices of the Soul Winners' Association (SWA). Along with Donald Carde, Edna Sidey, and Ernest E. Skaling, the Provincial Secretary of the SWA, Sidey established his base of operations in Hantsport, Nova Scotia. Moreover, upon his return to Nova Scotia, Sidey was baptized by immersion by Neil Herman,[116] a United Baptist minister who had earned himself a reputation as a militant conservative within the Convention. Sidey gave six teachings that he considered the "Fundamentals" of the SWA:

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[113] Ibid., 9. Unfortunately, Sidey does not clearly identify this college.
[114] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 32.
[115] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 44.
[116] In an interview Arthur Vincent, who served as a United Baptist minister for many years in a variety of ministerial positions, claimed that he had heard that Sidey had been baptized by T.T. Shields himself. While the timeline of these events makes this reality impossible, it speaks to the "Sidey Legend" that had developed within later fundamentalist circles. See Robert S. Wilson, Interview with A.C. Vincent, 15 March 1988, accessible through AUA.

(a) The Trinity in unity.
(b) The Fatherhood of God, and the sonship [sic] of the Saviourhood [sic] and Deity of Jesus Christ.
(c) Scripture as inspired of God, and holy men of old wrote as the Holy Spirit revealed unto them the things of God. No Scripture is of private interpretation.
(d) The Doctrines of Heaven and Hell.
(e) The Pre-Millennial return of our Lord for His Saints.
(f) Prophecy as the forteller [sic] of the signs and warnings given by God, that his people may be instructed in the programme He has for the closing of the present dispensation.[117]

In February of 1923, through his Nova Scotia branch of the SWA, Sidey began publishing a regular newsletter entitled, *The Challenge*, which was dedicated to "Soul Winning," and promised that "nothing else will occupy the reading space of this paper."[118]

In the first edition of the paper, Sidey upheld a form of classic conservative evangelicalism, but did not display the characteristic fundamentalist militancy. "We do not think with those who see the world growing better," wrote Sidey, "We are glad of their optimism, but are afraid of the premise."[119] Sidey rejected postmillennialism outright and, in the same edition of the paper, cautioned against "higher criticism." In addition to this, however, Sidey also claimed that his paper held no single view on the interpretation of Scripture.

Perhaps most interesting about this paper were Sidey's comments on Pentecostalism—a view which would later cause distrust in the ranks of his own fundamentalist movement. In the United States, by virtue of their stance on the miraculous, the Pentecostal movement had become a major opponent of modernism. By 1923, Pentecostalism was beginning its grand entrance into the Maritime Provinces. It

[117] "Constitution of Soul Winners' Association," *The Challenge* (November 1923), 8.
[118] *The Challenge* (February 1923), 1.
[119] J. J. Sidey, "The World Over," *The Challenge* (February 1923), 9.

came northward from the United States and settled on the framework of Henry Alline's revivalist emphasis of "New Birth."[120] In the first issue of *The Challenge*, which appeared in early 1923, Sidey appealed to the Pentecostal movement by observing that, "Wonderful cures from disease have been the accompanying manifestation of Pentecostal Power in these meetings, and who dares to challenge it and say it is not of God." This, Sidey maintained, was the outpouring of the Spirit that signaled the fulfillment of prophecy. As a trait that accompanied his ministry throughout the entire course of his life, Sidey maintained that he supported "undenominational" fellowship.[121]

Increasingly, Sidey spoke out against the rationalism and optimism of the "modern church." Sidey lamented that, "Christendom to-day is split in twain." Rather than the schism which occurred during the Protestant Reformation, however, Sidey referred to the division between the "intellects of the Church" and the traditionalists.[122] In his submissions to *The Challenge*, he became increasingly outspoken in his pessimism—a view which, like it had for famed evangelist Dwight L. Moody, spurred a kind of "save all you can" mentality.[123] For Sidey, the necessarily pessimistic view of premillennialism became something of a cover-all term to denounce what he saw as the growing modernism within the church.

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[120] Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*, William A. Griffin, ed. (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Pub. House, 1994), 166 – 167.

[121] Sidey, "The World Over," 12.

[122] Sidey, "Is Christ Coming Again?" 6 – 8. Cf. J.J. Sidey, "Meeting Christ in the Air," *The Challenge* (October 1923), 5 – 8.

[123] Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 22.

3.1.4. The Proto-Fundamentalist: Neil Herman (1870 – 1952)

In autumn of 1923, *The Challenge* announced that Neil Herman had joined the SWA. Herman was something of a forerunner to the early fundamentalist movement among Maritime Baptists. Herman was born in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia in 1870. In 1890, the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces added Herman to the list of licentiates for the Central Nova Scotia Association.[124] In 1895, Herman graduated from Acadia University with a Bachelor of Arts, and went on to study Theology at Pine Hill Divinity School and Newton Theological Institution, where he eventually received a Bachelor of Divinity degree.

Herman was a true "independent" in every sense of the word. He worked by himself within his churches and precipitated several small-scale church splits. This lure toward independency played itself out in his personal life as well, as he lived the majority of his life as a bachelor and did not get married until late 1948[125]—less than three years before his death.

After several years pastoring in the United States, in 1907, Herman returned to the Maritimes as pastor in Windsor, Nova Scotia, where he was ordained. In 1911, Herman assumed the pulpit at Immanuel Baptist Church in Truro, Nova Scotia. Here, Herman wrote a by-law into the church's charter that stated that if a member were absent from a set number of communion services, he or she would be removed from the membership list. According to Arthur C. Vincent, whose father succeeded Herman at Immanuel Baptist, this effectively removed many of the "big shots," or business owners, from the church congregation. Sidey rather indelicately described these events by noting that

[124] E.M. Keirstead, *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS, 1890), 196.
[125] "Personals," *Acadia Bulletin* 35.1 (January 1949), 24

Herman was "instrumental in ridding the church of some of its biggest drawbacks."[126] Those removed from fellowship contended that this had damaged their reputation and subsequently took the church to court, where they were awarded approximately $1,000 from Immanuel Baptist. As a result, during Herman's time as pastor, a number of Immanuel Baptist's congregants left the church and began to attend First Baptist Church, also in Truro.[127] In late 1913, Herman tendered his resignation from Immanuel Baptist Church in Truro.

Although he received a call from Central Church in Vancouver, British Columbia, he ultimately went to McPhail Memorial Baptist Church in Ottawa, Ontario in 1914,[128] and then Park Baptist Church in Brantford, Ontario in 1916.[129] Here, at the latter church, Herman caused another church split. While Vincent remembered the nature of this schism as that which involved a "personal matter," the most significant consequence was Herman's removal from the United Baptist Convention's list of ordained ministers.[130] Herman returned to the Maritime Provinces, a defeated man.

In 1921, however, the Sydney Baptist Church in Nova Scotia issued a call to Herman to come work as their Senior Pastor. They felt so strongly about Herman that they wrote to the Convention and stated that if Herman's ministerial credentials were not restored, they would remove their congregation from the United Baptist Convention.[131] The Convention complied with Sydney Baptist Church's request and reinstated Herman's ordination. It was here that Herman met Sidey and where he subsequently baptized him.

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[126] J.J. Sidey, "Man of the Hour," *The Challenge* (September 1923), 6.
[127] Interview with A.C. Vincent.
[128] "Personals," *Acadia Bulletin* 3.4 (May 1914), 5.
[129] "Personals," *Acadia Bulletin* 5.1 (February 1916), 4.
[130] Interview with A.C. Vincent.
[131] Ibid.

Herman inaugurated his involvement with the Soul Winners' Association by submitting a grim sermon to *The Challenge*. This sermon touched on war, disease, intemperance, and lust. To Herman, the world had entered "a corrupt age" and had committed sins akin to Sodom and Gomorrah.[132] Herman's sermon was the high-water mark for fundamentalist rhetoric in *The Challenge*. It is quite likely that this relationship played a role in pushing Sidey toward the militant evangelicalism that he later exhibited.

3.1.5. Island Preachers: Daggett, Sidey, and Herman

In 1925, Canadian Methodists, Congregationalists, and two-thirds of the Presbyterian Church amalgamated to form the United Church of Canada. Known for their perceived acceptance of modernism, Sidey knew that he could not return to his Methodist roots.[133] Later that year, worn out from constant travel and an irregular paycheck, Sidey dissolved the Nova Scotia branch of the Soul Winner's Association and became the Senior Pastor at Central Bedeque Baptist Church in Prince Edward Island.

As Sidey settled into Maritime Baptist life, he began to make a name for himself. In order to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the Bedeque Baptist Church, Sidey wrote a pageant exploring the early history of Baptists on Prince Edward Island. In addition to the original narrative, Sidey demonstrated his musical ability as he arranged a mix of hymns and adapted a score for the production. The play, entitled *Overcoming, or The Victory of the Gospel* was well received.[134] Encouraged by its success, Sidey penned several other pageants, including one on the Maritime Baptist Home Mission Board

[132] Neil Herman, "The World Upside Down," *The Challenge* (September 1923), 7 – 14.
[133] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 48.
[134] J.J. Sidey, *Overcoming, or The Victory of the Gospel* (Bedeque, 1926).

entitled *The Pilgrim, or the Torch of Truth*.[135] It is possible that Sidey had hoped this latter performance would help him become a more recognizable face within the Convention.[136]

In addition to the gratification he received from these performances, Sidey's years in Prince Edward Island were formative ones, as he found himself in close proximity to two individuals who would become central to the early fundamentalist movement. Also in 1925, the reinstated Herman answered a call to serve as the pastor of the Central Christian Church in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Additionally, as mentioned above, Daggett had already been serving at Tryon Baptist Church, also in Prince Edward Island. Here, these three preachers fed off of one another. In particular, Daggett and Sidey developed a close relationship and mutually pushed each other further into the theological conservatism that later fueled their movement. According to Rawlyk, through Daggett's influence, Sidey became a much more "aggressive and closed-minded individual."[137]

3.2. THE INFLUENCE OF T. T. SHIELDS

Daggett and Sidey's march toward fundamentalism was accelerated through their correspondence and interaction with T.T. Shields. As Shields precipitated the schism within the BCOQ and helped influence the fundamentalists in the BUWC, it is likely that he had hoped eventually to lead a full-scale fundamentalist movement across Canada, which would not be complete without the Maritime Provinces.

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[135] J.J. Sidey, *The Pilgrim, or the Torch of Truth* (Bedeque, 1928).
[136] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 52.
[137] Rawlyk, "J.J. Sidey and the Soul Winner's Revival," 130.

3.2.1. Daggett: Maritime Fundamentalist Leader

Although the pages of Shields' *The Gospel Witness* would remain silent during the attempted fundamentalist exodus from the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces nearly ten years later, in 1925 Shields published two articles by John Bolton Daggett. In one of the newspapers to which Daggett contributed, Shields posed the question, "Is there any Modernism in the West?" coupled with a letter from an anonymous author who reported that they had heard a preacher instruct a congregation: "If you are a Christian, and know a church where they talk about saving souls, and getting people to heaven, don't go inside the doors."[138] Shields had painted a tapestry where modernism was a national issue. Indeed, it is likely that Shields included Daggett's letters at this point in his campaign to give the impression that his movement against modernism was a growing one and that it stretched "from sea to sea."

In Rawlyk's seminal study on Daggett, he observes that the first interaction that Shields had with the Tryon minister was in a letter on 12 February 1924, written from the latter party to the former. In this letter, Daggett informed Shields about the growing modernist element within the Maritime Baptist Convention. This was during Shields' first significant attack on McMaster, the Faunce controversy—wherein McMaster decided to award a honourary degree to the purportedly "liberal" President of Brown University, William H.P. Faunce—which likely inspired Daggett's next letter, which emphasized the "tainted" Acadia University. Rawlyk shows that a significant correspondence developed between these two anti-modernists. Daggett wrote to Shields and confessed: "I do not feel I am in a position to lead…but will be a very faithful follower." In response, Shields encouraged Daggett to launch a "Bible Union" in the

[138] "Is there any Modernism in the West?" *The Gospel Witness* (24 September 1925), 6.

Maritimes.[139] The result was a Fundamentalist Conference in Truro, which eventually gave birth to the Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association.

On 20 August 1925, Shields introduced Daggett's article in *The Gospel Witness* by informing his readers that he had travelled to the Maritimes to take part at the Fundamentalist Conference at the Immanuel Baptist Church in Truro, Nova Scotia. While he admitted that he had barely any knowledge of the region, Shields observed that he felt that the "chief export" of the Maritime Provinces were its educated individuals. In his newspaper, Shields noted that the most remarkable guests were from Prince Edward Island—likely referring to Daggett, Sidey, and Herman. Shields continued with the observation: "There was one brother from Prince Edward Island who told of the necessity he and his wife felt of discussing these matters privately and not in the presence of their children; for they did not want their children to lose all respect for the church of Christ." From this, Shields segued into the introduction of the newly minted Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association, for which Daggett, the preacher from a small rural church in Prince Edward Island, served as the interim-President.[140]

In his first letter, Daggett raised various concerns with the state of his own Baptist Convention. "I thought I knew what Baptists believed and what Baptists stood for," wrote Daggett, "but lately I have been wondering what I am."[141] In many respects, this was Daggett's public declaration that he would follow in Shields' war against modernism. Daggett personally signaled out Ross Eaton, the pastor at "the largest city church" in Prince Edward Island—First United Baptist Church in Charlottetown—as an

[139] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 89 – 90. These letters are housed at the Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives, and are typically closed to the public.

[140] T.T. Shields, "Editor in the Maritime Provinces," *The Gospel Witness* (20 Aug. 1925), 10.

[141] J.B. Daggett, "Baptists in the Maritime Provinces," *The Gospel Witness* (20 Aug. 1925), 11.

individual who denied the "three-in-one" description of the Trinity and who raised concerns with the Bible's historicity. For Daggett, Eaton represented the broader inroads of modernism and the overall state of the Maritime Baptists. On this, he wrote:

> I can see no meeting or common ground for us. Already there are signs of a great spiritual drought; the heavens are being shut up; there are a few scattered showers of blessing; but the early and latter rains are not upon the land; in some places, the evening dew has well night [sic] failed. Horse-racing, dancing, card-playing, theatre-going, pleasure-loving, church members are increasing in city and country. The old gospel we hear has lost its power, we must have something new. It is not the gospel that has lost its power, it is the pulpit and the preacher.[142]

It is quite likely that Daggett had hoped for an extension of the Shields campaign that might reach into the Maritime Provinces.

One month after his first letter in *The Gospel Witness*, again Daggett wrote to the newspaper—this time with a much different tone. Following his earlier letter, from 24 – 30 August 1925 the Maritime Baptist Convention met on the campus of Acadia University for its annual gathering. "The splendid spiritual tone that was maintained throughout the Convention," wrote Daggett, "was a complete answer to the modernist element." Indeed, from Daggett's perspective, even those who spoke about topics that might border upon modernist ideals were shouted down by most of Convention. He believed that the Convention was thoroughly conservative and in that issue of *The Gospel Witness*, with confidence he wrote: "Our people do not believe the religion of the future is the Fosdick type."[143]

At the Convention, however, further correspondence revealed that the experience had not been as rosy as Daggett had originally written in *The Gospel Witness*. To Shields, Daggett, along with R. W. Bennett, the pastor at Immanuel Baptist Church in Truro, were

[142] Ibid., 12.

[143] J.B. Daggett, "Good News from Down by the Sea," *The Gospel Witness* (24 September 1925), 13 – 14.

the leaders of the Maritime fundamentalist movement. Following the Convention gathering, Bennett wrote to Shields in a surprisingly sombre tone. Rather than writing a letter dripping with the militant and mechanical unwavering battle rhetoric that normally accompanied correspondence between fundamentalists, he adopted a vulnerable tone. Bennett lamented that because of his involvement in the movement, many of his friends within the Convention had turned their backs on him. Additionally, he described an interaction between A.L. Huddleston, the pastor at First Baptist Church in Halifax, Simeon Spidle, the Dean of Theology at Acadia University, and himself. According to Bennett, these two prominent Convention members approached him and verbally harassed him. As Bennett described to Shields, it was this interaction that affirmed for him that he was in fact a fundamentalist. Similarly, Bennett noted that "Daggett got it too," before observing, "but believe me he is a match for them."[144]

3.2.2. Sidey's Rise to Prominence

Bennett's role as fundamentalist leader would become vacant later in 1925 when he agreed to become pastor at Carew Street Baptist Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. Before assuming this position, he criticized "our fundamentalist brethren of small intellect."[145] The emotional toil of the Convention must have been a heavy burden to bear and, in the end, the first causality in the Maritime Baptist Convention from the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was one of the fundamentalist leaders. Sidey, as the interim-secretary of the Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association, jumped at Bennett's position with great excitement.

[144] As cited in Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 91.
[145] As cited in ibid., 92.

Sidey and Daggett had become close friends during the months they worked together in Prince Edward Island and Sidey hoped to use that as a springboard to Shields. On several occasions, Sidey wrote to Shields to introduce himself by saying, "my friend J.B. Daggett." Sidey was interested in working with Shields, no matter what the personal cost. In a letter dated 16 August 1927, Sidey offered to work with Shields, either at the Toronto Baptist Seminary or at Des Moines University, and observed that if finances were unavailable, he would gladly support himself.[146] Shields ultimately declined each of Sidey's offers, and the Bedeque minister was left to pioneer his own movement in the Maritimes.

In 1926, Daggett resigned from his church in Tryon and answered a call from the "Kingston-Melvern" pastorate in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia. Upon his arrival, the circuit included the Kingston and Melvern Square United Baptist Churches, but later expanded to include Lower Aylesford in 1930. Also in 1926, after one year of operation, the former Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association slowly faded away. It left a void that was not filled until 1929, when Daggett initiated an annual Bible Conference in Kingston. Daggett's ailing health, however, caused him to seek out assistance. In 1930, the Kingston-Mevern pastorate extended a call to Sidey, who promptly accepted. Although Daggett's sickly stature and small frame contrasted with Sidey's towering physique and seemingly unlimited energy, they were, as Palmer has written, "kindred hearts." They shared a concern for the Convention's purportedly growing liberalism.[147]

[146] Ibid., 94 – 95.

[147] Gertrude Palmer, "The Independent Baptist Movement, 1930-1990," *Occasional Paper* 2 (1990), 2.

That year, Sidey assumed the role of senior pastor and Daggett shifted into the role of an assistant pastor—meaning, for the first time, Sidey was the leader.

When Sidey arrived in Kingston to work with Daggett, the area was known primarily for its apple and lumber industries. In fact, according to the region's official history, Kingston was an "agricultural mecca."[148] The substance of the Kingston circuit pastorate reflected the region's blue-collar identity. For example, in 1934, out of the forty-seven members listed at Melvern Square, all but two men listed "farmer" as their profession, totaling nineteen.[149] Sidey, who had considered "college trained" a liability during his evangelistic campaigns,[150] fit well into this small community and began to set his sights upon the liberalism that accompanied higher education.

At Kingston, the Daggett-Sidey coalition sewed together their inner circle with a series of annual conferences, which began in 1929 as the Baptist Evangelical Bible Conference. These rallies gathered a variety of Christian leaders from across the Maritimes, but were most prominently attended by Baptist ministers. The 1930 conference saw R.W. Lindsay, William B. Bezanson, Henry T. Wright, and H.L. Kinsman, all from various Baptist pastorates in Nova Scotia, as well as Allan Lawrence Tedford from Woodstock, New Brunswick. The number of Daggett-Sidey supporters increased in 1931 with the arrival of F.C. Haysmore, Alexander G. Crowe, J.H. Copeland, and Terence Alexander Meister,[151] who would later become one of the most

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[148] Tony Cochrane, ed., *Echoes Across the Valley: A History of Kingston and its Neighbors, Volume I* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 218.

[149] "Covenant Deed of the Melvern Square Baptist Church (Independent)," 6 December 1934, 2 – 3. Melvern Square Baptist Church (Ind.). Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[150] As cited by Palmer, *The Combatant*, 39.

[151] Ibid., 53.

important movers—for better or worse—in the early fundamentalist movement. The Kingston Fundamentalists were amassing a modest, but militant, following.

3.3. SUMMARY

John Bolton Daggett's experiences with the United Baptist Convention were significant for the Kingston Fundamentalist movement. Purportedly dissatisfied with the Convention, Daggett's foray into politics equipped him with the necessary debating skills to confront the things that he considered a growing threat among Maritime Baptists. In the 1920s, the issues came into focus when he met his new ally, J.J. Sidey.

With a shared sense of purpose, Sidey and Daggett became a formidable duo: Daggett's small frame was contrasted with Sidey's towering physique; Daggett's sickly nature was met by Sidey's seemingly unlimited energy; and Daggett's debating skills and knowledge of the Baptist community complemented Sidey's willingness to go to war with the Convention. From this platform, they gathered a following, most notable was Neil Herman who lent his militancy to Sidey's Soul Winners' Association. His rhetoric displayed the combativeness from which Sidey had shied away.

By the beginning of the 1930s, however, Sidey's own tenacity would match that of Herman as he went to join his friend Daggett at the pastorate in Kingston, Nova Scotia. Together, from 1930 to 1934, these two led a series of Shields-esque volleys against the United Baptist Convention in general and Acadia University in particular.

4. CHAPTER FOUR
The Exodus

"I am compelled to tell the Baptist people the facts, not that I would destroy, but by this revelation there might be a reform."
- John Bolton Daggett, "The Foreign Mission Tragedy"[152]

As the Kingston Fundamentalists increased marginally in strength and numbers, they fixed their attention on the United Baptist stronghold: Acadia University. In the same way that Shields had identified McMaster's purported modernity, Daggett and Sidey began to question Acadia's theological position. The Kingston Fundamentalists were among the first to raise serious concerns with Acadia University's theological programme and therefore, the spiritual health of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces.

4.1. PERCEIVED MODERNITY AT ACADIA UNIVERSITY

The Nova Scotia Association of Regular Baptists founded Acadia University in Wolfville in 1838 (first as Queen's College and then as Acadia College). It stood alongside its sister institution, the secondary training school, Horton Academy, which the Baptists had created a decade earlier in 1828. Its founders offered Acadia as an alternative to other universities in Nova Scotia, like Kings College in Windsor, which accepted only Anglican students and staff, or Dalhousie in Halifax, which only admitted faculty members associated with the Church of Scotland.[153] As a result, the Baptists

[152] J.B. Daggett, "The Foreign Mission Tragedy," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 5.
[153] For an interesting study on the religious climate and later impetus that drove the founders of Acadia University, see Barry M. Moody, "The Maritime Baptists and Higher Education in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada*, Barry M. Moody, ed. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1980), 88 -102; cf. Philip G.A. Griffin-Allwood, "The Attraction of Souls: Acadia College and the Local Church," *An Abiding*

founded Acadia with the following clause in its Act of Incorporation: "and be it further enacted that no religious tests or subscriptions shall be required of the professors, fellows, scholars, graduate students or officers of the said college."[154] This statement of tolerance framed the Baptists' unique view of education during the early-to-mid nineteenth-century.

4.1.1. Controversy at Acadia

Acadia historian Barry Moody has described the history of Acadia's checkered and surprisingly modern religious propensities as "very open to the winds of change that were blowing through the field of higher education in the nineteenth century."[155] The relationship between science and religion at Acadia in the 1800s and early 1900s serves as a clear example of this surprisingly flexible theology. In 1867, John Mockett Cramp, Acadia's President, argued that "Reason and faith are twin sisters," a sentiment continued by a student in 1870 when he wrote, "The lecturer and the preacher will have a common aim, the Darwins and the Spurgeons mutually give and take."[156] The nineteenth-

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Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World, Robert S. Wilson, ed. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1988), 33 – 53.

[154] "Act for incorporating the Queen's College, Horton, Passes the 27th day of March, 1840," Section 8.

[155] Barry M. Moody, "Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind: The Baptists and Acadia College," *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, George Rawlyk, ed. (Kingston & Montreal: MQUP, 1988), 21.

[156] J.M. Cramp's Address to the Graduating Class, *Christian Messenger*, 12 June 1867, 186-187, and W.H. Newcomb, "The Problem of Life," *Christian Messenger* 6 July 1870, 209-210, As cited by ibid., 26-27. Cf. Jerry N. Pittman, "Darwinism and Evolution: Three Nova Scotia Religious Newspapers Respond, 1860 – 1900," *Acadiensis* 22 (1993), 40 – 60. In 1923, R. Osgood Morse, editor of *The Maritime Baptist* wrote an editorial about an article on evolution within the same edition of the paper. He concluded: "Whatever may be our conclusions regarding Evolution as the explanation of creation, of this one thing we may be very sure, … that no evolution can ever work itself. Any workable system of evolution must…make provision for a Creator." See R. Osgood Morse, "The Evolution of Evolution," *The Maritime Baptist* (10 January 1923), 4.

century's scientific discoveries were well known, debated, and largely accepted at Acadia. While it has been observed that McMaster had a "modernist impulse"[157] that encouraged later fundamentalist criticism, one could rightly apply the same label to Acadia.

The conversation surrounding Acadia's purported liberalism began earnestly in 1923, when the university launched its Department of Theology. Through Acadia, students could now obtain a post-graduate Bachelor of Divinity degree from the university—the most common degree used by those entering the ministry (later renamed, Master of Divinity). Where many professors had preserved the supposed "modernist impulse," this raised suspicion for concerned constituents within the Convention—the foremost of whom would later become the Kingston Fundamentalists. They believed that modernist ideals, such as the aforementioned scientific theories or the peril of higher criticism, might make their way into the churches of Convention. In 1928, Acadia perpetuated this fear when it awarded Shirley Jackson Case a honourary doctorate. Case, who was a member of the Acadia graduating class of 1893, was a Professor at the University of Chicago, or as J.B. Daggett later called it, "the greatest infidel factory in America."[158] This situation mirrored the Faunce controversy at McMaster. It should be noted, however, that unlike the situation at McMaster, when these events happened at Acadia they sparked very little discussion throughout the Convention.

Of greater consequence, it would seem, was the growing cry within the Convention for a reassessment of Acadia's extracurricular activities. Rumours circulated in the Convention about the dances that took place on Acadia's campus. On several occasions

[157] Pinnock, "The Modernist Impulse," 193ff.
[158] J.B. Daggett, "The Convention Question," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 3.

in the 1920s, members of the Baptist constituency had spoken out against Acadia's "night life,"[159] but the issue did not reach the Convention assembly until 1932, when it was deferred until 1933.

A committee, appointed under the auspices of the United Baptist Convention to investigate the matter, concluded that the best course of action was not to mandate any kind of religious policy. According to pastor Arthur C. Vincent, Frederic William Patterson, who had been the President of Acadia since 1923, stated on the floor of Convention:

> I agonized about this. These students come here from homes where dancing is allowed, where they have been going to dances and their parents have been anxious that they should have chaperones and under proper auspices and not be going to Kentville or Windsor to go to dances. And so I decided with my Board that we would have one [dance] night a week.

Reportedly, after the Convention session, J. H. MacDonald, Professor of Church History at Acadia, approached Vincent and informed him that, "there were things which took place after the dances which should not have."[160] The Kingston Fundamentalists' response to the Convention was nothing if not dramatic: "without hesitation we say it (the Committee's report) is the most wicked thing that ever passed any religious body since the days when the Sanhedrin condemned Jesus of Nazareth."[161] Yet, for most in the Convention, this was evidence that Acadia had become too worldly in its entertainment, not—as the fundamentalists believed—that it had adopted an entirely modernistic outlook.

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[159] Through the 1920s, *The Maritime Baptist* periodically published articles against dancing. For examples, see M.P. Hunt, "Is There Any Harm in Dancing?" *The Maritime Baptist* (23 March 1921), 3; "Christians who Dance," *The Maritime Baptist* (24 April 1922), 5; and G.R. McPaul, "The Dance of Death," *The Maritime Baptist* (29 August 1923), 2 – 3.

[160] Interview with A.C. Vincent.

[161] J.B. Daggett, "Dancing at Acadia," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 5.

4.1.2. Acadia's Response

In 1933, perhaps in an effort to combat these emerging controversies, the University sponsored the publication of a collection of *Maritime Baptist* articles in book form under the title, *The Religious Life of Acadia*. This book, which served largely as an uncritical celebration of the university, maintained that Acadia was "changed yet unchanged": its beautiful campus and diverse faculty and student body attested to its evolving nature, while its unaltered purpose served as a reminder of its faith-based foundation.[162]

The penultimate chapter of the book, written by George B. Cutten, the President of Acadia from 1910 to 1922, concluded: "Acadia is the unifying center, and as such has contributed much in making a united and progressive denomination."[163] Similarly, in the post-script, F.W. Patterson, Cutten's successor and the president of Acadia at the publication of this volume, wrote:

> All institutions change. Were our grandparents to come into our houses today, they would be helpless in the presence of our modern gadgets; telephones, radios, electric equipment of various kinds; but the spirit that creates the home within the house would be one with the spirit of their day. The same would be true, though perhaps in lesser degree of our churches…But with the spirit of worship, the passion for evangelism, the desire to be good and do good, they would find full fellowship. Least of all is it to be expected that the University shall be free from change. [sic] Could the founders of Acadia return today they would find much to occasion wonder…They would perhaps find much that they would regard with suspicion; but when they had discerned and felt the spirit behind the changed forms, they would know that the torch they had passed to other hands had been caught, held aloft and carried on.[164]

Patterson's plea was an obvious comment on the criticisms levied against Acadia and its purportedly changing nature.

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[162] A.C. Chute (with W. B. Boggs), *The Religious Life of Acadia* (Wolfville, 1933), 226 – 237.
[163] Ibid., 239.
[164] Ibid., 245 – 246.

4.2. FUNDAMENTALIST RESPONSE: THE KINGSTON BIBLE COLLEGE

Dissatisfied both by Acadia's response to the various "controversies" and the Convention's failure to confront what they considered a growing modernist orientation, the fundamentalist Baptists resolved to create their own skeleton Convention, driven by their own version of a Baptist training ground and a newspaper entitled, *The Gospel Light*—a name which hearkened to Shields' *The Gospel Witness*. In October 1930, the Kingston Bible College opened its doors.[165]

The creation of the College followed in a larger international trend known as the Bible School Movement, which had its roots in the 1880s. The College perfectly fit the criteria: (1) it taught the Bible as the ultimate truth over academic subjects and (2) its primary goal was to train believers for Christian ministry.[166] The classes were held in the Kingston United Baptist Church basement, where, during the 1930-31 academic school year—its first year of operation—there were three students: Maxwell Vroom Bolser, William Norton, and Russell Lynds. Bolser had become a Christian under Daggett's tutelage at Melvern Square Baptist Church in 1927 and Lynds had become a Christian during one of Sidey's evangelistic services at Westchester United Baptist in 1930.[167] Like Kingston's growing apple industry, the fledgling college churned out new leaders for the fundamentalist campaign. From early fall until spring, the smell of the sulfur

[165] The College's 1932 document of reorganization (accessible in AUA) maintains that KBC did not officially open until October. Cf. Palmer, *The Combatant*, 94.

[166] Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada," *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience,* George A. Rawlyk, ed. (Kingston & Montreal: MQUP, 1997), 373.

[167] Gertrude A. Palmer, "A Brief History of Kingston Bible College," Unpublished, n.d., copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray, accessible through KBC archives.

coming from the Kingston apple evaporators coalesced with the scent of drying apples,[168] marking the college's academic year. On staff, Sidey assumed the role of Principal and teacher, Daggett became the "Executive Official"[169] (Business Manager) and teacher, and H.L. Kinsman served as a teacher—each was an ordained member from the United Baptist Convention.

Contrary to what Rawlyk has observed,[170] when the Kingston-Melvern Baptists founded the Kingston Bible College, it was not originally nondenominational—they had founded the college as a Baptist institution. Ultimately, though it was never voted on or officially considered as such and by virtue of its founders and its base of operation, it was originally under the reluctant purview of the United Baptist Convention. While it operated at odds with Acadia University, its founders contended that it was for the purpose of supplying the "undermanned" Baptist Convention with real "Men [sic] of God." Quite explicitly, it stated:

> In its relationship to the Baptist Denomination, the College will adhere strictly to Baptist Principles held tenaciously by Baptists throughout the centuries. In its relationship to the Maritime Convention, it will be one of the organizations of the Kingston-Melvern Square United Baptist Pastorate. In its relationship to Acadia, it will take the place of a training school, following as far as consistently possible the Minimum Standard for Ministers, demanded by the Convention for Ordination.[171]

Additionally, they added: "The aim of the Movement [sic] is to serve the needy fields within our Convention limits."[172] The Kingston Bible College defined itself as a Baptist School from its earliest days.

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[168] Tony Cochrane, ed., *Echoes Across the Valley: A History of Kingston and its Neighbors, Volume II* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994), 29.
[169] *The Kingston Bible College* (Kingston, 1929), 4. Accessible in AUA.
[170] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 53 – 54.
[171] *The Kingston Bible College* (Kingston, 1929), 2 – 3. Accessible in AUA.
[172] Ibid., 3.

It is noteworthy that the Kingston Fundamentalists characterized the creation of the Bible School as a "Movement" in their early literature. It is likely that they believed that like-minded Convention Baptists would join their opposition, which would then force the "liberal" elite of the Convention Executive and Acadia University to capitulate. This approach rings of a Shields-esque infiltration of the Convention. Indeed, it seems probable that the Kingston Fundamentalists did not seek to depart from the Convention, but rather to reform it from within—a similar tactic to the method by which Shields had criticized McMaster in the wake of the Faunce controversy. Like Shields, however, their attempts ultimately led to a controversy and failure from which they would not recover.

By early 1932, the United Baptist Convention was increasingly distrustful of the Kingston Fundamentalists. Understanding that this was not an official Convention-approved ministry, the Executive decided to no longer allow the Kingston Bible College to operate within the Kingston United Baptist Church. Unsure of what direction the College would take, the distraught Sidey began looking for options.

On 11 July 1932, the Kingston Fundamentalists reorganized the College under the auspices of an entirely autonomous, nondenominational fellowship. Neil Herman, who baptized Sidey in 1921 and later worked in Prince Edward Island with both Sidey and Daggett, became the pastor of West End Baptist Church in Halifax in 1931. The next year, he became the president of the newly formed Kingston Bible College Fellowship of Halifax.[173] The Fellowship, comprised of members from a variety of denominations, served as a support structure for the fledgling College. At its first meeting, the Kingston pastors gave the Fellowship control of the College, who then transformed it into a nondenominational School—or, as Sidey became accustomed to calling it: an

[173] *Kingston Bible College* (Kingston, 1932), 2. Accessible in AUA.

"undenominational" Institution. Although the Fellowship continued operation until 1945, in 1933 it returned control of the College to its founders.[174] Despite this, the College did not re-identify with the Baptists but instead retained its "undenominational" designation.[175]

In the spring of 1933, a widow named Amanda Baker from the Kingston pastorate approached Sidey and offered to give the Kingston Bible College her six-acre plot of land that bordered Kingston Village. Sidey described the parcel of land as "a plot of ground that was on the edge of the woods on a back road, a sand heap with half a dozen uncultivated apple trees."[176] Initially, the Board of the College rejected Baker's offer, but before calling a vote, they chose to reconvene one week later to discuss its merits. Ultimately, they accepted the gift—later dubbed "the Widow's Mite"—and proceeded with construction plans. In her characteristic triumphalism, Gertrude Palmer called Amanda Baker's donation of land "one of the greatest tales of Christian courage to be found in the annals of the heritage of Kingston."[177] On 20 August 1933, during the fifth annual Bible and Evangelistic Conference in Kingston, Sidey and Daggett held the dedication ceremony on Baker's empty lot. In an open-air service, the assembly travelled down the dirt road that would later serve as the College's main entrance to listen to the

[174] Palmer, "A Brief History of Kingston Bible College."

[175] This follows in the observation that many fundamentalists that focused beyond the theological element of the debate—specifically, those who focused on evolution—chose not to identify with their denomination, but simply used the title, "fundamentalist." See Kidd & Hankins, *Baptists in America*, 192.

[176] Sidey, "The Widow's Mite," 16. The name of Sidey's autobiography (for which he was granted a Doctorate of Sacred Scriptures from KBC in 1962) is in part adopted from this exchange. The other "widow" within his story was his mother.

[177] Palmer, "The Independent Baptist Movement," 2.

dedicatory address given by Neil Herman.[178] Despite the optimism of Palmer's writing, the clash between the United Baptists and the Kingston Fundamentalists was still in its early stages.

When the College reorganized in 1932, it was clear that there had been some confusion among the Maritime Baptists and would-be students as to the academic programme that it offered. Therefore, the Kingston Bible College Fellowship of Halifax resolved to insert a clarifying statement into later printings of their academic calendar.

> The Kingston Bible College is a training school for all forms of Christian service. Academically, it is a preparatory school for the examinations of the University of London, England, and by these examinations, students attending the College can obtain all academic degrees for the University of London, England. The University of London has international standing, and is recognized by all institutions in the world. The examinations are held each year under the direction of the Nova Scotia Department of Education, and thus students attending the Kingston Bible College have a splendid opportunity to become graduates of the greatest international University in the world.[179]

While Kingston Bible College lacked Acadia's name-recognition, its supporters promoted it among potential students as "affiliated" with London University.

This lofty claim, however, raised suspicions for many within the Convention. Thomas B. McDormand, who at this time served as the Baptist pastor in Middleton, contacted London University with regard to this alleged liaison. They informed him that their records contained no mention of the Kingston College.[180] According to McDormand, Sidey defended the concept of Kingston's "affiliation" with London

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[178] See John James Sidey, "The Victorious Life: The Fifth Annual Bible and Evangelistic Conference of the Kingston, Melvern Square and Lower Aylesford Pastorate," 9 – 20 August 1933. Held at AUA.

[179] *Kingston Bible College* (Kingston, 1932), 3. Accessible in AUA; Thomas McDormand, *A Diversified Ministry: An Autobiography* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1987), 17.

[180] McDormand, *A Diversified Ministry*, 17.

University by stating that he meant that the college offered similar courses and used the same textbooks.[181] In its later literature, Kingston clarified its association:

> It must be clearly understood that the Kingston Bible College is not affiliated with the University of London but enjoys the privileges of any educational Institution [sic] within the British Empire that prepare students for the examinations of that University.[182]

Whether the Fellowship's earlier claim was intentionally misleading or not is unclear; however, to many within the Convention, the fundamentalists' past actions against the United Baptists, paired with their deceitful promotion of the College, signaled that the Kingston Fundamentalists had crossed the Rubicon.

4.3. CONVENTION ON THE OFFENSIVE

The Convention's response to the Kingston Fundamentalist crusade was two-pronged. First, it sought to discredit the Kingston Bible College; and second, it sought to discredit the ministers involved. Quite unlike the nature of Shields' campaign in the BCOQ where he had time to mount a significant attack against the Convention, among the United Baptists the Convention struck first. For the Convention Executive, its campaign to discredit the fundamentalists would be accomplished through the Ordination and Licensing Committees.

In an exchange with Thomas B. McDormand, L.E. Ackland, the president of Convention for 1933-1934, proposed a strategy to immobilize the Kingston Bible College movement with one swift and decisive action. "He (Sidey) will bring a group of his students for Associational Licenses," observed Ackland, "We could ask the committee to

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[181] Ibid, 18.

[182] Kingston Bible College Academic Programme, Gordon C. Warren Collection 11 (hereafter, Warren Collection), AUA.

refuse them on the grounds of the Bible School's lack of academic qualifications as compared with Acadia's."[183] Given that the founders of the College had originally claimed that it was for the purpose of training ministers to meet the ordination standards of the Convention, this was a direct attack on the institution itself.

The first attack took place at the Lawrencetown Associational Meeting in 1932. That year, Sidey, still in relatively good standing within the Convention, served as moderator of the Association—this gave him a position in the centre stage when the charges were brought against his College. At the meeting, Archibald MacLeod, the chairman of the Association Licensing Committee and Daggett's predecessor at the Kingston-Melvern pastorate, brought forth his committee's report, which did not include any students from the Kingston Bible College. McDormand wrote of the events that followed:

> Dr. Sidey arose and said, 'I assume that the report of the committee is incomplete and that it will report again.' Mr. MacLeod replied, 'No, Mr. Moderator, the report is complete.' Dr. Sidey leaped angrily to his feet and demanded to know why his students had been refused licenses. Mr. MacLeod replied that the committee was not satisfied with the academic competence of the Bible School to train men for our ministry.

According to McDormand's recollection of the event, a discussion about the College's claim of affiliation to the University of London followed. Dissatisfied with Sidey's responses, McDormand observed: "it [is] the qualifications of the faculty, not the names of the courses listed, which constitute[s] a school's standing." Reportedly, as Sidey stormed from the room, he declared: "I cannot work with a Convention which persecutes a pastor in this way."[184]

[183] McDormand, *A Diversified Ministry*, 18.
[184] Ibid.

At the Convention gathering of 1933, the Executive formed a committee to assess Sidey's ministry.[185] Understanding that he would be removed from the Convention either way, Sidey determined that he would remove himself voluntarily and with dignity, rather than have the Executive publicly dismiss him. As a result, on 22 November 1933, Sidey wrote to the Secretary of Convention, S.S. Poole, and asked that they remove his name from the list of Convention ministers. Sidey cited the Convention's lack of respect for Baptist polity as the primary reason for his departure. In particular, he believed that the Convention itself stood as an affront to the Free Church tradition for he believed one central governing body like the Convention was at variance with "the old-fashioned and historic Baptist position [of congregational independence]."[186]

Yet, Sidey viewed this as a withdrawal only from Convention jurisdiction: "By this action it must be clearly understood that I am simply withdrawing from the fellowship of the Convention, and not from the Baptist church of which I am a member, or from the ministry of the churches of which I am a Pastor."[187] By this stance, whereby Sidey retained his pastorate, he passively protested the central governance of the Convention Executive. As Sidey had planned it, as an independent Baptist pastor retaining his position with a United Baptist congregation, the Convention would lose direct control over the pastorate itself.

Prior to the annual Convention gathering of 1934, held in August at Acadia University, the outgoing Convention Secretary, S.S. Poole notified Sidey that his status as a gospel minister was under review. In light of Sidey's earlier request for removal from

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[185] See S.S. Poole, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1933* (Saint John, NB), 21.

[186] J.J. Sidey to S.S. Poole, 22 November 1933. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

[187] Ibid.

the list of Convention ministers, the Convention's actions here are somewhat unclear. One of two possibilities are available: (1) this was procedural, given that the 1933 Convention gathering had been asked to assess Sidey's standing; or (2) the Convention had hoped to use this opportunity to defame Sidey's ministry and his movement. Rather than submit to the council's request, Sidey offered to host a seminar explaining his independent Baptist movement during an evening session of the Convention gathering.[188] The Convention, of course, did not accept Sidey's terms and moved ahead with its analysis of Sidey's conduct. The examining council charged Sidey with four offenses: (1) he had fabricated his credentials with a "bogus" Doctorate of Divinity degree; (2) he had distributed cheques for which he could not pay; (3) he had misplaced Kingston United Baptist Church denominational funds; and (4) he had made several unprovoked charges against the Convention. During the gathering, the Convention voted to remove Sidey from its list of ministers and ordered that L.E. Ackland, the incoming Convention secretary, send the result of this vote—which was published also in the *Maritime Baptist*—to "every church in the convention."[189] This effectively made Sidey a *persona non grata* within all Convention churches.

Following Sidey's removal, J.B. Daggett and F.C. Haysmore both requested that the Convention remove their names from the list of ordained ministers. Daggett and Haysmore, both from Kingston, Nova Scotia—the former as Sidey's Assistant Pastor and the latter as a full-time teacher at the College—submitted letters to the Convention, which were subsequently read aloud and voted on. Both men were deleted from the list of

[188] J.J. Sidey to S.S. Poole, 2 August 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

[189] L.E. Ackland to J.J. Sidey, 4 September 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA. See also, S.S. Poole, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1934* (Saint John, NB), 21. See L.E. Ackland, "To The United Baptist Churches," 1 September 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

ministers, although in Daggett's case, the Convention added that he was removed "for cause."[190] Where these individuals protested the central governing authority of the Convention, however, they considered themselves independently ordained. Indeed, although the Convention had removed them from the list of ministers, it was their conviction that this power remained with the local church.

One of the most interesting results of the Convention's expulsion of the Kingston Fundamentalists was the way in which those closest to the movement reacted. Following the news that Sidey and Daggett had been removed from the Convention, Neil Herman purportedly approached J.H. MacDonald and offered to publically denounce Daggett's ministry in Chester, Nova Scotia.[191] Chester was selected as the target because nearly one year earlier, in the autumn of 1933, Herman had chaired an independent ordination council at Chester Basin Baptist Church at the behest of the congregation and the Kingston Fundamentalists.[192] The Convention Executive, in its review of the situation, had rejected the council's findings and unanimously refused to give the individual an Association License. It was the site of an early clash between the fundamentalists and the Convention—and Herman had played a central role.

Although it is unclear whether or not Herman made good on his promise to denounce Daggett at Chester, it is significant that he remained with the United Baptist Convention for several more years. Indeed, Herman continued with the United Baptist Convention until 1936, when finally he resigned from West End Baptist Church to work as the Field

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[190] L.E. Ackland to J.B. Daggett, 4 September 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA. Cf. S.S. Poole, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1934* (Saint John, NB), 13.

[191] R.B. Wallace to G.C. Warren, 8 September 1934, Warren Collection 11, AUA. Each letter relating to this event explicitly states that *Daggett* had deceived him and that Herman had planned to denounce him specifically.

[192] "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 176 – 177, Zeman Collection, AUA.

Secretary of the English Speaking League of New Brunswick from 1937 to 1939.[193] Herman, who had been deeply committed to Sidey's leadership since the days of the Soul Winners' Association, ultimately removed himself from the Daggett-Sidey movement. This, perhaps more than any preceding moment, was a telling sign that the writing was on the wall for the fundamentalists' campaign to split the Convention.

4.3.1. Terence Alexander Meister (1893 – 1993)

In addition to the removal of Sidey, Daggett, and Haysmore, the Convention began to look into several other United Baptist ministers who had sympathized with the Kingston Fundamentalists, the most prominent of which was Terence Alexander Meister (1893 – 1993). By the fall of 1934, Meister's involvement in the fundamentalist movement had garnered the suspicion of the Convention Executive. Meister was born in New Ross, Nova Scotia in 1893. He was a two-time graduate of Acadia University, with a Bachelor of Arts (1921) and Master of Arts (1922), both in English. In fact, the year that Meister finished his undergraduate degree, he penned the Class Ode, which concluded with the ironic lines:

> While we pass on, Acadia, thou doth stand
> Like rock-built Blomidon, and waves of youth
> Beat at they [sic] base and wash away the sand
> And some, may-hap, an amethyst of truth.[194]

Evidently, by the early 1930s, Meister had developed a different view of the university—not as a harbinger or refiner of truth, but as an institution corrupted by modernism. In December 1930, Meister took charge over the Westchester United Baptist Pastoral Field

[193] Watson Kirkconnell, *The Acadia Record 1831 – 1952* (Wolville, NS, 1953), 54. After this, Herman worked as an evangelist in Florida from 1939 to 1940, when he retired and returned to Prince Edward Island.

[194] Acadia University Class Ode, 1921

in Nova Scotia, which included Greenville, Wentworth, Millvale, and Westchester Baptist Churches, a pastorate that, in May 1931, added New Annan to the circuit.

At a Quarterly Association meeting on 3 October 1934, a clerk from the New Annan Baptist Church reported that the "work was all gone to pieces" under Meister's leadership.[195] The meeting, which conspicuously included E.J. Barrass and E.S. Mason from the Convention ordination council, quickly spiraled into an assessment of Meister's ministerial practices and his alleged support of the fundamentalist secessionist movement. At the meeting, Mason noted that the Kingston Baptists had proclaimed the United Baptist Convention as "enemies of the Gospel," a view that the executive believed warranted Meister's removal from the Convention's ministerial list.[196]

The damage of the meeting had been done and Mason had convinced enough of New Annan Baptist Church's congregants to remove Meister from the pulpit. According to Mason's report on the meeting, congregants from Meister's church were concerned that their pastor was "always commending the Kingston element to them instead of commending the work of the Convention and preaching the Gospel."[197] The idea to remove Meister came to fruition on 18 October 1934, when by a vote of 11 to 5 the church asked for Meister's resignation.[198] Meister refused to resign from the pastorate and again the New Annan congregation asked him to leave. Meister complied with this second request, but began to host Sunday services in the Orange Hall—at the civic address immediately adjacent to the church. This effectively divided the Baptist Church.

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[195] T.A. Meister to J.J. Sidey, 14 November 1934. Used with permission from the Kingston Bible College and Academy.

[196] E.S. Mason to R.B. Wallace and L.E. Ackland, 5 October 1934. Warren Collection 14, AUA.

[197] Ibid.

[198] T.A. Meister to J.J. Sidey, 14 November 1934.

When Meister wrote to Sidey in November 1934, apparently the church had not been in operation since it had asked Meister to leave.

Similarly, at Wentworth Baptist Church, the congregation asked Meister for his resignation. In like fashion, Meister refused to submit his resignation and instead offered to sit in on a business meeting to discover the source of the church's unrest. The church's underlying discontent was commonly and quietly acknowledged as Meister's continued and unrelenting support of the fundamentalist separatist movement. This had come to a head at the celebration of the Pastoral Field's Centennial Anniversary, when the Wentworth choir, which had been asked to provide the music, refused when they discovered that the only special individuals invited to attend were "Mr. Sidey and his satellites." Additionally, when the organist from Westchester learned that Sidey was the plenary speaker, she refused to play. Meister then informed her that "her services were no longer required."[199] Even Meister acknowledged that "Ever since the centennial [tension has] been gathering up."[200] Meister eventually capitulated to Wentworth's request for his resignation, but much like his response at New Annan, he began to offer Sunday services in a local school.

By late October 1934, the Convention Executive determined that it was necessary to intervene. The Home Mission Board issued a public statement: "By virtue of the fact that the Home Mission Board holds the deed of the 'Greenville' United Baptist Church property, notice is hereby given that a meeting will be held in the church building…on Thursday evening November 1, 1934."[201] According to Meister, the subsequent meeting, held on a stormy day, became a malicious shouting match between all the parties

[199] E.S. Mason to R.B. Wallace and L.E. Ackland, 5 October 1934.
[200] T.A. Meister to J.J. Sidey, 14 November 1934.
[201] E.S. Mason, "Public Notice," as cited by T.A. Meister to J.J. Sidey, 14 November 1934.

involved. When the Home Mission Board left, however, Meister offered this significant conclusion:

> You've seen the two groups in action. I'm glad of it. Sidey and his men came to [us] when we asked them to come, did what we asked them to do and did it wonderfully well, and went their way. …Mason and his bunch have been here. They came and took charge of this church without invitation, without even consulting the pastor, [or] officers of the church. …Two salesmen, opening their samples, exposing their wares, you've seen, you've heard, now think for yourselves. …do you wonder at me asking Sidey and his men for the help we needed in our meetings, or should I have thrown the whole thing over into the hands of the Wolfville bunch?[202]

Meister's concluding remarks perhaps justify the Executive's trepidation over his leadership and placed him squarely in the fundamentalist branch of the Maritime Baptists.

Because of the events in the autumn of 1934, the Executive determined that it was necessary to find a more permanent solution, which ultimately took the form of Meister's removal from the Convention. At the 1935 Convention Assembly, the delegates appointed a committee that consisted of E. S. Mason, Simeon Spidle, L.E. Ackland, W.C. Machum, and G.E. Levy, to assess the ministry of Terence Alexander Meister.[203] The committee asked Meister to appear before them at Germain Street United Baptist Church in Saint John on 25 September 1935. Four days before the proposed meeting, however, Meister replied stating that he would not attend for three reasons: (1) the distance was too far; (2) the charges were unclear; and (3) his ministerial work required that he remain in Westchester.[204] Implicit in Meister's denial to appear was his contention that the

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[202] T.A. Meister to J.J. Sidey, 14 November 1934.

[203] L.E. Ackland, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1935* (Saint John, NB), 17.

[204] T.A. Meister to L.E. Ackland, 21 September 1935. Warren Collection 14, AUA. Significantly, Meister's conclusion bears the marks of one of the chief Fundamentalist criticisms of the Convention: "You can no more dictate to me what I shall do in the name of Christ than I can dictate to you whether or not you shall own and approve the work when it is done."

Convention had no legitimate jurisdiction over local church authority—as a result, Meister did not feel that he was required to report to the Convention's committee.

Recognizing some degree of hostility to the committee's request, Ackland sent a second letter that responded to some of Meister's earlier reservations. In the letter, he noted that the committee had agreed to move the location and time of the meeting to First Baptist Church of Truro on 15 October 1935. Further, Ackland added that Meister's "legitimate expenses for the journey will be paid."[205] These concessions were an attempt to placate Meister's objections to meeting with the fact-finding committee and, in the process, remove any further excuse that Meister might supply.

Most significant of Ackland's second letter, however, was the inclusion of the charges laid against Meister. Ackland wrote: "you have associated yourself with a secessionist movement antagonistic to The United Baptist Convention."[206] Meister continued to plead ignorance to this charge and insisted on further elucidation, especially on Ackland's use of "The United Baptist Convention." In a pointed comment, Meister wrote:

> …there are at least two different things known amongst us by that name. Do you use it here of (a) a fraternity, or voluntary assemblage, of self-governing churches, each 'owing allegiance to none but Christ', tho cooperating where, when, and as it suits them individually; or do you use it of (b) an ecclesiastical body, or a concentration of power, legislative or judicial or both—an entity, if you will, that is not identical with any of these churches and yet seeks to rule over and function for all.[207]

The purpose of Meister's response was largely polemical. To Meister and the small faction of Maritime fundamentalists, the Convention had become something that it was never intended to become—an ecclesiastical structure that violated basic Baptist ideals.

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[205] L.E. Ackland to T.A. Meister, 26 September 1935. Warren Collection 14, AUA.
[206] Ibid.
[207] T.A. Meister to L.E. Ackland, 7 October 1935. Warren Collection 14, AUA.

In a final scathing letter, Meister, who refused to cooperate with the committee, closed with a non-apology: "Sorry that such things must be said, but more sorry that they are true."[208]

In response, the committee voted to remove Meister's name on the basis of his support of the fundamentalist crusade. According to them, Meister's actions had contradicted the ministerial vow spoken by all ministers ordained by the United Baptist Convention: "Do you promise…to give yourself diligently and faithfully to the promotion of the various interests—missionary, educational, and social—to which this denomination has committed itself?"[209] Through his support of the Kingston Fundamentalists, the Convention maintained that Meister had unofficially removed himself from their fellowship and that it was necessary for them to do the same.

At the Convention gathering of August 1936, the assembly unanimously accepted the committee's recommendation and removed Meister's name from the list of ministers. Further, the Convention ordered that he surrender his ordination certificate. The Convention had made a similar order when it removed A.L. Tedford, another one of Sidey's confidants, one year earlier.[210] Similar to Tedford, however, Meister refused to submit his papers and cited the Baptist emphasis on local church autonomy as his foundation. To Meister, as with Tedford before him, the Convention had overstepped: a Baptist congregation had ordained him and that church alone had the power to defrock him.[211]

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[208] T.A. Meister to L.E. Ackland, 14 October 1935. Warren Collection 14, AUA.
[209] "The Case of Rev. T.A. Meister—October 15, 1935." Warren Collection 14, AUA
[210] For an extended discussion of Tedford's removal from Convention, see Appendix A.
[211] T.A. Meister to L.E. Ackland, 12 September 1936. Warren Collection 14, AUA.

Whether it was their intention or not, the Executive's attack against the fundamentalists had effectively changed the conversation within the Convention. Not only were they able to expel the "trouble-makers" from their ranks, but also to deflect the "modernist" criticisms—which may have been justified—to a less schismatic or scandalous topic like the role of the Convention's authority. To many, it appeared as though the Executive was simply removing those who disagreed with the structure of the Convention—and to some extent, they were—however, by doing this, they were able to dismiss their opponents' criticisms. By virtue of the manner of their removal, the Kingston Fundamentalists embraced the controversy-specific, "Independent Baptists."

4.4. COMBAT IN THE NEWSPAPERS

In an open statement published September 1934 in the *Halifax Herald*, Sidey responded to the charges brought against him and his comrades. In defense of his degrees from Oriental University, he claimed that he was awarded a Doctorate of Divinity (typically given *honoris causa*) for submitting a thesis and was awarded a Master of Arts after completing several correspondence courses. Sidey admitted that his finances had been irregular, but that he was not guilty of any impropriety. Additionally, Sidey claimed that he had instructed the Ordination Council that he was a fundamentalist and that he "would be loyal [to the Convention] as far as, and as long as [he] consistently could do so." Sidey buttressed his declaration of innocence with the warning that he had "thousands" of allies within the Maritimes.[212] At the crux of Sidey's statement was the

[212] John James Sidey, "Statement is Given by Pastor at Kingston." Although Daggett maintained that Sidey's Doctorate of Divinity from Oriental University was legitimate, *The Gospel Light* subtly allowed a significant modification: rather than "Dr. Sidey," as he had always been identified, he was recognized as, "*Mr.* Sidey." Further, later in the same paper, Sidey was

notion that the Convention had wrongfully expelled him from its fellowship, that he had committed no wrongdoing, and that the Kingston Fundamentalists were ready to do battle with the Convention.

In response, the Convention executed a surprisingly efficient, and at times brutal, public-relations campaign that slowly drained all the momentum that the Daggett-Sidey crusade had amassed. "Personally I have no objections to Sidey and Daggett being fought to a finish," wrote the President of Convention from 1934-35, R.B. Wallace, "In fact I would rather like it."[213] They took to their own denominational press and the Nova Scotia public newspapers where they published several strategic letters that discredited the Independent Baptists without answering their challenges on a point-by-point basis. Rather than respond to Sidey's statement directly, they highlighted its factual and logical errors.[214] There was little doubt, according to the Convention, that they had fairly dealt with Sidey at the annual gathering and that his expulsion was fully justified.

Although the Independent Baptist Movement had been restricted to a small portion of the Annapolis Valley and the South Shore of Nova Scotia, Wallace, who lived in Fredericton, was well aware of Daggett's links to New Brunswick. "Nobody around this country cares a whit about Sidey," wrote Wallace, "With Daggett it is different."[215] Writing to Gordon C. Warren, the editor of *The Maritime Baptist*, Wallace observed that he did not want to use the denominational newspaper as a polemic against the Kingston Fundamentalists because he did not want new information reaching those in New

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identified as "*Rev*. Sidey, B.Th.," with an addendum which redirected the reader to Daggett's earlier statement on Sidey's Doctorate. See J.B. Daggett, "Dancing at Acadia," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 5; and J.B. Daggett, "Mr. Sidey's Degrees," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 6.

[213] R.B. Wallace to G.C. Warren, 4 October 1934, Warren Collection 11, AUA.

[214] E.g. Simeon Spidle, "A Remarkable Challenge," *Halifax Herald* (15 September 1934). Gordon C. Warren, "Mr. Sidey's Bogus Degree," *The Register* (3 October 1934).

[215] R.B. Wallace to G.C. Warren, 4 October 1934, Warren Collection 11, AUA.

Brunswick. He noted that he did not fear Daggett himself, but rather, "his wife's people [in Fredericton] and in Keswick." He added, "Mrs. Daggett was a Merrithew and the Merrithews are mostly Baptists and connected with the Church."[216] It was unlikely that the Kingston Fundamentalists would garner significant support in New Brunswick; however, Wallace was determined to make sure that they did not gain *any* ground. He recommended, therefore, that the Executive cease using *The Maritime Baptist* to discuss the Kingston Fundamentalists and instead fully utilize the local papers.

By the end of September 1934, the Convention Executive believed that they had adequately dispatched Sidey and began their offensive on Daggett. Daggett had always displayed a characteristic militancy that Sidey somehow lacked. Although Sidey was a gifted orator, his writing did not contain the same intensity as Daggett's. Whereas Sidey often demonstrated a relatively well-tempered attitude and employed discretion when attacking his opponents, Daggett usually expressed himself in the harshest and most dramatic terms possible.

Daggett's fiery temperament often resulted in a hubris that permeated his writing. For instance, Middleton's newspaper, *The Outlook*, reprinted Sidey's "statement" a week after it had originally appeared in the *Halifax Herald*, but this time with an addendum from J.B. Daggett. Daggett boasted: "the Independent Baptist Church…is the mightiest spiritual force in the Maritime Provinces today," before he warned, "I say to them (United Baptists), Beware of how they touch the Lord's Anointed!"[217] Similarly, in their own newspaper, Daggett wrote that the Kingston Bible College "is stirring up men and women far and near, and like an infant born over 1900 years ago, the order has gone out

[216] Ibid.
[217] J.B. Daggett, "Correspondence," *The Outlook* (13 September 1934).

from the throne of Herod, 'this infant must be destroyed and trampled underfoot.'"[218] Of course, in this analogy, Daggett depicted the fundamentalist institution in messianic terms, while the United Baptist Convention assumed the role of the aggressive "pretender," identified by the likeness of King Herod.

Daggett's tenure as a political appointee in New Brunswick had primed him for the intense debate that he encountered within the Convention. This, fuelled by his characteristic militancy, made him one of the primary spokespeople for the Kingston Fundamentalists. A notably frustrated Daggett took to the Independent Baptists' own *Gospel Light* newspaper in order to offer a last ditch frontal attack against the Convention. The October 1934 issue of the newspaper was wholly devoted to defending the fundamentalists from the Convention's attacks.

Daggett's past involvement with the Government of New Brunswick had become an important topic for the United Baptists. In a letter published on 11 October 1934, Spidle shifted his attention from Sidey to Daggett. This letter, entitled, "A Self-Respecting Gentleman," included Spidle's assessment of Daggett's character in light of his involvement in the Patriotic Potato Scandal.[219] In Spidle's view, Daggett had not yet atoned for his shady dealings within the Government of New Brunswick. To Daggett, any discussion that suggested that the McQueen Report was true was "too foolish to talk about," and the product of "a man of mental deficiency or deranged intellect." In his own defense, Daggett cited the "falseness" of the *McQueen Report*, and further wrote:

> I walked the streets of the city of Fredericton, was a pastor of the Main Street Church at Marysville within four miles of the Attorney General's office. The Government

[218] J.B. Daggett, "A Wicked Attack," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 2. Cf. Matthew 2:1-22.

[219] Simeon Spidle, "A Self-Respecting Gentleman," *The Outlook* (11 October 1934). This study deals with Daggett's role in the Potato Scandal in chapter three.

> made no move, nor never [sic] lifted a finger to establish the findings of their Commissioner. …if I were guilty I would have been dealt with by these bitter partisans who hated me like poison. …[the report] had become a joke and the Commissioner, a laughing stock.[220]

Despite his barbed response, Daggett did admit that he had helped to cover the monetary loss experienced during this transaction, although he made no mention of the $9,500 he had reportedly received from the A.C. Smith Company. Following this, however, he pivoted his attention to his real target: "I vowed never again would I be a party to compromise with anything that might be wrong. That is why I dare not compromise with the wretched Modernism that is destroying churches, and sending souls to hell."[221] Daggett's dismissal of the *McQueen Report* was enough to placate the fundamentalist adherents,[222] but not the United Baptist multitude, whose support he was unable to win.

4.5. FAILURE TO SPLIT CONVENTION

In spite of Daggett's influence, Sidey became the face of the movement and consequently much of the fundamentalists' inability to inspire support in the region came down to Sidey's role as an outsider. Ordained by the Methodist-Episcopal church, he took up his first Baptist pastorate in 1925. Not long after this first appointment, he began to raise concerns with the Convention. Moreover, unlike Shields who pastored at the most prestigious Baptist pulpit in Ontario, Sidey was pastor at the relatively small Bedeque Baptist Church in Prince Edward Island. His next pastorate in 1930, the Kingston Baptist circuit, was also on the fringe of Convention.

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[220] J.B. Daggett, "The McQueen Report and Acadia Library," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 2.
[221] J.B. Daggett, "The McQueen Report Again," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 4.
[222] See Palmer, *The Combatant*, 82.

As a relatively unknown entity, Sidey miscalculated the role his "outsider" status would play when pitted against the profound Maritime Baptist sense of loyalty. When Sidey approached Maritime Baptist preacher Arthur C. Vincent about leaving the Convention, Vincent responded:

> You are a different thing from me for I've been in this work for almost 200 years. In 1853 my great-grandfather was President of Convention... I don't think a man [sic] should be Baptist just because his forefathers were but there is something which gets ingrained in you after a while and you get to feel that this is home for me [sic]. I've known every Baptist preacher since I was a kid. I had two uncles who were preachers, and my father was a preacher as was my brother. I'd feel very differently about it and I could not just pull up stakes and leave it.[223]

On a different occasion, Vincent remarked simply: "I was born a Baptist and I was reborn again [sic] as a Baptist 15 years later."[224] Vincent demonstrates the high value that Maritime Baptists ascribed their religious heritage. It is likely that because Sidey had received positive comments in response to his evangelistic campaigns and the plays that he had written, he expected that his criticisms of the Convention would also elicit a positive response. Seemingly uninspired by the fundamentalist's criticisms, those loyal to the Baptist Convention remained unmoved.

This strong sense of Baptist loyalty found its roots in the Maritime religious climate—one with which Sidey was unfamiliar. George Rawlyk correctly emphasized the residual undercurrent of Allinite Revivalism that existed within the United Baptist Convention. This revivalist culture, which dated back to the eighteenth-century evangelist, Henry Alline (1748 – 1784), emphasized "New Birth" and discouraged fighting over "nonessentials"—a perspective that Rawlyk argued accounted for the supposedly "accommodating" theology at Acadia and the significant differences of

[223] Interview with A.C. Vincent.

[224] Robert S. Wilson, Interview with A.C. Vincent and Myron Brinton, 28 July 1989, accessible through AUA.

opinion that thrived throughout the Convention.[225] Seemingly at odds with this tradition, Sidey was a British-born American-educated Methodist who had been exposed to Chicago's dispensational fundamentalism and inspired by the objectively closed-minded militancy of Ontario's T.T. Shields. By all accounts, he had no knowledge of the Allinite revivalist tradition in the Maritimes. Sidey could not have been any more of an outsider to the United Baptist Convention than he was.

As an outsider, his volleys against the long-standing heart of Baptist revivalism in the Maritimes—Acadia University—were unlikely to inspire change. Quite unlike the Central and Western Baptists, the educational arm of the Maritime Baptist Convention predated the creation of the Convention by nearly 70 years and Horton Academy by nearly 80. Where Acadia was created by the earliest incarnation of the Baptist Convention in the Maritimes, it carried a certain authority that its counterparts in the rest of the country lacked. Acadia's identity was irrevocably linked to that of the Maritime Baptists.

Acadia's place within the Convention had been solidified as the centre of Baptist revivalism in the Maritimes. Throughout the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth, the Baptist constituency believed that the prosperity of Acadia fed into the prosperity of the Convention.[226] Whether or not purportedly modernist ideals were espoused at Acadia through this period was of little consequence to those Maritime Baptist congregants,

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[225] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 70 – 71. Cf. Moody, "Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind"; P. Lorraine Coops, "'Shelter from the Storm': The Enduring Evangelical Impulse of Baptists in Canada, 1880s to 1990s," *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience,* George A. Rawlyk, ed. (Kingston & Montreal: MQUP, 1997), 214 – 215.

[226] Robert S. Wilson, "From Revivals to Evangelism: Changing Patterns of Growth among Maritime Regular Baptists, 1850-1900," *You Will be my Witness: A Festschrift in Honor of the Reverend Dr. Allison A. Trites on the Occasion of His Retirement*, R. Glenn Wooden, Timothy R. Ashley, Robert S. Wilson, eds. (Macon, GA: Mercer UP, 2003), 268.

because they believed that an Acadia-educated minister could bring revival into their churches and into their communities. It was to this culture that the University's publication, *The Religious Life of Acadia* appealed. Those from "away" did not properly understand this foreign spiritual-paradigm—and even some who had returned from an educational programme in the United States were unable to tap into the Maritime culture of revivalism.[227] Revivals swept across Acadia's campus from its founding until the 1910s and were widely viewed as, "God's stamp of approval on both education and Acadia."[228] The revivalist tradition in the Maritimes had created a unique spiritual atmosphere that was understood only by those who had been reared in its midst—and, significantly, at the heart of this tradition was Acadia University.

In addition to Sidey's failure to calculate the unique religious climate in the region, the economic condition of the Maritimes in the 1920s was of significant consequence. When the Great Depression hit in October 1929, it appeared as though the Maritimes had faired comparatively well. The data, when viewed as a percentage, showed only a marginal drop in the per capita income. According to the 1940 Rowell-Sirois Commission, for instance, the Province of Nova Scotia had weathered the Great Depression better than any other province in Canada, with a drop of 36% in the per capita income, compared to the hardest hit province, Saskatchewan, and its 72% drop.[229] In reality, however, the Maritimes did not reflect a significant decline during this period only because it had not yet recovered from an earlier recession. One could rightly conclude that the Maritime Provinces had been relatively disaffected by the economic

[227] Ibid., 269.
[228] Wilson, "The Changing Role," 61.
[229] J. Sirois, *Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Book I, Canada: 1867-1939* (Ottawa, 1940), 150.

downturn of the late 1920s and 1930s because it had already experienced its "Great Depression" almost a decade before every other region in Canada.[230]

In the political arena, at least at a national scale, this appeared like old-fashioned Maritime resilience, which subsequently led to a lack of proportional monetary support.[231] The religious organizations, therefore, turned to their congregations to develop a safety net for their members. Whereas John Webster Grant has noted that in the wake of the Great Depression a socialized gospel became *en vogue* across the country,[232] among Maritime Baptists this developed in the early 1920s—in conjunction with their economic struggles. In 1921, the United Baptist Convention produced a comprehensive new social policy that, while undoubtedly a tool for evangelism, also reflected the needs of the community.[233] Similar to the way that the Great Depression helped Baptists and Presbyterians in Central and Western Canada move on from their earlier controversies and experiences,[234] the earlier economic conditions that plagued the Maritime Provinces safeguarded the United Baptists from analogous controversies. In the aggregate, the United Baptists became accustomed to the progressive nature that their social reform structures had implicitly defended.

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[230] For example, see John Reid, "The 1920s: Decade of Struggle," *Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus, Pub. 1987), 161 – 189.

[231] A significant study on this is E. R. Forbes, "Cutting the Pie into Smaller Pieces: Matching Grants and Relief in the Maritime Provinces during the 1930s," *Acadiensis* 17.1 (1987), 34 – 55.

[232] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian* Era, 3rd ed. (Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 140ff. E.g. Among Baptists in Central Canada, a similar "social service board" began lobbying for change in 1933—over a decade later than the Maritime Baptists. See Harry Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988), 248 – 249.

[233] Darrell Feltmate, "'The Help Should be Greatest Where the Need is Most': The Social Gospel Platform of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces," (Acadia Divinity College, Unpublished M.Div. Thesis, 1993), 100 – 109.

[234] Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 149.

As a result of the economic conditions and the consequential religious social policies, by the 1920s, most key figures within the United Baptist Convention favoured postmillennialism's optimistic outlook for the future. John James Sidey represented a relatively unfamiliar and largely unattractive theological alternative to the Convention's already pronounced perspective. In August 1927, *The Maritime Baptist* carried a three-part article written by Sidey, entitled, "The Church of God." Sidey spoke of the different dispensations, or as he called them, "Ages," wherein God spoke through "the revelation of the period." Sidey reflected on the "innocence of Eden," and looked forward to "the Age of final consummation"—phrases, which not only hearkened to the system of dispensationalism, but also came directly from the writings of the system's chief proponent, C.I. Scofield.[235] Moreover, Sidey's view explicitly reflected the minority Convention view of premillennialism. It was his conviction that the world's downward trend would be met by an intervening Christ, who would then usher in the new kingdom. On this, he concluded, "but this Victorious Christ is not yet."[236] While this perspective was not unknown in the Convention, it was infrequently championed.

A more accurate reading of the Convention's perspective came in the following edition of *The Maritime Baptist*, wherein the newspaper's editor L.H. Crandall penned a brief editorial entitled, "First the Kingdom." In this piece, Crandall encouraged his readers to "advance" and "build" the kingdom, before he summed: "Many a church would be saved from strife and division, and many outside the churches would be more strongly drawn to its fellowship if those who bear Christ's name would in a loyal and

[235] C.I. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux Bro., 1888); C.I. Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible* (London: Oxford UP, 1909).

[236] John James Sidey, "The Church of God, pt. 1," *The Maritime Baptist* (17 August 1927), 3; "The Church of God, pt. 2," *The Maritime Baptist* (24 August 1927), 3; "The Church of God, pt. 3," *The Maritime Baptist* (31 August 1927), 3.

wholehearted way 'Seek first the Kingdom of God.'"[237] While this was not a response to Sidey, the imagery is striking. Whether done maliciously or unintentionally, Crandall did not allow more than one week to pass before he provided an answer to Sidey's premillennial perspective and, in doing so, he presented the core-belief of those executive members of the United Baptist Convention. Sidey argued in favour of what many considered an unattractive alternative to the Convention's well-established social prerogative.

At the Convention of 1934—the same that saw the removal of Sidey, Daggett, and Haysmore—the outgoing President and incoming Secretary of Convention, L.E. Ackland gave a public address that perfectly captured the tensions that existed between the convention and the ultimately unsuccessful Kingston Fundamentalists. With the expulsion of the prominent premillennialist group, Ackland provided a restatement of the Convention's overwhelmingly postmillennial perspective. According to Ackland, the task of the Maritime Baptists was "nothing less than the building of the Kingdom of God in the world." From this he pivoted to Acadia University as a Christian college that trained individuals to go "out into the world of needy humanity"—a vehicle of positive change in society. In Ackland's final thought in the address, he urged the Convention to seek unity, rather than schism. "I beseech you," wrote Ackland, citing the Apostle Paul, "that ye shall speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you." The authority of the Convention, intimated Ackland, was as a "holy fellowship" of Baptist people.[238] Perhaps more than any other available document, Ackland's presidential address provides an assessment of the striking differences between the Convention and

[237] L.H. Crandall, "First the Kingdom," *The Maritime Baptist* (7 September 1927), 4.
[238] S.S. Poole, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1934* (Saint John, NB), 35 – 37.

the Kingston Fundamentalists and, in the process, details a microcosm for the fundamentalists' failure to produce a full-scale schism from the United Baptists.

4.6. SUMMARY

The Kingston Fundamentalists' campaign against the United Baptist Convention was largely ineffective. Despite their inflamed rhetoric, the Kingston Fundamentalists proved to be incapable of procuring any significant following. Their "Exodus" from the Convention did not inspire those beyond their own ranks—and, even among their own supporters, few joined their cause. In fact, the intense loyalty exhibited by many Baptists not only led many to ignore the Kingston Fundamentalists, but it also caused a number who were sympathetic to Daggett and Sidey's theology to sever their ties with the movement. Most prominent was Neil Herman, whose departure from the movement symbolized the Kingston cohort's shrinking influence with the Convention. Herman's willingness to denounce the fundamentalists as well as his sudden departure from the movement indicated that the fundamentalist cause would be limited only to Sidey's most strident and already-established disciples—those in the Convention had little interest.

Among those who did join their cause was T.A. Meister, a fiery fundamentalist with an intense dissatisfaction for the Convention's theology. The way in which the episode with Meister unraveled typified the Kingston Fundamentalists' displeasure with the Convention. To their view, the Convention's intervention clearly violated the independence of the local church. Further, this explains why those in Kingston opted for the moniker "Independent" Baptist.

5. CHAPTER FIVE
The Exile

"Our reply to these ungodly opponents is a call to every Bible lover in the Maritimes to come out from among them and be separate."
- John James Sidey, "The Great Push for 1936 in the Maritimes"[239]

Despite the strength with which the United Baptist Convention struck the early fundamentalist movement, Daggett and Sidey continued to push for reform. They adopted the title, "Independent Baptists," and began to encourage other Christians to follow them. While Rawlyk has alluded to Sidey's desire to become the "Shields of the Maritimes,"[240] perhaps a much more apt comparison would be to the Texas Baptist, J. Frank Norris (1877 – 1952). While the Kingston Fundamentalists idolized Shields, their attempts to recreate his tactics proved largely ineffective. Instead, they adopted a theology and structure that eventually reflected that of Southern Baptist fundamentalist leader J. Frank Norris—though they lacked his excessively hostile demeanor.[241] The Kingston Fundamentalist leadership core, like Norris, emphasized local church autonomy, while at the same time created a "fellowship" structure that placed them in a position of prominence.[242]

5.1. NOVA SCOTIA'S INDEPENDENT BAPTISTS[243]

Historian Bill J. Leonard has described the Independent Baptists in the United States during this period as "a coalition of fiercely autonomous congregations, with a strongly fundamentalist theology, a Baptist polity, and a separatist approach to other ecclesiastical

[239] J.J. Sidey, "The Great Push for 1936 in the Maritimes," *The Question* (February 1936), 2.
[240] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 72.
[241] See Kevin Bauder and Robert Delnay, *One in Hope and Doctrine: Origins of Baptist Fundamentalism, 1870 – 1950* (Schaumberg, IL: Regular Baptist Press, 2014), 265 – 301.
[242] Russell, *Voices of American Fundamentalism*, 46.
[243] For a list of Independent Baptist Churches during this period, see Appendix B.

bodies." Theirs was a theology built on biblical inerrancy, the virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, the bodily resurrection, and, perhaps most importantly, Christ's premillennial return.[244] This particular breed of fundamentalism perfectly captures the central tenets of the Daggett-Sidey coalition. According to Sidey, the "fundamentals of the faith" included six key tenets:

1. Verbal Inspiration of the Scripture.
2. Dispensational truth.
3. The Deity of our Lord through his Virgin Birth.
4. His blood covenant, and substitutionary atonement.
5. His physical resurrection and ascension.
6. His physical coming and literal reign upon this earth.[245]

By late 1936, however, the premillennial return of Christ had become the most important earmark of the fundamentalist cause for Sidey. In December of that year, he opined a definition of "modernism" that began firstly with the observation that a modernist is one who "has no vision of the Premillennial Return of the Lord Jesus." He buttressed his definition with a note about the inspiration of the Bible and the "blood" of Christ, but most tellingly listed premillennialism first.[246] Although the Convention's offensive against the Kingston Fundamentalists had been altogether debilitating, several churches followed Daggett and Sidey's theology as "Independent Baptists."

The Convention's reception of the Independent Baptist movement was perhaps best captured in the Executive's correspondence leading up to the events of 1934. In the final days of 1933, the United Baptist Convention Executive received word that at a business meeting held on 27 December 1933 at Chester Basin Baptist Church, members influenced by Sidey's resignation from the Convention voted in favour of adopting a

[244] Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2003), 402-403.
[245] J.J. Sidey, "Comrades of the Night," *The Question* (June 1935), 2.
[246] "What about 1937?" *The Question* (December 1936), 3.

constitution that allowed them to ordain their own ministers. In a letter between S. S. Poole and Gordon Warren dealing with this matter, Poole stated that this action took the church out of fellowship with the Convention. In his conclusion, Poole wrote: "If this is a sample of what 1934 is to bring us the outlook is not too pleasing."[247]

5.1.1. Melvern Square – Kingston – Lower Aylesford

Unsurprisingly, the first churches that followed in Sidey's resignation from the Convention were those from his own pastorate. Within this pastorate, there was a varied response to the 1934 exodus: the Melvern Square church became Independent Baptist; the congregation in Kingston split; and although a number of members from the Lower Aylesford congregation followed the Independent Baptists, the church itself remained with the Convention.

On 2 March 1934, members from the Melvern Square Baptist Church voted to withdraw from the United Baptist Convention. At the meeting, the decision was determined by a ballot vote of 25 in favour and only one opposed.[248] In a letter addressed to S. S. Poole, the church announced its decision with only one sentence: "I hereby notify you that at a business meeting held Mar.2 it was moved and seconded that this branch of the church withdraw from the Convention becoming an Independent Baptist Church."[249] In this initial correspondence, Melvern Square provided no reason for its departure from Convention. A confused Poole responded that he did not understand why this course of

[247] S.S. Poole to G. C. Warren, 2 January 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA. Cf. "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 148, Zeman Collection, AUA.

[248] Minutes from Melvern Square Baptist Church meetings, 1930 – 1952. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray. The record lists the only member to reject this trajectory as Reginald D. Melvin.

[249] R.E. Lantz to S.S. Poole, 3 March 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

action was necessary, to which he received a much longer letter. This second letter, which Poole maintained was "signed by the clerk, but undoubtedly written by Sidey,"[250] declared that the Convention, and *The Maritime Baptist* in particular, had been too weak in its emphasis of "clear biblical teaching."[251] They considered this a significant doctrinal omission in the Convention's public profile and was one they were determined to exchange with what they considered to be a more outwardly Baptist position. In Melvern Square's new constitution, it resolved that any person who wished to become a member of the congregation must agree "substantially" with the "Confession of Faith of the Baptist Bible Union of North America."[252]

Six days later, on 8 March 1934, at a business meeting for those "interested in the Independent Baptist Movement" at the Kingston Baptist Church, Sidey moved that they form an Independent Baptist church. Unsurprisingly, those present unanimously accepted this resolution by a standing vote. Their first meeting as a church was the following Sunday, 11 March, and was held at the home of Edith Hopkins. On 17 April 1934, the congregation officially organized the Kingston Independent Baptist Church as it welcomed its members and introduced its staff. The church named Sidey as the senior pastor and listed Daggett and Haysmore as the assistant pastors.[253]

Similarly, on 14 May 1934, the Lower Aylesford Baptist Church met at the Greenwood Church in order to determine what course of action it would take. Specifically, the congregation met to vote on two matters: (1) the church's future

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[250] S.S. Poole to G.C. Warren, 23 March 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

[251] R.E. Lantz to S.S. Poole, 20 March 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

[252] Article 3.1 in "Convention and Bylaws, Melvern Square Baptist Church (Independent)," March 1934. Melvern Square Baptist Church (Ind.). Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[253] Minutes from Kingston Independent Baptist Church meetings, 1934 – 1946. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

relationship with the United Baptist Convention; and (2) the church's future relationship with J.J. Sidey. In a letter that announced this meeting, members seemingly loyal to the Convention stated that while they could not extend any official invitation, they "would appreciate having as many members of [the] Executive attend as possible."[254] During the meeting, 89 members voted to remain with the Convention, who subsequently accepted Sidey's resignation with a standing vote.[255] Given that the Lower Aylesford Baptist Church had only been a part of this pastorate since late 1930, these results, as well as the church's resolve to summon members of the Executive for the meeting, are not surprising.

Despite this outcome, a number of congregants from Lower Aylesford followed Sidey in the creation of a new church on 5 June 1934. They met initially at a nearby vacant church building in Meadowsvale, before they settled in the Kingston Bible College's auditorium as the Lower Aylesford Independent Baptist Church. In October 1934, each church from Sidey's pastorate changed its name to reflect the Nova Scotia Independent Baptist formula: Melvern Square Baptist Church (Independent), Kingston Baptist Church (Independent), and Lower Aylesford Baptist Church (Independent).

5.1.2. New Fundamentalist Leaders

For Daggett and Sidey, central to the calling of an autonomous Baptist church was the right to ordain one's own ministers. This process was to take place under an examining council put together by members of other Independent Baptist churches. Additionally, Melvern Square's ordination standards required that the candidate must have taken some

[254] G.H. Meister, et al. to G.C. Warren, 30 April 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.
[255] Business meeting report, as cited by Palmer, *The Combatant*, 103.

form of training course through "an organized Educational Institution." While not explicitly stated, the impetus here was to encourage students to enroll in the Kingston Bible College academic programme. Yet, this was met with an addendum: "Should, however, the Council find that the candidate, being well qualified for the work, has been unable to meet this requirement, discretionary powers should be permitted."[256] It is likely that this was to account for an individual much like Daggett, who, after being enrolled briefly at Colby College and the University of New Brunswick, concluded that post-secondary education was not a requirement for the ministry. The primary purpose of reserving the right to ordain fundamentalist ministers, however, was to inform the public that the leaders this autonomous body selected were "true leaders in spiritual things."[257]

The programme of ordination was one of the clearest ways that the Kingston Fundamentalists could voice their dissatisfaction with the United Baptist Convention. On 18 August 1934, the Independent Baptists ordained their first preacher, J. Kenneth Halliday, at the Kingston Baptist Church.[258] This was an act of protest against the Convention. Similarly, on 1 May 1935, the Melvern Square Independent Baptist Church ordained Maxwell V. Bolser, the first student to matriculate through the Kingston Bible College academic programme. By these actions, the Independent Baptists issued a challenge against the United Baptist Convention and declared that theirs was a movement free of a centralized denominational control.

[256] Article 11.2 in "Convention and Bylaws, Melvern Square Baptist Church (Independent)," March 1934. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[257] "Covenant Deed of the Melvern Square Baptist Church (Independent)," 6 December 1934, 1. Melvern Square Baptist Church (Ind.). Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[258] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 155.

5.1.3. Kingston Parsonage Case

According to Sidey and Daggett, it was this independence that made them the rightful heirs of the title, "Baptist." Indeed, Baptists have routinely emphasized the autonomy of the local church as a defining principle;[259] however, as with each controversy that erupted during this period, the Convention's purported failure to achieve this standard was a matter of interpretation. From the United Baptists' perspective, the centralized and voluntary body known as the Convention, operated by members from Maritime Baptist churches through a committee known as the Executive, was solely for fellowship. The differences between these two groups would ultimately become a public spectacle in May 1935—only a few weeks after the Kingston Fundamentalists had ordained their second minister, Bolser.

Although Sidey had removed himself from the Convention's fellowship and had led several churches out from its membership, he refused to vacate the United Baptist parsonage. Similarly, in protest to the United Baptist Convention's claim to the Melvern-Kingston pastorate property, the Independent Baptists placed a padlock on the door of the Melvern Square Baptist Church building. This act, which exemplified the animosity that existed between these two groups, garnered the Independent Baptists the name, "Padlock Baptists."[260] The increasing tension and the lack of clarity when it came to who owned the property ultimately resulted in a conflict that was settled in Nova Scotia's Supreme Court.[261] The case began on 22 May 1935, in Kentville, Nova Scotia, and lasted for two weeks. While legally, it was a simple property dispute, for the parties involved, it

[259] E.g. Gordon C. Warren, "Basic Baptist Beliefs," Canadian Baptist Federation, n.d., 4 – 5.
[260] C.M. Dodge, "Attack on University is Feature," *The Halifax Chronicle* (24 May 1935), 2.
[261] Rawlyk provides an excellent treatment of the "courtroom drama" in *Champions of the Truth*, 55 – 67.

became a theological debate. Inflated by the momentum they had gathered through the creation of several Independent Baptist Churches and the subsequent ordination of Independent Baptist ministers, Sidey and Daggett argued that they were the true "Baptists" and therefore had the only real claim to the house.

The Independent Baptists built their case on what they considered the Convention's dubious Christian orientation. At the heart of this criticism were the Convention's support of Acadia's purportedly modernist curriculum and its passive endorsement of students going to dances and playing cards. Further, they argued that the Convention's implementation of an examining council for preachers who sought ordination undermined the Baptist view of the autonomy of the local church. According to the Independent Baptists, these two charges against both United Baptist theology and polity intimated that the Convention was essentially "unbaptistic."

In response, the United Baptist legal team called Simeon Spidle, Dean of Acadia's School of Theology, and Gordon C. Warren, the editor of *The Maritime Baptist*, to the witness stand. Spidle argued that if one were to make a particular biblical interpretation a prerequisite for membership it would be "unbaptistic."[262] For the United Baptists, this diversity of opinion was at least in part the outworking of the Baptist principle of independence. Yet, in addition to the operative word, independence, they stressed that the Convention exemplified the ideal of theological *interdependence*.[263] It is ironic that two competing Christian groups, each claiming heritage in the Baptist denomination

[262] "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 290, 303, Zeman Collection, AUA. See also: C.M. Dodge, "Clerics Called in Rebuttal," *The Halifax Chronicle* (27 May 1935), 2.

[263] "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 284ff, Zeman Collection, AUA. See also, "50,000 Words of Evidence Taken in Kentville Courts," *The Halifax Herald* (27 May 1935), 4.

known historically for its strong belief in the separation of church and state, entreated the court to provide a legal answer to the question, "what is a Baptist?"

The debate over Baptist identity became a significant one for "independent" laypeople from Kingston. One newspaper estimated that there were approximately 100 people that travelled from Kingston each day to hear the proceedings in Kentville. According to the reporter, "There were several in the room from Kentville and vicinity, but it was the Kingston people who closely followed every witness and hung on every word."[264] The trial provided Sidey and Daggett with public exposure that they believed would be a stage upon which to advance their fundamentalist crusade. However, although daily updates were published on the front pages of newspapers across the Province, including the widely circulated *Halifax Herald* and *The Halifax Chronicle*, the trial did not become a Maritime "Scopes Monkey Trial." Indeed, rather than the international audience that the events in Dayton had attracted, the Kingston Parsonage case was largely considered a local dispute.

Perhaps the most scandalous part of the trial occurred during the latter-half of Spidle's testimony, when, notably frustrated and openly defensive, he became moderately hostile. Spidle, who refused to outline any specific model for biblical inspiration, maintained his earlier position that within the Baptist denomination each person was free to interpret the Bible as they pleased. Spidle's own interpretation of biblical inspiration was of a "Co-operation of the spirit of God and the mind of man arriving at the religious truth incorporated in the Bible."[265] Spidle declined to provide a description of the Trinity and dodged other theological questions about Jesus' humanity, the ascension, and the

[264] Dodge, "Clerics Called in Rebuttal," 2.
[265] "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 304, Zeman Collection, AUA.

physical resurrection—usually relying on the line: "I have no quarrel with the New Testament." When asked if he had ever preached about or taught the physical return of Jesus, he responded: "I never use that in any of my preaching because I don't think it is an important matter to emphasize in teaching; our business is to carry on the work and when the time arrives he will come."[266] Where Spidle seemingly refused to cooperate when answering these theological questions, the examiner brought it to a more basic level:

Q. Would you care to define modernism?
A. No, I would like to have those people define it.
Q. You have heard of the expression "modernism"?
A. Yes.
Q. You have heard of fundamentalism?
A. Yes.
Q. What is your idea of fundamentalism?
A. I will let the fundamentalist define it.
…
Q. You know Dr. Shirley Jackson Case?
A. I do.
Q. Would you say he is a modernist or a fundamentalist?
A. This does not enter into this; I am not labeling any man.[267]

Following Spidle's refusal to define these key terms, the examiner shifted his attention toward the topic of evolution, specifically in its intersection with the United Baptist denomination. After questioning why the Baptist Convention had not been more outspoken in its objection to evolution, the examiner asked: "Does Acadia, as a university, teach organic evolution?" to which Spidle responded: "That belongs to the Department of Biology; I am not a member of that department."[268] From Sidey's perspective, Spidle's testimony displayed a "complete departure from the New Testament

[266] Ibid., 306 – 307.
[267] Ibid., 307.
[268] Ibid., 312.

position."[269] Underlying Spidle's ambiguity and his near refusal to cooperate was his sympathy toward the modernist's stance; further, Spidle was unwilling to provide the fundamentalists with any theological fodder that they may have been able to use against the Baptist Convention.

Despite Spidle's shocking testimony, the Court ruled in the Convention's favour and ordered that Sidey remove himself from the Kingston Parsonage. They determined that the fundamentalists had withdrawn from the United Baptist Convention and therefore had given up their right to the parsonage. In June 1935, in his own newspaper, Sidey sheepishly admitted, "The last few months have been like the deepest midnight for your Editor and his associates."[270] Later, in his unpublished autobiography, he afforded the Kentville case only one line: "The result of the trial that took place at Kentville is well known and there is no need to hash over things that are better forgotten."[271] Obviously Sidey was discouraged by the outcome, even twenty-five years later when he penned his autobiography. A defeated man, Sidey moved from the Kingston parsonage. One of Sidey's parishioners, Aubrey Morris, provided a loan for a new house in Kingston.[272] Although the trial had energized many of his followers, it came as a deep blow for Sidey.

That the Kingston Parsonage Case did not inspire much support was something that a supporter had foreshadowed several months earlier. In the October 1934 issue of *Gospel Light*, Daggett concluded one of his articles with a letter from a follower in the United States who offered advice in response to the idea that Daggett seek legal restitution for

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[269] J.J. Sidey, *An Appeal for the Maritimes* (International Christian Mission; Toronto, ON: The Beacon Press, 1935), 8.

[270] J.J. Sidey, "Comrades of the Night," *The Question* (June 1935), 1.

[271] Sidey, "The Widow's Mite," 15 – 16.

[272] Minutes from Melvern Square Baptist Church meetings, 1930 – 1952. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

the Convention's claim regarding his involvement in the Patriotic Potato Scandal. Within the letter, the anonymous author wrote, "There is something about a clergyman in a Court action which grates on the average Christian."[273] Although Daggett had not pursued legal action in the wake of the Convention's resurrection of the Patriotic Potato Scandal, the Kingston Fundamentalists did not heed this advice when dealing with the United Baptist parsonage case and it effectively ended what little influence they had among the Convention members.

Interestingly enough, it appears that very few people within the United Baptist Convention paid any notice to the events. It seems clear that many of the fundamentalist criticisms against the Convention were perhaps vindicated by the testimonies of Simeon Spidle and Gordon C. Warren—yet, outside of the already-developed fundamentalist circles, these statements piqued very little interest. By late that year, it had become clear that growth for their movement could no longer be facilitated through the continued campaign among the United Baptists[274] and, as a result, the Kingston Fundamentalists shifted their emphasis to the expansion of the various fundamentalist ministries in the region.

5.2. THE COLLEGE, THE MISSION, AND THE ACADEMY

The Kingston Bible College remained at the heart of the Independent Baptist movement. By 1934, the College had three staff members with degrees and was able to report, "The other members of the staff, while not boasting degrees, are men and women

[273] Daggett, "The McQueen Report and Acadia Library," 2.
[274] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 74.

who have had much experience in life's work."[275] This attitude perfectly reflected J.B. Daggett, who had not completed any formal post-secondary programme and who often looked askance to those in the Convention who wore their education—or, perhaps, honourary titles—as a badge of legitimacy. For instance, he frequently criticized United Baptist ministers for their Doctorate of Divinity (*honoris causa*) degrees, and considered them a "joke."[276] For Daggett, whose opinion set the tone for the Kingston Fundamentalists overall, one's University or College experience did not qualify them for teaching, but rather, a "correct" theological perspective did.

5.2.1. John Warren Hill (1880 – 19??)

Perhaps the perfect embodiment of the Kingston Fundamentalist's ideal was found in John Warren Hill (1880 – 19??), an individual who was highly educated and who had an unrepentant fundamentalist flare to his theology. Hill was born on 31 May 1880 outside of Hampton, New Brunswick. In 1906, he married Alvaretta Dorcas, who, in the following year, gave birth to their son, John Eric Douglas. Hill received a Bachelor of Arts from the University of New Brunswick and subsequently matriculated to Yale University, where he graduated with a Master of Arts in 1909. According to a letter between Sidey and Haysmore, Hill was a Professor at Brandon College in Manitoba before he was purportedly asked to resign because of his fundamentalist perspective;[277] it is likely that all this meant was that Hill was not an evolutionist.

[275] J.B. Daggett, "Kingston Bible College Staff," *The Gospel Light* (October 1934), 7.
[276] E.g. Daggett, "Mr. Sidey's Degrees," 6.
[277] J.J. Sidey to F.C. Haysmore, 23 March 1933. Used with permission from the Kingston Bible College and Academy.

Following his stint at Brandon, Hill went to Des Moines, Iowa and began to work in the Chemistry Department of Des Moines University. When Shields' BBU took over Des Moines, which had previously been a Northern Baptist-related university, Hill was one of the few faculty members that he retained. In fact, two years later, when the university's future looked uncertain, Hill testified to Shields' leadership in *The Gospel Witness*.[278] In the spring of 1929, because of several administrative changes that Shields made at the university, the student body rioted.[279] In an effort to save this sinking ship, Shields fired nearly every faculty member. Again, Hill was one of the few professors that Shields did not remove. When the university did not recover—financially or reputably—from the Shields-riot fiasco, it was unable to reopen the following September and it permanently closed its doors.

When the controversy at Des Moines ultimately left him unemployed, Hill took a faculty position at Tabor College in Hillsboro, Kansas where he assumed the role of chemistry professor.[280] In 1934, Hill returned to the Maritimes to begin his work as the dean of the Kingston Bible College. In Sidey's new newspaper, *The Question*, he wrote a regular column entitled "Answered by the Crucible and the Spade," wherein he routinely

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[278] J.W. Hill, "Recollections of the Riot at Des Moines," *The Gospel Witness* (27 June 1929), 5-7.

[279] Shields instated several new policies that the students considered harsh. He mandated a strict moral code for students; he outlawed particular academic subjects; and his British nationalism manifested itself in a crass anti-Americanism—understandably unpopular in the United States. As president, many believed that Shields acted with "true Mussolini Style." See "Ejected from the Chapel of Des Moines," *The Baptist* (7 January 1928), 3. Finally, when Shields fired the majority of the faculty because they supported the students instead of the administration, the student body rioted. For a brief summary on the riots, see Elliot, "Knowing No Borders," 366 – 368. For a view at Shields' time at Des Moines, see Bauder & Delnay, *One in Hope and Doctrine*, 148 – 165.

[280] Several of his academic writings for the period 1930 – 1931 were printed in the college journal. See Robert Taft & John W. Hill, "The Effect of Light Upon the Formation of the Banded Precipitates of Mercuric Iodide," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 33 (1930), 57 – 63; and J.W. Hill "Theories of Liesegang's Rings," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 34 (1931), 303 – 310.

battled evolution and contemporary scientific scholarship. In addition, he was an outspoken advocate for the use of creationist literature in the Nova Scotia public educational system and even engaged in public debates on the matter.[281] Hill became one of the central figures at the College and in many ways his work was the symbol of the academic stature of the Kingston Fundamentalist movement.

5.2.1. The International Christian Mission

As Hill's role increased, on 22 February 1935, Daggett and Sidey created the International Christian Mission (ICM) as the College's missionary programme. In March of that year, they founded *The Question*, a monthly newsletter, which would serve in conjunction with *Gospel Light* as the ICM's primary organ. The ICM served three primary functions: (1) the Department of Field Evangelism, (2) the Department of Christian Education, and (3) the Department of Publication and Supply. Sidey served as the Chief Commissioner and functioned as the head of Field Evangelism, while Hill supervised Christian Education, and Daggett managed Publication and Supply. They emphasized that "The Mission is not a church but rather a soul saving, Bible teaching, witnessing organization."[282]

As the Maritimes suffered from a recession in the 1920s and the Great Depression swept across the country in the 1930s,[283] financing these ministries became an immediate concern for Sidey and Daggett. Sidey's personal financial acumen had always been found wanting. Ten years after Sidey's death, one of his closest friends who had worked

[281] "School Book Controversy," *The Question* (May 1935), 6.
[282] J.J. Sidey, "'Who's Who?' And 'What's What?'" *The Question* 1.1 (March 1935), 2; Cf. J.J. Sidey, "Glory to The Almighty, the Sun has Risen in the West," *The Question* (April 1935),2.
[283] See Chapter Four.

with him since the SWA, E.E. Skaling, remarked that Sidey's "chief weakness" was "his lack of understanding of the financial world."[284] For example, while in Bedeque, he amassed a sizable debt by attempting to trade potatoes and black fox pelts.[285] Each of these brief forays into the business world proved unsuccessful and pushed him further into debt. Conversely, Daggett, with his experience in government, was proficient with finances and oversaw the business side of the movement.

Initially, because of its small size, the movement relied heavily on donations from interested congregants. In 1934, Daggett boasted that the movement had received a major boost in support since they had officially separated from the Convention. In his dramatic flair, Daggett described the movement's financial circumstances by citing Psalm 23:5: "He spreadeth our table in the presence [of] our enemies."[286] Early on, the Kingston pastorate was willing to support the movement and, according to Daggett, as it grew in size the fundamentalists received donations from across the Maritimes and as far as New York.[287]

In addition to these (usually anonymous) donations, the Kingston movement received generous support from J.G. Willett of the Willett Fruit Company in Saint John. Although it is unclear how Willett became associated with the Kingston movement, it was likely because of Daggett's former political connections with the region. Willett's wife was a Baptist, but he was an active member in the Christian Missionary Alliance—a denomination whose theology would have reflected Sidey's own views, especially in his emphasis on missions and his on his acceptance of the Holy Spirit's supernatural activity.

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[284] As cited in Palmer, *The Combatant*, 196.
[285] Interview with A.C. Vincent.
[286] J.B. Daggett to E.C. Churchill, 9 November 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.
[287] Ibid.

Willett remained connected to the movement long after the 1930s and appeared on supporter lists well into the 1950s.[288] These donations supported the various ministries that the fundamentalists began to build.

For additional support, the Kingston Fundamentalists turned their attention toward Central Canada. Throughout 1934, following Sidey's resignation from the United Baptist Convention, he regularly travelled to Ontario. In conjunction with evangelistic services held at Toronto's Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, in the fall of 1935 Sidey formed the Toronto Kingston Bible College Fellowship.[289] Here, along with his allies in the region, Sidey published a pamphlet entitled, *An Appeal for the Maritimes*. In it, he wrote: "Commencing with the children, we must teach that *the evolutionary notion of the history of the world, Christianity and science, is fundamentally wrong because diametrically opposed to the revealed truth of the Holy Scripture*."[290] In the pamphlet Sidey maintained that the Maritime Provinces were abounding with potential, but that "denominationalism" had stifled much of the growth.

In an effort to tap into this potential, the ICM sponsored various missionaries throughout the region—including a number of women. In Nova Scotia, William Freeman and Hilburne Redden worked in Guysborough County; Eric Monovan and Henry Crocker worked in Drum Head and New Harbour; Mildred Neily and Ethel Skaling worked in Hants County; William Norton worked in Kings County; and Ethel Thompson and Kizbro Dolliver worked in Yarmouth County. In New Brunswick, Margaret Tedford

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[288] *The Discipline of the International Christian mission Inc.* (Kingston, NS: n.d.), 74. In the possession of Taylor James Murray. Although it does not give a date of publication, the text on p. 5 indicates that it was published sometime in 1953 – 1954.

[289] "Kingston Parsonage Court Records," 160, Zeman Collection, AUA.

[290] J.J. Sidey, *An Appeal for the Maritimes* (International Christian Mission; Toronto, ON: The Beacon Press, 1935), 3. Italics in original.

worked in Carleton County; Julian Green worked in Kings County; and Nancy Nelson and Winona Beyea worked in Moncton. Additionally, although not yet part of Canada, the ICM sent Velma Crummey to Conception Bay, Newfoundland.[291] Although the ICM did not officially send anyone to Prince Edward Island in its first year of operation, the Kingston Bible College sent several students as temporary workers.[292] The College also sent Maxwell V. Bolser to Clark's Harbour, and P. Onden Stairs to Louis Head. The ICM had maintained a commitment to evangelize the region and became something of an expansion of Sidey's earlier work as an evangelist.

Much like the Soul Winner's Association, Sidey formed the ICM as a nondenominational body. According to Sidey, it was necessary to make the ICM nondenominational because "there was insufficient Baptist support for the principle of Independency in the Maritimes to make it possible that the Work [sic] would continue if confined wholly to Baptist people."[293] Because the attempted schism within the United Baptist Convention had not provided the numbers that Sidey and Daggett had hoped for, the Mission—like the Kingston Bible College before it—was opened to all denominations. George Gardiner, a Pentecostal minister, assumed the role of President of the Halifax Fellowship of the ICM in 1935. Under Gardiner was a planning committee for an annual Prophetic Conference, which originally consisted of John James Sidey and Neil Herman,[294] as well as the Anglican Rector of St. Matthias Church in Halifax,

[291] Newfoundland did not join confederation until 1949.
[292] "Appointments of Probationers," *The Question* (May 1935), 6.
[293] Sidey, "The Widow's Mite," 28.
[294] It is perhaps worth noting that this was Neil Herman's last appearance in the Kingston Fundamentalists' literature. It is unclear whether or not he chose to publically speak out against Daggett, as he had intimated he would to J. H. MacDonald; however, not long after this, he disappeared from both the fundamentalist group *and* the United Baptist Convention, which may indicate that he chose his own, alternate, route. See chapter three.

Edward Morris.[295] As a celebration of ICM's "undenominational" affiliation, the Kingston Bible College conducted various celebrations that included clergy and congregants from Pentecostal, United, Salvation Army, and Seventh Day Adventist Churches.[296]

For fundamentalists across North America, a close association with the Pentecostal Church in particular became a natural fit.[297] Although the majority of Baptist fundamentalists rejected the Pentecostal understanding of the *charismata*—particularly the gift of tongues—they respected their stance on modern miracles, which in their view was a direct attack against the modernist's rationalism. From the earliest days of the ICM, however, this close association with Pentecostal churches caused a significant degree of discomfort for Independent Baptists. As a result, Sidey was forced to release a statement that noted that their cooperation with Pentecostals did not mean that they agreed on each doctrine. He wrote: "Speaking in Tongues as a direct sign of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost is not taught in our College, nor is it held by any of our Instructors."[298] The nondenominational stance of the ICM would prove a difficult obstacle to overcome for those within the Baptist wing of the fundamentalist movement.

5.2.3. The Academy

Largely dismissing these difficulties, the ICM persisted in its mission and began to expand in their educational programme. On 1 January 1936, the ICM opened the

[295] J.J. Sidey, "Onward, Christian Soldiers!" *The Question* (May 1935), 1.
[296] See A.P. Starr, "Our College," *The Question* 1.1 (March 1935), 18.
[297] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 94.
[298] "A Word About our Doctrinal Position," *The Question* (May 1935), 6. One will note, however, that Sidey himself appears to have been a continuationist during this period. See J.J. Sidey, "Pentecost," *The Question* (June 1935), 9 – 10.

Kingston Bible College Academy, which focused primarily on grades eight to twelve. This venture was both a labour of love and partially born out of necessity. While it attracted students from public schools, it served the larger fundamentalist constituency as well. Entrance standards for the College included a minimum of a grade eleven education—a benchmark that proved to be a roadblock for several applicants. Therefore, the ICM created the Academy, in part, not only as a way to minister to teenagers entering a "secular" world, but also as a way to provide an education for those who had not successfully completed a secondary academic programme.

The ICM had determined that they needed to act because the purported looming modernist influence had effectively "monopolized" the educational system and had corrupted their society.[299] They later observed that the Academy was crucial because "The public schools are rapidly becoming training centres for the dance hall."[300] Indeed, it became the College's policy to require incoming students who had not studied at the Academy to retake classes in history and literature, in order to "correct" their opinions on evolution.[301]

Added to the instructors already present, the Academy sought out fundamentalist leaders to serve as teachers. R.A. Mansell, a preacher from Ontario and a recent graduate from McMaster with a Bachelor of Arts,[302] hired at the beginning of the fall semester as the College's new Academic Dean, became the first principal of the Academy. Mansell's tenure in this position lasted only from January to March 1936, before he resigned to

[299] J.J. Sidey, "'Who's Who?' And 'What's What?'" *The Question* 1.1 (March 1935), 2.
[300] "The Annual Report of the Principal of the Academy," *The Question* (July 1937), 3.
[301] "The Heartbeat of the Mission," *The Question* (Spring 1939), 2.
[302] Mansell provides an unfavourable review of his time at McMaster in R.A. Mansell, "Was the McMaster Controversy 'Much Ado About Nothing'?" *The Gospel Witness* (3 February 1944), 11 – 13.

return to Toronto. The circumstances surrounding Mansell's departure are unclear—and very little is known about his time in Kingston—but the situation was what Sidey later called, "a mistake in the selection of the College Staff."[303] In his place, Kizbro Dolliver, a teacher at the Academy and former ICM missionary to Yarmouth County, became the principal.

5.2.4. Expansion into New Brunswick

As the ICM expanded its academic programme in Kingston, it looked toward the possibility of expanding its missionary programme into New Brunswick. Even though the Independent Baptists were familiar within United Baptist circles throughout Nova Scotia, they were relatively unknown in New Brunswick. This, at least in part, may be credited to the Convention Executive's aggressive campaign against the Kingston Fundamentalists in 1934 – 1935. Despite this, in 1935, the ICM sponsored the ministry of four fundamentalist missionaries to New Brunswick.[304] These missionaries, however, proved unable to develop any serious position in the Province.

The Kingston Fundamentalists were quick to blame the failure to secure a fundamentalist foothold in the region on the United Baptists.[305] Sidey remarked that this was "another proof that denominationalism is the monster that is strangling the pure church life as led by the Spirit of God in these apostate days."[306] On that occasion, Sidey

[303] "What about 1937?" *The Question* (December 1936), 2.

[304] Prior to this, the only active link that the fundamentalists had to the Baptists in New Brunswick were the individuals who had attended prophetic conferences, like Neil Herman's nephew, A.K. Herman, who was the pastor of Highfield Baptist Church in Moncton from 1926 to 1938, or A.L. Tedford, who was the pastor at the Baptist Church in Woodstock from 1929 to 1930.

[305] E.g. "The Saint John Conference," *The Question* (August 1935), 3.

[306] "ICM Field Notes," *The Question* (June 1935), 3.

even reported that the existing Baptists in the region had pressured one of the ICM's missionaries, Margaret Tedford, out of her ministry field, Carleton County, where she was forced to relocate to the capital region of York County. From Sidey's perspective, this was evidence that the United Baptist Convention unfairly controlled the region and that, if the Independent Baptists were to succeed, they would need to mount a more substantial effort in the region.

With this goal in view, the Independent Baptists looked to the city of Saint John, which they considered the perfect hub for future expansion. Beginning in 1930, the Canadian Pacific Railway's steam boat, the S.S. Princess Helene, ferried passengers and automobiles across the Bay of Fundy between Saint John, New Brunswick and Digby, Nova Scotia. Where Digby was fewer than 100 kilometers from Kingston, this provided a convenient access point into New Brunswick. Daggett and Hill, both natives of New Brunswick, began to lead services in Saint John and eventually throughout the province. On 10 July 1935, the ICM inaugurated its regular Bible Conference at the Alliance Tabernacle in Saint John. The plenary speaker was W.L. Pettingill, who, with C.I. Scofield, had founded the Philadelphia College of the Bible (now Cairn University) in 1913, where he served as dean until the late 1920s when he began travelling across North America for speaking engagements. After traveling throughout New Brunswick, the conference concluded with several services at the Kingston Bible College.[307] Perhaps most important about this, however, is that this was the first significant event sponsored by the ICM in New Brunswick.

[307] J.B. Daggett, "The Visit of Dr. W.L. Pettingill," *The Question* (September 1935), 10 – 11.

In late summer 1935, *The Question* announced the creation of a new enterprise located in Saint John: the Maritime Christian College.[308] It operated as an extension of the ICM's Christian Education mandate, overseen by J.W. Hill, who assumed the office of principal. The newspaper announced that the College would open its doors on 16 September 1935.[309] While the Kingston Fundamentalists remained optimistic about this new venture, it was ultimately unfeasible and ceased operation after only one year. The Maritime Bible Institute later replaced it in 1943, again led by Hill—an endeavor that, while not associated with the ICM, proved equally unsuccessful. The Maritime Christian College's failure was indicative of the lack of success experienced by the Kingston Fundamentalists in New Brunswick as a whole.

With the declining work in the Saint John region, Hill slipped away from the ICM, with his last "Answered by the Crucible and the Spade" appearing in *The Questions*' September 1936 edition. His name was expunged from both the list of editors and ICM trustees in the July 1937 volume of the newsletter. Further, with his return to New Brunswick in 1935, Sidey had replaced him as Dean of the Kingston Bible College. While stationed in his hometown of Hampton Station, outside of Saint John, Hill became the Chairman of the New Brunswick Branch of the Shantymen's Christian Association. Although relations remained largely positive between Hill and the ICM,[310] Hill's departure was a blow to the College and to the ICM's ministry in general. Hand-picked by T.T. Shields to teach science, his credentials as a graduate of Yale University and an individual who had served on the faculties of Brandon College, Des Moines University,

[308] Currently a different College that opened in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island in 1960 operates under this name. The two are unrelated.

[309] "Maritime Christian College," *The Question* (September 1935), 8.

[310] J.W. Hill was the guest preacher at the Kingston Bible College and Academy's closing exercises in 1938-39.

and Tabor College, made him perhaps the most legitimate member of the teaching staff. Moreover, as an outspoken opponent to the teaching of evolution in the public school system, Hill was arguably the highest profile leader at Kingston Bible College—if not in the religious sector, at least in the public one. Hill's departure brought the realization that sustained expansion into New Brunswick was unlikely.

As the Kingston Fundamentalists sought a foothold in New Brunswick, their efforts remained limited. Despite the fact that the ICM's largest donor, J.G. Willett of Willett Fruit Company, was located in Saint John, attempts at expanding into New Brunswick proved *fruit*less. It was not until October 1937 that the ICM was able to list its first affiliate church in New Brunswick: a small church located in the remote community of Targettville, under Pastor Cecil O'Donnell,[311] who came into fellowship with the ICM after a brief relationship through correspondence with T.A. Meister. Even this church, it appears, did not join the ICM because of the church's position alone, but because of the pastor's guidance. This is evidenced by the fact that the church disappeared from the ledger shortly after this introductory note while O'Donnell remained with the ICM as an evangelist and then into his next pastorate. Although the fundamentalists continued their efforts in New Brunswick, including an evangelistic campaign led by J.B. Daggett and Maxwell V. Bolser through Carleton County where individuals had voiced an interest in Independent Baptist work,[312] they proved unsuccessful.

[311] *The Question* (October 1937), 1.

[312] "Personals," *The Question* (July 1937), 6. This is significant because less than ten years later, in an unrelated movement, Carleton County became the seat of fundamentalist authority in New Brunswick.

5.2.5. Independent Baptist Churches and ICM Ministries[313]

Although they were unable to "reform" their New Brunswick counterparts, Independent Baptist congregations began to populate rural Nova Scotia. Outside of the Kingston pastorate, the first of these was the Cape Sable Island Baptist Church (Ind.). While he was a student, the Kingston Bible College had sent Maxwell V. Bolser to Clark's Harbour to minister in the United Baptist Church in the area. According to Bolser, the previous pastor was a "modernist" who encouraged "plays, theatrics, pie-sales, [and] church picnics" as fundraising efforts.[314] Upon Bolser's arrival, he ended what he considered these "worldly amusements" which were used to finance their ministry. In June 1935, in the wake of the Kingston Parsonage Trial, Bolser resigned from the Convention, but remained as the pastor of the United Baptist Church. In August 1935, Sidey reported that Maxwell V. Bolser, the Kingston Bible College's first student and preacher in Clark's Harbour, had entered into a "tremendous clash" with "denominational authorities"—namely, the United Baptists.[315] Finally, on 9 October 1935, this conflict came to a head when Bolser withdrew with approximately 30 members to form the Cape Sable Island Baptist Church (Ind.). By 1939, Bolser boasted a membership of over 60 persons, with a Sunday School enrollment of 182 and an average weekly attendance of 138.[316]

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[313] See Appendix B.

[314] Maxwell V. Bolser, "Organization of the Cape Sable Island Independent Baptist Church," 1936. Bolser originally wrote this for *The Voice*, a fundamentalist newspaper; however, the version cited from in this paper is from the original draft. Used with the permission of the KBCA, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[315] "ICM Field Notes," *The Question* (August 1935), 3. Sidey was wont to blame each woe on the Baptist "denomination," but rarely referred to those he was antagonizing by their organizational name.

[316] "Historical Report of the Cape Sable Island Independent Baptist Church," 1939. Used with the permission of the KBCA, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

Similarly, in spring of 1934, while a student at the College, P. Onden Stairs became the pastor of the Louis Head United Baptist Church. In October 1935, *The Question* reported a clash between the United Baptists and the Independent Baptists at Louis Head, Nova Scotia, wherein it noted that Stairs "has left the church building, but he has taken with him the church."[317] Fundamentalist historian, Gertrude Palmer wrote of the experience of one parishioner in Louis Head, who, while walking the street in the early days of the fundamentalist movement, had a live round of ammunition nearly hit him. As Palmer records, the bullet was meant to put the "fear of the Baptist" into him.[318] In 1936, under Stairs, the Independent Baptists erected their own building, which became the Louis Head Baptist Church (Ind.). On 29 December 1936, the Kingston Baptist Church (Ind.) ordained P. Onden Stairs.

In November 1935, J.K. Halliday, the first independently ordained Baptist preacher from the Kingston Fundamentalist movement, became the ICM missionary to Coddles Harbour, Nova Scotia. On 20 July 1936, Halliday formed the Coddles Harbour Baptist Church (Ind.) as an attempt to serve the Coddles Harbour, Seal Harbour, and Drumhead region. At the time of its formation, it had 24 members, the majority of whom had come from the Seal Harbour United Baptist Church.[319]

In addition to those churches that had been created as the result of a split from the United Baptist Convention, the Kingston Fundamentalists saw the creation of new, much smaller, enterprises. One of the earliest of these was the Windsor Baptist Sunday School (Ind.), which J.K. Thompson commenced on 4 October 1936. Several months later,

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[317] "Louis Head," *The Question* (October 1935), 4.
[318] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 157.
[319] Hollis Hudson, "An Account of the Coddle's Harbour Baptist Church (Independent)," n.d. Used with the permission of the Kingston Bible College and Academy, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

Emery Cosman founded the Windsor Independent Baptist Church on 7 January 1937, which, after a year of unsuccessful operation, F.C. Haysmore reconstituted as the Windsor Gospel Tabernacle as an ICM meeting centre on 10 January 1938. In 1937, Cosman, who in the interim period had been ordained by the Coddles Harbour Baptist Church (Ind.), began work as a missionary under the auspices of the ICM. *The Question* reported that Cosman had focused his ministry on the "border communities" of Maine and New Brunswick.[320] Even smaller than the aforementioned ministries, on 4 September 1939, Frederick C. Burnett Sr. from Yarmouth County founded the Clementsvale Baptist Church (Ind.) with thirteen members. These ministries remained quite small throughout the history of their operation.

In contrast to these, perhaps the most significant Independent Baptist Church created outside of the Kingston pastorate during this period was under T.A. Meister. As noted above, Meister became the pastor of the Westchester United Baptist pastorate in 1930. By 1932, Meister's support of the Kingston Fundamentalists had become apparent to the Convention and in September of that year the United Baptist Home Mission Board declined to renew an annual grant of $300 that the Westchester pastorate had received in the past. In response, in 1933, the church developed an "Independence Fund" to cover the loss.[321] For those under Meister's ministry who remained loyal to the Convention, his obvious fidelity to the Kingston separatist group was unsettling. Despite the Convention's campaign against Meister—which included his ejection from the list of ordained ministers in 1936—that autumn the church defeated a vote to remove Meister from the pulpit and, by doing so, the congregation declared themselves independent of

[320] "Report of Rev. Emery Cosman," *The Question* (October 1937), 6 – 7.

[321] Hollis Hudson, Notes on Westchester Baptist Church (1940). Accessed at Kingston Bible College and Academy, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

the Convention's influence and jurisdiction. In September 1938, Meister formally organized this body as the Westchester Independent Baptist Church.

5.2.6. Fundamentalism on Prince Edward Island

Perhaps most significantly, however, was the manner in which the Nova Scotia fundamentalists were able to impact the religious affairs in Prince Edward Island. Previously, Sidey and Daggett had held separate pastorates at Bedeque and Tryon respectively, while their close friend and "proto-fundamentalist," Neil Herman, oversaw a non-Baptist church in Charlottetown. As a result, when the Convention took action against the Kingston Fundamentalists, a number of voices in Prince Edward Island spoke out in retaliation. Perhaps the loudest of these was at Sidey's former pastorate in Bedeque.

Following Sidey's departure from the Island pastorate, A.G. Crowe, the pastor at the Westchester Baptist circuit before Meister, assumed the pulpit in Bedeque. Crowe had been sympathetic toward the fundamentalist movement and had attended the Annual Bible Conference in Kingston on several occasions. In the fall of 1934, however, Crowe warned Gordon Warren about the growing dissatisfaction across the Island province with how the Convention had handled the situation with Sidey and Daggett. According to Crowe, who in the letter also reaffirmed his commitment to the Convention, the very best they could hope for was a public objection to the Convention, a rejection of future participation in Baptist ministries, and a protest of *The Maritime Baptist*.[322]

On 2 October 1934, the Bedeque Baptist Church held a meeting to discuss the manner in which the Convention had handled Sidey's resignation from the United Baptists. In

[322] A.G. Crowe to G.C. Warren, 29 September 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

their letter, they wrote, "our fellowship with the Convention has been strained, almost to the breaking point." The combination of Sidey's work in the region with the Soul Winners' Association, and later as the pastor of Bedeque, had endeared him to the Baptists in the area. Interestingly enough, however, the source of Bedeque's protest was not on any theological foundation—or whether or not Sidey was right or wrong in his fundamentalism—but rather, entirely based on what they considered the un-Christ-like way that the Convention had handled the situation. They petitioned the Convention to replace their "spiteful animosity" with "Christian humility," and concluded that even if the charges against Sidey were true, it would not justify the actions taken by the Convention.[323]

The Convention refused to reprint the Bedeque protest in *The Maritime Baptist*. Over a year later, on 10 November 1935, the Bedeque church resubmitted its report, this time with softer language. Despite the recommendation of significant United Baptist pastors like Arthur Vincent and Myron Brinton in favour of publishing the report as a concession to the Bedeque Baptists, Warren wrote to the Prince Edward Island church a month after he had received the updated report and again refused to publish Bedeque's protest. According to Warren, the protest was no longer timely and, furthermore, because of the intervening trial at Kentville several months earlier, the Convention's objections to the Kingston Fundamentalist had been justified on a public stage.[324]

Crowe—who had ended his association with Sidey following the 1934 attempted schism—resigned the Bedeque pastorate in 1935, and in May 1936, Douglass Murray Fraser became Crowe's successor. Fraser had been one of Meister's converts at

[323] A.E. Wright to L.E. Ackland, 13 October 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.
[324] G.C. Warren to A.E. Wright, 6 December 1935. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

Westchester in the early 1930s and was wholly committed to the fundamentalist crusade—a position that further strained relations with the United Baptist Convention. Perhaps most significantly, however, Fraser was the first leader produced in the crucible of the fundamentalist movement in Nova Scotia who had no personal affiliation with Sidey and the Kingston Fundamentalists. To Fraser, the seat of fundamentalist authority in Nova Scotia was not in Kingston, but rather, in Westchester. On 16 October 1936, the Westchester Baptist Church ordained Fraser, and by 1939, he had led a fracture group in the creation of a new Bedeque Independent Baptist Church, which he organized officially in 1940.

In an article explaining why the Bedeque Baptists had departed the Convention came a common fundamentalist criticism: "The United Baptist Convention seems about as indefinite and uncertain on its polity as it is on doctrine." More specifically, to Fraser, the United Baptist's inability to defy modernism, or as he depicted it, "worldly pleasure," indicated that it had departed from what he considered the "scriptural position."[325] This resulted in a split between the Convention Baptists and the Independent Baptists. This became the first significant Independent Baptist outgrowth from the fundamentalist movement that was not located in Nova Scotia.

5.3. EXILE: DIVISION IN THE RANKS

By the summer of 1938, however, theological unrest had entered into the International Christian Mission. The ICM's nondenominational stance had been an area of contention for a number of those who had supported the Kingston Fundamentalists. At a meeting held 11 July 1938, the ICM reiterated its position: "we do not believe that the

[325] D.M. Fraser, "What has Happened at Central Bedeque," n.d., Meister Collection, AUA.

gift of tongues either at Pentecost or for the individual communion with God is the necessary sign of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, but the Holy Spirit divideth to each one severally as He willeth according to the individual need."[326] While this view rejected the centrality of speaking in tongues, it also denied the cessation of the spiritual gifts. For many conservatives within the Baptist sect of the ICM, the concession that "tongues" were not the definitive sign of the Spirit was not enough.

Discord arose from the Westchester Independent Baptists and was spearheaded by T.A. Meister. Sidey's "undenominational" view, according to Meister, explicitly supported beliefs that were unscriptural. It was Meister's opinion that the ICM should be shut down, and that its ministries should be given to the growing network of Independent Baptist Churches. As an Independent Baptist organization, Meister demanded that all future speakers at the Kingston Bible Conference needed to be Baptists.[327] Whereas Meister believed that his particular breed of Baptist polity was the direct heir and the closest embodiment to the New Testament ideal, he believed that any appeal to another form of Christian belief was either akin to, or at least bordering on, apostasy.

Interestingly enough, Meister began to levy charges against Sidey that had once been used against the United Baptist Convention. Meister argued that Sidey's nondenominational stance had led to a kind of spiritual ambiguity that reflected some of the Convention's most egregious theological imprecisions. In particular, Meister was disturbed by the ICM's failure to establish basic opinions on what he considered key

[326] As cited by Palmer, *The Combatant*, 166. In addition to the controversy surrounding the nondenominational stance of the ICM, in the 1930s, Sidey began to take an interest in British Israelism. This view stated that those of British-European descent were the direct descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel in the Old Testament.

[327] Hollis Hudson, Notes on Westchester Baptist Church (1940). Accessed at Kingston Bible College and Academy, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

theological doctrines. For instance, where Meister's Baptist theology was rooted firmly in a Reformed perspective, he questioned the ICM's silence on the doctrine of "eternal security"—a view central to his Calvinist interpretation of the Bible.[328] Ironically, this criticism reflected that which the Melvern Square Baptist Church had used when it justified its departure from the Convention in 1934.[329] As Daggett and Sidey had criticized the Convention for straying from its Baptist mores, now Meister criticized the Kingston Fundamentalists for their soft Baptist ministry.

Despite the fact that the majority of ICM ministries were operated and financed by Baptists, Sidey did not share Meister's view. Sidey believed that it was necessary for fundamentalists in Nova Scotia to work through nondenominational channels because the Independent Baptists alone were not numerically sufficient to carry out such a colossal task. In August 1938, partially in response to Meister's growing dissatisfaction with the Kingston Fundamentalist movement, the ICM released a statement which read: "Some differences of opinion exist regarding the International Christian Mission as a vision and particular work of Dr. Sidey being somewhat opposed to the opinion of certain sections of the Independent Church."[330] Although Sidey believed that he could attract more individuals to his movement if he made it nondenominational, in the end, the ICM benefitted very little from this decision and it actually cost him some of his closest allies.

5.3.1. Independent Baptist Schism

As 1938 drew to a close, it had become apparent that the parties involved would be unable to amicably coexist. Near the close of 1938, Daggett wrote to Meister saying: "I

[328] Ibid.
[329] See R.E. Lantz to S.S. Poole, 20 March 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.
[330] As cited by Palmer, *The Combatant*, 167.

look back with satisfaction to our years of fellowship, suffering, and burden being together. This makes the pain of today especially acute. I cannot see where we have done wrong in any particulars."[331] On this, Gertrude Palmer, who insufficiently dealt with the friction between the Kingston Fundamentalists and Meister's Independent Baptists in any of her writings, wrote: "when two strong leaders have differing points of view, it is often wise for them to part their ways and each carry on in his [sic] sphere of activity."[332]

In addition to the rising air of division within the fundamentalist movement, in January 1939, Sidey became the sole heir to the Kingston Fundamentalist leadership. On the evening of 15 January 1939, after returning from a home visit, Daggett suffered a fatal heart attack. As Sidey mourned Daggett's physical loss, the likely loss of Meister's spiritual fellowship loomed overhead. Through the whole fundamentalist campaign Sidey had relied on Daggett's leadership and support, but now, for the first time in the crusade, Sidey was alone.

In the spring of 1939, *The Question* announced the creation of two new Baptist newspapers in the Maritimes. The first, based out of Saint John, New Brunswick, was entitled *The Evangelist* and was edited by J.W. Hill. Similarly, seemingly in conjunction with this, a second paper, based out of Westchester, Nova Scotia, was entitled, the *Independent Baptist* and was edited by T.A. Meister. In introducing these two newspapers, Sidey employed a rather uneven tone. In a positive review, he concluded that Hill's paper was a "splendid little paper." Conversely, in his review of Meister's paper, he observed:

[331] J.B. Daggett to T.A. Meister, n.d., Meister Collection, AUA. Unfortunately only the second half of the letter has been preserved.
[332] Palmer, *The Combatant*, 158.

> Of course, no one paper can speak for Independent Baptists as a whole, because the very meaning of the Movement is independency of thought and action, or interpretations, of any other. Thus it is impossible for the Independent Baptist Movement to have an official organ, but it is a good thing to have a paper replete with Independent Baptist news.[333]

Sidey's comment on Meister's paper was as much a comment on his spiraling friendship with Meister as it was on the newspaper itself. Evidently still sore, and perhaps mildly bitter, from the controversy which had begun to sweep several of his closest confidants out from his ranks, Sidey refused to give Meister's paper a positive review.

The schism between Meister and Sidey became solidified in the summer of 1939. Meister's own personal records show a number of meetings with the Sideys (J.J. Sidey *and* his daughter, Isabel Sidey) in the first half of 1939. According to Meister's journals, his last interaction with Sidey was on 26 August 1939.[334] Douglass M. Fraser from Bedeque, and Maxwell V. Bolser from Cape Sable Island followed Meister's exit from the Kingston Fundamentalist movement. Finally, in September, the new Independent Baptist group held their own Bible Conference. At this new conference, in addition to services led by Meister, Fraser, and Bolser, J.W. Hill was the plenary speaker. The initiation of a separatist Bible Conference was akin to the Kingston Fundamentalists' creation of an alternative to Acadia University. It made permanent the developing lines of division between Meister and Sidey.

Sidey's sphere of influence was limited to the Independent Baptist churches within his own pastorate, the church in Coddles Harbour, and several small church plants and ICM meeting centres throughout Nova Scotia. The departure had not only taken several promising churches from Sidey's ranks, it was also a significant loss in leadership.

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[333] "Two New Papers," *The Question* (Spring 1939), 1.
[334] T.A. Meister, Journal, 1935 – 1939. Meister Collection, AUA.

Meister, as a fiery and well-educated individual firmly committed to the "fundamentals of the faith," may have had the potential to ignite the movement and lend credibility to the Independent Baptist cause in areas in which newcomers like Sidey lacked. Similarly, Fraser and Bolser had been rising-stars within the new movement; moreover, it was undoubtedly painful for Sidey to see his first Baptist pastorate taken from him,[335] and to see his first student abandon him. In the summer of 1939, Sidey wrote of the preceding year as "perhaps…the very hardest year the ICM has faced and, for various reasons, it has been particularly hard for the Board of Governors and staff at KBC."[336]

Meister's chief criticism was that Sidey had not been a fully committed Baptist and that the Kingston-based fundamentalist group, which had grown out of the United Baptist Convention, was entirely "unbaptistic." Later in his life, in 1981, Meister wrote a book on The Acts of the Apostles entitled, *Bits of Church History*, where in his introduction, he reflected on what made one a "real" Baptist. As he recalled, when he was young, Baptists "really stood for something":

> They didn't believe in work on Sundays, nor idling—as I can well remember—on other days of the week. They didn't believe in drinking, in lying, in swearing, stealing, gambling, in dancing, in 'dirty talk', or anything else that savored too much of riotous living or 'vanity fair.' They read their Bibles, prayed, 'said grace', had family altars, kept out of debt, helped one another; believed in God, in heaven and in hell; in corporal punishment—and, where the Bible called for it, in capital punishment. They believed in the absolute independence of the local church.[337]

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[335] When it became clear that the Bedeque church had planned to form an Independent Baptist Church but would not remain loyal to Sidey, a number of members refused to join the new church because of their support for their old pastor. They petitioned him to plant a new church—an endeavor that, evidently already financially and temporally burdened and hopeful that the division with Meister could be resolved, Sidey had to refuse. Details taken from Gertrude Palmer, Notes on Bedeque Baptist Church (n.d.). Accessed at Kingston Bible College and Academy, copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[336] "Editorial," *The Question* (Summer 1939), 1.

[337] T.A. Meister, *Bits of Church History* (Bedeque, 1981), 8.

These comments, which represent a uniquely fundamentalist perspective, were ones that Sidey no doubt would have agreed with. Yet, those with whom Sidey had fellowship with were a major concern for Meister. Despite Meister's criticism that the ICM was "unbaptistic," three years later, in September 1942, an individual named G.D. Young became the Principal of the Kingston Bible College Academy. Ironically, he resigned one year later in 1943 because he believed that it was "controlled by Baptists."[338]

5.3.2. Exile

As the 1930s came to a close, the financial situation reflected the declining interest in the Kingston movement. It was clear that they would not have enough money to maintain their monthly publication of *The Question*.[339] As a result, the fundamentalists pared down the number of editions they printed the following year and limited their content to four-pages. In October 1938, an anonymous donor from the United States contacted Daggett with a large sum in order to alleviate some of their financial strain. The funds were specifically for building an auditorium and settling the college's debts. Despite this generous gift, in the winter of 1939 Sidey lamented that since that donation the ICM had not received *any* donations for their Department of Field Evangelism and had received a surprisingly small amount for the ongoing publication of *The Question*.[340]

By the early 1940s, the Kingston Fundamentalist movement's reach into the region had become severely limited. After only a few years of operation, the various Independent Baptist ministries in Windsor, Nova Scotia ceased operations. Similarly,

[338] Gertrude Palmer, "Historical Outline of the Kingston Bible College," Unpublished, n.d., copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray, accessible through KBC archives.
[339] "No Change in Policy," *The Question* (February 1938), 4.
[340] J.J. Sidey, "A Crisis in the I.C.M. Council," *The Question* (Winter 1939), 4.

after only two years of operation, because of Burnett's poor health and no one else to replace him, the Clementsvale Independent Baptist Church was forced to close in 1941.

Following the departure of many of his closest friends and allies in 1938 – 1939, and Daggett's death in early 1939, Sidey was left alone to face a steady decline in interest in the International Christian Mission. The number of missionaries dropped significantly and, with them, the ICM's influence in the region. Further, with Britain's declaration of war against Germany in September 1939, the College's enrolment plummeted and its halls emptied. Although the Academy functioned as usual, it did little to ignite the movement. Despite attempts to "rebrand" it through the introduction of the Fellowship of Independent Baptists in 1940 and the incorporation of the ICM that same year, Sidey never achieved the same degree of success that he had experienced in the mid to late-1930s. Additionally, Sidey's movement suffered further schisms within the Louis Head Independent Baptist Church when Cecil O'Donnell attempted to convert it into a Pentecostal assembly in 1943,[341] and in his own Melvern Square Independent Baptist Church when a majority of the congregation—including Sidey's wife, Edna—left in 1962 and eventually formed a Fellowship Baptist Church in 1969.[342]

By the early 1960s, Sidey's fundamentalist movement had been confined to the Kingston-Greenwood geographical region. What remained of the Kingston, Melvern Square, and Lower Alyesford Independent Baptist Churches amalgamated on 28 May

[341] Details taken from an unpublished report gathered by Kingston Bible College historian Hollis Hudson in the 1940s, available at KBC archives. Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[342] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 75. See also, Robert B. Lockey, "Fishing for Men: Fellowship Atlantic," *A Glorious Fellowship of Churches: Celebrating the History of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada, 1953 – 2003*, Michael A.G. Haykin and Robert B. Lockey, eds. (Guelph, ON: The Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada, 2003), 49 – 50.

1962 to form the Bible Baptist Church (renamed Faith Independent Baptist Church in 1999). William Moorehead became the Senior Pastor, William Freeman became the Assistant Pastor, and J.J. Sidey became the Pastor Emeritus.[343] Each of these individuals had been closely associated with the College: Moorehead and Freeman as both students and then staff; and Sidey, of course, as the founder and long-time President. Finally, four years later on the 23 May 1966, at an evening service commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Bible Baptist Church, as the special guest played the hymn, "His eye is on the Sparrow," Sidey suffered a heart attack on the stage and died.[344]

5.4. SUMMARY

Unable to reform the United Baptist Convention, Sidey and Daggett launched their own separatist movement. Beginning first with the churches in their own pastorate, they attempted to expand throughout the Maritimes by commissioning a number of missionaries throughout the region.

Emblematic of the Kingston Fundamentalist mission was J.W. Hill, the dean at the Kingston Bible College. As a professor of chemistry at Brandon College, Des Moines University, and Tabor College, Hill represented the Academic wing of the Kingston movement. His outspoken anti-evolutionary rhetoric inflamed the fundamentalists, as he entered into public debates in support of creationism in the classroom. His presence lent legitimacy to the College's academic standard.

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[343] Gertrude Palmer, "A Vision Fulfilled," Unpublished, n.d., copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray, accessible through KBC archives.

[344] While Gertrude Palmer's hagiographical assessment of J.J. Sidey is found wanting in many areas, she provides a vivid and helpful first-hand reflection of this event. See Palmer, *The Combatant*, 188 – 191.

Moreover, as a native of New Brunswick, Hill brought a special connection with the province that Sidey and Daggett did not have. Though Daggett was born in New Brunswick, his connection to the Patriotic Potato Scandal had given many a negative impression of him. With Hill's departure in 1936 – 1937 came the realization that Kingston's campaigns in New Brunswick would be severely limited.

After several failed attempts to spread into New Brunswick, they focused their attention on ministries throughout Nova Scotia, primarily in the Annapolis Valley and the South Shore. By the close of the decade, they could claim that they had influence over one church in Prince Edward Island—Sidey's former pastorate, Bedeque Baptist. However, infighting over theology led to the fragmentation and localization of the movement.

The one leading this charge was T.A. Meister, the preacher at Westchester Independent Baptist Church. Meister was dissatisfied with Sidey's appeal to Pentecostal theology and instead believed Baptists should be given control over Sidey's nondenominational ministries, including the International Christian Mission and the Kingston Bible College. For Meister, this, paired with Sidey's failure to support key Reformed doctrines, indicated that he was not a true Baptist. In 1938 – 1939, Meister led a campaign against the Sidey-Daggett coalition, which eventually led to a complete separation between these warring factions in the late summer of 1939.

With Daggett's death in early 1939 and the departure of several of Sidey's closest associates later that year, the movement became increasingly localized—confined to the Kingston-Greenwood location and a few small churches in rural Nova Scotia.

6. CHAPTER SIX
Modernism, Fundamentalism, and Nova Scotia's Independent Baptists: Conclusion

The story of the Kingston Fundamentalists is not one of a single leader, but rather, of a host of prominent individuals who each made some significant contribution—for better or worse—to the Independent Baptist movement in Nova Scotia in the 1930s. While J.J. Sidey was undoubtedly the central figure within the early fundamentalist movement in Nova Scotia, his role was not comparable to that of T.T. Shields in Central Canada. It is clear that fundamentalist historian Gertrude A. Palmer's biography of Sidey, *The Combatant*, helped in large part to inform the broader historiographical discussion. Her study, which largely overemphasized Sidey's role, primed subsequent analyses of the Kingston Fundamentalists, including that of historian George A. Rawlyk. Palmer's impulse toward this end is likely attributable to Sidey's lengthy tenure at the Kingston pastorate. Indeed, both Sidey's visibility and longevity ensured that his most loyal supporters in the area would preserve him in the historical record as the most significant figure to ever emerge from the movement.

Sidey's enduring legacy, which was enshrined in Palmer's historiography, resulted in what one might best identify as the "Sidey Legend." In the 1930s, Sidey became something of a figurehead for the Kingston Fundamentalist movement, serving as the commissioner of the International Christian Mission, the President of the Kingston Bible College, and the editor of *The Question*. Undoubtedly, he played a prominent role; but unfortunately, the preservation of this "legend" has diminished the influence of his contemporaries. Although Sidey held these important offices, some of the most incendiary rhetoric in support of the fundamentalist crusade came from his "lieutenants."

Whereas each major study on this topic has subscribed to Palmer's historical method, this present study has sought to assess the varying degrees of influence and involvement exhibited by other fundamentalist Baptist insiders in Nova Scotia like J.B. Daggett, Neil Herman, J.W. Hill, and T.A. Meister. There are several reasons for this approach. Where the existing historiography has focused almost exclusively on Sidey, this has led to major gaps within the historical understanding of the movement, particularly on its mission outside of Nova Scotia and on its eventual downfall. Moreover, although Sidey was vital, most historians have overemphasized his influence on the movement's development. Indeed, in order to provide a much clearer assessment of the Kingston Fundamentalists, one must look to those individuals that helped to shape the everyday operation of the movement. For Herman, Hill, and Meister, there is a great paucity in available analysis found in prior historical assessments; similarly, the existing information on Daggett's influence in the movement has been largely restricted to his connection with Shields in Central Canada. Yet, in some significant way, each of these individuals shaped the trajectory of the Independent Baptist movement in Nova Scotia in the 1930s.

In many respects, Neil Herman was emblematic of the Kingston Fundamentalists' link to the Convention. Though briefly and temporarily disfellowshipped by the United Baptists in the late 1910s, Herman had a lengthy history with the Convention and was later restored by those who clearly admired his ministry. Arguably one of the earliest Baptist fundamentalists in the Maritimes, he provided leadership to the early stages of the Kingston Fundamentalist movement and was influential in shepherding their flagship institution toward its controversial "undenominational" stance. Yet, he remained

"servant to two masters" as he worked alongside the Kingston group *and* the Convention in the early 1930s. Herman's final refusal to support the Kingston Fundamentalists in their schism shows the intense spirit of Baptist loyalty in the region. Despite his clear preference for the Kingston Fundamentalists' theology, he was unable to depart from the tradition in which he had been so deeply rooted, and instead offered to speak out publicly against the fundamentalist movement and its leaders.

John Warren Hill lent a degree of credibility to the movement. Born in New Brunswick, for those in Kingston, Hill represented a link to the province. Perhaps more significantly, however, with several academic appointments in Canada and the United States—including Shields' prestigious (or infamous) fundamentalist stronghold at Des Moines—Hill was not simply another local added to the ranks, he was an individual firmly established in the wider fundamentalist movement. This provided an important connection for the Kingston Fundamentalists for Hill's presence demonstrated them to be a legitimate wing of the international movement. Therefore, when Hill departed in the late 1930s, the Kingston Fundamentalists lost not only a significant bridge into the larger Maritime region, but to the wider fundamentalist movement as well. They were now restricted primarily to Nova Scotia.

Terence Alexander Meister was perhaps the most important individual in shaping the movement in the late 1930s—and was therefore influential in providing the foundation for the movement as it exists today. Reared in the United Baptist Convention, he heavily criticized the Maritime Baptists before he turned his ire toward Daggett and Sidey and dismantled their movement from within. As one of fundamentalism's most devoted disciples in the region, his earlier fealty to the Kingston movement was replaced by his

distrust of Sidey in late 1938, when he began to build the basis for his own independent Baptist network. Frustrated by Sidey's appeal to Pentecostalism and his refusal to acknowledge Calvinist doctrines, Meister withdrew from the Kingston Fundamentalists, taking some of the most important churches and leaders with him. This effectively localized the Kingston movement and severely limited its reach beyond Sidey's own pastorate. While Herman was a central figure in the early development of the movement, Meister—and to some extent, Hill—was responsible for limiting it to such a small area of influence.

The most notable omission from Palmer's historiography, however, was on the role of John Bolton Daggett. Rawlyk has convincingly argued that Daggett was central to the Kingston Fundamentalists for his foundational work early on in the movement;[345] however, Rawlyk's assessment merely hints at Daggett's later influence in the movement and does not provide much analysis beyond Daggett's interaction with Shields.

While Daggett relinquished control of the Kingston Pastorate to Sidey in the late summer of 1930, it is clear that he remained one of the most influential figures in the movement until his death in 1939. During the "exodus" in 1934—arguably the movement's most visible period—Daggett was tasked with writing the responses to the Convention in various newspapers. His career in politics made him well suited for this crucial role. His fiery rhetoric and showmanship set the tone for the Kingston Fundamentalists. Latent in Daggett's frequent articles was the idea that he was the voice of the movement.

As much as Daggett spoke *for* the Kingston Fundamentalists, he spoke *into* their perspectives as well. Indeed, his work behind the scenes makes him a notable figure.

[345] Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 76 – 103.

Although Sidey was perhaps the "face" of the movement, Daggett did much to influence the movement's perspective. For example, while Sidey had always sought recognition for his "academic" achievements (proudly identifying himself as "the Doctor" through his whole ministry), Daggett considered higher education a nonessential—a view that found its way into each Independent Baptist church's covenant. For Daggett, the college served as a way to provide practical lessons and spread the movement, not to springboard graduates toward further education. This view eventually dominated Kingston's perspective.[346] Additionally, as the college's business manager, Daggett oversaw an aspect of the work that Sidey was simply incapable of doing. For much of his work—public and private—Daggett served as the support upon which the movement stood.

Were it not for his ill health and, eventually, his untimely death, there is little doubt that Daggett would be remembered as a more prominent figure within the Maritime Baptist fundamentalist movement. Shields hand-selected Daggett to lead at a time when the Jarvis Street preacher ignored Sidey's correspondence; Daggett encouraged Sidey to grow in his fundamentalism while they served together on Prince Edward Island; and Daggett gave Sidey his first real leadership charge within the movement—a decision he made because of his increasingly declining physical condition. Aware that his poor health would restrict his leadership potential, Daggett opted to serve in a different capacity: as Sidey's principal confidant. Despite his inability to lead, Daggett was committed to the movement, and instead used his platform to colour the Kingston Fundamentalists' views.

It was this coalition of ministers and educators that launched its ultimately unsuccessful campaign against the purportedly liberal United Baptist Convention of the

[346] E.g.: Palmer, *The Combatant*, 27 – 29. See Section 3.1.2.

Maritime Provinces. Their inability to inspire sustained change within the Maritime religious context later segued into a division within their own ranks in 1938 – 1939. At the centre of the rise and fall of the Kingston Fundamentalist crusade during the 1930s was the question of Baptist identity: what makes a church a "real" Baptist Church? Ironically, whereas the Daggett-Sidey coalition believed that the United Baptists were not Baptist enough in their polity, their later dissenters believed that the Kingston Fundamentalists were not Baptist enough in their theology.

For Sidey and Daggett, the United Baptists' view of the "interdependence" of Convention churches infringed too significantly on the Baptist ideal of the independence of the local church. Later, several of Sidey's followers would criticize the Kingston Fundamentalists for Sidey's obvious sympathy for the Pentecostal view of the Holy Spirit's activity, including the spiritual gifts. They concluded that this position—in addition to his refusal to acknowledge Calvinist doctrines like eternal security—discounted his status as a Baptist. The debate over Baptist identity led to the departure of many of the movement's most prominent figures, which eventually led to the collapse of the movement into a regional fundamentalist expression.

By mid-1939, the Kingston Fundamentalists had lost nearly all of their momentum. Herman, Hill, and Meister had all departed from Sidey's fellowship, each taking with them their unique contribution to the movement: with them left their passion and their abilities, as well as those of other promising leaders under their tutelage. Finally, with Daggett's death in January 1939, the once growing movement brimming with energy was almost entirely deflated. Sidey's Independent Baptists continued to operate, but they were never able to fully recover.

Where Sidey and his associates had antagonized the United Baptist Churches through the 1930s, later fundamentalists who emerged from the Convention had little desire to align with the Kingston clique. While they may have considered the Kingston Fundamentalists' grievances to be legitimate, most disagreed with the manner in which the group's members had conducted themselves. Similar to the way in which Shields' aggression had deflated the legitimacy of his claims, the militancy of the early fundamentalist movement in Nova Scotia disqualified their voice among Convention Baptists, who subsequently labeled them "troublemakers."

It is difficult to calculate the success of any religious movement. Certainly, as a fracture group from the United Baptist Convention, the Kingston Fundamentalists were largely unsuccessful; however, the true reach of their religious influence is unknown. Moreover, their legacy is perhaps not measurable by the numerical existence of "Sideyites" today, but rather, in the indelible mark they left on the Maritime Baptists. As the first to oppose the United Baptists and their supposed modernism, the Kingston Fundamentalists effectively challenged the Maritime revivalist culture and laid the groundwork for later discussions within the Convention.

As the Maritimes emerged from its economic depression and its people sought stability after the Second World War, many within the Baptist Convention awoke to the criticisms that began with the Kingston Fundamentalists—though they paid no heed to the unsuccessful movement, nor its fatigued leader. Although later Convention Baptists identified as fundamentalists, they remained influenced by the Allinite undercurrent, which sought to minimize unnecessary conflict. Indeed, the emergence of significant

fundamentalist figures *within* the Convention changed the Convention's character and in the aggregate, shifted it toward a more conservative consensus.

After 1940, Maritime Baptists sympathetic to the fundamentalist cause began to look beyond Kingston's localized centre of authority. Those in the region had little interest in pioneering a movement and even less interest in jumping aboard Sidey's sinking ship. Instead, those who wished to depart from the United Baptist Convention appealed to larger, already established groups across Canada and the United States. In New Brunswick, this resulted in a wholly different embodiment of the fundamentalist movement—one in which Sidey played no part. In Nova Scotia, Sidey continued to host his annual Bible Conference, which, unable to gather the sizeable audiences it once did, became a shadow of its former glory. As the 1940s dawned, a more significant and structured form of the fundamentalist movement replaced the once notable influence that Sidey's group had commanded. Left with little reach beyond his pastorate, the Kingston Fundamentalist movement slowly faded away—into exile.

APPENDIX A:
A.L. TEDFORD'S REMOVAL FROM CONVENTION

One of the first casualties among the Kingston Fundamentalists' followers was Allan Lawrence Tedford (1883 – 19??). Tedford was born in Armond, New Brunswick, in 1883. In 1912, at age 29, he married the 20-year-old Maude Clara Page. On 6 January 1929, Tedford assumed the pulpit of the largest church in Carleton County, Woodstock United Baptist. He held this position for a year and a half, when he moved from Woodstock to take the pulpit of Immanuel Baptist Church in Truro—the same one that prominent fundamentalists Neil Herman and R.W. Bennett had held.

At the August 1934 Convention assembly, the Examining Council for ordination assembled a committee to assess Tedford's ministry. The committee, which consisted of Dr. E.S. Mason, Rev. E.J. Barrass, as well as the President of Convention, Mr. R.B. Wallace, and the incoming Secretary of Convention, Rev. L.E. Ackland, met on 15 October 1934 in Wolfville and charged Tedford with unspecified inappropriate conduct with the opposite gender and with mismanaging his financial affairs.[347] The committee subsequently summoned Tedford to a meeting that would take place at First United Baptist Church in Truro on 13 November 1934.

In response to Ackland, Tedford wrote a lengthy reply that dealt almost exclusively with the committee's charge of financial impropriety. In the letter, Tedford admitted that his finances were "irregular" and that he was trying his "utmost ability to make good to all [his] creditors." Apparently Tedford had borrowed a large sum of money to construct a "church home" in Saint John in the 1920s, but with the economic downturn, Tedford's debts had become virtually unmanageable.

[347] L.E. Ackland to A.L. Tedford, 16 October 1934. Warren Collection 13, AUA.

While Tedford's letter had described his financially dubious state at length, the initial charge of sexual transgression—the issue that was the committee's primary concern—loomed overhead. In fact, it was Barrass' conviction that the committee did not need to bother denouncing Tedford over his finances because the claims of sexual harassment were grounds enough to seek his removal. In response to this first charge, rather than deny it outright, Tedford replied that Ackland had "stated nothing to give [him] any clue as to what [was] laid against [him]."[348]

In a signed report obtained by the committee, a number of disturbing revelations against Tedford emerged. According to one young woman, Tedford had asked her about her sexual history, led her into a dark room, and, after he locked the door, he proceeded to touch her inappropriately "under [her] clothes."[349] Later, Tedford would reply to these charges by contending that the young woman later "made a public confession in the presence of a good many witnesses that she had told untruths about [him]."[350] While it is unclear whether or not this was true, the report's lurid detail was more than enough for the Committee. The damage had been done; the lewd imagery served as the justification to seek Tedford's removal from Convention fellowship.

According to the committee, the Carleton County native's response was unsatisfactory. While Tedford did not attend the arbitration process and had requested voluntary removal from the list of ministers, the committee concluded that ample evidence from multiple sources indicated that he was guilty of both charges. As a result, the committee recommended that his name be expunged from the list of active ministers

[348] A.L. Tedford to L.E. Ackland, 31 October 1934. Warren Collection 13, AUA. Cf. E.S. Mason to R.B. Wallace and L.E. Ackland, 5 October 1934. Warren Collection 14, AUA.

[349] Report submitted by the victim to fact-finding committee, n.d., accessible through Warren Collection 13, AUA.

[350] A.L. Tedford to L.E. Ackland, 18 September 1935. Warren Collection 13, AUA.

at the next regular Convention gathering. This was read and unanimously adopted on 28 August 1935 at the regular Convention gathering and as a result Tedford was asked to forfeit his ordination papers.[351]

For Tedford, the request that he submit his ordination papers was a problematic one. The committee's request raised questions with regard to the United Baptist Convention's jurisdiction. Tedford responded by noting that the Convention had no authority to demand his papers, and that "the sole and final authority rests in the local Baptist Church." Moreover, Tedford maintained that the manner by which the committee had operated was "contrary to Baptist principles" and instead he stated that he would retain the title and privileges that accompanied his ordination. In Tedford's final letter to Ackland—and the Convention—he concluded: "I am praying that God will recover the leadership of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces from its unenviable position in much of its belief and practices before the one time great Baptist Convention has been entirely wrecked."[352]

In the wake of his removal, Tedford remained one of Sidey's close associates. After the controversy with the Convention, he travelled to Fort Worth, Texas, where, as Sidey ambiguously put it: he was "busily engaged in an endeavor to so arrange his business affairs." Sidey then concluded: "Now all Brother Tedford's friends know the story of his troubles and difficulties, and while indiscretion has sometimes marked his conduct, …he is honestly trying to do the best he can with a most difficult situation."[353] Tedford

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[351] "Minutes of Meeting of the Fact-Finding Committee," 13 November 1934. Warren Collection 13, AUA. See also L.E. Ackland to A.L. Tedford, 4 September 1935. Warren Collection 13, AUA; L.E. Ackland, ed., *Annual Yearbook of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1935* (Saint John, NB), 17.

[352] A.L. Tedford to L.E. Ackland, 18 September 1935. Warren Collection 13, AUA.

[353] J.J. Sidey, "Seventh Annual Bible Conference," *The Question* (September 1935), 9.

returned to Canada by the early 1940s, where he remained committed to the ICM even after many of Sidey's associates had abandoned him. The ICM's *Discipline*, a set a rules and guidelines written for the organization in the early 1950s, lists Tedford as an "Accredited Probationer in Canada," or, a missionary for the ICM, located in Windsor, Ontario.[354] While many of Sidey's earlier lieutenants eventually deserted him, Tedford remained loyal to the Kingston Fundamentalists.

[354] *The Discipline of the International Christian mission Inc.* (Kingston, NS: n.d.), 73. In the possession of Taylor James Murray. Although it does not give a date of publication, the text on p. 5 indicates that it was published sometime in 1953 – 1954.

APPENDIX B:
INDEPENDENT BAPTIST MINISTRIES FOUNDED 1934 – 1939

The following are the churches that were formed in the throes of the Daggett-Sidey fundamentalist movement. Listed is their date of incorporation and their pastors at the time of their creation. Those marked (*) were churches that split from the Daggett-Sidey coalition shortly after this period. Each of these ministries was founded in Nova Scotia, with the exception of the Bedeque Baptist Church, which was in Prince Edward Island.

Melvern Square Baptist Church (Ind.)* J.J. Sidey & J.B. Daggett	2 March 1934
Kingston Baptist Church (Ind.) J.J. Sidey & J.B. Daggett	8 March 1934
Lower Aylesford Baptist Church (Ind.) J.J. Sidey & J.B. Daggett	5 June 1934
Cape Sable Island (Clark's Harbour) Baptist Church (Ind.)* Maxwell V. Bolser	9 October 1935
Louis Head Baptist Church (Ind.) Onden Stairs	1936[355]
Coddles Harbour Baptist Church (Ind.) J.K. Halliday	20 July 1936
Windsor Christian Mission Emery Cosman	2 September 1936
Windsor Baptist Sunday School (Ind.) J.K. Thomson	4 October 1936
Windsor Gospel Tabernacle (ICM)[356] F.C. Haysmore	10 January 1938

[355] The Louis Head Baptist Church (Ind.) was reorganized in 1942 to include Lockport, and part of Cape Sable Island, under evangelist Cecil O'Donnell. In 1943, O'Donnell attempted to convert the church into a Pentecostal assembly, but was unsuccessful. He left the pastorate and formed a Pentecostal Holiness Church. Details taken from an unpublished report gathered by Kingston Bible College historian Hollis Hudson in the 1940s, available at KBC archives. Hudson mistakenly refers to O'Donnell as "O'Donald." Copy in the possession of Taylor James Murray.

[356] Emery Cosman founded an earlier incarnation of the Windsor Gospel Tabernacle one year earlier on 7 January 1937, originally, the Windsor Independent Baptist Church. All Independent Baptist works in Windsor were eventually phased out.

Westchester Baptist Church (Ind.)* T.A. Meister	September 1938
Bedeque Baptist Church (Ind.)* D.M. Fraser	1939 (organized 1940)
Clementsvale Baptist Church (Ind.)[357] F.C. Burnett	4 September 1939

In 1940, Sidey formed the Maritime Fellowship of Independent Baptists.

[357] Because of poor health, Burnett remained in this position for only two years. After he departed, the church ceased operations.

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Letter from A.G. Crowe to G.C. Warren, 29 September 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

Letter from A.L. Tedford to L.E. Ackland, 31 October 1934. Warren Collection 13, AUA.

Letter from A.L. Tedford to L.E. Ackland, 18 September 1935. Warren Collection 13, AUA.

Letter from E.S. Mason to R.B. Wallace and L.E. Ackland, 5 October 1934. Warren Collection 14, AUA.

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Letter from G.H. Meister to G.C. Warren, 30 April 1934. Warren Collection 11, AUA.

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